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Kovács Fruzsina

**Irodalmi transzfer a posztkommunista Magyarországon: A kanadai  
irodalom magyar fordításainak útjai 1989 és 2014 között**

Doktori (PhD) értekezés

**A doktori iskola vezetője: PROF. DR. DOBOS ISTVÁN DSC. egyetemi tanár**

**Az értekezés témavezetői: DR. SOHÁR ANIKÓ egyetemi docens**

**DR. HABIL. ÁDÁM ANIKÓ egyetemi docens**

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**PÁZMÁNY PÉTER CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY**  
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**DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF LITERARY STUDIES**

Fruzsina Kovács

**Literary Transfer in Post-Communist Hungary: Diverging Paths of  
Canadian Literature Translated into Hungarian between 1989 and 2014**

Doctoral (PhD) thesis

**Head of the Doctoral School: PROF. DR. ISTVÁN DOBOS DSC.**

**Supervisors: DR. ANIKÓ SOHÁR** associate professor

**DR. HABIL. ANIKÓ ÁDÁM** associate professor

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**Key words:** sociology of translation, translation flow, post-Communist literary field, publishers as agents of translation, mixed methods, triangulation.

## Abstract

The political transformation of 1989 opened up an avenue of cultural transfer between Hungarian publishers and the transnational agents of the global book market in a rapid and dynamic way. Translations have not only been carriers of ideas and new literary genres, but after the transformation, the practice of publishing translations remained instrumental in changing the industry in the target cultural field. The research maps the evolving network of Hungarian publishers producing translations of Canadian literature in a 25-year period of dynamic political and social changes and traces the publishers' transfer practices that have radically been remodelled due to contextual elements such as cultural diplomacy, government funding, the impact of transnational literary prizes, and the emergence of new actors in the global book market. Books recreated in a target culture retain a relationship with the original product but function differently in a new social context.

Hungarian publishers after 1989 had to acquire cultural literacy for the transnational book market, and make decisions about what carries value and is marketable in the target culture. The publishers' selection and reframing choices about Anglophone and Francophone books were ones of many possibilities available for them in the selection and production process. The transfer activities of the publisher contain an act of (cultural) translation, a meaning-making activity in the process of transcultural mediation, while recreating the book in Hungarian. The publisher is guided by both rational and aesthetic goals: on the one hand, wants to make the venture profitable, on the other hand, maintains a network that recognizes cultural value and prestige linked to cultural products. Publishers after 1989 had to negotiate financial viability and produce aesthetic value in a post-Communist, emerging cultural field.

The thesis accounts for temporality in the cultural space and focuses on the agency of publishers, who act as 'cultural brokers' in the transfer and negotiation process. It pays special attention to the events of the publishing field as they are unfolding on changing social structures. The thesis follows the diverging paths of Canadian books in three case studies in a post-Communist political, economic, cultural or social context. The study takes an interdisciplinary point of view and a triangulation approach to data, and applies theories of Sociology and a more recent discipline of Translation Studies to trace the meaning-making agency of the publisher and analyze translation as a social practice.

# 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

## 1.1. Relevance of the research

The publishing system changed radically with the political transformation of 1989. Cultural production and consumption were heavily influenced by the Communist<sup>2</sup> regime in Hungary between 1949 and 1989. Large-scale, state-owned publishing houses were created and assigned to produce specific genres and specific type of books by an allotted paper quota. Those titles were predominantly chosen for translation that met two conditions: they either supported the Communist humanistic ideal of the regime or presented a critical view on capitalism and Western societies. The translation flows were controlled within the Soviet Union. In order to foster cultural relations in the Eastern bloc, Socialist countries annually exchanged lists of titles recommended for translation (Bart 2000: 84). By the 1980s, due to a slow ease of political austerity, the widening of the ‘tolerated’ category of books, and the negotiations of some publishers who acted as literary ‘smugglers,’ some books of the Western world managed to get through the seemingly informal but in fact structural censorship system.

The large, state-owned publishing houses were privatized, small-scale independent publishing houses were established, and new motivations emerged in publishing along the lines of market economy, marketing, and the dynamics of the international literary field of that time. Aspects of the technological change and the restructuring of ownership in Hungary, which took place parallel to the economic change, have also been in the focus of researchers of for several decades<sup>3</sup>. Translation, however, is a key aspect of this process, not only because the texts have often been carriers of new ideas and novel literary genres, but because this activity is in the focus of international negotiations of soft diplomacy, it may involve financial decisions for the publishing companies, and motivate a network of agents who are otherwise not part of a monolingual publishing process.

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<sup>1</sup> Parts of the dissertation have been disseminated in the CEACS volume of *Canada Consumed* (2019), the edited volume of the CETRA Summer Research School: *Recharting Territories* (Kovács 2022), two articles in *Tiszatáj Literary Journal* (Kovács 2018, 2021), *Pázmány Papers* (Kovács 2023) and the edited volume of the Hieronymus Translation Studies Research Group titled *Varietas delectat* (Kovács 2024).

<sup>2</sup> In historical research published in Hungarian, the term Communist is often used referring to the Rákosi era which had a strict dictatorship in place, and Socialist is used for the Kádár era (after 1956) that somewhat softened the tools of indoctrination (Lux-Horváth 2018). In the English language scholarship, however, due to the lack of clear definitions (also in the writings of Marx), historians and translation historians use the encompassing term Communist more often instead of the term Socialist when discussing the period under the influence of Marxism between 1947 and 1989 in an international context (see for example Granville and Oppenheimer 2001, Smith 2014: 21, in TS scholarship Sohár 1999, Špírk 2011, Rundle-Lange-Monticelli 2022). In this thesis, I use the term Communist when referring to the 1949-1989 period.

<sup>3</sup> See for example Laki 2008, Lux and Horváth, 2018.

The year 1999 was an important milestone in this transformation, when Hungary was invited to be guest of honour at the Frankfurt Book Fair. The Hungarian authors and publishers had an exceptional opportunity to create and strengthen connections in the global book market while adapting to a new, international open setting. In this process, the translation assignments influenced the social positions of the agents as well since some of them started to translate Nobel Prize authors as well. The publishers' network widened by connecting to public institutions at an international level and to individual translators, since instead of speakers of Russian and the languages of the Soviet Union, now there was a sudden demand for English and French language experts. The number of books translated from Russian and the languages of the former Socialist countries radically decreased while at the same time, the number of imported cultural products, especially books translated from the English language between 2000 and 2010<sup>4</sup>, according to the cultural statistics of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH), almost doubled. After the political transformation, the position of publishers as key agents and gatekeepers remained, but their orientation changed from being in service of Communist ideology, to managing relations and resources with transnational agents in the global book market.

Specific aspects of various translation flows have been in the center of attention in the wider Translation Studies community for the last two decades, for example, transfer from Scandinavian languages to Czech (Vimr 2006), or from Polish, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian and Romanian texts to French (Popa 2006, 2010), from Czech to Portuguese (Špirk 2009), translations into and out of Romanian (Tiron 2013), from ex-Yugoslavia to the UK (Pisac 2014), Dutch from Flanders to the transnational literary field (McMartin 2019), or from Dutch to Italian (Gentile 2023) to name a few. Various cultural aspects of the political transformation in Hungary have also been studied, for example, the changes of the book market (Zentai 1997), the privatization of the media, printing, and the book market (Bárány 1998, Valuch 2001). Regarding aspects of translation and ideology, various cases have been studied, for example, the transfer of science fiction in Hungary before and after 1989 (Sohár 1999, 2022), or the reception of English language authors in Hungary and Portugal during dictatorial regimes (Gombár 2011, 2013, 2018). Canadian books in Hungarian translation before 1987 have been surveyed (Kürtösi 1987), and the Central European Association for Canadian Studies (CEACS) has completed a *Translation Research Project* involving eight European countries (2019). In

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<sup>4</sup> While in 2000, 476 American titles were translated into Hungarian, by 2010 this number increased to 861 titles (KSH 2000-2010).

addition, certain cases, the reception of some Canadian authors in Central Europe has been studied (Sparling and Kürtösi 2019, Kovács 2019), but the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow has not been empirically studied in context of the political transformation.

The Canadian–Hungarian translation flow is a many-sided case, because Canada is an officially bilingual country that supports and publishes literary works in the English and French languages as well as in the languages of the Canadian minorities. Along with that, a number of indigenous languages (eg. Inuit) has also gained publishing space in Canada, so when we talk about the circulation of Canadian literature, we are referring to a diversity of languages, cultures being represented instead of a uniform national canon. Canada strengthened its cultural identity in the 1960s and 70s when translation was supported by the Canada Council for the Arts as part of the country’s international cultural diplomacy. Although merges and signs of globalization can be witnessed in the source country with the shrinking of McClelland, the so called “Canadian publisher” (Henighan 2002) and the advances of international conglomerates such as Penguin, the diversity of Canadian literature is still prominent if we compare it with the literary field of Hungary between 1945 and 1989 which have been heavily controlled and influenced by the literary production of the Communist countries and Communist ideologies. Thus, on the side of the source country, we can note a need for self-expression, on the side of the target country, a strict screening process until 1989, and after a change of regime a keen interest in Western literary products.

The main research question of the present study emerges out of a quantitative bibliographic dataset, the *Translation Research Project* of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies. On the frequency graph of translated Canadian books into Hungarian after 1989, varying periods of production can be seen. Thus, the research asks *how the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow was mediated by the contextual elements between 1989 and 2014?* Out of the research question, six hypotheses emerge informed by recent translation and social theories as well as that of neighbouring disciplines. These hypotheses are listed in the theoretical framework section and will be confirmed or rejected in the discussion section on the macro, the meso and the micro level influences affecting the translation flow. The starting date of the enquiry is a natural fault line (Chesterman and Williams 2002: 94), the year of legal changes in the series of political events in Hungary. The end of the period examined is 2014, also marked by a political milestone, that is, Hungarian national elections, thus the examined period is 25 years.

After the Introduction, chapter 2 offers an insight into the historical context of the translation flow. Changes in the publishing processes can be traced in light of the earlier practices, thus, the pre-1989 translation processes will be expanded upon. In chapter 3, the theories of the socio-historical approach will be surveyed and critiqued which allows six hypotheses to be formed. Chapter 4 presents the methods of data collection and analysis and highlights the importance of data triangulation in relation to socio-historical translation research. In chapter 5, the characteristics of the dataset will be scrutinized. To trace the publishers' practices, several datasets are triangulated, both the statistical data of the transfer, as well as publishers' interview data, and in-house and published reviews of professional readers. As the mediating elements of the translation flow are discussed with reference to macro, meso and micro levels, chapters 6, 7 and 8 analyse data of government support for translation, change in the publisher's practice for selection and framing after the 1989 political transformation, and individual case studies will be presented. These micro level case studies show that while patterns can be found, the path of each book is unique. The present thesis offers a new perspective on Canadian–Hungarian relations through aspects of translation that are relevant to policy makers, publishers, editors, writers and translators.

## 1.2. The researcher's position

From the point of view of a translator and cultural manager, I refer to translation in the broad sense (van Doorslaer 2018), not only as a linguistic transfer, but also as a practice that mediates between linguistic, cultural and social structures. As a researcher, I have participated in the compilation and updating of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies (CEACS) translation online database from 2018 up to present.<sup>5</sup> This involvement allows me to have an insight into the limitations and the characteristics of the dataset. The translations of original Hungarian source texts in the thesis were done by me and the original texts are provided in footnotes.

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<sup>5</sup> Websites and Databases 1.

## 2. Historical Background of the Translation Flow

Although the political transformation can be linked to specific events over the course of a year 1989–1990, the in-depth social change started earlier than that and lasted over several decades. In order to understand the cultural changes that took place in the aftermath of the 1989 political change, it is important to point out the main socio-political issues and events that influenced the translation of books preceding the change, that is during the Kádár regime.

Scholars distinguish between several periods in the Communist era. The Communist party in Hungary was established in October 1944 only a few months before the Soviet troops marched into Budapest in January 1945 to liberate the country from Nazi rule, and at the same time occupy the territory. In 1947, the so called “blue chits elections”<sup>6</sup> took place which helped the Communist party to gain power in the political scene (see eg. Kontler 2006). This event is often referred to as the beginning of the Communist era. From 1949, the presence of Soviet control resulted in a Stalinist political, cultural and economic setup, industrialization, mass production and nationalization of businesses, among others publishing houses. From that time on, Hungarian and foreign writers, who conveyed “dangerous” ideas, were banned. The books of hundreds of authors were pulped, taken off the shelves of book shops, or kept in the closed library sections that were available only for research purposes. Writers such as Sartre, Camus, Sienkiewicz, Dante, Dickens, Hemingway, and even the Grimm brothers’ fairy tales among many fell into that category (Horváth 2013: 82). The resistance against the Communist regime manifested in the Revolution of 1956 which were brutally suppressed in a few weeks by Soviet troops. The post-1956 period is named after János Kádár, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP), who on the one hand invited and oversaw the bloody curbing of the revolt, on the other hand, later negotiated a ‘softening’ of Soviet power from the 1960s on, and as a result, in certain areas more freedoms were granted (see Romsics 1999, Kontler 2006, Sohár 2022).

After 1946, the key actors in the extending of state control over literature in Hungary were the publishers (Czigány 1999: 30-44). Although there was not a designated censorship office, official censorship existed, translation and editing were often done by silenced writers and self-censorship was expected and present at all levels of publishing (Haraszti 1986, Czigányik 2010, 2011: 223-234, Schandl 2011: 263-270, Gombár 2011, 2018, Sohár 2022: 244-

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<sup>6</sup> See the Glossary of The Institute for the History of the 1956 Revolution  
[http://www.rev.hu/history\\_of\\_45/szerviz/kislex/kislexis\\_uk.htm#DPP](http://www.rev.hu/history_of_45/szerviz/kislex/kislexis_uk.htm#DPP)

248 among others). From 1957, the General Directorate of Publishers in Hungary (*Kiadói Főigazgatóság*), functioned under the (variously renamed) Ministry of Culture and under the surveillance of *Goskomisdat*, the Soviet Central Publishing Authority that was to ensure the spreading of Communist ideology. The Hungarian General Directorate of Publishers coordinated publishing in line with the political will dictated by the institutions of foreign and domestic policy, according to the principle of the ‘three Ps’ (Kontler 1999: 445), that is, cultural products were either promoted, or permitted, or prohibited (Czigány 1999, Bart 2002). Some aspects of this mechanism – one ‘P’ or the other – have been researched by literary historians in publications, pointing out either the ruthlessness of the system (e.g. Domokos 1996) or the fact that some “sensitive” books or theatre plays could still become public, although with a delay (e.g. Takács 2015: 137). Large, state-owned publishing houses were created and assigned to produce specific genres. The economic reform introduced in 1968 also impacted the sphere of culture. The reform “communicated with the actors of culture through regulations, prices, deductions, incentives, as well as premium conditions. However, it did not bring about a change in the general principles of cultural policy nor promise or induce the reform in this field.” (ibid. 138) Despite the subsidies given by the state in the early 1970s, through which prices of classics were deliberately kept low, publishers sought to produce books that were of interest and financially profitable to compensate for the increasing costs of publishing. While publishers had some choice to introduce books of interest, ideological control persisted up to the change of regime (e.g. Czigányik 2011). The introduction of cultural tax, also known as ‘trash tax’, was in principle levied on popular genres and those books that were depicting eroticism and violence. The popular genres were introduced after 1956 and were in high demand in spite of the trash tax, as a result of which the party used this income to cross-finance ideologically acceptable but unread books (Sohár 1999: 74-75, 2022: 248). It was far from clear, however, what the system meant by “violence” and “eroticism” and how the inspectors would categorize a work, so practically, it could fall into either the permitted, the prohibited or rarely the promoted categories. Sohár points out that from 1965 on, there was a growing interest in popular genres, including translated pulp fiction, detective stories and science fiction (Sohár 2022). This increasing leniency and “thawing” during the Kádár era can also be seen in the reviewing documents that assessed the marketability as well as the financial success of the books to be translated and were discussed in the publishers’ planning committees (Czigányik 2011: 225, Bart 2002:21).

The Hungarian General Directorate of Publishers was responsible for negotiating international contracts, executing the cultural-political decisions regarding import and export of books. It was overseeing, controlling, supporting the process, and functioned as a link between authors and the political will (Bart 2002: 18). The heads of publishing houses were chosen by the General Directorate of Publishers to ensure their ideological commitment. In the late 1960s there was a public debate whether culture was a commodity. Finally, the introduction of fixed price per sheet in 1968 decided this debate: “culture was not a commodity, it was politics” (Bart 2002: 35). Production was controlled by certain practices and procedures, and the aforementioned Hungarian General Directorate of Publishers negotiated with the publishers yearly about the planned amount of published material. Along with the negotiations and a requirement for formal approval, there was an allotted paper quota that the publishers could use. Additionally, the amount of foreign currency available for buying translation rights also had a cap.

The publication of classics was encouraged since it was exempt from the requirement of royalties and its content was more “reliable” compared to the recent literary works (Scholz 2009). The pricing of books depended on its genre, not on the cost of production. The books sold at the cheapest price were written by Hungarian authors. Slightly more expensive were Hungarian translations of Soviet writers. The next category was translations by other foreign writers, and the most expensive books were books written for entertainment purposes that is crime fiction, sci-fi or adventure stories. The print-run of these “entertaining” genres was high while the genres were considered popular culture or cultural “trash” (Bart 2002: 35-36). If an “inappropriate” book made its way through the labyrinth of the publishing process, there was personnel who checked the texts for ideological purposes both at the type setting and before the final printing phase. These practices, thus, functioned as a built-in screens in the international translation flow before 1989. Censorship in these final steps of publishing became explicit only when there was a scandal, that is, a book containing taboo topics was published, and subsequently withdrawn and pulped. Taboo topics were, for example, the 1956 revolution, the one-party system, any criticism of the Soviet Union, Communist countries, or Communism, Hungarians in the neighbouring countries, curse words, pornographic content, the horror genre, argot, or the word of censorship itself (see Bart 2002: 44-47, Czigányik 2011, Scholz 2011, Horváth 2013, Gombár 2018, Sohár 2022).

The predecessor of Európa Publishing House, the *Magyar-Szovjet Művelődési Társaság Kiadója* [Publishing House of the Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Society] was established

in 1945 by the Communist Party. It became the publisher of world literature under the name of *Új Magyar Könyvkiadó* [New Hungarian Publisher] in 1955 and continued as Európa Publishing House after 1957. The Political Committee of the Communist Party in 1957 stated that “[s]uch editors need to be brought up who will consistently critique the anti-Marxist initiatives<sup>7</sup>” (Vass-Ságvári 1973: 161 quoted by Bart 2005: 32). Also in 1957, György Aczél, at the time Deputy Minister of Culture, recommended the Political Committee to give priority in funding to Socialist-Realist art and literature, which was unanimously accepted. By the 1960s the mechanism of control was in place that set the official political resolutions into practice.

Regarding the selection tools available for publishers, reviewing and the reviewing document were one of the instruments of control built into the publishing process, which described the books considered for publishing from a professional and an ideological point of view. An official translation policy did not exist, but it took effect informally in the practice and process of publishing. The publishers asked both in-house and external reviewers with foreign language skills to review world literature. It was an activity that the publisher paid for. The 2-5 page long typed expert opinions had a set form and were often remarkable short essays or literary analyses, although the literary value of a book alone was not a decisive factor in the publisher's decision (Czigányik 2013: 17). Based on personal experiences and the reviewing documents of an editorial office, Mátyás Domokos, an editor and in-house reviewer of Szépirodalmi Publishing House between 1953 and 1991, in his book *Leletmentés* [Rescuing artifacts], describes the principles of extending an artificial, Socialist Realist control over Hungarian literature and the introduction of a literary policy controlled by party-state bureaucracy. Through the stories of a number of manuscripts, he describes the impossible struggle that the editorial staff had against an "invisible" censorship when they tried to publish certain pieces of literature in a way that was true to the original text, not altered, and printed in an appropriate edition and number of copies. Quoting writer Lajos Grendel, Domokos explains that the paradox of the reviewers' work was that “these professionals could at most be right but had hardly any power or influence; their job was to take a stand, but it was for others to decide whether their stand was correct or not” (Domokos 1996: 8). When speaking about one of the greatest Hungarian poets of the 20th century, János Pilinszky's volume of poetry, Domokos recalls:

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<sup>7</sup> “Neveljenek olyan szerkesztőket, akik következetesen bírálják a különböző antimarxista irányzatokat.”

[T]o those who have lived through the mechanisms of the publishing sector at that time, and are still willing to remember it, it does not need to be proven at length, because they know it with a jolt of their nerves, that these positive or negative opinions played no part in shaping the fate [...] of the manuscript. [...] The fate of the manuscript was decided on the Olympus of literary politics, where the other copy was weighed on scales that was not set to measure the level of poetic value (Domokos 1996: 92)<sup>8</sup>

The reviews thus had a double role in the publishing of Hungarian literature. On the one hand, the reviews written by renowned literary scholars and editors were the means of selection required by the state apparatus imposing itself on publishing, on the other hand, in some cases, the reviewers were in direct contact with Hungarian writers, poets, telling them about their acclaim and trying to smuggle some of the writings through the sealed frontier of the system.

In the case of world literature, the reviews followed a fixed form regarding the description of the book, which included the name of the author, the original title of the work, an approximate translation of the title, the length of the book in so called author's sheets (1 author's sheet=40,000 keystrokes), the name of the publisher, the year of publishing, a brief introduction of the author, a summary of the plot, a clear recommendation for publication or rejection, and the date of reviewing (Géher 1989: 10). The description provided an overview of the writer's biography, situated the work within the author's oeuvre, and was also supposed to point out the broader literary context, that is its international reception, which could pose a challenge in the Kádár era, since literary criticism in foreign languages was not accessible. Fourteen Canadian authors have been reviewed between 1968 and 2013 in Európa Publishing House, among them Northrop Frye, Leonard Cohen, Margaret Atwood, Alice Munro, Steven Leacock, Robertson Davies, and Douglas Coupland<sup>9</sup>. A total of 89 reviews were written for the publisher to aid the selection process.

Turning to the books in the translation flow from Canada to Hungary, we can state that prior to the political transformation, Canadian literature in Hungary was predominantly known

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<sup>8</sup> „Akik megélték az akkori idők kiadói mechanizmusának a működését, és még hajlandóak is emlékezni rá, azoknak nem kell hosszasan bizonygatnom, mert az idegzetük rezdülésével tudják, hogy ezek a lektori vélemények és ellenvélemények semmilyen szerepet nem játszottak a kézirat [...] sorsának az alakításában. [...] A kézirat sorsa az irodalmpolitika Olümposzán dőlt el, ahol a *másik* példányt helyezték arra a mérlegre, amelynek a nyelve nem a költői érték skálája szerint volt beállítva.”

<sup>9</sup> The reviewing documents are researched with the permission of Európa Publishing House. In agreement with Európa, the names of the reviewers are not public, thus the documents have been anonymized in the research. The names of the authors only appear if they have given their explicit consent.

as a source of adventure stories, YA literature, humor, and environmental fiction by authors such as Grey Owl, Stephen Leacock, and Farley Mowat. These books were printed in an exceedingly high print run. In the case of Grey Owl, over 190,000 copies were printed of the book *Két kicsi hód* in 1976 (original title: *The Adventures of Sajo and her Beaver People*) which show the popularity of the author in Hungary (Kürtösi 1987: Annex). The publishers had the opportunity to keep a close control through the selection process by allowing a small print run of 1,000 copies for “dangerous” books, however, such as the volumes of poetry of the aforementioned Pilinszky, who was marginalized in the 1960s and 1970s (Domokos 1996: 94). As a comparison, we can note the large print runs of Canadian adventure stories of Grey Owl (*Szürke Bagoly* in Hungarian), Louis Vaczek, or Farley Mowat<sup>10</sup> ranging from 25,000 to 81,000 copies or even higher (source: Kürtösi 1987: Annex).

Apart from YA adventure stories, Communist ideological content or a critique of the USA were also translated, for example, *Canada, the Communist Viewpoint* by Tim Buck (in Hungarian: *Kanada*, Budapest: Szikra<sup>11</sup>, 1950), in the foreword of which, a note of the Hungarian publisher openly states in-house censorship:

The author of this book is comrade Tim Buck, the leader of the Communist Party of Canada: the Labor-Progressive Party. With this book, he has given a Marxist-Leninist manual into the hands of the Canadian workers. Besides an analysis of the political and economic situation of Canada, he also deals with general world politics and the Marxist world view. For this reason, we deemed it necessary to leave out these general theoretical parts and some too detailed discussions from the

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<sup>10</sup> *A rejtély titka* by Stephen Leacock 41,000 copies (translated by János Aczél, Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1969), *A Hudson vándora* by Louis Vaczek 82,300 copies (translated by Antal Árkos, Móra, 1968), *Aranyláz Alaszkában* by Pierre Berton 20,000 copies (translated by István Terényi, Gondolat, 1974), *Két kicsi hód* by Grey Owl 83,000 copies for the first edition and 110,000 copies for the second edition (translated by Ervin Baktay, Móra, 1976), *A fehér hajnal* by James Houston 25,100 copies (translated by Katalin Dezsényi 1980), *Meg kell ölni a bálnát?* by Farley Mowat 83,000 copies (translated by Antal Árkos, Móra, 1982), *A sarkvidék Ribonsonjai* by Farley Mowat 75,000 copies (translated by Katalin Kohler, Móra 1984). Source: Kürtösi, 1987. As a comparison regarding what these numbers meant in terms of popularity, we can turn to Sohár (2022, 2025) who traced the effect of Science Fiction translations in Hungary. Regarding the popularity of the science fiction genre the Communist era, Sohár shows that between 1969 and 1978, the highest print run for the genre was up to 59.800 copies, but from the 1980s on, a growing popularity of the carefully selected genre can be noted in the printed copies that reached 185,000 (in the cases of Lucas, Glut, or Foster) (see 2022: 257). Due to the growing readership of the genre, “the Anglophone soft power through these translations reached a relatively large part of the population, particularly among the young and the educated” (2025: 124). When the number of printed SF books is compared with the several editions and high print runs of Canadian adventure stories, we can note the continuous popularity of the translated Canadian young adult books from the 1960s up to the change of regime.

<sup>11</sup> Publishing house of the Hungarian Communist Party between 1944–1956 (after 1956 renamed as Kossuth Publishing House).

Hungarian edition for an easier understanding. The publisher. (without page number)<sup>12</sup>

This quote confirms Bart who points out that “[t]he governing power exerted its agency over a significant part of the texts: some parts of the books were left out, some had to be rewritten, the films were re-edited, the volumes of poetry were sifted etc.”<sup>13</sup> (2002: 57). As the examples above show, from Canada, mostly stories depicting nature and adventures and books with Communist ideology passed through the screening of publishers.

At this intersection of policy making and academic contacts stands a key figure: Béla Köpeczi, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, cultural and literary historian, professor at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in Budapest, and deputy secretary general of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He had a network of contacts that were far reaching. He received his degree from Pázmány Péter Catholic University in 1946 and went on to study at the Sorbonne in Paris. After his return to Hungary, he became a literary editor, and in 1952 became a member of the Hungarian Working People’s Party (Magyar Dolgozók Pártja, MDP). In 1953 he was appointed the deputy head of the Hungarian General Directorate of Publishers, and from 1955 he was head of this institution. He taught cultural history at ELTE and remained active in shaping academic relations in the 1970s and 1980s. From 1982 to 1987 he was the Minister of Culture. He spoke excellent French and had a considerable influence on the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow.

Several Canadian literary scholars excelled in literary theory in the 1960s and 1970s, for example Marschal McLuhan, Northrop Frye or Linda Hutcheon, and a series of academic events can be noted which placed Canadian culture and literature in the forefront of academic life in Hungary even during the Communist era. At the 1973 International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA) Conference in Montreal and Ottawa, Béla Köpeczi was the Hungarian academic representative. Eva Kushner invited the Central European colleagues to her home after the conference, and this is where the idea first emerged to publish two volumes of Canadian poetry translated into Hungarian. Besides the Hungarian volumes, similar

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<sup>12</sup> „A könyv szerzője, Tim Buck elvtárs, a kanadai kommunisták pártjának a Haladó Munkáspártnak vezetője. Művével általános marxista-leninista kézikönyvet adott a kanadai munkások kezébe. A kanadai politikai és gazdasági helyzet elemzésén túl általánosságban is sokat foglalkozik a világpolitikai helyzettel, a marxista világnézettel. Éppen ezért szükségesnek tartottuk, hogy ezeket az általános elméleti részeket, valamint néhány túlságosan a részletekbe menő fejtegetést a könnyebb érthetőség céljából a magyar kiadásból kihagyjunk. A kiadó.”

<sup>13</sup> “A megjelent művek igen jelentős részén dolgozott a hatalom, a könyveket meghúzták, részben átírtatták; a filmeket újravágták; a versesköteteket megrostálták stb.”

publications also appeared in Czech since Kushner was born in Prague<sup>14</sup>. Indeed, a few years after that, an anthology of Quebecois poetry, titled *Ode to the St. Lawrence River*, was published by Európa in 1978, in which the foreword was written by Köpeczi and the afterword by Kushner, president of the International Comparative Literature Association between 1979 and 1982. In the foreword Köpeczi mentions that the idea of the translated volume of poetry came from an ICLA conference that took place in 1973 in Montreal and Ottawa. The cultural contacts of the following years were often advanced by Köpeczi. In 1982 he opened an exhibition presenting Canadian indigenous art at the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest. Since this exhibition was opened by an academic and high-level politician, all public printed media (even the regional newspapers) announced the dates of the Canadian indigenous art exhibition. In 1983, only one year later, the second poetry anthology came out that can be linked to the 1973 ICLA conference. The anthology was titled *Gótika a vadonban* [Wilderness Gothic. English-Canadian Poetry], edited by Steele James, published by Európa Publishing House, and the foreword was again written by Köpeczi. In 1984, the 16th Congress of the International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures (F.I.L.L.M.) took place in Budapest, which had several Canadian sectional panels, for example, modern Canadian fiction, Women in Canadian literature, and several Canadian participants attended the congress presenting on issues relating to Canada. The published anthology, the international congress, as well as the presence of the exhibition sheds light on the fact that even behind the iron curtain, there was cultural exchange, and the international conferences, such as ILCA, served as meeting places for academics. The 161 speakers came from all over the world, the majority from Western countries including Australia, Japan, Canada, the USA, Ireland, Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, France, UK, Austria, Spain, also, Tasmania, Singapore, and Egypt among others. From Israel, for example, Itamar Even-Zohar renowned translation scholar participated. Based on the congress booklet, there was an insignificant number of representatives from the neighbouring countries. Only one presenter arrived from Poland, three presenters came from Ukraine (one speaking on novels from the Soviet 'lands', the other speaking on Udmurt-English literary relations, and the third presenting on Austrian literature in German). Only one participant came from the USSR, who spoke about 16th-18th century French literature in French. Among the 91 section chairs, based on their affiliation, there were a large number of Hungarian academics or researchers coming from Western European, American or African countries. There three sections were headed by delegates from Communist countries: one

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<sup>14</sup> Katalin Kürtösi email communication, 18 October 2024.

section chair arrived from Poland, one from Ukraine, and one from the USSR. The topics focused on the concept of change in literary criticism, genre questions, historical perspectives, and regarding the participants at the academic event, the Western colleagues were clearly in majority at the 1984 Budapest congress.

Miklós M. Nagy, literary translator, editor, former director of Európa recalled that in the early 1980s, the goal of that publisher was to give a general overview of world literature. Although Európa focused on languages and cultures on the periphery, the number of translated titles was low before the political transformation. Except for the large print runs of adventure stories, there was a low representation of other genres. Apart from the already mentioned anthology of Quebecois poetry (1978), between 1949 and 1988, in a period of 39 years, only 30 titles were translated from the English Canadian literary field. As I show in Chapter 8.1 regarding Margaret Atwood, Európa closely followed Atwood's literary work since they ordered reviews of nine books by Atwood between 1974 and 1990, yet only one book from Atwood was translated, *Surfacing* (in Hungarian *Fellélegzés*) in 1981.

Although the publishers were more conservative in their selection, the interest of the Hungarian academics turned towards Canadian literary scholarship in the 1980s already: Hungarian scholars published on various topics of Canadian literature, did literary translations, or translated studies by Canadian scholars, and also gave an account of academic events, such as the Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association (AILC) in 1983 and a pre-congress conference in Montreal (see Mihály Szegedy-Maszák in *Helikon* 1983: 5-7). In 1988, a special issue was devoted by the same literary journal to Canadian literatures with Béla Köpeczi acting both on the editorial board and as chief editor. This *Helikon* special issue included translations of Canadian scholars such as David Staines (trans. Anna Jakabfi), Northrop Frye (trans. Tibor Fabinyi, Katalin Kürtösi), and papers on both Anglophone and Francophone literature by – among others – Anna Jakabfi (1988), György Bisztrai (1988) and Katalin Kürtösi (1988a, 1988b, 1988c). The compilation of the studies was done by Kürtösi and Stéphane Sarkany.

The political transformation of 1989 in Hungary set the publishers – key agents of translation flows – on new grounds in terms of ownership status, operational structure, financial background, goals and processes. The process of a democratic restructuring allowed for a surge in the number of newly established publishing houses starting already a few years prior to the political agreements. “In 1987, there were 25 registered publishing houses in the country, in

1989 the number was 300, in 1993 it was around 1,300” (Bárány 1998: 201). This sudden explosion and liberation of the publishing business is not unique to Hungary, it was witnessed in many Central European countries (cf. Garton Ash et al., 1995: 99-174). In the survey of Hungarian publishing in 1994, Richard Davy points out that the lack of finances created a problem on many sides. Due to low income, the Hungarian intelligentsia could no longer buy books while language was an important factor in keeping national identity. Publishers were also struggling since support had stopped and prices had risen to Western levels. The slow process of payments after production also put publishers in jeopardy who often did not have sufficient capital (1995: 127). Apart from the financial aspects, Davy highlights the lack of reliable information as well on what books are available. He also points to the insufficient regulation, quoting one of his interviewees who describe the situation as “[c]apitalism is still in its early, rough stage in Hungary” (ibid. 127). By 1995 there were approximately 2,000 publishers, which number was halved after 1995 due to dire financial circumstances and difficulties in the distribution sector (Sohár 1999: 40-41). Laki shows the phases and ripples of change in the publishing industry in Hungary, touching upon both the technological change and the restructuring of ownership of the publishing houses (2008) and the economic aspects of the change have also been in the focus of researchers (e.g. Orzóy 2010, Lux-Horváth 2018). Overall, the statistics about the Hungarian book market show an increasing turnover between 1997 and 2006 according to the Hungarian Publishers and Booksellers Association published in business weekly:

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>BILLION HUF</b>
<b>1997</b>	24.4
<b>1998</b>	30
<b>1999</b>	33.5
<b>2000</b>	38.6
<b>2001</b>	45.7
<b>2002</b>	53.6
<b>2003</b>	56.9
<b>2004</b>	58.2
<b>2005</b>	62.7
<b>2006</b>	65.5

Table 1. Annual turnover of the Hungarian book market. Source: Hungarian Publishers and Booksellers Association, *Világgazdaság* [World economy newspaper], April 2007, Issue 71.

In the new legal framework after 1989, new institutions, new key players entered into the global context and new channels of communication were set up through which new practices were acquired. Not everything changed, however. Some aspects of the field remained the same. Several key players of publishing continued their work in the field, only their place and position in the structure changed. Moving from a state-owned institution, publishers continued their work in a privatized setting where the business now belonged to them. This structural change forced the publishers to adapt and develop their habitus in a direction so that they would meet the economic challenges. Stark suggests that instead of ‘transition’ which contains a teleological concept of a definite outcome, we ought to analyze ‘transformations’ “in which the introduction of new elements most typically combines with adaptations, rearrangements, permutations, and reconfigurations of existing organizational forms” (1992: 300). This is certainly true regarding the Hungarian literary field which went through a dynamic structural change in 1989, and where the publishers adapted quickly to the globalizing book market.

In the field of academia, a continued interest can be noted towards Canadian literature after 1989 as well. The political transformation did not affect this involvement, and the literary journals kept providing an outlet for publications. In 1999 a special issue on Quebec literature was published by *Magyar Napló* [Hungarian Diary] – the literary monthly journal of the Hungarian Writers’ Union – featuring an overview by Éva Martonyi, and a selection of literary pieces including Paul Chamberland (trans. Éva Martonyi), and Monique Proulx (trans. János Lackfi). A few years later, the 2003 issue of *Nagyvilág* literary journal offered a selection of Canadian prose and poetry in Hungarian (including a short story by Richler and Gallant and several poems by Atwood). The compilation was done by Hungarian poets András Imreh and János Lackfi. In 2009, *Magyar Napló* published again Canadian fiction and non-fiction in Hungarian: Canadian short stories (translated for example by Éva Martonyi, Árpád Vígh and Katalin Kürtösi), as well as Raporich and Seiler’s essay on multiculturalism and the arts (trans. Katalin Kürtösi). More recently, Canadian literature became better represented in *Tiszatáj* literary journal which devoted two special issues to Canadian literature (in 2018 and 2021) with special attention to Alice Munro, Leonard Cohen and Margaret Atwood, presenting the research of Hungarian scholars (among others Benczik 2021, Sággy 2021, Kürtösi 2018, 2021). It is worth noting that although a small number of Canadian Studies Scholars have been involved in the introduction and translation of Canadian literature in Hungary, yet, their impact has been significant in terms of affecting the publishing field (see chapter 7.3).

Before the collected data on the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow is examined, in the next chapter, the theoretical framework of the research will be explored.

### 3. Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

Until the mid-twentieth century, translations were mostly studied at a textual level, but with the disciplinary advancement and the so called ‘turns’ within Translation Studies, various perspectives and methods have been integrated to examine translational phenomena at a meso and macro level as well. Instead of comparing translated texts, the concept of transfer has allowed for a wider contextual study based on empirical data. For this interdisciplinary study, the sociology of culture, historical research and Translation Studies provide theoretical concepts to examine change, temporality, eventfulness, the nature of transfer, and the relationship between source and target.

#### 3.1. The emerging of a socio-historical approach within TS

The socio-cultural aspects of translation have been one of the research areas of Translation Studies since its institutional founding in the early 1970s. James Holmes placed product oriented diachronic research as part of the branch of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), an area that he describes as translation’s “function in the socio-cultural situation: [...] contexts rather than texts” (1988/1972: 72). Along the same thought, Gideon Toury shifted the focus in the 1980s from the source to the target, referred to translations as the “facts of the target cultures” (2012: 23) and also emphasized the study of the context. The young discipline experienced several ‘turns’ due to the proximity of other disciplines, such as comparative literature, linguistics, cognitive sciences, cultural studies and the social sciences, sociology and anthropology. The ‘cultural turn’ of the 1980s in Translation Studies (Bassnett 1980, Snell-Hornby 1988) revealed the cultural and social embeddedness of the linguistic transfer, while in the 1990s the focus further shifted and was placed on the social aspects of the transfer (see Even-Zohar 1990, 1997, Lefevere 1992, Toury 1995, Hermans 1997, 1999, Gouanvic, 1999, Angelelli 2014, van de Pol-Tegge 2023).

The year 2007 marks a milestone in the evolving of the sociological perspective with Benjamins publishing *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (eds. Wolf and Fukari). Editor Michaela Wolf points out that existing research could be associated with three main areas: the sociology of agents, the translation process and the translation product, noting that in order to develop these overlapping fields, “we need, first and foremost, to refine our methodologies” (2007: 31). This seminal publication which incorporates essays from both translation scholars and sociologists, encourages multiple directions for further research to draw on methods of

sociology, anthropology, history as well as literary and cultural studies. Simeoni in his contribution to the same volume underlines the need for a historical perspective in the sociology of translation. He emphasizes the relevance of the micro-contextual level and expresses a need for a method that does not aim to zoom in on a single interpretation but rather offers open-ended, simultaneously possible interpretations (ibid. 195). He suggests that both survey and agent-based approaches should be used, but does not elaborate on the methodological aspects of socio-historical analysis. After the publication of the seminal volume, the temporal aspects of translation were mostly studied by researchers of translation history, investigating issues concerning historical data, historiography and metahistoriography (Pym 1998/2014, D'hulst 2010, Bastin and Bandia 2014 among others). Translation Studies put translation as a practice embedded in social contexts in its focus from the 1990s on and recognized that translation was specific to historical time and social context. In 1992, Anthony Pym called for a type of research in translation history that focuses on the “purposeful directionality” of agents and points out that “translation practices should [...] be seen as pertinent to transfer acts carried out in terms of synchronic intercultural regimes” (2010/1992: 154), using the term “regime” according to Keohane and Nye, as a “set of governing arrangements organizing relations of interdependence” (1977: 19).

Leading sociologists have used the multi-level field approach to study translation (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007, Sapiro 2008, van Es and Heilbron 2015). Sapiro invites research on the macro, meso and micro levels, where the center-periphery relations in the global translation system are examined determining the direction of the flow, at the meso level, the functioning of the target system and the publishers’ strategies are studied, and on the micro level, the role of agents in the process of selection, framing and the gatekeeping practices, aspects of reception are examined. Regarding the interrelatedness of translation and the field of publishing, Sapiro concludes (2008):

The relevance for translation studies of Bourdieu’s approach to the field of publishing is demonstrated at the macro, mezzo and micro levels. At the macro level, it can be combined with the core-periphery model to understand not only the flows of translation from one language to another but also the kind of works translated (genres or categories, commercial versus upmarket) according to the economic, political and cultural power relations between countries or linguistic communities. At the mezzo level, publishers’ strategies can be analyzed in the light of the relevant field (national or international markets like the francophone,

anglophone, germanophone) and of their elective affinities based on the homology between different national or linguistic publishing fields. Comparing lists and series, along with evidence from archives, offers an empirical basis for analyzing these strategies. Finally, at the micro level, the process of selecting and translating one particular book or the work of a single author can be carefully investigated, while taking into account the constraints imposed on the translator by the publisher and the specific stakes (economic, political and/or cultural) that determine its importation and reception. (163-164)

As the present study also confirms, these three levels are closely linked in the translation flow through the key gatekeeper: the publisher who has the most impact on the selection, production and reception of translations. The next subchapter will introduce specific theoretical concepts that the present research relates to, and out of each concept, a hypothesis emerges that will be examined in the discussion section.

### 3.2. Macro-level influences affecting the literary translation flow

While French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's field theory has been criticized for its focus mostly on the local culture and lacking a connection between the micro- and the macro-levels of enquiry (Fabiani 2021), his concepts such as scales of production, prestige (symbolic capital), the role of political power over the cultural field, agents motivating the transfer etc. can still provide part of the theoretical lens through which some aspects of the flow may be observed.

Bourdieu constructs his research object that is the French cultural field in his essay titled *The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed* (1993 [1983]) in which he places the literary field in the larger fields of economy and power. The agents of the field interact either to conserve or to change the field. One of the key aspects of the field according to Bourdieu is struggle and position takings. He says:

The state of the power relations in this struggle depends on the overall degree of autonomy possessed by the field, that is the extent to which it manages to impose its own norms and sanctions on the whole set of producers, including those who are closest to the dominant pole of the field of power and therefore most responsive to external demands (i.e. the most heteronomous); this degree of autonomy varies considerably from one period and one national tradition to another, and affects the whole structure of the field (40).

As early as in 1983, he differentiates between ‘restricted production’ and ‘large-scale’ production and two economies in the cultural markets. “The structure of the field of cultural production is based on two fundamental and quite different oppositions: first, the opposition between the sub-field of restricted production and the sub-field of large-scale production, i.e. between two economies, two timescales, two audiences” (1993 [1983]: 53).

Later in *Rules of Art* (1996), he develops his field theory, and based on the case of Flaubert in the 19th century, he explains a symbolic revolution that literature brought about in French society. He points out the process how a piece of art is positioned and explores the rules of art management. In this economy of ‘pure art,’ agents of cultural production accumulate symbolic capital, take various positions in the field, interact with each other according to the norms of society, that is, the doxa of the field, as well as their dispositions and interests. He notes the double nature of a literary product, a book, meaning that it is subject to the rules of the market but also belongs to the inversed economy of art. He postulates that books are both commodities and meaning-making symbolic objects. He states that the production and circulation of cultural goods operate within a structure along the rules of the market as well as according to an inverse logic. Bourdieu suggests on the one hand that “[t]he literary world is so ordered that those who enter it have an interest in disinterestedness” (1996: 40), that is they deal with literature for purely the sake of art, on the other hand, he also emphasises that there are also presuppositions and interests that heavily influence the markets and the circulation of books. Bourdieu argues that the literary field strives for autonomy, which predominantly means economic stability to be able to choose any literary piece for production may it be in the long or short seller category.

Bourdieu points out that short sellers have quick financial returns on them, while long sellers are in the backlist of a publisher. He says “at the [large scale] pole, there is the ‘economic’ logic of the literary and artistic industries which, since they make the trade in cultural goods just another trade, confer priority on distribution, on immediate and temporary success, measured by the pint run, and which are content to adjust themselves to the pre-existing demand of a clientèle” (Bourdieu 1996: 142). This ‘large scale’ pole of the publishing spectrum Bourdieu refers to is characterized by bestsellers, increasing commercialization, short term financial returns that involve low level of risk, commercial interests, large corporations with extensive retail chains. On the other end, the small-scale production can be found at the so-called autonomous pole. This end of the market feeds on favourable reviews, literary recognition, the books are selected based on intellectual criteria. Small publishers tend to work

together at the small-scale pole and fill a specific niche. These investments carry high level of risk and these books are often sold by independent book shops. Publishers depending on their portfolio, may decide to transfer books at the large-scale pole of production but often balance their activity with financing translations that are produced at the small-scale pole of the spectrum. As we will see in the discussion of the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, Bourdieu's concept of small-scale and large-scale production is often not clear cut because these two poles might “co-exist in big publishing houses and even in large conglomerates but are located in different series or imprints” (Sapiro 2016: 145). The large-scale production often finances the economically risky literary translations.

### 3.3. Symbolic capital

Bourdieu differentiates between five types of capital, that is economic, cultural, social, academic and symbolic. He defines symbolic capital as “a kind of ‘economic capital’ denied but recognized and hence legitimated – a veritable credit, and capable of assuring, under certain conditions and in the long term, ‘economic’ profits” (1991, 1996: 142). He also points out that symbolic capital is “a credit, it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognitions to be in a position to impose recognition” (1990: 138). Critics thus have a key function in the literary field as their opinion can later convert to other forms of capital. The name of the critic might also inform the reader about the position of the product in the field. Due to this positioning, a certain audience will be targeted with the literary product. When a new cultural product is introduced to the literary field, the earlier products and producers, that line up according to their acceptance and a hierarchy they take, will be relegated to the background while the new product takes preeminence linked with multimedial representations and social media.

Bourdieu turned towards the problem of transferred texts and translation at the end of his life. The prestige that a translated literary piece carries is specific to its genre, historic contexts and accumulates it from both source and target culture. This prestige is granted by ‘consecrators’ that may be a publisher, critics, literary agents etc. (1996), in the case of a translation flow, translators as well. Although the texts may benefit from the prestige of the writer, from the position of the source text in its literary field and in the transnational literary field, the translator also “intervenes as an agent who confers on the author and on the work a quantity of capital by submitting it to the logic of a target literary field, and to mechanisms of recognition” (Gouanvic 2005: 152). Regarding translations, Bourdieu points out that “texts

travel without their context, they do not carry along their field of production” meaning that the prestige that a literary work carries will not necessarily cross border when translated (2002: 4). In a paper that originally appeared in 1999 in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* and published in English posthumously in *Translation Studies* in 2008, Bourdieu focuses on the issues of the publishing field. He highlights the importance of small publishers in discovering new literary voices (2008: 151) who defend the autonomous position of literature and resist financial pressures by publishing works that carry literary value not merely bestsellers that provide great profits. He claims that by publishing translations, the risks can be actually lower, since the selected works have already achieved success in their source country (147). Bourdieu also notes the appearance of literary agents who select books, represent authors and publishers and propel the business forward by pitching the appropriate information to publishers (150). In his late papers, he considers the role of agents in publishing, including the role of the translator to suggest works for publishing, and connects the concepts of capital, competition, prestige, distinction to the publishing field, but his research focuses on the French market and does not consider cultural and historical differences that the transfer of books may entail.

### **The critique of symbolic capital**

Although Bourdieu’s contribution is undoubted in the social sciences, several scholars point out that he does not resolve the tension between structure and agency and not being a historical sociologist, he does not account for the changes taking place in the field either. Fabiani points out that Bourdieu puts struggle and competition “at the heart of history” (2021: 17), but does not give us explanation whether this ‘field’ is a unique or “archetypal and universal form” (11). Fabiani agrees that struggle undoubtedly exists in the field but draws attention to the fact that there are “numerous situations of cooperation and association that organize collective life” (2021: 17). He sees one of the main discrepancies in Bourdieu’s field theory in the fact that he “does not allow us to view the articulation between hyper micro-level and hyper macro-level, although their interplay is the driving force of emergences, stabilizations and decompositions” (33). Toward the end of his life, Bourdieu called for the study of institutional mechanisms of the publisher, the micro level decisions that depend on the global structure of the field but does not specify how the micro and macro levels can be connected (2008). Bourdieu deals with capital, Fabiani says, but not with capitalism. Regarding the types of capital, Fabiani reminds us that Bourdieu creates various capitals, but their rate of interchange remains quite vague. The non-material value that goods carry can also be referred to simply as prestige which covers the meaning of symbolic capital.

Several researchers point out that Bourdieu only briefly mentions the global economic field and the transnational circulation of ideas at the end of his life. Go and Krause (2016) propose an ‘extension’ to Bourdieu’s field and point out that in the classical world systems theory, change does not happen, or the system oscillates between hegemonic and competitive periods (18). Although Bourdieu uses the concept of ‘hysteresis’ that is a change of habitus in case of an external disruption, he does not integrate hysteresis with the global cultural field. In the edited volume of Go and Krause titled *Fielding Transnationalism* (2016), Buchholz differentiates between vertical and horizontal autonomy. Horizontal autonomy refers to process of the emerging French literary field as Bourdieu describes it, while vertical autonomy is an extension, a “proliferation” of the social field. In the discussion on the national and transnational field, Sapiro points out that the national level is still relevant for historical reasons:

If the nation states are still major agents in this market, it has become more autonomous from their control and they now have to adapt to its rules. Though still having their specific ways of functioning, due to their own history, the national book markets are increasingly embedded in the international book market, which mediates between the globalization process and the changes in national publishing markets. (Sapiro 2008: 159)

Regarding the field of translation, both the national and the transnational and global aspects are relevant, since the agents who mediate the transfer, sell rights to regions and continents and participate in events such as the Frankfurt Book Fair, which takes place in Germany but involves the publishing agents of the whole world.

Bourdieu’s field theory is also critiqued because he puts the French literary field in the centre which functions according to rules of a free market. As shown, in Communist Hungary, books were not treated as commodities, but as carriers of ideological values and the predominant and prescribed role of the agents functioning in this context was to preserve, maintain, indoctrinate, rather than compete or achieve financial success. Bourdieu’s presupposition that the national literary field is placed in the larger context of power and economy holds, but the economic, financial pressures were lifted for a while in Hungary by the political party. Also, the small and large-scale pole of cultural production is relative to the size of the national market. A conglomerate that counts as large-scale production in Hungary may be relatively small for example in Canada. In the line of Bourdieu’s field theory, the center-periphery model of de Swaan and Heilbron and the accumulated symbolic capital concept of

Casanova leads us towards the hermeneutic aspects of cultural transfer. Let us look at these concepts in this order.

Heilbron (1999), based on de Swaan's model of an emergent world language system (1993), presents a structural analysis of translation flows. Heilbron posits that the transnational cultural exchange is not merely a reflection of the structural contradictions in the world economy (1999: 432), as leading proponents of world-systems theory have maintained (for example Wallerstein 1991), but it functions according to a more autonomous dynamic. Heilbron emphasises that although the transnational cultural exchanges are closely linked to global economic structures, they take place in a relatively autonomous sphere, "an international arena with economic, political and symbolic dimensions" (1999: 432). His structural analysis of translation flows examines the connection between languages rather than nation states. He shows that central languages have a "supranational character" (432). While he acknowledges the unreliability of Index Translationum of UNESCO, he suggests that the data can be used to indicate structural imbalances. Based on his research, English takes a hyper-central role, French, German and Russian a central role, Spanish, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Polish and Czech a semi-peripheral role, and those languages that take less than 1% of the international translation system, would fall into the category of peripheral languages, although, as he recognizes, the differences between semi-peripheral and peripheral languages are rather gradual, since large groups of speakers might belong to this latter group, such as Chinese, Arabic and Portuguese. Heilbron states that the position of languages also depends on the political power of a regime, and gives the example of Russian, the centrality of which decreased after 1989. In the case of Hungary, the number of translated titles from Russian certainly reflect the global political and economic changes. Up until 1970s, more titles were translated from Russian than from English, this ratio changed, however, in 1977. The number of translated titles from English slowly started to rise, and in 1977 there were already five more translated titles from English than from Russian. At the same time translated books from Russian kept decreasing until 1984 when there was a sudden increase, translations from English doubled (Bart 2002: 128). Heilbron's claim, that transnational cultural exchanges are dependent upon the economic as well as cultural and political relations is confirmed by the Hungarian data.

Translation flows have specific characteristics depending on their moving between centres or between peripheries. Translations move more easily from the centre to the periphery, and as a consequence, these exchanges are unequal. In the other direction, translations from a peripheral language (such as Dutch) may start if writers are internationally praised, financial

support is available, literary prizes are granted, then books are translated into the central German language and can appear in the Frankfurt Book Fair with a recognized publisher.<sup>15</sup> Heilbron points out that “[i]nternational cultural centers are not only interested in the diffusion of their own good, they also have a vested interest in the transit trade and the benefits this offers. Symbolic and economic transit profits are an essential component of the working of the international cultural system” (1999: 437). Heilbron also posits that centrality correlates with variety. “The more central a language is in the international translation system, the more types of books are translated from this language” (ibid.). In the case of Canada, the translation flow contains a wide variety: the books translated range from romantic fiction through crime stories and internationally acclaimed literature to children’s fiction.

Hungarian is considered to be a language of lesser diffusion with approximately 13 million speakers (*Ethnologue* 2023)<sup>16</sup>, and the export of Hungarian books falls on the periphery of the global cultural production (Heilbron 1999). Even though Hungarian literature has a long history, due to the lack of translation, only few Hungarian masterpieces are part of the world literary canon (Orzóy 2010). Canada’s cultural production as a comparison was emerging from the 1970s on, and the country is officially bilingual with a hyper-central English and a central French language, which is a great potential for its literary output. Canada’s English and French literary production, however, can be considered to be on the periphery of the respective cultural markets because it is very much linked to the international publishing centers, the United States, the UK, and France. Hungarian is a language of limited diffusion, peripheral in the world system of languages and cultural production. This uneven literary exchange is contingent on inequalities in power relations between languages as well as cultural markets (Casanova 2004). Thus, it is worth examining the circulation of Canadian literature through case studies, as cases might reveal varying processes, and shed light on the importance of other factors besides the centrality of languages in the world language system.

Pascale Casanova says that the international literary exchanges depend on the structure of the world literary field and on the literary capital that a specific nation holds. These exchanges are often unequal, and the agents of the flow are quick to gain capital by translating, ‘diverting’ capital in the struggle for autonomy of the national field (Casanova 2021: 411). Casanova – based on Bourdieu – explains that national literary fields struggling for an

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<sup>15</sup> Translation flows between peripheral languages take varying paths, sometimes involving indirect translation (see Pieta 2013).

<sup>16</sup> See *Ethnologue* 2023 in which Hungary is listed as the 99th spoken language in the world with 12.6 million speakers. Websites and Databases 2.

autonomous position aim to bridge the time gap between the publication of source text and target text. “In these situations of specific ‘delay,’ translation is the only means of making up literary time. In other words, it is an instrument of ‘temporal acceleration’: translation allows the whole of a national field which is temporally very distant from the literary centers, to enter into the world literary competition by revealing the state of (aesthetic) struggles at the literary meridian” (Casanova, 2021: 415). In the reshaped literary field in Hungary after 1989, the publishers had the freedom to select the texts for translation, but, as we see in the case of Alice Munro’s books, while trying to ‘make up literary time’ by publishing translations from the literary centers, they had to renegotiate their position in the national field and adopt to the dynamics of a global book market. Casanova also talks about the dependent nature of young literary fields. This would apply to Canada, as its literary production picked up from the 1960s. In Canada’s case, we can see that its literary field was in need of translation out of English and French for the dissemination of Canadian culture and differentiating itself from the more autonomous English and American markets.

Sapiro (2010) points out based on Crane (2002) that globalization in the cultural realm has been studied through several models, that is, through world-systems, network flows analysis, the reception approach, and cultural policy strategies. Each model emphasizes a different aspect of globalization, such as its homogenizing effect, hybridization, appropriation, negotiation or competition (Tomlinson 1991, Appadurai 1996, Hannerz 1996, Regev 2007). This spread of research over disciplines shows that the same phenomenon has been found of interest within different research traditions and has been studied with different methods. Translation flows can be also conceptualized as an integral aspect of cultural globalization.

Based on the socio-historical theories, the following two hypotheses focus on the macro level dynamics. All hypotheses, raised in relation to the theoretical framework in chapter 3, will be expanded on in the consequent chapters, being either confirmed or disproved.

**Hypothesis 1:** In the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, the path of translated literature will vary depending on the language of the original publication, English or French (Macro level).

**Hypothesis 2:** The translation initiative of the Canadian cultural diplomacy will impact the publishers’ decision to transfer books during the examined period (Macro level).

### 3.4. Hermeneutic approach

Jijon is one of the few sociologists who have engaged with the theoretical concepts of Translation Studies in the recent years. Building on recent sociological theories of cultural production (Sapiro 2008, 2015), Jijon presents a hermeneutic approach to translation (2019) which interprets the global diffusion of culture and the meaning-making activity of intermediaries in the mediation process. She points out that research on the global diffusion of culture has currently taken an “instrumental approach” when it talks about cultural transfer in both “top down” quantitative studies or “bottom up” perspectives that focus on individual cases.

Jijon says that although recent sociological research that has studied the “who,” “where,” “what,” and “how,” they looked at these aspects with a concept of transfer that Venuti calls the “instrumental approach to translation” and did not consider the multiple meanings that occur within cultural dissemination. Jijon surveys recent research on globalization which has focused on the agents of the cultural transfer acting in the role of experts, advisers, diplomats, guides, refugees, who are ‘cultural brokers’ mediating, organizing, promoting, adjusting information in the transfer (Jijon 2019: 144-145). These studies, says Jijon, mainly focused on the agents who connect source and target, but did not consider the mediators’ dual role, their cultural “loyalties,” something that Translation Studies has called attention to (see Meylaerts et al. 2017, Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2019). Empirical work has been done on the “where” aspect of global circulation of culture as well, that is, various institutions and their positions in social structures, but these studies did not examine how the work of the mediators is shaped by the imagination of the place they are working in. Also, research has been done on the “form” of cultural transfer how images and narratives are abstracted and standardized, but these studies do not expand on the work of agents filling these abstract forms with locally identifiable meaning (Jijon 2019: 145). Also, cultural products do not “travel alone.” Referencing Levitt and Merry (2009), Rajaram and Zararia (2009), and Tsing (2005), Jijon underlines that culture moves in “packages,” “bundles,” or “assamblages” which refers to a set of expectations, prestige or associations linked to the cultural products. “When local actors adopt one piece of culture, they often adopt several related pieces: they must unpack the package, unbundle the bundle, and then put it back together” (2019: 145). In case of a literary transfer, other forms of artistic activity or social activism of the author, multimedia adaptations such as ballet or film are part of the “bundle” that the title travels with. Finally, several researchers have also asked about the “how” aspect of global transfer and have examined various strategies. Jijon surveys

studies that deal with how actors select from global bundles what to present locally, how actors frame and graft global culture to make it understandable in a local environment. These actions might also involve simplification, compartmentalization, reordering and reconstruction (see Rajaram and Zararia 2009).

Jijon wishes to build an interdisciplinary dialogue between sociology and Translation Studies by suggesting a ‘hermeneutic approach.’ She argues that this term – first used by Venuti for text level enquiries in 2010 (6) – opens up a new perspective on the global diffusion of culture so we can peek into the ‘black box’ of cultural transfer. In the following two figures, Jijon explains the difference between an instrumental and a hermeneutic approach to cultural translation:

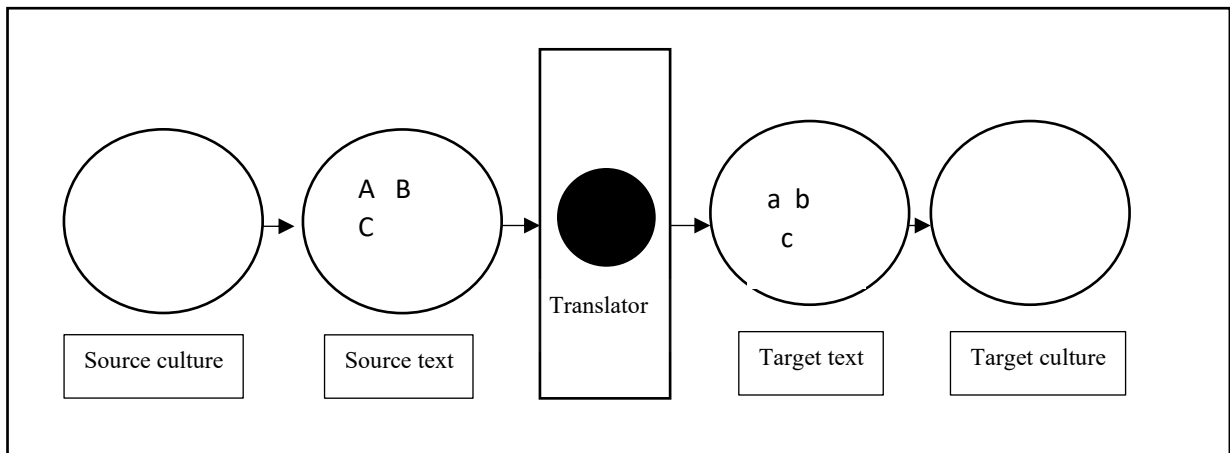


Figure 1. The instrumental model of translation. Source: Jijon 2019.

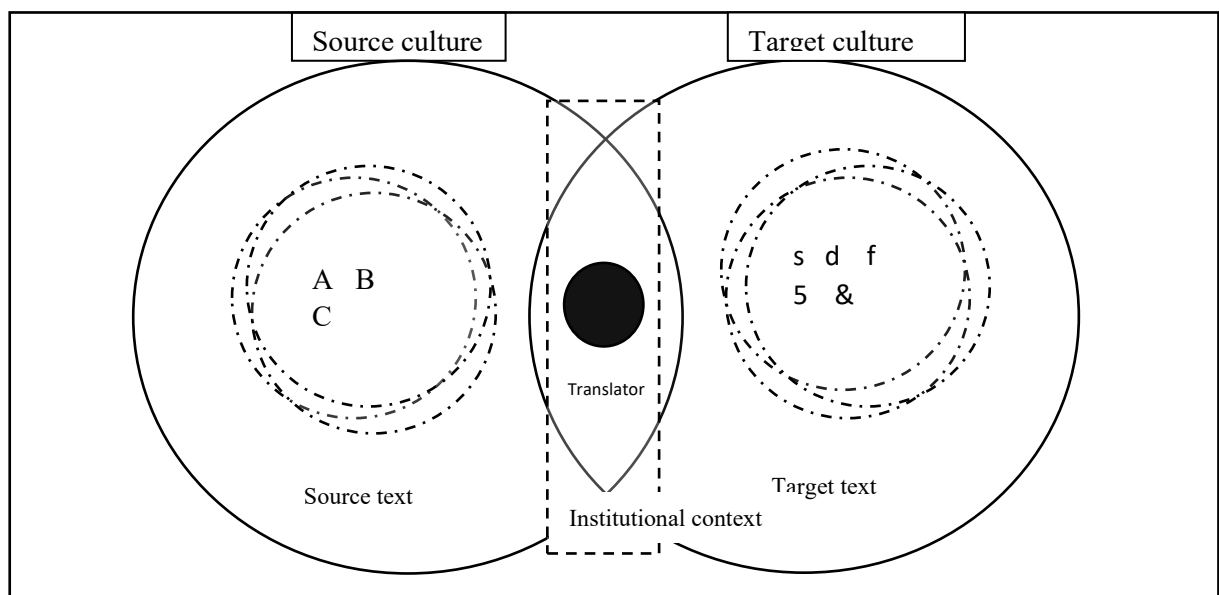


Figure 2. Hermeneutic model of translation. Source: Jijon 2019.

As shown in Figure 1, according to Jijon, the instrumental approach assumes that culture is an entity with a single meaning, transferred and recreated in the target culture. Most of “bottom up” research simply forgets that global and local culture must be first interpreted by agents who are not only affected by but actively shaping the cultural sphere they are located in. The hermeneutic model of translation, however, “recognizes that a text can always be read in many different ways and meaning is always ‘variable, subject to inevitable transformation during the translating process’” (Jijon 2019: 147). Jijon emphasises that translation is not “just” reproduction. In the hermeneutic approach, questions such as how translators/cultural brokers imagine their dual ‘traitor’ role, how agents imagine the world, that is the broader representations of place, how translators/cultural brokers deal with intra- and intertextuality and finally how audiences “imagine the foreign Other” also become relevant when discussing the meaning-making activity of cultural agents. It is worth noting, however, that the hermeneutic view of translation is not a new concept. Friedrich Schleiermacher scholar, theologian, philosopher in the 18th century already differentiated between the act of translation (Übersetzung) and interpretation (Dolmetschung), and the methods of textual transfer (sense for sense, word for word, imitation, paraphrase etc.) in which the agent of translation or interpretation need to make conscious decisions to recreate or ‘give birth’ to the original text in the target language (Schleiermacher 1992).

In the hermeneutic approach, in the transfer of books, mediating a process between the source and target culture, the publisher’s role in the literary field is hermeneutic rather than merely instrumental. The publisher, who is set in a specific socio-political context, ‘translates’ or ‘interprets’ the cultural product into the target culture by exercising agency in acquiring translation rights for the selected book, working together with a translator, framing the book with source and target in mind, and introducing the cultural product into the literary field making use of the accumulated symbolic capital while recognizing, however, that some of that is lost in the transfer. During Communism between 1949 and 1989, the meaning-making function of publishing was to conform to the Socialist literary ideals. The cultural brokers in the high positions of institutions – willingly or unwillingly – gave their allegiance to the Communist ideals and their broader representation of place belonged mostly to the Soviet Union. The foreign Other, when talking about the West, was rather antagonistic, but when talking about the Soviet Union, it was enthusiastic and positive. After 1989, the meaning-making activity of publishers is influenced by a profit-oriented practice which tends to be rather

instrumental. This practice, however, is still taking place in a hermeneutic literary field where publishers are still part of both source and target cultures.

Jijon points out that the mediator of the cultural transfer should be seen as part of both source and target cultures, not outside of culture. If we place the publisher in the intersection of cultural transfer, we can note that the intersection of cultures is the transnational “zone” where translational phenomena take place, and culture is moved in bundles rather than single items. Publishers are key agents of the flow; they are affected by the context but they also shape it. The mediator does not only instrumentally transfer but translates or interprets the cultural item: discovers intertextuality in the cultural work and finds ways how these intertextual references can be best transferred balancing costs, availability of translators, the portfolio of the company, cultural norms of book production, marketing, balancing intertextual losses and gains. According to Emirbayer, “agency is a dialogic process” (1997: 294) and in case of translation, this dialogue often takes place at events. The events of the publishing industry as well as the framing practices of the publisher – that will be discussed in the next two subchapters – take place at the intersection of source and target culture, which is characterized by uneven power struggles as well as cooperation.

**Hypothesis 3:** Canadian literature may be linked to other cultural products that have an impact on the publisher’s decision to translate books between 1989 and 2014. (Meso level)

### 3.5. Interplay between Structures and Events

The events of the book market, such as book fairs, take place within the structure of the cultural field. Similarly to historical events, cultural events are also transformative to the structure of cultural production and reception. According to Reed, the idiosyncratic meaning-making, semiotic processes of cultural events will also have to be considered in their immediate, spatio-temporal context (2017).

Sewell defines events as happenings that significantly transform structures. In his book, *Logics of History* (2005), he urges for an eventful view of temporality in sociological research. He points out that events are path dependent, temporally heterogeneous and characterized by global contingency. They transform structures and categories that existed prior to the event. He argues that the theoretical category of the “event” itself has temporality and must be constructed in regard to the scale of the time period. According to Sewell, an example for eventful analysis is Michael Mann’s *The Sources of Social Power* (1986), which describes social space as formed

by multiple, overlapping networks, rather than social systems, and considers power resources to spread and cumulate over time.

An event in the field of culture can be problematized similarly. Cultural events are located in time, take place within the frame of cultural structures, which on the one hand tend to reproduce previous happenings, and on the other hand, also provide context for events that bring about a transformation in the same structure that produced them. Events take place in the global circulation of culture as well as locally in the spaces of consumption and reception. Sewell explains that events have to be meaningful in the cultural structure where they take place, so an event “presupposes structure” (2005: 199). Cultural happenings are important in the maintenance of the network, but transformative events are significant, because they create new divisions, new categories and bring about transformation. This change suggests the conjuncture of various overlapping power networks (Mann 1986: 119). Also, Sewell argues that an event is open-ended, offers a set of possibilities, and has global contingency rather than a specific teleology, dependency, similarly to historical change that does not have a specific directionality, but is characterized by a set of interconnections (2005: 120).

Cultural events, varying in length and recurrence, are produced by the social network of agents connected nationally or internationally in the cultural space. Although Reed posits that cultural sociology cannot be assigned to macro, meso, or micro levels (2017: 27), still it is worth using this methodological tool to examine the relationship of the publisher and various social entities such as institutions or individual actors such as literary agents. Further questions thus might be raised about the role and importance of centers and peripheries in the occurrence of events in cultural space.

Reed also highlights the interpretative nature of cultural sociology where data has to be repeatedly interpreted in a hermeneutic circle (ibid. 33). Key events are to be linked to processes of recognition and naming by an inside group that understands the semiotic system of that culture. Meanings are not static, and changes in meaning will often be negotiated by the same inside network. This might account for situations where structural changes will not immediately bring about a completely new slate for cultural products, but the old and new patterns and processes will coexist for some time.

**Hypothesis 4:** There were events where Canadian literature was introduced between 1989 and 2007, and Canada’s guest of honourship at the International Book Fair in Budapest in 2007 impacted the volume and quality of the translation flow. (Macro-meso levels)

### 3.6. Framing and Paratexts

The publishers in the source culture exert their agency by providing paratextual material for the cultural product (Genette 1987, 1997). According to Genette, "[t]he paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public" (1997: 1). It is something which "ensure[s] the text's presence in the world" (ibid.). He also points out that "these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to present it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to make present, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book" (1997: 1). Paratext, Genette says, is a "threshold": between the inside and the outside. He differentiates between epitext which is located outside of the book, and peritext which is attached to the book, such as book covers, forewords and afterwords. Bachelor takes Genette's proposition further and posits that "paratexts [are] where the framing takes place" (2018). "Texts travel without their context" (2002: 4), however, as Bourdieu notes.

In order to introduce the new text into the target literary field, the publisher, who is a gatekeeper for the cross-border transfer, has to reframe the cultural product. The concept of framing has been widely used in the sciences, for example, in anthropology (Bateson 1954), communication research (Gitlin 1980), psychology (Tversky and Kahneman 1981), political sciences (Druckman 2001), sociology (Goffman 1974; Snow and Benford 1992; 2005, Snow et al. 1986), and sociology of literature (Rosengren 1985, Griswold 1987). Within Translation Studies, framing has been linked with narrative aspects (Baker 2006), news translation (van Leeuwen 2006; van Doorslaer 2010; Luo, 2014), sociological aspects and paratextual framing (Kovala 1996; Alvstad, 2012), or multi-level field approach (Sapiro 2008, 2016; van Es and Heilbron, 2015). Each direction of research formulates a slightly different definition of framing, but for this study we will take a sociological approach of Snow and Benford who define a frame to be "an *interpretative schema* that simplifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding *objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of action*" (Snow and Benford 1988: 137, italics my emphasis). Snow et al. also add that frames organize experiences and guide actions by "rendering events or occurrences meaningful" (Snow et al. 1986: 464). This definition highlights the active participation of the agent in the process. On linking ideology and frames, Snow and Benford state that "the framing process involves, among other things, the articulation and accenting or amplification of elements of existing beliefs and values, most of which are associated with existing ideologies" (2005: 209). The

translated books are framed by paratexts and introduced by the publisher into the target culture embellished with symbolic capital.

In the field of Translation Studies, Kovala studied how paratexts were used in Finland for ideological purposes in the Anglo-American literature translated into Finnish between 1890 and 1939. He underlines that framing already takes place through the practices of inclusion as well as exclusion during the selection process (1996: 140). Cecilia Alvstad also examines the paratextual framing of “world literature,” that from Africa, Asia and Latin America translated into Swedish (2012). She traces two “complementary strategic moves: an emphasis on geography (cultural difference and culture specific learning) and an emphasis on universalism” (78) that publishers use. In Sweden, it is usually the smaller publishers that put out translations of the above-mentioned continents (82). She notes that these moves can be applied even within one publication (90) and concludes that in the examined data both of these strategies are Eurocentric, as the translated texts are targeted at European readers and end up minimizing cultural differences.

Heilbron and van Es studied the framing of the Dutch–English translation flow (2015). They differentiate between two main frames: Literary Frames and Commercial Frames. Within the Literary category, they differentiate between ‘Typically Dutch’ and ‘Cosmopolitan Quality’ and in the Commercial category, they identify Economic Qualities such as ‘easily accessible’ and ‘bestseller’ (313). They emphasize that translated fiction from a peripheral language into the hypercentral English need to overcome several obstacles starting from the national literary field, the acquisition of symbolic capital and the recognition of international regional centers, and financial support, a suitable translator and publisher for the English version. Van Es and Heilbron note that “[t]he particular way in which these titles are ‘framed’ is to a certain extent dependent on the location within the spectrum of cultural production” (302). Regional frames are mostly used for the presentation of translated literature produced on the small-scale publishing pole, such as up-market literature.

Based on Alvstad (2012) and Heilbron, van Es (2015), we can differentiate between four main frames and several sub-frames when we examine the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow:

<b>Commercial frames</b>	<b>Regional frames</b>	<b>Global frames</b>	<b>Cultural bundle frames</b>
Economic success, marketing aspects, easily accessible (van Es and Heilbron 2015)	Emphasis on the region: geography, including history, social conditions, and literary traditions (Alvstad 2012, van Es and Heilbron 2015) In case of Canada: Canadian nature, landscape, built landscapes, multiculturalism, Indigenous people (otherness), Quebec, Canadian participation in historical events, comparison to USA.	Compares globally. Status of a ‘classic’, (van Es and Heilbron 2015). Emphasis on unity, general human experience, downplay cultural diversity, minimize conflict (Alvstad 2012).	Mention of other channels, medium, film adaptation (Kovács, PhD diss. 2025).

*Table 2 Framing strategies of the publishers*

These four categories allow us to examine the framing technique that the publishers use regarding Canadian literature translated into Hungarian. The book covers and the paratextual data may be analyzed, thus we can peek into the ‘black box’ of the publisher’s agency. In the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, framing can be also noted before 1989 in reviewing documents, foreword and afterword, book covers, and critical responses in the media.

**Hypothesis 5:** Framing practices will vary according to literary genre and temporal aspects (before and after 1989). (Meso level)

**Hypothesis 6:** Canadian regional frames, emphasizing the foreign aspects of Canada, will be stronger in the paratextual material in order to highlight exoticism (Micro level).

### 3.7. Temporal aspects

While field theory and the hermeneutic approach aids our conception of cultural transfer and allows us to get an insight into the ‘black box’ of translation or interpretation, what Bourdieu was critiqued for was the lack of historical perspective. The comparative method is frequent in Translation Studies but is also a useful tool in historical research. Are history and sociology so easy to “blend” though?

While recording and narrating events have been a practice of mankind since pre-historic times, sociology is a systematic enquiry about social phenomena that emerged with Positivism

in the 19th century. At the end of the 1800s, an epistemological debate took place about the objectivity of history, operative concepts, about the methods of data collection and analysis in the social sciences and the possibility of generalization, systematically abstracting laws from social data. Durkheim emphasized the need for a “sociological method,” comparative thinking, experiments in research, and laid the foundation for multivariate analysis. Thus, the two disciplines, historically constructed different points of view to examine social phenomena in their spatio-temporal context. As Jean-Claude Passeron shows, the division between various areas of history and sociology became less distinct with the convergence of the two disciplines after the turn of the 20th century. Although the two disciplines have different traditions in training, both analyze and interpret indirect information whether it refers to long past events or is collected first-hand. Passeron argues that the object of study is the same for sociology and history, that is the “observation of the historical course of the world” (2013: 176), and they are epistemologically indistinguishable. He sees the difference between the two disciplines rather in the differences between the two discursive regimes: historical narrative and sociological reasoning on the one hand and experiment-based reasoning on the other. He connects the use of evidence and narrative strategies to two poles of experimental reasoning and historical narrative and suggests that there is a constant shift in their use. Passeron emphasizes the convergences of reasoning and narrative techniques within the two disciplines, but he also points out that the two still remain distinct. “Sociological reasoning protects history against the historiographic forgetting of concepts that enable it to narrate intelligently, and sociology against the formalist forgetting of the historical world whose singularities it describes” (208).

Michael Mann in his introduction to *The Sources of Social Power* (1986) points out that “[m]ost of the key questions of sociology concern processes occurring through time; social structure is inherited from particular pasts; and a large portion of our ‘sample’ of complex societies is only available in history” (Mann, 1986: vii). Mann recognized the temporal nature of social structure and sees historical data as part of the sample that sociologists work with. Both Mann and Passeron emphasize that although history and sociology resist an interdisciplinary blending together, the convergence of disciplinary regimes is necessary for further research. In the following analysis and case studies, open ended publishing stories will be shown. Books diverge in the structures of culture, negotiated in the interplay between structures and events, and mediated by agents of the translation flow. Some translations appear against all odds in languages of smaller diffusion, or in other cases exactly as a result of the international recognition.

## 4. Methodology

The methodological approach of triangulation, initially developed in the social sciences, has spread, and has been fruitfully applied within Translation Studies since the turn of the century. Researchers have called for methodological rigour and triangulation of data, methods and theory, which has been increasingly used in translation research first in cognitive and process studies, recently in legal translation and interpreting studies. Despite the widespread use of the approach in the last 20 years, the sociological perspective on translation has not fully engaged with the methodological issue of triangulation. In this chapter, I will first examine the varying types of triangulation. Next, I will explore existing research in Translation Studies where it has been explicitly used, and will take a detour towards Organization Studies where triangulation has been used for the study of historical data. In the research design section, the case study method (proposed by Saraeva 2009) will be considered for the study of social contexts.

### 4.1. Data triangulation

The concept of triangulation can be traced back to navigation and geodesy in the 19th century when it was used to calculate exact physical distances, but the method of multitrait-multimethod matrix to validate research results, which was developed by Campbell and Fiske (1959), was coined as ‘triangulation’ in 1966 by Webb et al., and further elaborated in the social sciences by Denzin in 1978 (Johnson et al. 2007). Denzin differentiates between four types of triangulation: data sources, investigators, theory, and methodological triangulation performed either between (across) methods or within methods. This approach that looks at a specific issue from different points of view, may combine quantitative and qualitative methods, but can also stay within one methodological and epistemological regime as well. Jick (1979) argues that the various forms of triangulation can be placed on a continuum: starting from simple research designs, that is, from basic scaling of qualitative data or checking the reliability of data (within-methods triangulation), to more complex research designs, that is, convergent validation (between-methods approaches), and to holistic (contextual) description. While “within method” triangulation is used for internal consistency, “between method” triangulation is used to test the validity of external elements.

One of the earliest examples of triangulation in Translation Studies as developed in the social sciences was by Jakobsen (1999) researching the translation process, focusing on the connection between time delay and the processing of information. Jakobsen notes that

“triangulation has been claimed not only to validate observational data but also to capture a more complete portrayal of the object or phenomenon under study” (1999: 19). Process research has incorporated the triangulation approach in empirical studies on the translators’ decision-making strategies (see Hansen 1999, 2003, Alves 2003, Alves and Gonçalves 2003, Trandem 2005, Jakobsen 2005, Englund Dimitrova 2005). The majority of these studies, however, expect to find convergence among the methods, apply triangulation to support their argument and confirm hypotheses. Few studies take note of the inherent, sometimes conflicting epistemological regimes of quantitative and qualitative methods. One of the exceptions is Hansen (2003), who argues that the necessary approach to account for the interrelatedness of the translator’s performance, the translated product, and the observer who interprets the collected data is through the detailed categorization and triangulation of data.

The concept of triangulation has been applied in other research fields of Translation Studies as well, for example in translator training (Sánchez Ramos, 2005, Muñoz Martín 2009), audiovisual translation (Caffrey 2012), legal translation (Biel and Engberg 2013, Biel et al. 2019), interpreting (Seeber et al. 2019), linguistics and corpus research (Malamatidou 2018), while there has been a continuous call for a rigour in methodology that involves testing through triangulation (Gile 1998, 2005, Hild 2007). Several recent publications focusing on research methods underline the importance of triangulation for empirical research (Saldanha and O’Brien 2013, Angelelli and Baer 2015, Sutter et al. 2017), but Saldanha and O’Brien note that “in terms of context-oriented research, the impact of sociology has been felt not so much in terms of research methodology but in the conceptual frameworks and explanatory procedures borrowed from that discipline” (2013: 206).

Aguilar-Solano addressed triangulation and the issue of trustworthiness in the context of public service interpreting performed in healthcare institutions in southern Spain (2020). She draws attention to the lack of distinction in TS between triangulation and mixed/combination of methods and points out the evolving nature of the concept. While Campbell and Fiske (1959) and Denzin (1978) within the social sciences applied triangulation initially “by playing each method off against the other so as to maximize the validity of field efforts” (Denzin, 1978: 304) with the goal to confirm an objective ‘truth,’ by the 1980s the approach had been used for completeness and trustworthiness in research, and to reach a more complete understanding of the social context. Aguilar-Solano, agreeing with Malamatidou, points out that “combining research methods is not, within itself, sufficient to justify the use of triangulation, a strategy that requires a coherent integration of methods and a careful process of reflection on the

research goals” (2020: 34). Through her case study, she shows that the integration of qualitative methods enabled the researcher to have a more holistic view about the context of interpreting. Although Aguilar-Solano’s work fills a gap in the scholarship on triangulation, she does not address the issues of change and temporality.

The issue of change embedded in a historical time has been addressed within Organization Studies, another interdisciplinary academic field. In response to the nature of historical scholarship where researchers often have to work with “second-hand,” fragmented sources, ‘found’ data that were produced in specific circumstances, or with an ingrained bias, Kipping et al. (2013) propose a threefold basic methodology: source criticism, triangulation and interpretation through an iterative process, a so called ‘hermeneutic circle.’ Source criticism addresses issues of external and internal validity such as the circumstances of production, purpose and audience, but also whether the author is an eyewitness, has competency, authority, or any reasons for bias. Source criticism also calls for a precise referencing system of archival locations for sources with attention to anonymity if the research calls for it. This investigation reveals the weaknesses of data sources that can be overcome by triangulation. “Historical triangulation actually values sources that are different/heterogeneous because of the interpretative procedure involved and the aim of avoiding the bias of any one authoritative source, however consistent it may be” (Kipping et al., 2013: 317). The conscious integrating approach thus aims to overcome the limits of data that source criticism has identified. “Triangulation of historical sources is not only used to corroborate evidence; it is often most useful in instances where sources contradict each other” (ibid. 318). The third, interpretative element of the approach establishes the relationship of the focal source to other broader contexts and is very much related to the second, triangulation element. The three parts are not sequential but are rather iterative processes. These three elements also resonate with Pym’s recommendation for investigating translation history. Pym’s seminal book *Method in Translation History* (1998/2014) suggests a threefold methodology of “archeology, criticism and explanation” (ibid. 15) to study translation history. He emphasizes the need to extract corpora out of catalogues and to cross-check data on the one hand to confirm the validity of datasets, on the other hand to aid categorization of data, exploiting paratexts in deciding which category a text might fall into: whether it is a translation proper, an indirect translation, or a borderline case of predefined categories. He highlights the benefits of a quantitative analysis through frequency graphs and calls for an explanation in terms of probabilistic relations rather than searching for direct causality in the process of data analysis.

## 4.2. The research design

Social scientist Lieberman (2005) aims to bridge the tension between quantitative and qualitative approaches by suggesting a hybrid approach to comparative historical research. In his nested analysis, he highlights that the two paradigms inform each other. After a preliminary Large-N Analysis, the researcher turns to a Small-N Analysis that can be either Model-testing or Model-building. He posits that “the goal of the preliminary LNA is to explore as many appropriate, testable hypotheses as is possible with available theory and data” (Lieberman 2005: 438).

As the number of translated titles in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow can be considered small-N compared to other central language flows, during the mixed-methods research, a qualitative dominant approach will be applied. The main research question and the sub-questions can only be answered by an integration of analytical methods. Through source criticism, the weaknesses of the quantitative and qualitative datasets, such as varied methods for public data collection, lack of data for all years in the examined period, possible bias in the interviews etc. are revealed, and datasets are triangulated in a way that these weaknesses would not overlap.

## 4.3. Case studies

For contextual studies focusing on contemporary phenomena, a case study method is often chosen in which empirical data is analyzed. Şebnem Susam-Saraeva defines the case as “a unit of translation or interpreting-related activity, product, person, etc. in real life, which can only be studied or understood in the context in which it is embedded” (Saraeva 2009: 40). The multiple data sources that are triangulated not only “strengthen a case,” but diverging data might also draw attention to hiatus or conflicting theories.

Saraeva cautions from drawing law-like generalizations as they can lead to oversimplification and points out that typicality should not be the reason for choosing various cases. No matter how many cases are lined up to support a generalization, it will not be enough or representative to make it applicable to a whole population. The case study should be in close dialogue with theory, confirming or contradicting aspects of theory and when ‘typical’ is used, a thick description should be included. Saraeva suggests that varying cases should be used for maximal heterogeneity. “Heterogeneity can be achieved by ‘searching out [units] that will provide maximal variation or by planned comparisons along certain potentially important

dimensions” – points out Saraeva quoting Schofield (Schofield 2000: 80). Saraeva draws attention to completeness, which allows us to see the research object from multiple points of view.

In response *Rethinking social inquiry* that aim to connect quantitative and qualitative perspectives (King et al. 1994), Shively (2006: 344) expresses his concern when generalizing from the case analysis both in within- and across-case analysis. Even within case

[w]ith regard to process tracing, however, it is just as true that selecting only for high values on the outcome will tend to produce a number of cases with special reasons for a high value. One will have selected for cases with any variety of unusual causal paths for reaching a high value on the outcome, and the probability that one will come out with a distorted picture is increased (345).

He points out the importance of process-tracing, that is, when the researcher “checks out numerous internal predictions of a particular causal story” (345) and testing and furthering a theory that the case study can be set against confirming the microfoundations of the theory or looking for an anomaly in it. While Shively recognizes the value of exploring special cases, he considers it important that the cases do not lead to generalization.

In the case study section, three cases have been selected. Margaret Atwood’s writings have been censored due to literary and ideological reasons before 1989, and even when the political barrier ceased to exist, her works entered the Hungarian literary field with delay. This is a case where the source writer and source text have high symbolic capital, but in the target culture this value is recognized very slowly. Nobel prize winner Alice Munro was translated by several translators, thus Munro has several “Hungarian voices.” The case study examines how the publisher positioned the Munro translations in the target literary field, especially linked to book festivals in Hungary. The third case study deals with the books of the most translated Canadian author, Lucy Maud Montgomery. In Montgomery’s case, the film adaptation, that is, an adjacent cultural package, is consumed together with the books. Although Montgomery did not intend to write children’s literature, in the target culture it is presented as such. The publisher’s framing techniques will be examined.

## 4.4. Data sources

### Quantitative data

The entry point into the research cycle is an initial statistical inquiry on published titles in the translation bibliography database of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies (CEACS). The association incorporates scholars teaching Canadian Studies at university level in eight countries: Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia. CEACS is part of the International Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS) established in 1981 with the Governor General of Canada as its patron (Websites and Databases 3). In 2010, the CEACS initiated a project that aimed to deal with “translations into the national languages in the Central European region of literary works, literary criticism and scholarly works in the areas of the humanities and social sciences that were written by Canadians or, in the case of those written by non-Canadians, that deal with or are set in Canada” (CEACS website, Websites and Databases 4). Part of the project was an online database containing a set of data on all such translations published in a book form. In the first phase, bibliographical information on translations dating from the earliest date that could be found up to 2010 were entered. In the second phase, the same was done for translations from 2011 to 2016.<sup>17</sup> The database project is ongoing, updated annually. As the research team members come from Literary Studies, Cultural Studies and Translation Studies, the categories used in the database reflect their input and scholarly interest as well.

The dataset aimed to be as inclusive as possible, including popular genres, non-fiction, children’s literature, religious writings, literary criticism, and theatre plays in collections, apart from the canonized Canadian literary pieces that were in the university curricula of the classes taught by the participating scholars. Although most genre categories were decided by the research team prior to the collection of data, new categories were entered as borderline cases were found that did not fit the predefined categories. As a general guideline, those items were entered into the database that were published in a book form with an ISBN number and were found in library catalogues. The bibliographical project accepted translation to be “all

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<sup>17</sup> The core members of the research team at present are in Bulgaria: Andrey Andreev (New Bulgarian University); Czech Republic: Don Sparling (Masaryk University, Brno); Croatia: Mirna Sindičić Sabljko (University of Zadar), Petra Sapun Kurtin (University of Rijeka); Hungary: Katalin Kürtösi (University of Szeged), Fruzsina Kovács (Pázmány Péter Catholic University); Romania: Monica Bottez (University of Bucharest), Adela Catană (Military Technical Academy, Bucharest), Ana-Magdalena Petraru (Al. I. Cuza University of Iasi); Serbia: Jelena Novakovic (University of Belgrade), Vesna Lopičić (University of Niš); Slovakia: Lucia Otrisalová (Comenius University, Bratislava), Jana Javorčíková (Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica); Slovenia: Tjaša Mohar, Tomaž Onič and Michelle Gadpaille (University of Maribor).

utterances which are represented or regarded as such within the target culture” (Toury 1995: 32) based on the paratextual or the publisher’s information. Questions, however, regarding the source texts became just as relevant. What is Canadian literature originating from a multicultural society? Is it literature written by Canadian citizens living in Canada or even outside of Canada? Should non-Canadian writers who write about Canada be included? What about immigrant writers who currently live and write in Canada but are not citizens of the country?<sup>18</sup> According to the agreement of the participating scholars, all Canadian writers living in and outside of Canada and even non-Canadian authors, such as Jack London and Annie Proulx, who take Canada as their topoi were included. A list of 700 Canadian authors listed in anthologies on Canadian literature were checked in national library catalogues in Central Europe, in regard to the Hungarian data that means the National Széchenyi Library (OSZK). This list of authors was updated with authors who were ‘found’ while cross-checking the CEACS database with the subsidy report of the Canada Council for the Arts. The language of the metadata was English, the working language of the research team, but the proper names of cities, publishers etc. were entered in the target language of the translation. Reprints and new editions were entered as separate entries but marked for edition. The collected metadata include the name of the author, original title, title of the translation, date of publishing, edition, translator(s), publisher, illustrator, genre, language of translation. To answer my main research question, a problem-specific corpus (Pym 1998: 48) has been extracted from the CEACS database relevant to Hungary in the examined time period. I focus on the flow of published books with an ISBN number. The volume of production and the possible periods which are observed in the data point to years where more in-depth investigation is being conducted.

Pym says that the database project should be aimed at the highest possible completeness when compiling a catalogue of translations (1998: 42). “A catalogue’s main function is to approach maximum completeness so as to enable any particular piece of information to be found” (ibid. 42). Despite the efforts of the research team, however, the question remains if the CEACS catalogue is complete. Although it is impossible to arrive at a state of completeness, the cross-checking of data in the last phase of the project among the eight countries brings the database to a level of completion that allows for a comparison of translated Canadian literature and is informative about the volume of production and regional interest in Canadian writers. Its specific advantage is that it contains translations from both Anglophone and Francophone

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<sup>18</sup> Similar questions have been raised by José Lambert (1991), who argues that instead of national literatures, literature in a given country should be considered. Lambert also recognizes the difficulty of drawing linguistic maps in the case of Canada (65).

literature and provides a possibility to test hypotheses and create new ones, a method suggested by Pym (*ibid.*) and exemplified by Pieta (2013). It is worth noting that books written in First Nation languages have not been translated to Hungarian to date.

The second source of quantitative data is the annual cultural statistics on the general publishing industry collected by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH, Websites and Databases 5). The cultural statistical reports are based on a mandatory data reporting system by media bodies, theatres, museums, libraries and publishers. The publicly available data include the number of published titles, print runs on books and printed leaflets, and a detailed breakdown is available for genres (academic, non-fiction, technical, literary genres, YA and children, and school textbooks), translated languages, and source countries. This dataset confirms the centrality of the American publishing market compared with that of Canada. According to the KSH statistics, the number of titles translated into Hungarian (including books and booklets) from the USA between 2005 and 2014 each year lay between 1,552 and 2,098, while the number of translated titles from Canada was in the range of 8 to 17. However, when the KSH official numbers and the CEACS dataset are compared, a considerable difference can be noted in the number of translated titles, CEACS including more than double the number of translated Canadian titles for the period. This divergence raises questions about the data reporting and categorization processes at hand. Although the KSH statistics can give an overall impression about the relation of languages and cultural markets that are received in Hungary, it appears to be unsuitable for investigating individual translation flows. Similarly, I am aware of UNESCO's Index Translationum database that was created in 1932 to provide a complete bibliography of all translated books in the world. The database has been used to measure large-scale flows and to recognize the centrality of the English language, but several scholars have raised concerns about the accuracy of the dataset (e.g., Heilbron 1999, Sapiro 2010) and pointed out that it is inadequate as a single source for a close up study of translation flows between peripheries.

The third type of publicly available data is the report of the Canada Council for the Arts on its subsidies for 'International Translation Grants' within the Arts Abroad program, which is the most supported theme in the Council's cultural agenda. International literary publishers, theatre companies and multidisciplinary organizations may apply for funding for translation. Additionally, publishers may apply to cover promotional and event costs in connection with translated books. The source country's transparent funding lists are a reliable source and can be contrasted with the CEACS database which also includes publishers, as well as the volume of

supported titles in the portfolio of independent publishers vs. imprints of large publishing groups can be compared.

### **Triangulating with quantitative data**

Hypothesis 1<sup>19</sup> can be answered with the triangulation of the quantitative datasets. Since neither the CEACS, nor the Index Translationum or the KSH statistics can be considered complete, the triangulated data will or will not point to one direction regarding the volume of the translation flow.

Hypothesis 2<sup>20</sup> investigates the financial background of translations with the publisher. International translation grants are part of Canada's cultural diplomacy, but the large-scale structural funding instruments may not be as effective on a local level. Triangulating the Canada Council for the Arts data that includes the names of the grant winning publishers with the CEACS database that also includes the name of the publishers with public KSH data improves the reliability of the datasets, as well as allow for a wider, Central European level perspective into the flow. The frequency graphs and the statistical reports on funding can also be further triangulated with qualitative data, which will provide insight about the relevance of these funding schemes especially on the acquiring of external funding linked to any events in case of certain Canadian books, both bestsellers and slow-sellers. Although the weakness of statistical data is that it is incomplete and the data collection methods of public institutions are not known, it can be overcome with the involvement of qualitative data.

### **Qualitative data**

The statistical inquiry will point to years of higher and lower production which will invite further investigation through qualitative methods: semi-structured interviews with key agents in the translation trajectory, and the analysis of discursive and non-discursive paratexts.

Two types of semi-structured interviews were conducted. In 2019, I participated in the Literary Agents' survey of the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), and I have received permission to use the interviews done with Hungarian literary agents who

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<sup>19</sup> Hypothesis 1: In the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, the path of translated literature will vary depending on the language of the original publication, English or French (Macro level).

<sup>20</sup> Hypothesis 2: The translation initiative of the Canadian cultural diplomacy will impact the publishers' decision to transfer books during the examined period. (Macro level, field of power).

mediate translation rights in Hungary and in the neighboring countries. These literary agents represent large publishing ‘territories’ in their portfolio, Canadian authors included. The other set of qualitative data comprise of interviews with the publishers and key agents in the translation trajectory who are in contact with the publishers, among them the founder of the Budapest International Book Festival, the representative of the Hungarian Publishers and Booksellers Association, editors, reviewers, translators, and expert readers, that is, critics.

Eighty-three publishers have been identified in the CEACS catalogue, among which one publisher, Európa Publishing House played the most important role in the Canadian–Hungarian literary flow with the highest number of translated titles and a continuous production. Interviewed publishers were chosen from the sampling frame of the extracted corpus from the CEACS database according to the number of translated titles (Európa), publisher of books endowed with high symbolic capital (eg. Lazi Publisher, the first independent Hungarian publisher of Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale*, and Jelenkor which is Atwood’s current Hungarian publisher). The semi-structured interviews focus on the selection strategies of the publishers, promotion of books, events, constraints of literary transfer, and any motivators of the flow in the given time period. The interviews are transcribed and analyzed for main themes in a grounded way. Ten main themes have been identified so far, among them: reference to geographical regions, timing, American market, bestsellers, literary prizes, film adaptations, and financial constraints. These topics are taken as a basis for examining the paratextual data, while if needed, new themes may also be included.

As pointed out earlier, the practices of the publisher are traceable in the paratexts, which complement insights gained both from the statistical and the interview data. Book covers, which are almost always negotiated by the publisher, provide the readers with a first impression of the cultural product prior to reading the text. The covers of translated Canadian books will be compared with their originals and will be analyzed along the themes that had appeared in the agent interviews. Epitextual data comprise of eighty archived readers’ reports of Európa Publisher on Canadian authors fifteen of which are dated between 1989 and 2014. The in-house documentation is anonymized and analyzed with the permission of the publisher. As we have seen, a multiple reviewing process was an established practice during the Communist era to informally censor literature that was not in line with Communist ideologies. Yet, this decision-making practice lasted for more than 20 years after the political change at Európa. After 1989, the 2-5-page long documents focused on the literary aspects and international trajectory of the books rather than their ideological screening. These reviewing documents function as an initial

framing of Canadian books in the target culture and reveal the changing selection criteria of publishers after 1989. The documents are analyzed, similarly to the peritexts, according to the themes found in the interview data, and if needed, new themes may also be included.

The second source of epitexts are the published responses of expert readers, journalists and literary critics who often receive complimentary copies and are invited by the publisher to submit a review. These reviews are not part of the selection process but may affect the translation of further titles as they may discover new voices. By the positive or negative critique, the translated books are recontextualized in the target book market by the journalist or critic. For the media survey on translated Canadian literature, nine media bodies have been chosen, general newspapers: *HVG*, *Magyar Narancs*, *Magyar Nemzet*, *Népszabadság*, specialized literary journals *Élet és Irodalom*, *Jelenkor*, *Műút*, *Nagyvilág* and an online portal *litera.hu*. The general newspapers were selected according to political affiliation, date of establishing, and their coverage of cultural news. *HVG*, a weekly on economy and politics was established in 1979. It became an important independent media body after the political transformation of 1989. Its publishing house, *HVG Publishing Co.* was founded in the year of the political change, and today is a leading publisher of non-fiction, publishing Canadian writers as well. *Magyar Narancs* was also established in 1989. The weekly paper focuses on politics, culture and sociology and in the recent years has taken a left wing, liberal point of view. *Magyar Nemzet*, established in 1939, is a conservative, broadsheet daily. Due to financial difficulties, it closed in 2018, and was relaunched in a smaller scale in 2019. *Népszabadság* was founded at the time of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. After the political change in 1990, the daily was privatized with a 50% share to Bertelsmann AG Germany, the world's largest publishing and media conglomerate, and 26% to the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP). The political daily had the largest circulation of issues until 2002 and operated until 2016. Based on the media survey, Hungarian newspapers targeting the general public often highlight the role(s) of the mediating agents, the international literary prestige of the books, and "cultural packages" such as audiovisual adaptations that the literary piece is linked to, although these "bundles" do not necessarily guarantee the success of the literary piece in the target culture. The literary journals focus mostly on the literary innovations of the piece and rarely expand on the mediators of the translation. The analysis focuses on the themes that were identified in the interviews, augmented by any additional themes that may be noted in the peritexts.

## Triangulating with qualitative data

Hypothesis 3<sup>21</sup> makes an enquiry about the presence of other cultural products in the market, and whether the publisher's decision to translate Canadian literature is motivated by audiovisual adaptations, theatre plays, visual art exhibitions etc. in the time period examined. Publisher interviews will be triangulated with the literary agent interviews, book covers and the responses of the media. The datasets are expected to complement each other and converge, as well as explain the varying production seen in the frequency graphs gained from the CEACS corpus.

Hypothesis 4<sup>22</sup> explores publishing events in the Hungarian field between 1989 and 2014 especially the presence of Canadian literature at the 2007 International Book Fair. The frequency graphs of the statistical data point to the importance of the fair, which will be discussed by triangulating data from interviews of agents with varying points of view: a Canadian Embassy representative, the founder of the Budapest International Book Fair, literary agents, publishers, and the media coverage of the event. Although the qualitative datasets will presumably contain an ingrained bias, the triangulation of data, that is, contrasting perspectives (government, organizer, participant) will result in a balanced inference. Datasets are expected to diverge and not be homogeneous (Timans et al. 2019: 212-213), as the various parties have varying agenda at an international book fair.

To answer Hypotheses 5 and 6<sup>23</sup>, the framing of the transferred books will be examined with special attention to the marking of literary awards (such as the Governor General's Literary Award, Trillium Book Award, Giller Prize, Man Booker International, Nobel Prize in Literature) recognized by readers in Canada will be checked on both source and target text book covers. Mentions of literary awards will be noted in literary agent and publisher interviews, in-house documents of Európa, as well as critical reviews. The weakness of the qualitative data is that it might have an ingrained personal bias and/or a marketing agenda. The change in the marking of international prestige is expected to occur in the in-house documents in a rather non-

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<sup>21</sup> Hypothesis 3: Canadian literature may be linked to other cultural products that have an impact on the publisher's decision to translate books between 1989 and 2014. (Meso level).

<sup>22</sup> Hypothesis 4: There were few events where Canadian literature was introduced between 1989 and 2007 and Canada's guest of honourship at the International Book Fair in Budapest in 2007 impacted the volume and quality of the translation flow (macro-meso).

<sup>23</sup> Hypothesis 5: Framing practices will vary according to literary genre and temporal aspects (before and after 1989) (meso). Hypothesis 6: Canadian regional frames, emphasizing the foreign aspects of Canada, will be stronger in the paratextual material in order to highlight exoticism.

intentional way as they were authored by multiple people over several years, without the ideological pressure, which was a characteristic of the pre-1989 era.

#### 4.5. The issue of time and scale

In order to account for change in the Hungarian publishers' transfer practices through the inflow of Canadian literature, the temporal situatedness of the translation flow plays a central role. Although the translation flow is most affected by the macro level structural changes that took place in time period right after the political transformation, the publishers' perception of cyclical time and personal histories might be stronger motivating factors in the second half of the examined period. Accordingly, the triangulation in this research will not only involve a systematic cross-checking of data, but invite an iterative process of hermeneutic interpretation, a continuous movement between quantitative data and qualitative data (both interviews and paratexts) and explore the partnership between macrofunctions and microdynamics (Katznelson 2003: 271) in the production of translations of Canadian literature after 1989.

Based on the quantitative data in the study, the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow can be considered a small sample size (small-N) translational phenomenon. The question might arise if small-N studies can provide any theoretical gains, in other words, what is the benefit in examining translation flows that carry a small volume of titles between peripheral cultural markets? Regarding the small-scale studies, Rueschemeyer points out that single cases do not mean single observation. Historical analyses of single cases, that employ qualitative tools, also incorporate many repeated empirical checks (2003: 318). In order to examine unique translation trajectories and singularities, such as the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, deterministic causal reasoning can hardly be used, thus cross-case checking and repeated empirical checks will be methodologically important to increase the completeness and the transferability of the study. Through this method, the collected data and the examined cases will be apt to trace contingent effects of political and economic change on meso and micro levels in the Hungarian literary field that increasingly opened up for the inflow of books through translation after the 1980s.

## 5. What was transferred?

Next, I will present the quantitative data that help to trace the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow. This cultural transfer is smaller in volume compared to other countries, yet the small-N dataset can be examined with cross-checking and the method of triangulation as discussed earlier.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, according to the Hungarian state statistics (KSH), the number of translated titles into Hungarian from the USA between 2005 and 2014 (including books and booklets) is much higher (each year lay between 1,552 and 2,098) compared to those translated from Canada (each year between 8 and 17). The translated titles total 17,724 titles from the USA, while from Canada only 119 titles are registered. The KSH statistics are available only from 2005 but cross-checked with the CEACS catalogue in the same period, between 2005 and 2014, more than double the amount: a total of 287 books are found in CEACS database. As the KSH data collection methods are not known, and the CEACS catalogue was collected by a team academics, we can assume that it is more accurate.

While the reliability of state statistics is questionable, the size of the translation flow can be still traced and compared to the volume of translations from other European countries. The approximate volume and ratio of translation flows help to determine the centrality of the cultural production in the field. Figure 3 below presents the data about the inflow of books from France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Russia, and Canada between 2005 and 2019. The countries have been sampled based on regional closeness or historical connections.



Figure 3. Number of translated titles into Hungarian. Source: KSH, Statinfo 2005–2019.

While KSH does not differentiate between English or French-Canadian originals when listing the translated books and booklets, Index Translationum offers this option. The reliability of this third database, Index Translationum, however, shows inconsistency if we compare the data gained from KSH and CEACS. According to Index Translationum, only five English language books were translated from Canada between 1989 and 2014, and one French language book appeared in Hungarian. Triangulating the three quantitative datasets points to the reliability of the CEACS catalogue which we will use for examining the dynamics of the translation flow.

As far as the language of the source texts, the CEACS catalogue shows that the Anglophone-Canadian literature is predominant in the Hungarian data, and the presence of Francophone literature or literatures written in other minority languages is marginal (see Figure 4 below). These minority languages such as Czech or Spanish were retained and used for literary purposes by immigrants from Eastern Europe or South America who settled in Canada such as Josef Skvorecky or Pablo Urbányi. This distribution of the language of the originals clearly points to the hyper-centrality of the English language even in the Canadian–Hungarian dataset.

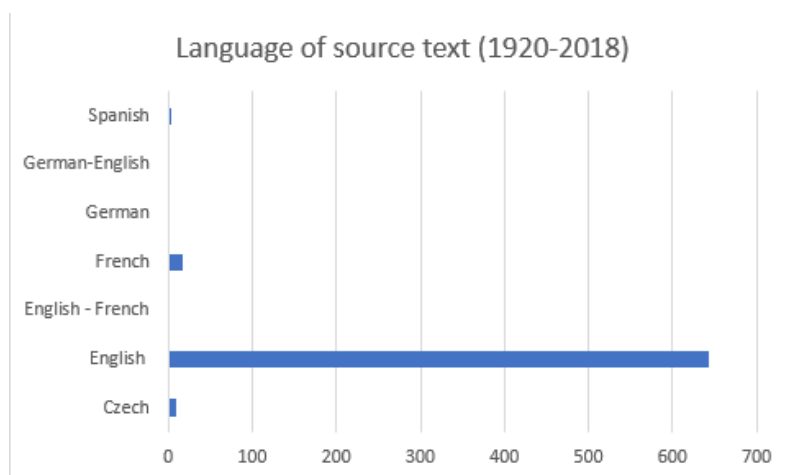


Figure 4 Source languages of Canadian literature. Source: CEACS (2018)

If we examine the Hungarian data in a larger time frame, the CEACS catalogue shows the changing volume of translated titles in the flow before and after 1989. A frequency graph of translated titles into Hungarian between 1920 and 2019 below, shows a clear change in two places, in 1949 and 1989 – that is at the beginning and at the end of Communism in Hungary – peaking in 2007 and decreasing after that. 2007 marks the year when Canada was the Guest of Honour at the Budapest International Book Fair, and we can also note the effects of the 2008 economic crisis which impacted the translation flow as well in a negative way as it started decreasing right after that.

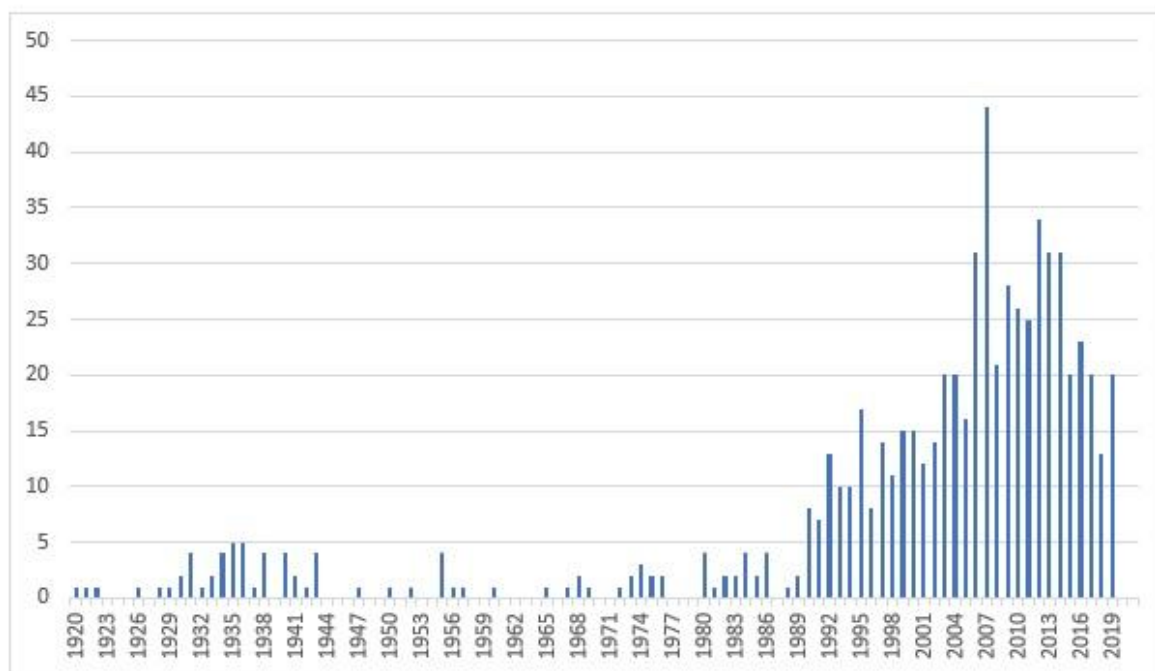
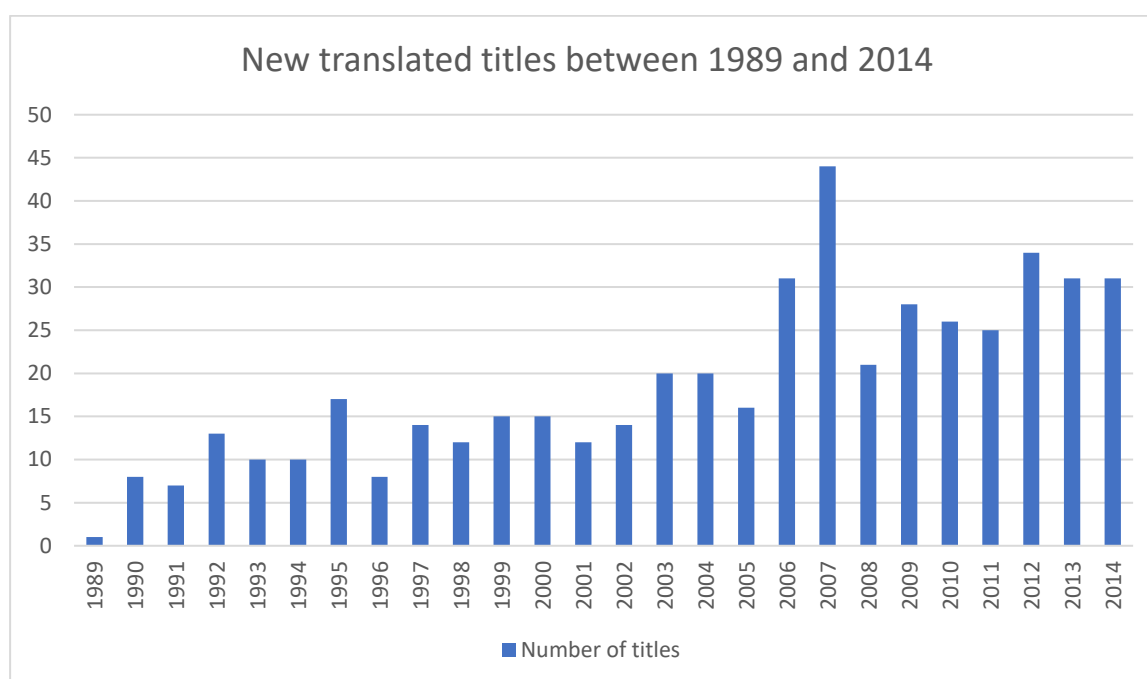


Figure 5. Number of translated titles of Canadian literature into Hungarian between 1920 and 2019. Source: CEACS database.

The post-1989 period, which is in the focus of this dissertation, shows a fluctuating increase and after 2007 a general decrease of published titles with certain years (such as 2012) still producing growth compared to the previous years. According to the CEACS data, up to 1989, a total of 91 titles, and between 1989 and 2014, a total of 483 titles were transferred into Hungary. The next graph shows the number of translated titles in the examined period. The Catalogue shows a general growth in volume for translated Canadian literature in all post-Socialist countries, however. For example, up to 1990, only 80 titles were translated into Bulgarian, while between 1990 and 2014 there were 360 translated titles from English and 34 titles from French. Also, a growth in the variety of transferred genres can be noticed, including popular genres (Andreev and Yankova 2019: 19).



*Figure 6. Number of translated Canadian titles into Hungarian between 1989 and 2014. (In the examined period.)*

In the graph below, the genre categories of the CEACS database can be seen which are based on the publisher's categorization of the book. Although some categories refer to the genre, some to the subject-matter of the piece, the categories of the translated books signal a demand for certain types of books and the increased figures correlate with the themes screened during the Communist period. There was an increased demand for science fiction, fantasy,

romance, religious writings, and detective fiction. (This latter category in the CEACS database was labeled as part of “fiction.”) The four most translated categories thus are: fiction, children’s and young adult fiction, science fiction and fantasy, and religious writings.

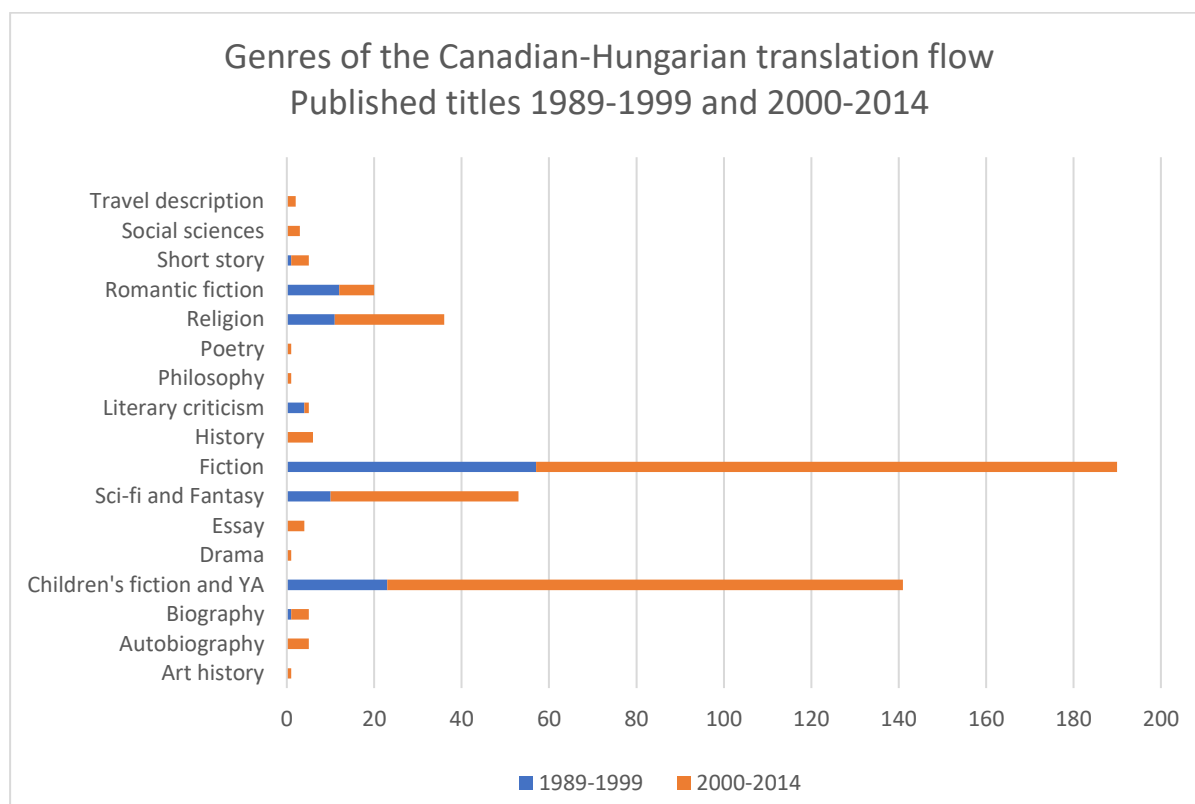


Figure 7. Genres of the Canadian –Hungarian translation flow in two periods: 1989-1999 and 2000-2014

The number of translated books within these genres has clearly grown, so the market has expanded, even if we take into account the two periods to be compared are not equal but divided into 10 and 15 years. In the first decade after the political transformation, between 1989-1999, there were 119 published titles, and 360 new titles between 2000 to 2014. The most translated genre is “fiction” which incorporates literary works, detective stories and speculative novels. The second most translated genre is children’s fiction and young adult books for which there has been a great demand from 2000 on. According to Miklós M. Nagy, after 1989 the book market of the Czech Republic for example was saturated with Czech children’s literature, so they did not import so many children’s books. In Hungary, however, this need was filled with translations. Between 1989 and 1999 several works from the popular genres were translated, for example, Canadian-born science fiction author A. E. van Vogt, whose short stories appeared

from 1986 in the series *Metagalaktika* edited by Péter Kuczka.<sup>24</sup> The novels of van Vogt titled *The Wizard of Linn* (1962) and *Mission to the Stars* (1952) were translated into Hungarian as *Linn varázslója* and *Küldetés a csillagokhoz* respectively in 1992, which was followed by *Háború a Rull ellen* in 1993 (in the English original *The War against the Rull*, 1959) each translated by György Szegi and published in Hungarian by the same publisher Phoenix. In the fantasy category, Ed Greenwood's books can be mentioned, who was translated only after 2000. Between 2001 and 2004, five books of the Elminster series were translated into Hungarian, published by solely by Delta Vision. Religious writings were also in demand after 1989. The books of Jean Vanier, controversial Catholic philosopher and theologian today, were popular after the political transformation, who was translated from French into Hungarian. In 2009, *The Shack* (2007) written by William P. Young was translated into Hungarian under the title *A viskó*, translated by Károly Géczi and published by the Immanuel Foundation. The book went through twelve editions in 2009, in the year of publishing, which clearly shows the book's popularity, even before the film adaptation was launched in 2017. It is interesting to note that there are very few translated titles in the categories of drama, poetry, philosophy, or history. While in 1983, before the political transformation, a poetry anthology came out titled *Gótika a vadonban* [Wilderness Gothic. English-Canadian Poetry] published by Európa Publishing House edited by Steele James, foreword written by Köpeczi, it was only in 2014 that the translated poems and songs of Leonard Cohen were published in Hungarian. The book was self-published and had limited distribution. It is available only in the National Széchenyi Library (OSZK) but not in the Metropolitan Szabó Ervin Library (FSZEK), which is more accessible for Hungarian readers. In the case of drama, there was only one anthology published in 2007 that was launched on the occasion of the International Budapest Book Festival, titled *Történet a hetediken* (7 Stories). The translated playwrights were Michael Healey, Tomson Highway, John Mighton, Evelyne de la Chenelière, Wajdi Mouawad, Larry Tremblay, and Morris Panych. The volume was published by Európa, the foreword was written by Katalin Kürtösi, Péter Szaifkó, and László Upor. Only a total of twelve books have French original texts, ten of these are religious writings by Jean Vanier.

The growing number of translated Canadian titles in the four categories mentioned above, does not necessarily imply that more books were readily available, however. According to the data of the Hungarian Publishers and Booksellers' Association that appeared in *Magyar*

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<sup>24</sup> For Kuczka's subversive influence in the Kádár era, see Sohár 2025.

*Hírlap* daily,<sup>25</sup> between 1989 and 2006 the number of published titles grew and by 2005 almost doubled the figures in 1989, putting more than 12,000 new titles on the book market in 2005. On the other hand, the print run of these books dropped continuously after 1990, decreasing to an approx. 30% of the volume of production in 2006 compared to the figures registered in 1990.

Based on the present research, Hypothesis 1 can be partially confirmed, as the path of translated literature does depend on the language of the original publication. English Canadian books are more frequently translated due to the hyper-centrality of English language on a global scale but the other large-scale institutional statistics (eg. KSH, Index Translationum) show that the volume of the transfer also depends on the cultural context of the book publishing, that is, a large-N translation flow from the USA carries proportionally much more books than the Canadian translation flow as it has a central position in the transnational cultural production as well.

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<sup>25</sup> Published titles vs. print run, Magyar Hírlap, 13 April 2007.

## 6. Macro level changes affecting the translation flow

### 6.1. Cultural-diplomatic relations

As mentioned in the Introduction, the translation flow from Canada to Hungary included novels, children's literature and nature writing, as well as books with Communist agenda before 1989. As shown, key figures in political, academic or cultural positions were able to strengthen academic ties, influence the selection of Canadian books, but this was aligned to a predetermined cultural policy in the target country. The Canadian indigenous art exhibition in 1982 in the Museum of Ethnography for example, was a cultural event of as well as an event of cultural diplomacy. Let us turn to Canadian cultural policy now which, as we have seen, is one of the motivating factors for translation from the source country. According to Schuster, state cultural policy is "all the ways that the state assists, supports, or even hinders the cultural life of its citizens. A state's cultural policy can be [...] thought of as the sum of its activities with respect to the arts (including the for-profit cultural industries), the humanities, and the heritage" (2003: 1). He adds that along activities, "policy is the intentionality... those intentions are made explicit—in legislation, in policy documents, in strategic plans, and in mission statements" (ibid.). These intentions can also be traced in Canada's policy documents.

Canada is a multicultural and, since the Official Languages Act of 1969, an officially bilingual country, thus translation fills a key role in the functioning of the state. Canada supports culture (presented domestically and disseminated across the world) through the Canada Council for the Arts. The Council was established by an Act of Parliament (Canada Council for the Arts Act) in 1957 and was last amended in 2009. Among its goals, the last point, "g" makes reference to the dissemination and translation of Canadian works:

[Its goal is] to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in, the arts.

(a) assist, cooperate with and enlist the aid of organizations the objects of which are similar to any of the objects of the Council;

(b) provide, through appropriate organizations or otherwise, for grants, scholarships or loans to persons in Canada for study or research in the arts in Canada or elsewhere or to persons in other countries for study or research in the arts in Canada;

(c) make awards to persons in Canada for outstanding accomplishment in the arts;

- (d) arrange for and sponsor exhibitions, performances and publications of works in the arts;
  - (e) make grants to universities and similar institutions of higher learning by way of capital assistance in respect of building construction projects;
  - (f) exchange with other countries or organizations or persons therein knowledge and information respecting the arts; and
  - (g) arrange for representation and interpretation of Canadian arts in other countries.
- (Websites and Databases 6)

In the strategic plan of the Council, it is emphasized that artists including Indigenous artists, and art in the form of digital technology will be supported and the Council is committed to raising the international profile of Canadian artists in order to promote Canada's creativity and advocate for a strong democracy. In a short official promotional video, the CCFA Arts Abroad Program is summarized the following way:

This program supports the presentation and circulation of Canadian art and artists abroad. The presence of Canadian arts on the international scene is critical to the artistic and financial success of our artists and arts organizations. We need to have our artists represented in *global networks, collaborations and exchanges*, to enrich their practices and perspectives here at home, and to ensure *Canada is even more recognized worldwide* for its creativity, excellence, diversity and innovation. [...] Through this program, a diversity of Canadian artworks will be *experienced by global audiences*; Canadian artists, arts professionals and arts organizations will be supported in developing *international markets* for their work; and Canadian artists, arts professionals and arts organizations will have the capacity to *engage in reciprocal international activities* and other targeted projects. [...] This kind of a program will allow them to really get out there to have the kind of flexible and fast support that they need to *engage with international markets, to engage with international audiences* and to really make the breadth of talent and creativity in *Canada known throughout the world*. (Websites and Databases 7, italics my emphasis.)

The strategic plan encompasses both the domestic and the international fields. The Budapest International Book Festival news release in 2007 emphasises for example that the Canadian

literature and book publishing went through a radical change due to the state funding on a domestic field. Before the 1960s books were mainly imported literature from the USA, Great Britain or France to fill a cultural vacuum, but after the 1960s Canadian publishing houses picked up Canadian voices and disseminated them both domestically and internationally. The government funded publishing program has grown from 6 million Canadian dollars in 1979 to 38 million dollars in 2007 which supported 220 Canadian publishers in 80 Canadian cities. Compared to the 1970s the number of Canadian authors grew by five times by 2007. In the same year, there were 1,500 publishers but not all of them were active in the field. 330 companies produced 95% of the annual revenue of the book industry. Most of the publishers were in Canadian ownership (311) in 2007, only 19 publishing houses were in foreign hands. The Canadian owned publishers produced 85% of the new titles, but their market share was only 41%, which shows that there is a strong competition in the sector (Papiruszportál 2007).

To meet the strategic goals, the Council's *Arts Abroad* sub-program had a Translation component from 1998 until 2017 when a New Funding Model was launched with new categories. The Council grants were reorganized into six programs, among these the Arts Abroad with a "Translation" program is the sixth (see Translation component of *Arts Abroad* at CCfA, Websites and Databases 8). This scheme increased support in the lead-up to the Frankfurt Book Fair with a special category titled "Frankfurt 2020" to promote the translation of cultural products that were to be introduced at the Book Fair. At that time, it was still unseen that due to the global spread of the COVID-19, Canada's Guest of Honour role was also extended to 2021. The grants database – to meet the requirements for public accountability – is accessible online and the analysis of data will be presented below. Apart from the Canadian Council for the Arts, book production is also supported through Livres Canada Books, previously Association for the Export of Canadian Books, a non-profit industry association to encourage interlingual transfer between the official languages English and French, and also into indigenous and foreign languages.

As part of the Canadian government subsidies that international publishers have access to is the Translation program of CCfA, through which 50% of literature and 100% of drama translation and promotion costs are covered according to the following guidelines:

Costs related to translation and surtitling, based on the standard translation rates in effect in your country

**Literature projects:** Costs may be up to 50% of the translator's fee.

**Theatre projects:** Applicants should propose the **total anticipated costs** for translation of scripts or surtitles.

In addition, for literary translations, promotional expenses for the translated book:

Eligible promotional expenses are ads, posters and bookmarks, publicist fees, promotional items and special events to promote the translated title.

Standard promotional costs such as catalogues, newsletter listings and web pages are not eligible. (*Arts Abroad*, Websites and Databases 9.)

Government subsidies support the total cost for translation of drama and half of the costs for book translation, but the increased support for theatre is not mirrored in the number of Hungarian translations of theatre plays. Publishers have shared that they are careful when they are planning to introduce new and unknown voices as due to the lack of funds, they cannot take financial risks. Thus, when looking at the macro level cultural diplomatic initiatives, we can refer to, on the one hand, the outgoing Canadian state funding schemes, on the other hand, we can examine if the Hungarian publishers actually benefitted from these grant schemes.

After the political transformation, the Canadian Embassy was active in the dissemination of Canadian culture and often served as a supporter of cultural events. These cultural programs included classical and pop music, literature, Inuit art, film, theatre, contemporary dance, ballet, as well as sports. The following list of events – without trying to be comprehensive – show the diversity of cultural programs that the Canadian Embassy in Budapest supported. In the 1990s already, several contemporary dance and theatre groups performed in – at the time – major cultural venues. On 12 May 1990, the Royal Winnipeg Ballet performed together with the orchestra of the Hungarian State Opera at the Budapest Opera House. On 28 and 29 September 1994, Robert Leplage, playwright, film, opera and theatre director's piece titled *Needles and Opium* was performed in Petőfi Csarnok. The performance, which was part of the Budapest Autumn Festival, depicts the interaction between Miles Davies jazz trumpeter and Jean Cocteau poet, film director.

In 1999, the Canadian Embassy in Budapest launched a program series, called “*Kanadai Tavasz*” (Canadian Spring). The series featured Canadian artists and sought to involve Hungarian experts in accompanying programs, round table discussions. The program in 1999 included the photo exhibition of an Iroquois artist Jeffrey Thomas in the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest between 15 May and 13 June 1999. In search of a contemporary

Indian identity, the artist calls attention to tensions and contradictions while juxtaposing modern photographs and a historic depiction of the Iroquois. As part of the program series, four Canadian films (*2 secondes*, dir.: Manon Briand; *Clandestins*, dir.: Denis Chouinard and Nicolas Wladimoff; *Nô*, dir.: Robert Lepage; *Joyeux calvaire*, dir.: Denys Arcand) were screened at the Francophone Film Festival between May 25 and May 28 at the French Institute (*Institut français en Hongrie*). In the program series, a literary event also took place. Between 2-12 June 1999, a Canadian Book Exhibition displayed the best of Canadian literature, books about Canada, and scholarly books of Canadian Studies at the National Széchenyi Library. Over a thousand books were exhibited, most of which were given after the event to Hungarian university libraries.

The program series in 2000 March, April and May included events of classical music, lecture, book exhibition, poetry recital, modern dance and circus arts. The Toronto Symphony performed at the Budapest Congress Center on 5 March. On 24 March, French Canadian song and poetry was recited by Hungarian artists, and a lecture on the history of the Quebec puppet theatre and a display of puppets was given by André Viens at the *Institut français*. Capilano College Singers performed in the Buda Reformed Church on 28 March. An academic event called Canadian Days 2000 took place on 20 and 21 March at ELTE University. It included a book exhibition, lectures by Karen Mulhallen (University of Toronto), Francis Zichy, and Anna Jakabfi (ELTE), and the lecture of H.E. Marta Moszczenska Ambassador on Multiculturalism in Canada. On 21 March Todd Swift Canadian poet recited his works on a boat on the Danube. On 29 March the Canadian Studies Center was opened at the University of Szeged. Also in March, the show of two circus artists, *Circo Comédia*, appeared in the cities of Budapest and Pécs. The Trafo House of Contemporary Arts hosted several modern dance performances in April and May, among them Compagnie Overtigo, Compagnie Holy Body Tattoo, and Compagnie Flak. Visual arts exhibitions included the display of First Nations' art from the private collection of Water Larink in the Museum of Ethnography from 18 April to 21 May, a numismatics exhibit of Dora Pederry de Hunt in the Guttmann Gallery in May, and the collection of objects returning home in the Museum of Military History in Budapest from 21 May until January of the following year.

In 2002 the Canadian Spring series in March, April and May included programs of several genres again. Three lectures took place at the 3rd Canada Days at ELTE University given by Yvonne Turcotte attaché, Dr. Gerhard Düsterhaus guest professor, and H. E. Marta Moszczenska Ambassador. The Francophone events included the screening of a Canadian film

titled *Post Mortem* dir. Louis Bélanger, a Francophone conference at the University of Pécs with lecturers Danielle Forget (University of Ottawa) and Kenneth Meadwell (University of Winnipeg), as well as a round table discussion about diversity at the *Institut français* in Budapest. Again, a different genre, a selection of nature films from the Banff Film Festival were screened at Petőfi Csarnok event hall on 24 March. Contemporary dance performances of OVertigo and Compagnie Marie Chouinard took place at Trafo Budapest. Julia Sasso's modern dance workshop took place at Artus Studio between 8-19 April. Four Canadian prairie writers, Dennis Cooley, Aritha van Herk, Doug Barbour, Nicole Markotic, and Lawrence László Szigeti critic toured university venues in the capital and the countryside. The theatre piece *I, Claudia* featured Kristen Thomson in Merlin Theatre, Budapest which also hosted a theatre poster exhibition on 26 April. Seven performances took place not only in Budapest but also in Debrecen, Szeged and Pécs. The North American Week in Pécs included Canadian presence: an official opening in the Parti Gallery, a photography exhibition of Oliver Papp, the music and poetry recital and discussion with János Tarnóc and Katalin Thury at the University of Pécs, and the theatre performance of *Indian* by George Ryga Canadian indigenous writer performed in Pécs by the students of the University of Debrecen.

The 2004 programs also offered a variety of genres and art forms for the Hungarian audience in March, April and May. Six films were screened at the Canadian Film Weekend (*La Grande Séduction* dir. Jean- François Pouliot; *Gaz Bar Blues* dir. Louis Bélanger; *Cosmos* dir. Jennifer Alleyn; *Uncles* dir. Jim Allodi, *Boomerang* dir. Dragan Marinkovic; *Yellowknife* dir. Rorige Jean) at the Örökmozgó Film Theatre on 23 and 24 April. Compagnie Marie Chouinard performed at Trafo, on 15, 16 and 17 April. The performance was followed by a reception hosted by the Canadian Embassy. The programs also included Swing at *Institut français* on 22 March, Venetian Snare drum and bass in KultiPLEX on 24 April, and a choir concert of Prima Youth Choir in Fáklya Klub on 26 April. At the hall of the Hungarian Cultural Foundation (*Magyar Kultúra Alapítvány*), a Canadian Inuit art exhibition titled *Asingit* between 3 and 30 April, and the exhibit of Canadian-Hungarian visual artists between May 10 and 31 could be seen. An exceptional hockey game between Hungary-Canada took place in the Budapest Sport Arena with NHL players against the Hungarian team on 20 April. It is worth noting that earlier that year on 3 February, the Canadian hockey team played against the Hungarian team after a 66-year break. Finally, the 2004 events also included the Vagabond Film Festival in Budapest, which welcomed the best films of the Banff Mountain Film Festival in Millenaris Center on 15 May.

As a result of the Canadian Spring program series which took place only in 1999, 2000, 2002 and 2004, the Hungarian–Canadian diplomatic relations strengthened, which were vital for the literary events taking place in the following years. (The diplomatic relations developed at the 2007 Budapest International Book Fair will be discussed in relation to the book fair in Chapter 7.3). The series did not continue after 2004, but some cultural contacts continued especially between Trafo House of Contemporary Arts and the French Institute in Budapest. On 17 May 2006, the Compagnie Marie Chouinard performed at Trafo and an after-show discussion with the dancers also took place. On 7 and 11 November 2006, the Compagnie UBU performed *The Blind / Dors Mon Petit Enfant* at Trafo, directed by Denis Marleau. A roundtable discussion followed the 11 November performance with the director, and Hungarian theatre directors Tamás Ascher and Zoltán Balázs, and Anna Lakos drama historian. On 20 March 2008, O Vertigo, a contemporary dance company from Montreal performed *La Chambre Blanche* (White Room). After the show Katalin Lőrinc dancer and dance-critic talked with Ginette Laurin choreographer. The event was supported by Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec, Canada Council for the Arts, Conseil des arts de Montréal, Foreign Affairs Canada, Canadian Heritage, Ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec, Emploi-Québec. The Marie Chouinard Dance Company has remained a regular performer in the House of Contemporary Art (TRAFO). On 6 December 2013, the dance company returned to Budapest and Marie Chouinard choreographer participated in a post-show discussion as well. The performance was supported by the Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec, the Canada Council for the Arts, and the Conseil des Arts de Montréal. Although the contemporary dance performances do not directly influence the translation of books, but they strengthen the Canadian presence, the network of the participating agents in the flow that is diplomatic bodies, members of the academia, or critics.

The *Francophone Film Days* at the Uránia National Film Theatre was launched in 2010 and has become an annual cultural event that screens films from French speaking countries, including Canada. The event is co-organized by the French Institute in Budapest and part of the Month of Francophonie every March. Apart from being a supporter of cultural events such as the Francophone Film Days, the Embassy continuously keeps up academic relations. The visits of the Ambassador to the Canadian Studies programs across Hungary strengthens the prestige and visibility of Canadian literature at the Universities. As shown above, Canada supports a variety of cultural events through local embassies and through a large-scale state support program. Now, among the art forms, let us turn towards the support of publishers.

## 6.2. CCfA grants

While government grant schemes are usually large scale and offer an opportunity for applicants all over the world to benefit from public funds designated to meet strategic goals, they are not always effective and benefitting those peripheral publishers or genres that would most need it. Next, I will examine which countries and which publishers have benefitted from the Canada Council for the Arts Translation grants discussed in Chapter 6.1 based on the publicly available data on the website of the Council (Websites and Databases 10).

Figure 8. shows the CCfA international subsidies between 1998 and 2022. As the grant scheme changed in 2017 and new categories were included, only the Publishing and Translation related funds are presented after that date. The categories for international grants were: music, visual arts, writing and publishing, theatre, dance, media and arts, prizes. The grey line clearly demonstrates that publishing and the dissemination of Canadian literature is highly supported among the cultural fields. Only visual arts are comparable to the support of publishing in the recent years, due to the increasingly visually oriented nature of cultural consumption.

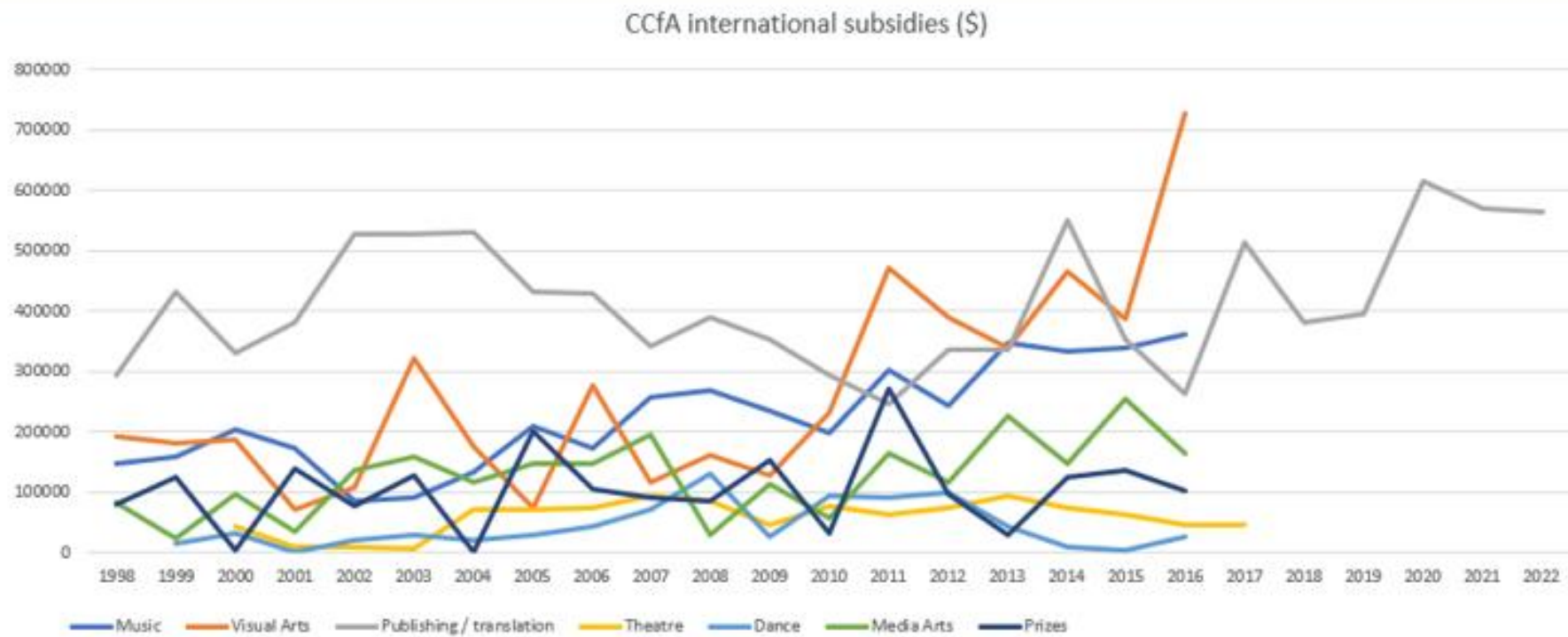


Figure 8 Categories for CCfA international subsidies. Source: <https://canadacouncil.ca/about/public-accountability/proactive-disclosure/grant-recipients>. Accessed 1 July 2024.

Figure 9. shows that Europe was a targeted region among the cultural grant recipients and support had increased in the sampled years, although this correlates with the increased number of applications as well. Nevertheless, an increased support was granted instead of capping the available funds for the old continent. Besides Europe, Canada's cultural export is encouraged toward the USA, which reveals that Canada makes an effort to keep good cultural diplomatic relations with the neighboring country. The concept of soft diplomacy has an effect on the political, economic, and cultural levels as well.

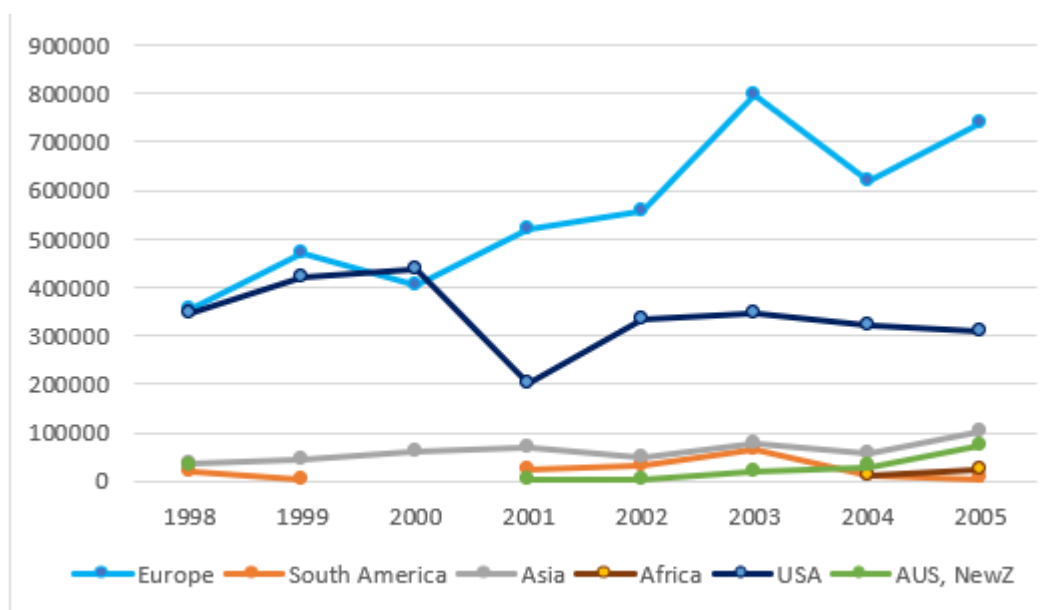


Figure 9. Regions supported by the CCfA in the world. Source: <https://canadacouncil.ca/about/public-accountability/proactive-disclosure/grant-recipients>. Accessed 1 July 2024.

Figure 10 shows that the number of applications from European countries have increased between 1998 and 2005.

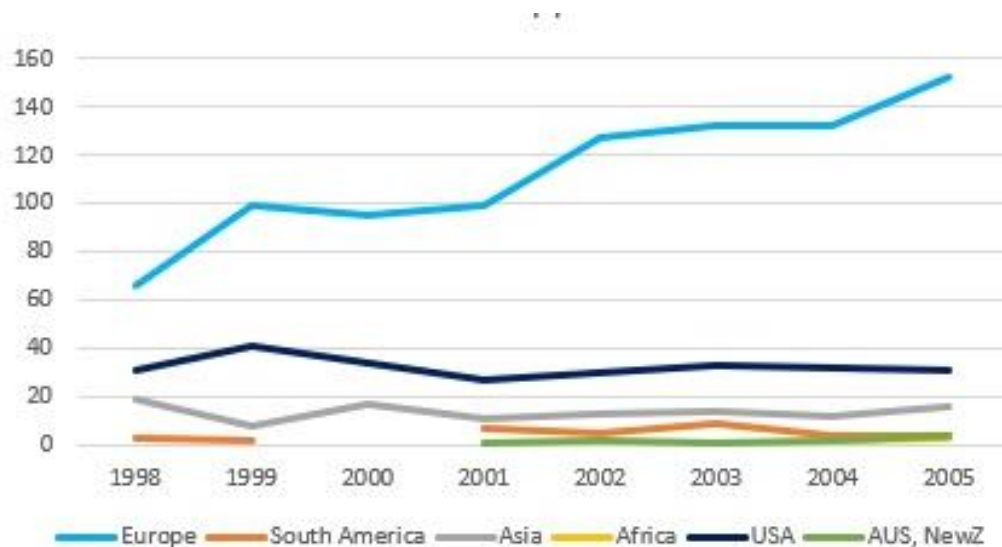


Figure 10. Number of CCfA applications between 1998 and 2005. Source: <https://canadacouncil.ca/about/public-accountability/proactive-disclosure/grant-recipients>. Accessed 1 July 2024.

These figures can be further nuanced if we look at the ratio of Eastern and Western European publishers that benefitted from the Translation grant. Figure 11 below shows that the Western European publishers were more successful in securing Canadian translation grants probably due to their information networks as well as a more stable financial background, being able to cover the 50% of the necessary funds. A steady growth in the number of Eastern European applications can be seen, however, within the eight sampled years.

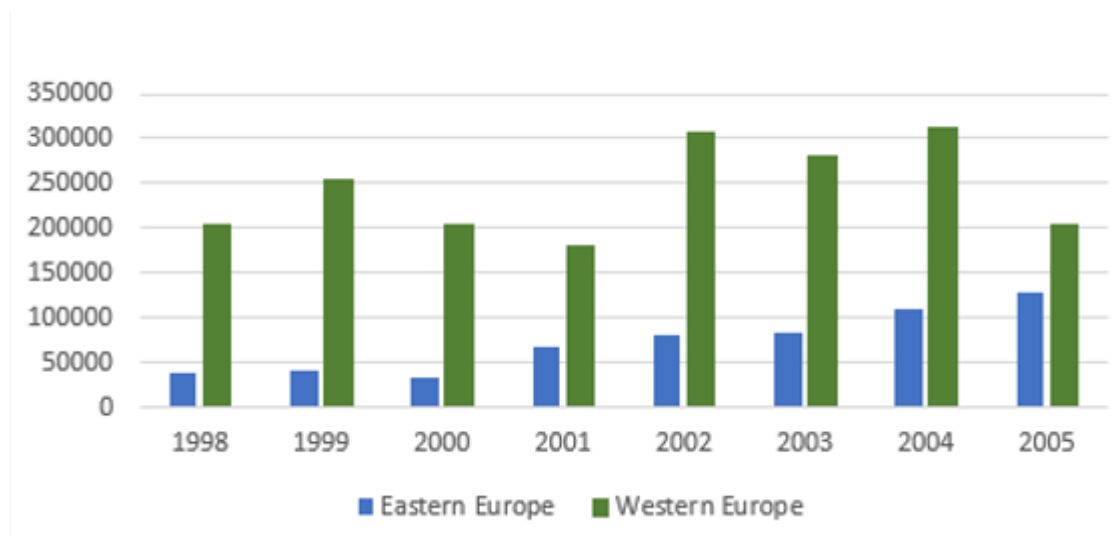


Figure 11. International translation grants of the CCfA to European publishers. Source: <https://canadacouncil.ca/about/public-accountability/proactive-disclosure/grant-recipients>. Accessed 1 July 2024.

If we further separate the Eastern European data and examine the eight countries that belong to the umbrella of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies, we can see that the Hungarian publishers – marked with green line – were not keen on applying for Canadian funding compared to Serbian publishers who took advantage of the possibility to translate Canadian books. Interestingly, there were no Hungarian beneficiaries in 2004 in the year of the Hungarian accession to the European Union, which opened up a competition for Hungarian publishers in the European market. The total of Hungarian grant subsidies between 1998 and 2022 is 82,078 CAN\$, while Serbian publishers were able to acquire 620,326 CAN\$.

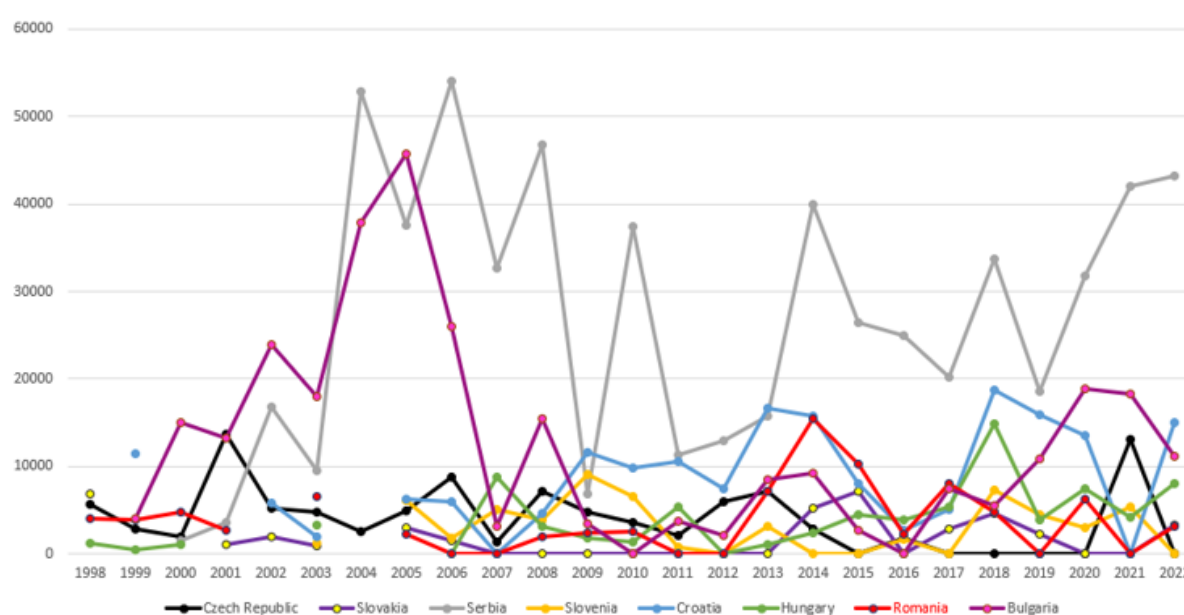


Figure 12. CCfA funding in the countries of CEACS. Source: <https://canadacouncil.ca/about/public-accountability/proactive-disclosure/grant-recipients>. Accessed 1 July 2024.

Van Es and Heilbron’s (2015) study on the Dutch to English translation flow concluded that authors from a semi-peripheral language will only be translated into the center if there is state support available from sources such as the Dutch Literature Fund (DLF) that also functions as a literary agency to suggest books and authors to foreign publishers. McMartin (2019) also examined the role of the FLF, DFL, state agents in the Dutch–English outgoing literary flow and concluded that the state agents are actively involved as “double agents” taking up a literary agent role. He states that “what are identified as translation flows between languages are actually translation flows generated from within largely national structures and import/export markets in unequal competition with one another” (2019: 52). McMartin points out the central

role of state institutions who act as literary agents to promote books. Based on the CCfA public data, we can note the increased Canadian support was matched with unequal allocation of funds where Western European publishers were more successful in acquiring state funding for publishing than Eastern European publishers.

If we look at the individual Hungarian publishers that have been granted support, we can find only 10 companies between 1998 (the earliest year in the online database) and 2014: Libri (5,500 CAN\$), Park (today an imprint of Libri, 3,500 CAN\$), Pécsi Direkt (1,800 CAN\$), L'Harmattan (2,300 CAN\$), Aposztróf (1,800 CAN\$), Napkút (700 CAN\$), Magyar Könyvklub (1,150 CAN\$), Ulpus (1,100 CAN\$), Konkrét Könyvek (900 CAN\$), Lazi (400 CAN\$), and an independent film maker Anikó Fenyvesi received 16,000 CAN\$ in 2006. After 2014 the figures have increased, for instance, in the case of Park Publishing, a total of 9,925 CAN\$ was granted between 2017 and 2019.

The interviewed publishers and editors have shared that very often the CCfA funding is not a motivating factor, as there are high costs that the publisher need to designate towards a publishing project, such is for example storage cost. The 50% support of translation fees is a help, but not a decisive factor when the publisher considers the risk of the whole project and the available capital that the company owns. Also, we can see that mostly the big publishers were successful in applying (Libri and Park) to publish Alice Munro's books that already have a significant amount of symbolic capital. Nevertheless, Vera Tönkö, editor of the Munro series, has expressed that she had to fight for the publishing of each volume as these books are slow sellers in the backlist of the publishing house and do not bring in immediate profit.

Regarding hypothesis 2, whether the translation initiative of the Canadian cultural diplomacy impacts the publishers' decision to transfer books, we can say in the Hungarian case, the larger publishers were able to benefit from this possibility to translate voices that were internationally already well known. Very few small publishers benefitted from government funding that purposes to level out the imbalance that occurs due to the peripheral positions of publishing fields. On the genre side, those books were predominantly supported that do not belong to the fast-seller category, for example Alice Munro's volumes of short stories or the translation of Margaret Atwood's *Handmaid's Tale* still in 1999, which helped the publisher to balance costs.

## 7. Meso level: Changing practices of the publisher

### 7.1. Agents in the translation flow

In this chapter, we are going to look at specifics of the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow at a meso level. Sapiro (2008: 163) and van Es and Heilbron (2015) have called for research on macro, meso and micro levels. Next, the meso level intermediaries of the publishing field will be considered (Edfeldt et al. 2022: 21) who are involved in the selection, translation and framing processes.

Translations did not only serve as new ‘literary material’ introduced in a ‘small’ market after 1989, but the transfer of books had an effect on the power positions of publishers in the post-Communist literary space. The practice of producing translations was instrumental in reshaping the social networks of the industry. Canadian books were part of that process, selected, handled by literary agents, publishers, and translators. Let us look at these agents in this order.

Thompson notes in *Merchants of Culture* (2010) the key role of literary agents who grew in numbers in the 1980s and 1990s in the global market.

The Association of Author Representatives – the professional association of literary agents – listed 424 members in 2008 but this tells us very little, since many agents and agencies, including some of the largest and most powerful agencies, are not members. One New York agent reckoned there were 1,500 agents in America, ‘97 per cent of them being based in New York which is where the heart of mainstream publishing is’, but this was just a rough guess (89).

He emphasizes that although there are no exact figures, according to the figures of [www.publishersmarketplace.com](http://www.publishersmarketplace.com) there has been a 25% increase in the number of literary agents between 2004 and 2008. During the Communist era in Hungary, there was only one state agency, the *Society Artisjus Hungarian Bureau for the Protection of Authors*, which among other tasks negotiated international translation rights. After 1989, the function of this office changed, and its monopoly ceased to exist in the field of buying production rights. A handful of literary agencies were established that on the one hand represent international authors in Hungary, on the other hand manage their relationship with Hungarian publishers. Some of these were founded by those employees who were made redundant in Artisjus. Lex Copyright, a small literary agency, was established immediately after the political transformation in 1990 by Dr.

György Szántó and runs even today. Káta & Bolza was established in 1995 and is currently the largest agency in Hungary. Unlike other agencies, it specifies on its website that it represents authors and agencies from both the USA and Canada among others. Hungarian literary agents generally consider Canada as part of the North American book market rather than a separate territory. For them, the *New York Times Book Review* is one of the most important sources of information. Agencies not only manage rights but serve as intermediaries in the selection process as they pitch books to specific publishers whose portfolio could appropriately accommodate the new title. Hungarian publishers can buy translation rights without the mediation of an agency too, but renowned international authors most often entrust an agent for the sole representation of their rights. Besides the autonomous agencies, there are international agencies with co-agents in several countries. For example, the Andrew Nurnberg Associates was established in 1977 in London and the company is present in eleven countries across the world. ANA Budapest was founded in 1996 and represents authors in Hungary and Croatia.

As mentioned earlier, the number of publishing houses surged after the political transformation, but young employees of the large publishing houses already started to establish new publishing houses a few years prior to the change<sup>26</sup>. New ventures included for example Balassi (est. 1991) or Osiris Publisher (est. 1994). It was a turbulent period according to editor Péter Zentai, founder of the Budapest International Book Festival, and publishing started to function according to market rules where publishers had to fight for each new title. The expanding market can also be witnessed in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow. Between 1920 and 1947, fifteen, between 1947 and 1989, eleven Hungarian publishers<sup>27</sup>, and prior to the political change of 1989, one Canadian, one Austrian, and one Czechoslovakian<sup>28</sup> publishing companies were involved in the translation of Canadian books into Hungarian. After 1989, however, 117 Hungarian publishers translated new titles which number reflects the dynamics of the book market described earlier. Five or fewer titles were translated by 96 publishers, and 21 publishers translated 6 or more titles between 1989 and 2014. This shows

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Zentai 28 February 2019, Budapest.

<sup>27</sup> Athenemum, Árkádia, Bibliotheca, Európa, Gondolat, Kossuth, Kozmosz, Magvető, Móra, Szépirodalmi, Szikra.

<sup>28</sup> The Slovensko Division of the Czechoslovakian Red Cross (Csehszlovák Vöröskereszt Egyesület szlovák divíziója) translated from English to Hungarian Ernest Thompson Seton's *The Winnipeg Wolf, Wully, the Story of a Yaller Dog*, *The Springfield Fox* (Hun: *A prérifarkasa: Wully, a juhászkutya: A róka-anya*) in 1936. The Kanadai Magyar Kiadó (Canadian Hungarian Publisher) published two works by Dyson Carter, *Russia's Secret Weapon* (Hungarian title: *Oroszország titkos fegyvere*), and *Stalin's Life* (*Sztálin élete*) in 1944. The Austrian OMC publisher translated two works from French into Hungarian by Jean Vanier, *La communauté, lieu du pardon et de la fête* (Hun: *A közösség a kiengesztelődés és ünneplés helye*) and *Je marche avec Jésus* (Hun: *Jézushoz megyek*) in 1986.

that after 1989 many publishers selected only one or just a few titles and did not incorporate Canadian authors into their backlist. There are several possible reasons for this. After 1989 publishing was a favoured activity, but due to the lack of financial capital, the investment had risks and these small companies were short lived or they went bankrupt and were restarted under a different name. Also, while before 1989 there was a conscious cultural-political initiative to introduce ‘new’ or peripheral literatures, for example, those of African nations with the help of state support, after the political change, selection was based on trial and error or in case of Európa Publishing House, the ”the best of everything” was sought out, which also meant a great variety of authors and genres were included. Table 3 below shows the distribution of publishers with the published titles.

<b>Canadian titles</b>	<b>Publishers 1989-2014</b>
1 title	54
2 titles	22
3 titles	9
4 titles	7
5 titles	4
6-10	12
10-20	5
21-30	3
31-40	0
41-50	1

*Table 3. The distribution of publishers and the published titles. Source: CEACS database.*

Among the 117 publishers in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, Európa Publishing House transferred the most Canadian titles (see Figure 13 below) 49 in total between 1989 and 2014. Európa’s legal predecessor was established in 1946. Up to 1989 Európa was considered a large publisher and was still one of the key players in the Hungarian publishing scene even in the 1990s when after a short privatization period the workers had a chance to become owners. After 2000, however, it started to slowly make the employees redundant and shrank the editorial team to a bare minimum in order to save costs.

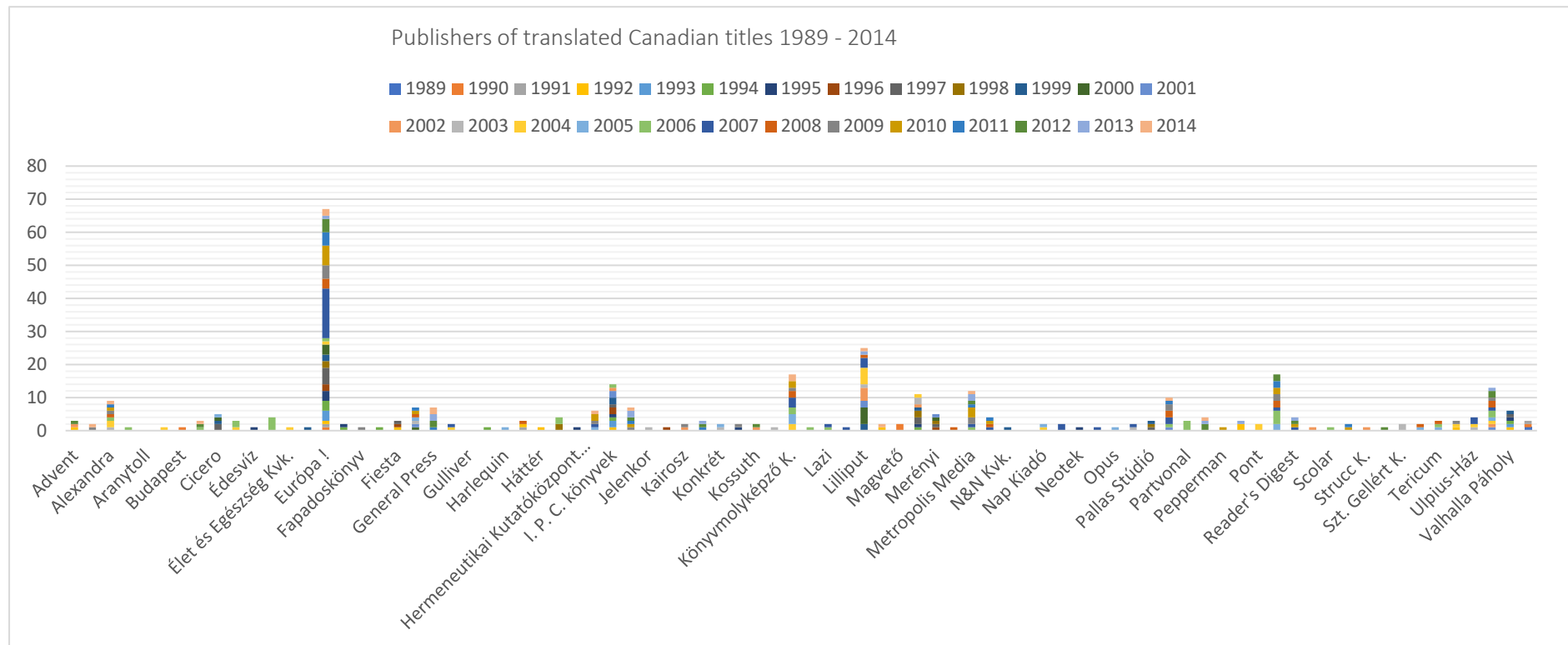


Figure 13. Publishers of Canadian literature. Source: CEACS database.

When considering large and small publishing houses on an international scale an important observation has to be made. Several researchers have pointed out (Franssen and Kuipers 2013, Sapiro 2008, van Es and Heilbron 2015) that in the Western European markets, large publishers that acquire the rights of fastseller books (at the large-scale pole) and small autonomous publishers that select niche genres (at the small-scale pole) are more likely to work together in the international market, thus these companies publish similar works due to their homologous position. In Hungary, the size of the market is much smaller compared to the international counterparts, thus it is impossible to align for example Európa Publishing House with the Canadian national publisher McClelland & Stewart as the size and revenue of the latter is much larger than that of Európa even if we consider that after 1989 it was still heavily staffed. Hungarian publishing conglomerates after 2000 that are considered large-scale, for example Libri, are still small-scale when compared with American or Canadian publishers. This theoretical proposition, thus, cannot be confirmed in the Hungarian, small-N context.

While transnational pole-coherence cannot be established between the Canadian and Hungarian publishers, book distribution shows similar tendencies in Hungary with the English language publishing sector. Thompson (2005, 2010) points out the increasing commercialization of the English language publishing market which is dominated by a few large-scale corporations that expect short-term financial returns on their investment. The large-scale publishers are intertwined with large retail chains of book distribution which make it difficult for small, independent bookstores to survive. This tendency is also characteristic of the Hungarian market. The aforementioned Libri used to be a retailer company but became a publishing conglomerate in Hungary which now has a sizable market share of both distribution and publishing.

The selection process is also influenced by advisors such as scouts who appeared since the 2010s in the Hungarian market. A publishing house incorporates a number of complex functions managed by several employees for example desk editor, production manager, art editor, sales manager, finance and accounting manager, rights' and acquisition editor, sales representative, marketing manager, distribution manager, customer services, credit and collections services and these also influence the selection of new translations. According to Bart, the director of the publishing house resembles a conductor (2005). Yet, Miklós M. Nagy goes one step further when he points out that not only the leadership role matters, but it is also important that the leader becomes a real '*publisher*'. As he was using the English word '*publisher*' in the Hungarian interview, he was referring to the multifaceted role of an

international mediator, which resembles a manager. He emphasises that the head of the venture needs to be aware of publishing events, aesthetic and financial considerations to make balanced decisions. Since the millennium, directors in Hungary have been overwhelmed by information from various intermediaries: advisors, experts, scouts who advise based on insider knowledge which books are successful abroad based on print runs and international literary awards. M. Nagy, previously a text editor, literary critic, literary editor, reviewer, translator (also of Canadian literature), became a publisher in 2013. He pointed out that a publisher also has a strong awareness of audiovisual adaptations. Between 1989 and 2000 Európa had a strong position among the publishing houses. Pitches were offered exclusively to them. After 2000 the selection criteria in Európa moved from building its portfolio from national literatures to building a portfolio with bestsellers, authors of transnational symbolic capital.

In the examined period, a total of 246 translators were contracted by publishers to translate Canadian literature. The nine most contracted translators are listed in Table 4 below.

Translator	Number of titles translated	Publisher's genre category	Publisher
Szűr-Szabó, Katalin	28	YA fiction	Könyvmolyképző, Európa
Nagy, Ágnes	15	YA fiction	PonyClub, Penny Girl, Planétás
Balázs, Katalin	9	Religion	Ursus Libris
Tamás, Dénes	8	Sci-fi, Fantasy	Metropolis Media
Csorba, Tünde	8	Children's fiction	Liliput
Pék, Zoltán	7	Fiction, Sci-fi	Európa, Agave, Metropolis Media, Palatinus
Fazekas, László	7	Suspense fiction	I.P.C Könyvek, Könyvmíves Kvk.
Mesterházi, Mónika	6	Fiction	Park
Dövényi, Mária Ibolya	6	YA fiction	PonyClub, Penny Girl, Girl:it

*Table 4. The nine most contracted translators in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow. Source: CEACS database.*

The data shows that the fluctuation of translators for Canadian literature is high in the examined period. 158 translators were hired only once by the publisher, 38 were contracted twice, and 16 four times. Európa and Könyvmolyképző Publishing Houses were the most consistent working with Katalin Szűr-Szabó, translator of 28 books, Montgomery's Anne series and its adaptations. The choice of the translator resulted in a consistent style and terminology in the whole series of the Montgomery books which benefitted the book sales.

According to Jijon (2019), in sociological research it is important to examine how mediators imagine their role. We have seen that a publisher often has to balance conflicting roles and become a 'managing publisher' who builds a portfolio, selects, and produces books to meet aesthetic and financial expectations. Publishers in the examined period no longer served the political-ideological agenda but had to deal with an overwhelming amount of information that came from intermediaries. Shortly after the political transformation, the number of interested parties (eg. literary agents, publishers, scouts) has increased, while financial assets have generally decreased causing publishing houses cut back on costs and release workers while at the same time the number of published titles increased. The print runs were kept low which was done not only to cut back financial spending and the cost of storage, but also due to the decreasing number of readers.

## 7.2. Change in the selection practices

Immediately after 1989 publishers felt that they had to "catch up" to the West in Pascale Casanova's term (2004). Not all publishers managed to adapt at the same pace, however. While the practice of in-house reviewing was abandoned by publishers by 2000 and most of them turned to bestseller lists, literary agents, scouts for information in the acquisition process, Európa Publishing House kept in-house reviewing as late as 2013. Selection at Európa used to be based on approx. 20 professional journals until 1989 most of which arrived from the Soviet Union<sup>29</sup>. Additionally, reviewing was done, at least three reviews per book, which were discussed every three months. This made the selection procedure very slow. M. Nagy ended reviewing practices in 2013 when he became director in order to speed up the decision-making process.

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with Miklós M. Nagy, Miklós, former director of Európa on 28 February 2019, at the headquarters of Libri, Budapest.

Klaus Peter Müller (2007) examines the marketing strategy of publishers based on the blurbs of books and the websites of publishers and booksellers and identifies six main reasons why Canadian short stories are translated into German. “These reasons reflect contemporary concerns and interests that are widely considered in Western cultures, especially in literary and cultural studies, but also in economics and marketing strategies” – he says (54). The reasons that publishers chose Canadian texts for translation are the following: *exotic otherness of Canada, ethnicity, regionalism, Canada as a contemporary postmodern nation, the author’s popularity, and literary qualities*. The exotic otherness of Canada incorporates the fascination with aboriginal people, landscape, wilderness, animals, and adventure stories. Exotic features also become highlighted when Canada is promoted as a tourist destination.

Müller points out that exoticism is less and less presented after the 1970s in a textual form, rather it is done through other media, for example, documentary films. The portrayal of ethnicity and multicultural identities is also a reason for translation. German readers are likely to read the text if it gives them an insight about immigrant predecessors who left Germany for Canada. Also, regionalism is an important theme in Canadian fiction, yet this is the least significant reason why German readers are interested in a short story. Regional identities relate to geography, language, and literature. The fourth reason for translation is the portrayal of contemporary postmodern identities on a national, urban or rural, family, religious or a gender level. These texts intrigue Germans, although for example Northrop Frye or Alice Munro’s questions of “Where is here?” and “Who do you think you are?” will lead to different answers (62). The struggle for survival in a hostile world is a theme of modernity that Germans can also relate to.

The popularity of the author is the fifth reason for translation. Among the short story writers, Margaret Atwood, Margaret Laurence, Mavis Gallant or Norman Levine are familiar names to German readers already, as several of their works have been translated. Apart from their popularity, their short stories tap into the other reasons for translation as well that make their literary work a likely choice. “Atwood is generally marketed as a writer dealing with contemporary issues, especially life in (post)modern cities, gender roles, and relationships. These elements of her stories are usually highlighted, linked with her popularity and the literary qualities of her writing” (67). Müller points out that those stories by Gallant have been translated into German that reflect a sense of transition, and not necessarily stories that take place only in Canada. Interestingly, international fame is not always a guarantee for German translation. Alice Munro was not automatically translated after her first Governor General’s

Literary Award. Only after 1981, after the translation of *Who do you think you are?* (*Das Bettlermädchen*) became the translation of her short stories continuous. Müller shows that Alister MacLeod had to become popular in Germany as a novelist before his short stories were translated.

Finally, literary qualities also motivate a translation flow, but they are a minor incentive and proved to be not enough to sell the book to the public. Müller recalls that El-Hassan's 1992 anthology highlighted the literary qualities of the texts on the publisher's materials, but the publication was not successful. Müller states that "[o]f the six motivations for translation presented here, the most important one is clearly the focus on contemporary life, which caters to the experiences, questions, problems, and interests of readers" (2007: 75). Thus, relying on only one motivating factor is not enough, several need to be in place for a translated work to be published. The author concludes that "[e]ven though Canada is probably still not regarded as an autonomous literary entity by the general German-speaking public, but as part of the (exotic) American north or of the (post)modern contemporary Western world, its renown as the origin of excellent writers has definitely increased" (76).

These six German publishing strategies also apply to the Hungarian publishers when selecting Canadian literature. Before 1989 adventure stories by Ernest Thompson Seton (Hun. translation in 1920, 1921, 1922, 1931, 1932, 1960), Archibald Stansfeld Belaney (under the penname of Grey Owl, translation in 1937, 1941, 1943, 1975), or Farley Mowat (translation in 1965, 1976, 1982, 1984, 1988, 1997, 1999) were very popular among young adults. These stories guide the reader into the wilderness, into the 'exotic otherness' of Canada. The 1982 exhibition on the Aboriginal cultures in the Museum of Ethnography also drew on exoticism. This reason for translation, however, continues even after the change of the regime. Farley Mowat who writes about the relationship between nature and humans, remains a popular author even after 1989 as new titles were translated from him. Also, several years later, at the Budapest International Book Festival 40 Canadian landscape albums were presented.

Several books had been reviewed in Európa Publishing House before 1989 that describe ethnic groups. Seven reviews are dated before 1989 on Mordecai Richler's novels that portray Jewish-Canadian lives in Montreal and Toronto: *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (reviewed in 1973), *St. Urbain's Horseman* (reviewed in 1973), *Shovelling Trouble* (reviewed in 1974), and *Joshua Now and Then* (reviewed in 1981). His figures are intellectuals, rich, successful, and we see their quest for happiness. Some of the reviewers point out that the quality

of Richler's literary work equals that of Saul Bellow or Bernard Malamud. Out of eight reviews, six documents, all dated before 1974, do not recommend publishing. These reviews emphasize that the issue of Jewish traditions and assimilation are not presented appropriately. *Joshua Now and Then*, a bildungsroman was recommended after that by both reviewers in 1981 and as a result was translated by Elga Sárközy, published by Európa in 1986. Richler's novel *Barney's Version* came out after the change of the regime, in 1998, under the title *Így látta Barney* [Barney saw it that way] at Európa, translated by Imre Szász.

Learning about multiple identities or ethnic, historical background becomes an important reason for translation only after the political transformation in Hungary. In this case, there is a need for communication from the source culture as well as a need to understand and interpret the historical events of the 20th century in the target culture. For example, Anna Porter's *The Storyteller* (*Fénytörések. Családom története és nemtörténete*), published in Hungarian by Helikon in 2006, is an autobiographical novel about the childhood experiences of the 1956 immigrants. *Megtagadva: egy szerelem igaz története* (translator unknown, published by Aposztróf in 2010) the novel of Susan M. Papp showed up first in the translation subsidy reports of the Canada Council for the Arts and was not initially listed in the CEACS database. The Canadian film producer and writer was born in the USA, her parents belonged to the Hungarian minority in Romania and in Ukraine. She published *Outcasts: A Love Story* with the Dundurn Press, an independent Canadian publisher in 2009. The book is based on a true story of a Christian businessman and a Jewish woman who survive World War II and the Holocaust. The novel is categorized by the publisher as a 'documentary novel' and follows the path of the main characters first from the former territories of Hungary, currently belonging to Ukraine, to the concentration camps of Germany, and after liberation, to Canada. On the Hungarian translation, the name of the author appears in Hungarian, as 'M. Papp Zsuzsa', taking the book even closer to the target readers. In this case, however, the members of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine might also belong to the group of potential readers due to the topic of the novel. The availability of the translation outside the national borders is up to the publisher's marketing and distribution strategy as well as the cultural and trade agreements between Hungary and Ukraine. The third example is Tamás Dobózi's *Siege 13* (English original 2012), a volume of short stories which focuses on the 1956 uprising as imagined by a second-generation Hungarian-Canadian writer. The book has been only partially translated into Hungarian and still awaiting a publisher.

Ethnicity plays a role in other ways as well in the selection strategies. Rohinton Mistry's novel titled *A Fine Balance* takes place in the country of ethnic background of the author, not in Canada. In Hungarian it came out under the title *India, India* (2007) published by Ulpius, translated by András Csikós, a former Hungarian diplomat to India. After the popularity of the book, Csikós went on translating three other books by Mistry: *Family Matters* in 2010 (in Hungarian *Családi ügyek*), *Tales from Firozsha Baag* in 2011 (in Hungarian *Add kölcsön lámpásod fényét: egy bombayi öreg ház meséi*) and *Such a long journey* in 2012 (in Hungarian *Ilyen hosszú út*). The ethnic background was an important source of motivation for translation regardless of the fact that the stories take place in India, rather than Canada.

Apart from the six reasons Klaus Peter Müller (2007) lists as motivators for translation, timing is also decisive. Qualitative data reveals that publishers work in cycles with national and international book fairs which are central events of the book market. Consequently, books are usually prepared to appear by the time of an event. Next, we will examine the role of the book market in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow.

### 7.3. Change in promotion practices, Events of the book market

The initial frequency graph (Figure 5) reveals that the Budapest International Book Festival in 2007 was a key motivator in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, thus we will examine the context where Canadian literature was presented, and we will compare the media responses for the event in the press folder of the Canadian Embassy in Budapest<sup>30</sup>. Additionally, five radio broadcasts aired on Kossuth Radio, reports done at the time of the Book Festival will be examined.

Research has shown that book fairs (Thompson 2010, English 2010, Moeran 2010, Pallas et. al. 2024) are one of the most important drivers of production as these occasions provide an opportunity for the agents of the state administration, cultural diplomacy, public institutions as well as publishers, literary agents, authors, translators, media bodies, and local readers to connect. The Frankfurt Book Fair, established in 1949, is the largest annual trade fair in the world with approximately 4,000 exhibitors, 250,000 visitors and 7,000 media representatives attending. Canada had the opportunity to be the guest of honour country at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2020/2021. Canadian cultural diplomacy has turned its focus to the

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<sup>30</sup> I would like to express my special thanks to the Canadian Embassy in Budapest letting me access their press folder.

promotion of its literature, and towards translation into German. Also, Canadian cultural production became the centre of international attention.

According to the website of the Bookfair, the “Frankfurter Buchmesse is a crossroads where people and culture meet” (Websites and Databases 11), which statement fits Jijon’s hermeneutic model of translation in which the mediator is placed at the intersection, at the meeting point of source and target cultures. As we will see, the intersection of cultural fields is not enough though, events take place only where resources (both financial and symbolic) accumulate, and cultural mediators cultivate an active network. While cultural translation takes place at the book fair, translation commissions are a prerequisite and a consequence of the event.

Hungary was not completely sealed off before 1989 even behind the Iron Curtain. The country participated in the Frankfurt Book Fair even during the Communist years and its cultural production was annually represented by the Kultúra Külkereskedelmi Vállalat [‘Culture’ Foreign Trade Company]. A few years after the transformation, in 1992, Péter László Zentai and István Bart contacted Peter Weidhaas, director of the Frankfurt Book Fair at the time, and asked for help to start an international book festival in Hungary, to which he agreed immediately. The Budapest International Book Festival was founded two years later, in 1994, and as recommended by Weidhaas, it was carefully adjusted to the timing of other international book festivals. The founder and director of the Book Festival, Péter László Zentai, had experience in publishing already. He worked earlier at the literary department of the Ministry of Culture, at the Szépirodalmi Publishing House and later in the editorial section of Corvina Publishing House.<sup>31</sup> The Hungarian festival was set up as a “mini-Frankfurt” partly as a result of the professional cooperation. The organizers of the Frankfurt Book Fair came to Budapest to train the Hungarian colleagues, and passed on the know-how of the fair. This close working relationship was one of the reasons why Hungary was invited to be the guest of honour at Frankfurt in 1999. The legal entity behind the Budapest International Book Festival is the Hungarian Publishers’ and Booksellers’ Association which traces its history as far as 1795 through the Body of Pest Booksellers. The location of the Festival was initially the Budapest Kongresszusi Központ (Budapest Congress Center) and from 2008 moved to Millenáris Park. The special feature of the Hungarian Festival is that most books are not only exhibited, but are also for sale, so visitors can immediately buy them usually with a discount. At the Festival,

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with Zentai 28 February 2019, Budapest.

several prizes, such as the Budapest Prize, Publisher of the Year, or Retailer of the Year are presented each year. Apart from that, European authors who appear with their first literary work also have a mini-festival within the event.

Regarding the selection of guest of honour countries, Zentai shared that when they started the Festival, they relied heavily on the advice of Levente Osztoivits, director of the Európa Publishing House, who had an excellent sense for what was valuable in the field. Being invited as a guest of honour is a great cultural diplomatic gesture and the guest countries usually offer support to Hungarian publishers to translate works. At the time when Canada was considered, India was also a possibility. Canada's literature was basically unknown for the Hungarian readers, as Canada's publishing sector up until the 1960s was dominated by the USA. Canadian writers would rather publish with American publishers than with one for example in Toronto. Thanks to Canadian state support and writing programs, more and more literary works were produced that awaited dissemination. Canada was selected to be the first overseas guest of honour country at the Budapest International Book Festival. Zentai also shared that they emphasized the link on purpose between the 1956 revolution and Canada's role in accepting Hungarian refugees, most of whom were intellectuals with cultural prestige. "The connection between the two countries is stronger than we think" – Zentai emphasized. 20% of the Hungarians fleeing in 1956 from Communist oppression chose Canada as their new home. He expressed that it was not by chance that most of the Canadian writers who attended the Festival were of Hungarian origin. It is worth noting that while American authors have been invited as guests to the festival, Bret Easton Ellis in 2008 and Jonathan Franzen in 2015, the United States as a country has not filled the guest of honour position at the Budapest International Book Fest.

According to media sources in the Canadian Embassy's press folder, 25 countries presented their literary works at the three-day event between 12-15 April 2007, and 500 Hungarian and international publishers exhibited approximately 40,000 books. Canada as Guest of Honour displayed 800 titles, and 40 titles were translated into Hungarian for the event or in the lead-up, that is, in the one and a half years, to the event. Apart from the literary works, 20 representative books on Canada's history, geography or art were also presented. The Hungarian book festival was financially supported by the Canada Council for the Arts and Canadian Heritage, as well as the Association of Canadian Publishers. Five Canadian writers travelled to Budapest, namely Elizabeth Blayer, Joseph Boyden, Sharon Pollock, Anna Porter, and Pablo Urbányi.

The program of the event was set by the festival organizers and the Canadian Embassy, but as advisors, Canadian Studies scholars were also involved. Initially, the festival organizers suggested that popular authors would be invited, and Hungarian-Canadian writers would be in the forefront, but Professor Kürtösi Katalin argued that authors such as Sharon Pollock playwright with literary merit should also be included. She was indeed included in the Festival program and also visited the universities of Szeged and Debrecen where she was received with great enthusiasm by students. The festival organizers and the Embassy was grateful for the academic involvement. With the cooperation of the interested parties, a balanced program became possible that aimed to introduce a diversity of voices.

The Festival was opened by István Hiller, Minister of Culture and H. E. Robert Hage, Canadian Ambassador on 12 April. Italian writer and philosopher Umberto Eco received the Budapest Prize. Peter Weidhaas, former director of the Frankfurt Book Fair also received an award for the cooperation and support he had given to the book festival in Budapest. The programs of the first day of the festival on 13 April were mostly oriented towards the publishing profession, but readers were also welcome. In the morning there was a round table discussion about book publishing in Canada which was by invitation only for publishers. The organizer was Anna Porter, Hungarian-Canadian writer, publisher. In the afternoon, a panel discussion on the short stories of Alice Munro took place, among the panelists were: university professors Anna Jakabfi and Ferenc Takács, Mónika Mesterházi translator, and Enikő Börcsök actress was reading from the short stories. This shows that a variety of agents were involved during the cultural event and multiple points of view were represented.

On the second day, 14 April two book launches took place. Helikon Publishing House launched Anna Porter's *Fénytörések*, and Noran Publishing House presented Pablo Urbányi's novel *Isten állatkerje*. In both cases artists read from the novels and media representatives were present. In the afternoon Joseph Boyden talked about his novel *Három nap az út* (*Three Day Road*) organized by Geopen Publisher. Also in the afternoon Sharon Pollock's oeuvre and drama titled *Vérkötelékek* (*Blood Relations*) was presented by Katalin Kürtösi, who was also the translator of the work. Although the drama was translated in 2007, published in a book form in Napkút Publisher, and initial discussions took place in the Theatre of Szeged about possible staging, the play has not appeared on stage to date. The program ended with Elizabeth Blayer's talk about Canadian-Hungarian romantic fiction, which presentation was organized by the Canadian Embassy, Budapest.

The press folder of the Canadian Embassy in Budapest contains 24 media responses collected from leading Hungarian printed newspapers (*Magyar Nemzet*, *Népszabadság*, *Heti Válasz*), an online news portal (Ma.hu), and the online portals of radio and TV stations (*Magyar Rádió*, *RTL Klub*, *Híradó online*) on the 2007 Budapest International Book Festival. All clippings give account of two important highlights: Italian writer and philosopher Umberto Eco receiving the Budapest Prize, and the presence of the guest of honour country, Canada. Between the two, Canada was the less known. According to Kürtösi, this imbalance did not overshadow the programs of the guest of honour country, on the contrary. The name of Umberto Eco attracted a record number of visitors who then had a chance to meet Canadian writers in person and also get to know them through their writing and translated works. Themes that appear in the media responses are the 1956 connection, the financial support that the Canadian Government for the publishing industry and the result this protectionism has brought about, which was contrasted with that the withdrawal of funds in Hungary. Key actors have been mentioned, such as H. E. Robert Hague, the Ambassador of Canada, who drew a parallel between the planned and continuous support of literature and the publishing of books with the strengthening of the Canadian identity (Barna 2007).

The national radio channel, Kossuth Radio aired five reports between 12-15 April 2007 about the book festival totaling 3 hours and 38 minutes but not all of them focused on Canada. In 2007, this radio station had the most listeners and the daily on the site reports probably had a great impact as at that time it was one of the few sources of information.

**The list of aired reports were the following:**

12 April 2007. 10-14.59 XIV. Budapest International Book Festival – live broadcast from the Budapest Congress Center. Recipient of the Budapest Prize: Umberto Eco, Guest of Honour country: Canada. Reporter: Zsuzsanna Kövesdy

12 April 2007. 17.05-17.45 Live broadcast from the Budapest Congress Center. Guest of Honour country: Canada. Reporter: Katalin Liptay, Editor: Lídia Jósmai

13 April 2007. 11:33 – Live broadcast from the Budapest Congress Center. Reporter: Zsuzsa Völgyi Tóth

14 April 2007. 15.04-15.58 Literary Journal. 14th Budapest International Book Festival.

15 April 2007. 17.05-17.59 14th Budapest International Book Festival. Recipient of the Budapest Prize: Umberto Eco. Panel discussion with Imre Barna. Editor: Lídia Jósmai.

The first report focused on the translation support program of the Hungarian Book Foundation (est. 1997), the NKA National Cultural Foundation that publishers can access when trying to present a Hungarian book in the international market. Next, a series of mini-interviews were broadcast with Sharon Pollock and translator Katalin Kürtösi, as well as with Pablo Urbányi who talked about multicultural identity through his own life story. Vera Tönkö editor described Alice Munro's prose and praised the translation by Mónika Mesterházi and briefly mentioned the forthcoming Munro translation. The fifth radio broadcast streamed the podium discussion of Imre Barna translator with Umberto Eco.

**The detailed program of the 14th International Book Festival in Budapest, 2007:**

**12 April. 15:00** Opened by István Hiller Minister of Culture and H. E. Robert Hage, Canadian ambassador, Active participation of the Canadian Embassy in Budapest.

**13 April. 10:00 – 11:00** Round table discussion about book publishing in Canada. By invitation only event. Participants: Anna Porter and the representatives of Hungarian publishing houses. Organizer: Canadian Embassy in Hungary.

**13 April. 14:00 – 15:00** Panel discussion about Alice Munro's volume of short stories: *Csend, vétek, szenvedély*. Participants: Anna Jakabfi, PhD., Ferenc Takács PhD., critic, literary historian, Mónika Mesterházy, translator. Excerpts were read by Enikő Börcsök actress. Moderator: Vera Tönkö, editor at Park Publishing House.

**14 April. 11:00 – 12:00** Book launch: Anna Porter: *Fénytörések – családom történetei és nemtörténetei*. Participants: István Bart, Anna Kubik. Moderator: Éva Ambrus, literary editor (Helikon Publishing House).

**14 April. 14:30 – 15:30** Joseph Boyden is talking about his book: *Három nap az út* (*Three Day Road*) with the media and the readers (Organized by the Geopen Publishing House)

**14 April. 14:50 – 15:30** Book launch: Pablo Urbányi's *Isten állatkerje* [The Zoo of God]. Participants: the author, Éva Dobos translator, Péter Vallai actor, József P. Körössi – Noran Publishing House.

**14 April. 16:00 – 17:00** Canadian theatre: past, present and future. Participant: Sharon Pollock. Moderator: Katalin Kürtösi, PhD.

**14 April. 17:00 – 18:00** Canadian-Hungarian romantic fiction. Participant: Elizabeth Blayer (Organized by the Canadian Embassy, Budapest)

**Exhibition:** Bartók Room: *New life – New country*. 50 stories about Hungarian-Canadian lives. V. Tony Houser's portraits. (Organizer: Canadian Embassy, Budapest)

A photo exhibition accompanied the book festival which portrayed fifty Canadian-Hungarians in black and white with their short life story. Most of them immigrated in 1956 from Communist Hungary or are first generation Canadian-Hungarians who in one way or the other enriched Canada. The photograph of Anna Porter, writer visiting at the International Book Fair, was also part of the exhibition. The series titled "*New life*", was commissioned by the Canadian National Arts Centre and was presented in Canada at several places prior to the exhibit in Budapest. In 2006 it appeared in the National Arts Centre in Ottawa, at the Munk Centre for International Studies in Toronto, at the Allan Lambert Galleria in Toronto, and Pier 21 in Halifax where most Eastern European immigrants entered the country. The photographs and the accompanying life stories can still be seen online: <https://hungarianpresence.ca/new-lives-slideshow/>. The photographs were first exhibited in February 2007 in the Budapest Castle District before they were presented at the Book Festival in April.

In the Hungarian cultural memory, the 1956 revolution and the consequent armed retaliations made a deep impression. Canada accepted more than 37,000 Hungarian refugees after 1956 (Troper 2010: 176). Due to the horrific Communist oppression, from which these people fled, much of the connection between the refugees and Hungarian friends and family were severed, yet some connection remained either through letters, published stories, and international contacts or a merely in a sentiment on the part of the Canadian-Hungarians towards their homeland. This visible or invisible connection was expressed in an exhibition at the 2007 Budapest International Book Fair that featured the photographs of V. Tony Hauser.

The Guest of Honorship role of Canada at the Book Fair in 2007 and the 50th anniversary of the 1956 uprising contributed to developments in diplomacy as well. In November 2008 H. E. Michaëlle Jean the 27th Governor General of Canada and her husband H. E. Jean-Daniel Lafond visited Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Slovenia. According to the official document announcing the members of the delegation, the diplomatic

visit focused on the process of democratic transition, the existing historical and cultural ties, the developing trade relations between the four Central European countries and Canada, and the participation in our common NATO missions, especially in the reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. This state visit professedly wished to strengthen ties and alliances with the four countries and on a higher level with the European Union. The official delegation consisted of 8 members and the accompanying delegation had an additional 8 members with diverse cultural and professional backgrounds so that they could represent Canada's "unity in diversity." Interestingly, among the members of the delegation, it was the Governor General H. E. Michaëlle Jean, who received an MA degree in comparative literature from the Université de Montréal (Archives of the Governor General of Canada, Websites and Databases 12).

Also, as a result of the book festival, Canada's literary production received more attention. Although not a translation, but also in 2007, Árpád Vigh's monograph on the literary history of Quebec came out at Akadémiai Publishing House titled *Kék mezőben fehér liliom - A francia-kanadai irodalom története* [White lily in a blue field – the history of French-Canadian literature]. In the field of theatre art, also in the line of events after the Book Festival, drama reading sessions took place in Vig Theatre in Budapest (one of the largest stages in the capital) considering pieces from the drama collection *Történet a hetediken* that was published also in 2007.

We have seen that events, such as book festivals reveal not only the struggles but also the cooperation between macro (diplomatic level), meso (publisher level) and micro (individual) levels. On the one hand, some struggle can be noted in the publishing field, especially because compared to the Canadian counterpart, the Hungarian state institutions do not get financially involved in the costs of the publishing industry, on the other hand, diplomatic bodies, publishers, translators, as well as academics negotiated their aspirations according to their dispositions in the organization process of the 2007 Budapest International Book Festival.

Based on the examined data, Hypothesis 4 can be confirmed as based on the frequency graph of published titles, 2007 shows the highest production, on the other hand this steady growth is not long lasting, immediately after the Book Fair, the number of translated titles drops. Although from a publishing point of view the book fair effect produced a short-term growth, we have seen that on the diplomatic side, the communication continued and the Governor General visited Hungary in 2008 which is a positive diplomatic move on a macro-meso level.

According to the hermeneutic model of translation, publishers interpret globally circulating literature, perceive Canada, interpret the texts' connection to other literary pieces and bundles of culture and build congruence or stretch the audience's horizon of expectations in a certain way that allows the audience to imagine the foreign "Other" (Jijon 2019). In the next section we will examine the framing practices of the publisher which guide the imagination of the reader even before they open the book.

#### 7.4. Change in the production practices: Framing

As has been said (see Chapter 3), based on Jijon (2019), Alvstad (2012), van Es and Heilbron (2015), four main framing strategies have been identified in the publisher's practice (see Chapter 3): commercial, universal, regional, and cultural bundles frames. The commercial frame emphasizes that the book is easily accessible and considered to be a bestseller.<sup>32</sup> The regional frame highlights the unique features of the location and emphasises diversity. In the case of Canadian books, these include nature, multiculturalism, indigenous people, ethnic groups, comparison with the USA etc. Universal frames evoke a sense of unity, they downplay cultural diversity, and emphasise the status of a 'classic,' which suggests that the book is comparable worldwide. Fourthly, the cultural bundle frames refer to adaptations in film or other form such as ballet, video game etc. In order to identify the framing strategy of the publisher, paratextual data (reviewing documents, book covers, forewords and afterwords) are analysed and cross checked with interview data.

For the framing of the Hungarian publisher, first, the in-house documents will be looked at. The publisher's reviewers formed the first opinion about the content, the genre, and the political acceptability of Canadian books. 80 reviewer's reports have been found and examined that have served as a selection tool for Európa Publishing House on Canadian authors, namely on Margaret Atwood, David Morel, Douglas Coupland, Farley Mowat, Northrop Frye, Stephen Leacock, Leonard Cohen, Matt Cohen, Lucy Maud Montgomery, Alice Munro, Mordecai Richler, Robertson Davies, Timothy Findley and Stephen Vizinczey. Of these, 64 are dated in 1989 or earlier, 13 are dated between 1990 and 1996 and 4 are without a date. 61% of the reports (49 out of 80) recommend, while 39% (31) do not recommend the translation of the work in question. Generally, the reports use a mix of frames, rather than merely one. Universal frames are often balanced with regional aspects, for example the subtleties of human interactions or

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<sup>32</sup> As Driscoll and Squires point out (2020) there is a vagueness regarding this category as this label is used by publishers and the media as part of the marketing campaign and appears on the cover before even the sales start. It is also not clear whether bestseller lists are based on weekly or monthly sales.

the overarching themes of love and war, that are part of general human experience, are combined with references to Canada or the political-ideological constraints of Hungary at the time (eg., Richler, Montgomery, Davies, Vizinczey).

While books are usually not framed with a single strategy, the reports still deploy one frame that is predominant and accompanied by the others. The thematic analysis has shown that 38 books are introduced with a predominantly universal frame, 34 with a regional frame, 4 reports highlight a commercial frame (dated 1961, 1985, and 2 reports in 1990), and 4 reports emphasize cultural bundles (dated 1985, 1991, 1995, 1996). The commercial frame is mostly used in the readers' reports dated after 1989 which is underpinned by the visual marking of a 'bestseller' on the cover that will be examined below in this chapter.

Four books were not recommended to be published for political reasons. All four are framed by the publisher's reviewers with predominantly regional frames and put little emphasis on other qualities. These reports are dated 1973, 1974, 1985 and 1986 which shows that political considerations surfaced up until the change of the regime. These political references will vary in explicitness. In 1973, one of the reviewers of Mordecai Richler's *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* points out that "I know few novels that are written at such an interesting and artistic level which reveal the inner workings of capitalism with such power and determination, and point out that its substance destroys human morality, which destruction is inevitable"<sup>33</sup> (1973). The report on Robertson Davies's *Fifth Business* is more explicit than the first case and closes with regretting that after the initial realist style, the novel turns to a mysterious, even supernatural storyline. "This is a primitive story for the Hungarian readers as it reminds them of stories from a hundred-year-old almanac. After the realist style at the beginning, the descriptions on the saints of the Catholic church will not attract much attention. The sections on the direction of world politics do not promote socialism either"<sup>34</sup> (1974). The third report dated in 1985 focuses on Stephen Vizinczey's *The Rules of Chaos*, on a writer who fled from Hungary in 1956. The report points out that according to the dustjacket, two books by Vizinczey were banned in Hungary, one of these titled *In Praise of Older Women* became a bestseller in English speaking countries. A film adaptation of the same book, released not only in Canada but also in the United States, is autobiographical as it is about a Hungarian young man who is

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<sup>33</sup> "Kevés regényt ismerek - különösen ezen az érdekességi és művészi megoldási szinten - amely ilyen erővel és elszántsággal számolna le a kapitalizmus belső mechanizmusával, rámutatva annak emberi erkölcsöt pusztító lényegére, s a pusztulás elkerülhetlenségére."

<sup>34</sup> "A magyar olvasó számára helyenként primitív történet egy száz évvel ezelőtti kalendárium meséjére emlékeztet. A realista kezdés után a katólikus (sic!) vallás szentjeiről szóló részek nem tarthatnak komoly érdeklődésre számot. A világpolitika alakulásáról írt sorok pedig éppen nem a szocializmus mellett szólnak."

occupied with anti-Communist activity. Although the reviewer's report emphasises that Vizinczey's work is successful abroad and the book has been adapted to a film, the reviewer closes with a warning for political content and wishes that these political barriers would later not hinder Hungarian translation. He writes in 1985:

[n]evertheless, I do not recommend its publishing as its political content (at certain places) is hostile not simply to the 'Stalinist oppression' but specifically to socialist society and to the Soviet Union. The writer is not deterred in this matter even by historical facts. Let me mention two examples. He writes that people gathered in Budapest for the demolishing of the statue of Stalin on 23 October 1956 [in the City Park] could hear the gun shooting at the building Hungarian Radio that was [supposedly] only a few blocks away. Or, according to him, Mátyás Rákosi fled to Moscow on the 24 October 1956. /In reality, he was not in Hungary from June 1956 on, from the end of the Hungarian Workers' Party (MDP) meeting.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, the report on David Morell's *The Brotherhood of the Rose* dated 1986 is similarly explicit, and starts with a reference to the film adaptation of the book, but the last paragraph ends with a warning: "A reason against publishing is not only that that novel has a dumb type of plot, which needless to say is described by Morell in a dead serious manner, but also that the KGB is not portrayed in a very attractive role. The KGB agents in the novel are partly evil or partly stupid or maybe both.<sup>36</sup>"

Other regional frames used in the reviewer's reports refer to the French presence of Quebec, the Inuit tribes of the North, the landscapes, woods and lakes of Canada, the Jewish quarter of Montreal, and the cultural contrast between Canada and the United States. 32 reports use predominantly regional frames, 27 of these are dated before 1989 (84%), and 5 are dated between 1990 and 1996 (16%). Also 32 reports use a universal frame, 27 of these are dated before 1989 (84%), and 5 which are dated after 1990 (16%). (Reports without a date are excluded.) As the ratio of universal and regional frames are the same, we propose that for the first readers, the regional and universal qualities were equally important when describing

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<sup>35</sup> „Mégsem ajánlom Vizinczey kötetének magyar kiadását, mivel a mű politikai tartalma /ott, ahol van/ nem egyszerűen a "sztálini zsarnokság", hanem kifejezetten a szocialista társadalommal, a Szovjetunióval szemben ellenséges. Ebben a szerzőt a tények sem befolyásolják. Hogy csak két példát említsek: 1956 október 23-án, a budapesti Sztálin szobor ledöntésekor az ott összegyűlt tömeg nála hallja az onnan néhány saroknyira lévő Magyar Rádió elől a géppuska-kelepelést. Vagy: szerinte Rákosi Mátyás 1956 október 24-én menekült el Moszkvába. /Valójában az 1956. júniusi MDP KV-ülés befejezésétől kezdve nem tartózkodott Magyarországon./”

<sup>36</sup> “Magyar nyelven való megjelentetése ellen szól nem csupán a blöddli-jelleg melyet mondanom sem kell talán, Morell halálosan komolyan ad elő), hanem a KGB-nek szánt nem kifejezetten hízelgő szerep is. A KGB Ügynökök ugyanis részben gonoszak, részben ostobák, esetleg a kettő együtt.”

Canadian literature regardless of the political regime, although rejecting the translation of a book was done with the help of regional framing. Interestingly, besides the typical regional traits mentioned above (such as the French presence, nature, regions of Canada), Hungarians' lack of information about the foreign "Other" is also mentioned. This is especially highlighted in a 1982 reviewer's report. "Although I knew that Margaret Atwood is considered to be the most prominent writer of Canada, I must admit that until I started reading her book, I did not expect much from Canadian literature as it often speaks about provincial things and deals with not so important details<sup>37</sup>."

Four reports use a predominantly commercial frame, all of which recommend publishing. The earliest report is about a collection of humoresques by Stephen Leacock dated 1961. The reviewer emphasizes the economic value of a translation knowing that the genre is very popular among Hungarian readers. (More on Leacock below in the book covers section.) Economic aspects are mentioned in the reports increasingly after 1985 when financial deficit and 'cracks' were already showing in the system and it was expected that publishing was made profitable and would not rely on decreasing state subsidy (Sohár 2022).

Now let us turn to the framing that can be visually observed on the covers. The book covers of translated Canadian literature use a mix of frames in the visual aspects as well. Depiction of regional aspects are often used to draw attention to exotic or familiar locations. For example, *The Scalpel, the Sword (Egy sebészorvos hősi élete)* translated in 1956 by Jozefa Gábor shows the black and white photograph of two soldiers wearing Soviet war attire, which reinforces the content of the text. The publisher, Szikra, was established by the Hungarian Communist Party in 1944, and in 1956, in the year of publishing, which marks the anti-Communist uprising, publishers were very careful to distribute literature that reinforced Communist ideology. Illustration 1 below shows the covers of the original and the translated books. Both books appeared in 1956, the one that has a black and white photo is a larger and one volume edition, the one with the brown and black cover came out in the *Érdekes könyvek* [Interesting books] series and is a pocket size, low price, two volume paperback edition.

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<sup>37</sup> "Hogy Margaret Atwood Kanada legjelentősebb írója, ettől, míg könyvét el nem kezdtem olvasni, bevallom, nem vártam sokat, a gyakran provinciális, nem-fontos dolgokkal babráló kanadai irodalom /felszínese/ ismeretében."

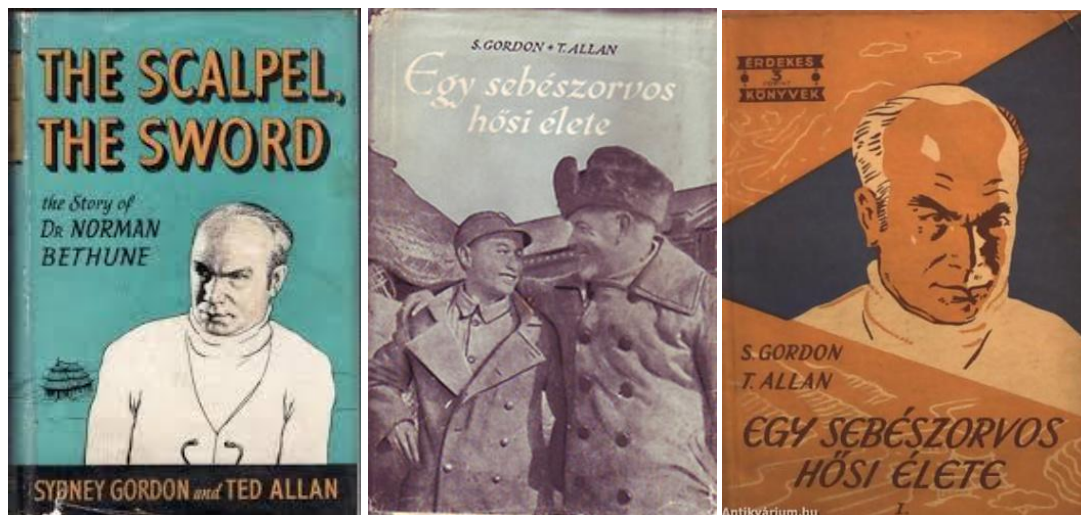


Illustration 1. The original cover and the covers of the translation of *The Scalpel, the Sword* by Dr. Norman Bethune

Tim Buck's *Canada: A Communist Viewpoint* (mentioned in Chapter 2) is framed with a universal frame in the source country showing the contours of faces looking backwards. The Hungarian version published in 1950 has a strong regional framing on the other hand, showing the map of North America, depicting Canada in white and the rest of the continent in black. In Illustration 2, we can see original and translated cover.

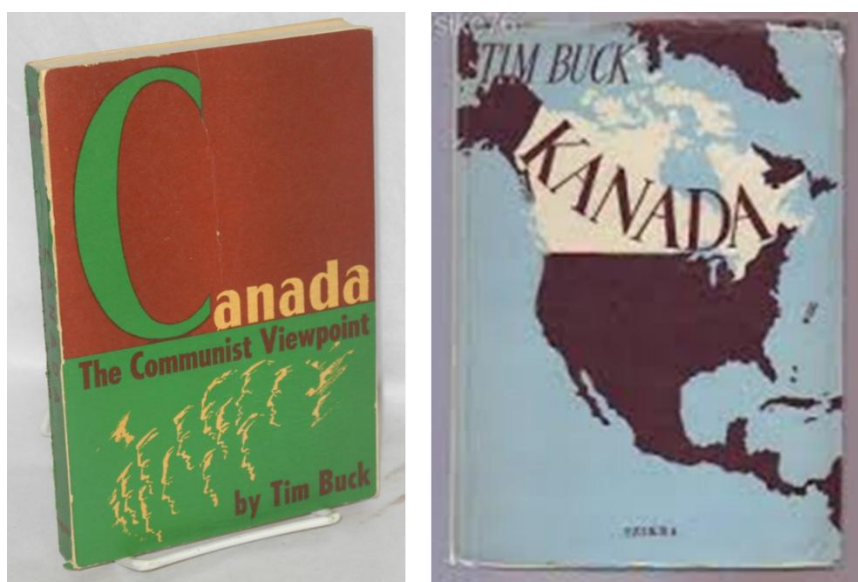


Illustration 2 The original cover and the cover of the translation for Tim Buck's *Canada: A Communist Viewpoint*

An evolution of covers can be noted in the case of Stephen Leacock's books. Leacock was published before 1989 too, but due to the popularity of his writings, his translated books were

reframed and republished after 1989 as well. The genre of humoresque has a long tradition in Hungarian literary life, and Leacock's work was translated by excellent Hungarian literary figures. Frigyes Karinthy, writer and publicist, was his first translator. In Leacock's case, the fame of the translator in the target country had a strong impact on the reception of the books. In 1926, Karinthy translated *Winnowed Wisdom, a New Book of Humor*, which came out under the title *Humoreszkek* [Humoresques] at Atheneum Publisher and was republished by Szépirodalmi Publishing House in 1955. Leacock was very popular from the 1920s, and according to Karinthy's son, Leacock's humorous sayings were often quoted in everyday life (Kürtösi 1987: 56). The second book by Leacock, the *Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich* was translated and slightly adapted by writer Antal Szerb under the title *A Mauzóleum klub* [The Mausoleum club]. The translation transfers Leacock's humour excellently (ibid.). Translating the popular Leacock in the 1940s meant on the one hand financial income, on the other hand, translation of humor in his case was also an act of escape, social critique in the midst of political oppression. Kürtösi (ibid.) points out that a Hungarian critic at the time of publishing criticized Leacock for not being Marxist or Socialist, at the same time recognized his honest perspective on society. Szerb was of Jewish origin, and a few years later suffered persecution and was sentenced to forced manual labor. He was beaten to death in 1945, two years after his translation of *Arcadian Adventures* came out in Hungarian published by Pharos. The translation came out in 1943 as part of the 'Vidám könyvek' [Cheerful books] series. The cover shows geometrical patterns which was a general design for the popular series, thus the cover deploys a commercial frame for marketing reasons. Later, the 1955 cover depicts a rich, overweight figure standing on a Corinthian pillar. This cartoon-like, farcical depiction – ridiculing materialism, the wealth and the individualism of the West – places the reader above the "idle rich." In contrast with this regional frame, the 2016 reprint of the same book uses a universal frame. The colored photo on the cover depicts a line of houses behind a body of water. The location is not specified, merely different from Hungarian urban scenery.

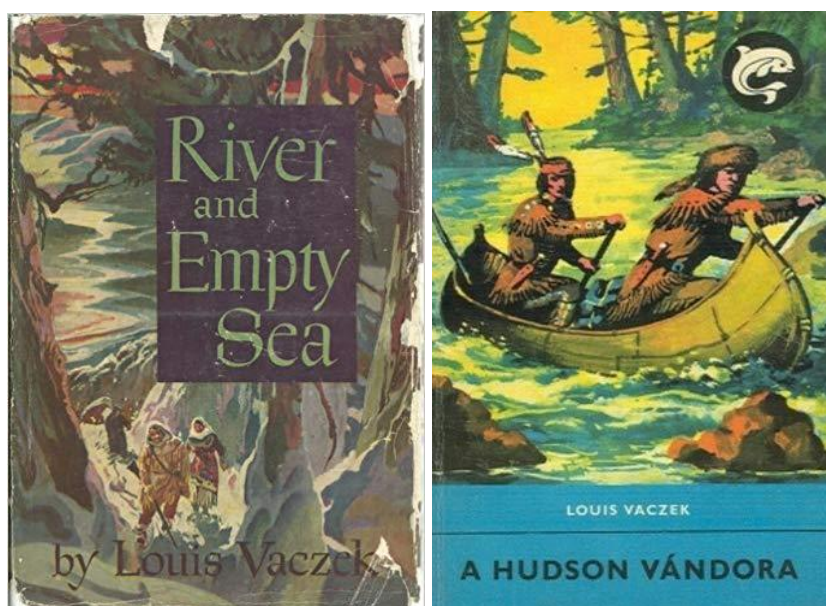


Illustration 3 Original published in 1914, Hungarian translation in 1943 (Pharos), 1955 (Magvető), 2016 (Digi-Book)

Regarding Leacock, it is important to note that in 1984, his short story titled *Sorrows of a Super Soul* was adapted to theatre by the alternative theatre company ‘The Theatre of the Moon’ (A Hold Színháza), directed by István Malgot. The 1984 adaptation used Frigyes Karinthy’s 1926 translation and marked an “important milestone in the history of alternative theatre in Hungary” (Kürtösi 1990). Short stories by Leacock continued to be published in the 1980s and after the political transformation as well in various forms. A selection of short stories was published under the title *Rosszcsirkeff Mária és társai* [Maria Rosszcsirkeff and company] by Európa (translators János Aczél, Frigyes Karinthy, Tivadar Szinnai) in 1985 and was also published by Madách Publisher in Czechoslovakia in the same year. Európa republished the book later in 2000. Szépirodalmi published a selection of stories under the title *A kék Edward* [The blue Edward] in 1986 and 1987 (translators Frigyes Karinthy, Tivadar Szinnai). Kairosz Publisher released *Gertrud, a nevelőnő: humoreszkek* [Gertrud, the chaperone: humoresques] in 2002 (translators Frigyes Karinthy, Tivadar Szinnai) which was also published by Európa in 2011 and an audio book was released by Kossuth-Mojzer in 2012 featuring renowned Hungarian actor László Szacsuvay. Strucc Publisher released a selection of humoresques under the title *Leacock novellák* [Leacock short stories] in 2002 using the translations by Karinthy and Szinnai. The reprints of Leacock’s books before and after the change of the regime are partly due to the popularity of the genre as well as the quality of Karinthy’s translation or ‘rewriting’ of the stories.

Both original and translated covers of *River and Empty Sea* by Louis Vaczek use regional frames. The book appeared in Canada in 1950 and was translated into Hungarian by Antal Árkos in 1968, commissioned by Móra Publisher. Both covers highlight regional

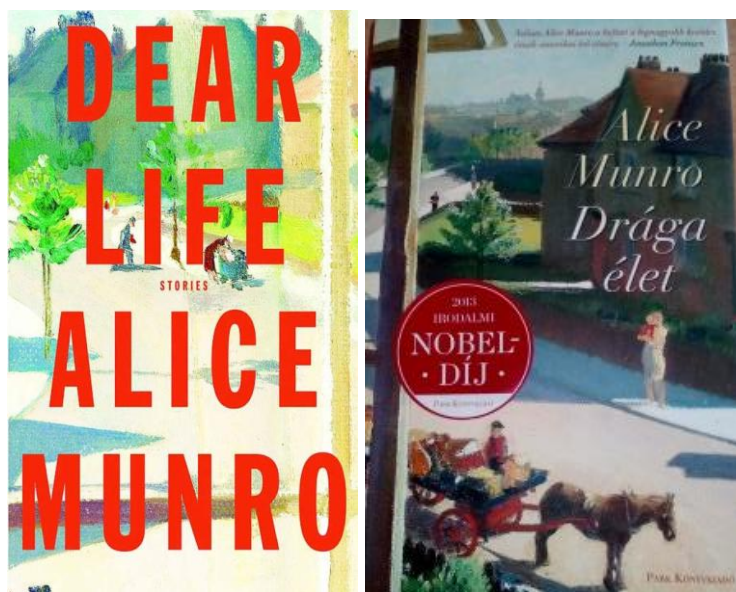
qualities, but while the Canadian version portrays a snowy, ragged scenery with two figures dressed up in furry winter clothes that are very typical of the Northern regions of Canada, the Hungarian translation depicts two Indians who are canoeing surrounded by warm sunlight. They are wearing light leather clothing and have a few feathers stuck in their hats, which scene may bring back associations of stories about American Indians already familiar to Hungarian readers. The winter scene deploys a regional frame, but it is ‘translated,’ ‘domesticated’ into a more familiar frame or ‘localized’ for the Hungarian young adult readers. The book was republished in 1982 which shows its popularity among readers. In line with the hermeneutic model of translation, we can state that the framing of the books facilitates the process through which the reader can imagine the foreign ‘Other,’ but in this case, we can see the agency of the publisher which domesticated the cover for marketing reasons.



*Illustration 4 Original cover and cover of translation for River and Empty Sea by Louis Vaczek*

Almost 30 years later, in the 2010s, a similar strategy can be noted in the case of Alice Munro. *Dear Life* came out in English in 2012 and was translated into Hungarian in 2014. Munro’s short stories allow the reader to look at the world from the perspective of women. The book cover of the original shows pine trees and a rugged mountain road in Canada, which is replaced by a sunny village scenery on the translated version which landscape might be more familiar to Hungarian readers. (See Illustration 5 below.) The book also carries the visual marker of international literary recognition, that is, the author’s Nobel Prize in Literature. With the entrance into the international translation rights market, the right owners often require that they

approve the cover and layout of the book before printing. Along these considerations, publishers also check the covers of other European translations or use an image from the audiovisual adaptation if available when deciding on the cover. Domesticated regional frames are often used which are familiar to Hungarian readers who are fairly conservative both regarding the cover or the topic of the book. We can say that Munro's innovative style and point of view is balanced, in this case, with a domesticated cover.



*Illustration 5 Original cover and the cover of translation for Alice Munro's Dear Life*

The same strategy can be noted on the translated cover of Munro's *Open Secrets* where on one of the English language originals, we can see a lady wearing white lace gloves and a black shirt and is hugging a tree with graffiti on it. The Hungarian version depicts a young girl wearing a summer dress who is turning away, dreamily looking out of the window into the light. This domesticated regional framing again reflects the expectation of the Hungarian readers. Both original and translation bear the mark of Munro's Nobel Prize in Literature.

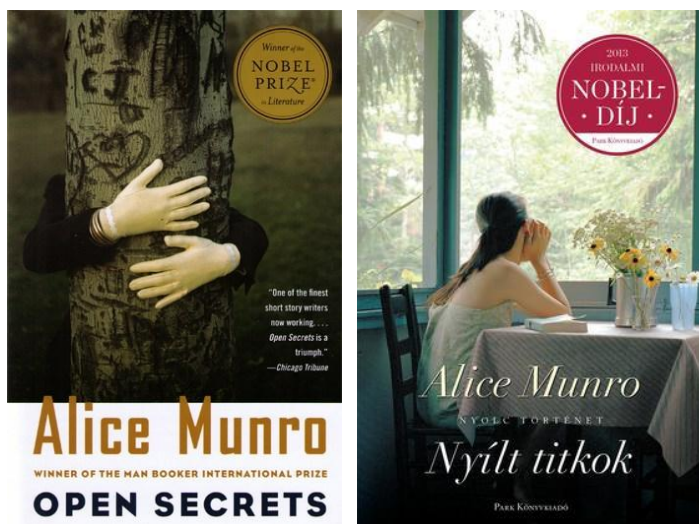


Illustration 6 Original cover and the cover of the translation for Munro's *Open Secrets*

Munro's *The Love of a Good Woman* (originally published in 1998) appeared in the source culture with a strong regional frame: a photograph depicting two people rowing in a lake with trees in the background. The first Hungarian edition, however, portrays a veiled, suggestive face of a woman with a bit of an oriental, mystic atmosphere, thus uses a universal frame with no regional specificity. On the literary web.2 portal Moly.hu where readers can comment and recommend books they have read, one of the registered users expressed their disappointment. "I was betrayed: the cover and the content were different. I took it to the beach, but it was not an easy reading." (See Illustration 7 below.) The book was later reframed to fit the series of the Munro oeuvre that had a unified style. The new cover depicts an empty white boat in the middle of a lake. Both the lake and the background are blue, connecting the scenery to summer, compared to the original dark cover with a black and white photo.



Illustration 7 Original cover and covers of the translation for Alice Munro's *The Love of a Good Woman*

Universal framing is characteristic of popular genres, predominantly romance novels and suspense fiction. Romances in paperback editions became very popular in Hungary after the turn of the regime, as this genre was banned during the Communist era. We can note that several Canadian authors of the genre were translated from 1991 on. These authors include Mary Balogh (whose husband is of Hungarian origin), Marilyn Ross, Judy Gill, Sylvain Reynard, or Kay Gregory. Six titles are translated from Mary Balogh, but three Hungarian publishers have invested in introducing her to the Hungarian readers: Szy-szy (1991, translator András Csikós), General Press (in 2016, 2017, 2018, three titles translated by Vera Bánki), and Ulpius-Ház (two titles in 2009 translated by Ágnes Latorre, Anikó Vágó, and one title in 2010 translated by Júlia Endreffy). The covers of the romance novels highlight universal frames usually depicting a couple and a romantic scenery without any regional specificity.

Along romantic fiction, paperback suspense novels were also extremely popular among readers immediately after 1989. József Laux, iconic drummer of Omega and Locomotiv GT (LGT) rock bands in the 1960s, left the country and fled to Canada from the Communist dictatorship in 1976, later moving to the United States. In the USA, he had a production agency which, as part of its activity, sold and managed copy rights (Ekultura 2010). In the States, he worked also as a musician, performed with Bryan Adams, Chick Corea, or Frank Zappa among others (Popkulturális). He returned to Hungary in 1986 for the first time for the farewell concert of LGT as before that time he was not granted a visa to return. At the end of the 1990s, upon

moving back to Hungary, he started a business similar to the one he was leading in the USA, named JLX Music and Book Publishing House, relying on the American network of business partners and friends. According to Laux, he regularly visited the United States where he collected firsthand information in book fairs and bookshops about what books were popular abroad. He started publishing commercial fiction, writers such as the American Jackie Collins, John Standford or the Canadian Donn Cortez. The fastseller books by Cortez are suspense novels that have appeared also on screen as part of the CSI mysteries, which due to the violent scenes depicted would have been banned before 1989. They are rarely seen as Canadian fiction. JLX published five novels from Cortez (3 titles in 2007 translated by Andrea Reichenberger, one in 2009 translated by Kristóf Kovács, and one in 2010 translated by Richárd Rákócza). The book covers of the translated CSI series follow the covers of the American version which are either presented with regional frames (referring to Miami) or use universal frames keeping a suspense and ambiguity even on the book covers.

Science fiction gained readership in Hungary in the 1970s partly due to the untiring work of Péter Kuczka (Sohár 2022, 2025). As Sohár points out, the market share of pulp fiction, including the genre of science fiction, increased from 28% of printed books in 1978 to 41% in 1985. “If we were to list romantic literature as a subgenre of popular literature, then the market share of popular literature would increase significantly: to 64 per cent in 1978 and 70 per cent in 1985” (ibid. 249). These figures show the growing market demand for popular fiction close to the change of regime. William Gibson’s *Neuromancer* (1984) was translated into Hungarian by Ajkay Örkény under the title *Neurománc* released by Valhalla Páholy Publishing House in 1992. The cover of the translated book depicts modern buildings and technological innovations, but the new edition that came out in 1999 highlights only a universal frame depicting only a female head with electrodes.

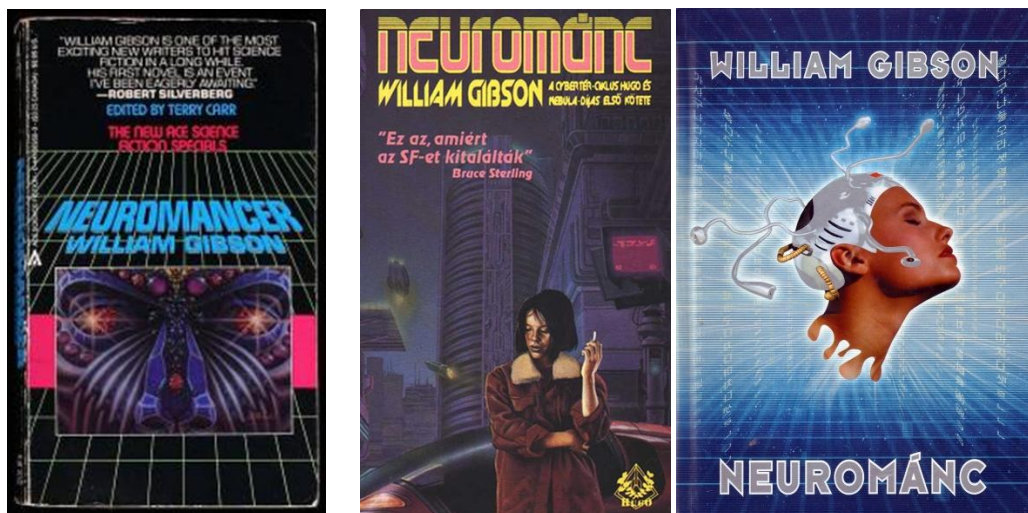


Illustration 8. Original cover and covers of the translation for William Gibson's *Neuromancer*

It is often the decision of the publisher, however, if science fiction and fantasy are framed with universal or regional frames. For example, Guy Gavriel Kay's fantasy novel *Ysabel* (2007, in Hungarian translation by Anikó Sohár in 2009) was framed with regional or universal frames. Two English language covers and two editions of the translation are depicted below which highlight the scenery of Provence or a general human face depending on the publisher's decision.

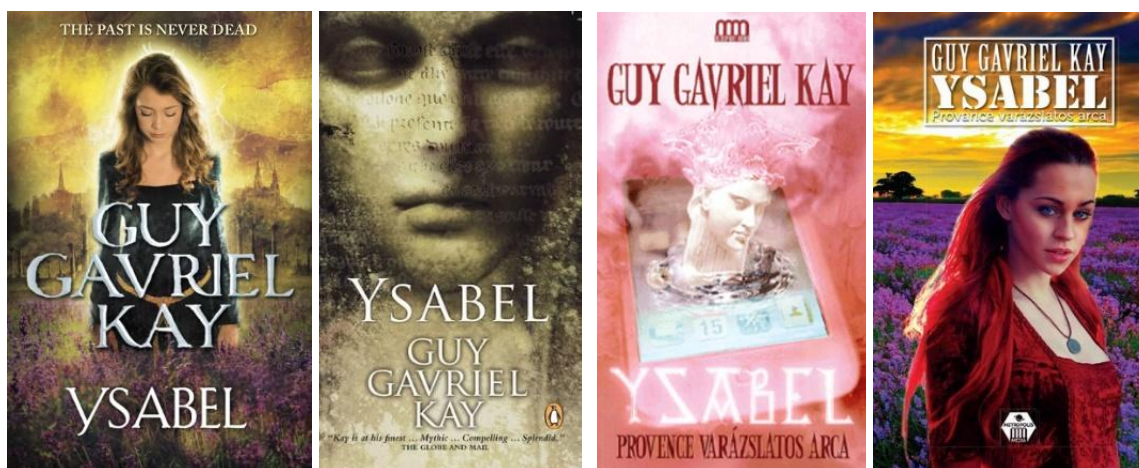


Illustration 9. Two English language covers and two translated covers for Guy Gavriel Kay's *Ysabel*

Based on the analysis, Hypothesis 5 can be partially confirmed. Framing practices vary according to literary genre, since fiction is predominantly framed with a mix of regional and universal frames, while romances, suspense novels and science fiction have a predominantly

universal frame, also highlighting the bestseller status that is the commercial frame. While the ratio of regional and universal frames before and after 1989 do not change, commercial and cultural bundle frames are mostly used after 1989 in Hungary. Hypothesis 6 is disconfirmed. We have found that Canadian regional frames, emphasizing the foreign aspects of Canada, are not depicted on the paratextual material to highlight exoticism, on the contrary. The otherness of Canada is toned down on the Hungarian covers both before and after 1989 to suit the taste of the target readers.

### 7.5. Recognition: Canadian literary prizes in Hungary

During the Communist era, the recipients of the Nobel Prize in the Eastern Bloc were discouraged to attach high value to the award of the Swedish Academy, or even attend the ceremony. After the political transformation, some literary awards granted by the Communist regime in Hungary were seen as a recognition of the ‘old regime’ and became ‘devalued’ in a way. The literary Nobel, the award of the transnational cultural field, however, became a significant marker for the agents in the translation trajectory. James F. English points out regarding the nature and dynamics of circulation of cultural value that “[t]he modern ascendancy of cultural prizes may conveniently be said to have started in 1901 with the Nobel Prize for Literature, perhaps the oldest prize that strikes us as fully contemporary, as being less a historical artifact than a part of our own moment” (2005: 28). Hungarian publishers now also seek to secure rights for international authors who are likely to win this recognition, as they know that not only current translations, but previous books from that author will sell immediately topping the bestseller lists at least for a short time.<sup>38</sup> The Nobel Prize is surrounded by media attention and publicity, which again drive sales (Washbourne 2016). Translators also seek to translate authors who are recognized internationally, as this will increase their visibility on the market. English also points out that literary tastes and institutions that strengthen or consecrate literary norms change over time. Literary tastes change with ideology, along political and economic lines. Despising prizes is also part of the game (ibid. 41) English says, thus literary recognition is desired on the one hand, while on the other hand literature is considered to be ‘independent’ and autonomous, not needing prizes of recognition.

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<sup>38</sup> Research results on the effect of the Nobel Prize vary. Andreas Hedberg examined the role of independent publishers since 2000 in publishing French and Romance language fiction into Swedish (2016). In the interviews he conducted, he refers to the Nobel effect as a short-term increase in the sales of books. Anna Gunder studied the Nobel effect on Icelandic literary translation between 1940 and 1969 into Swedish. The author could not find direct correlation between the institutional recognition of the Nobel Prize and the number of published translations, thus calls for further research.

International awards nevertheless provide a guideline for publishers regarding what to select for translation. The associations linked to prizes, however, vary from region to region. While in Canada, the USA, and the Western European countries, the Governor General's Award, the Booker Prize, the Trillium Book Award, the Giller Prize, or the Commonwealth Writers Prize are considered to be markers of literary value, this prestige is not transferred when the text is crossing borders. While publishers are aware of these prizes, according to Miklós M. Nagy, former director of Európa Publishing House, the only international prize that the Hungarian readers recognize is the Nobel.

Heilbron and van Es point out that fiction produced at the autonomous pole of the market – that is by independent, small publishers – is more likely to be characterized by literary recognition, favorable reviews, awards, and is rich in symbolic capital that attract foreign publishers (2015: 300). While this is certainly true for Western countries, prizes in Hungary went through a reshuffling of values and ideologies in the political sphere. Hungarian publishers after 1989 re-valued the recognitions of the Communist regime. While in the early 1990s 'international bestseller' was already marked, it was only in the 2010s when publishers started indicating international prizes, such as the Nobel or the Booker on their promotional material or book covers of Canadian literature (e.g. Munro, Atwood, Ondaatje).

## 7.6. Bundles

Jijon (2019: 145) suggests that similarly to other type of commodities, culture moves in "bundles" or "assamblages" (Rajaram and Zararia 2009, Tsing 2005). As mentioned, these "bundles" are made up of expectations, prestige, or associations with other cultural products. In case of literary transfer, the author might have also gained fame due to other forms of artistic activity or social activism, or through film adaptations. This is part of the "bundle" that the title travels with and this synergy boosts sales when there is a free flow of ideas. An audiovisual adaptation may signal popularity in the source culture but does not necessarily travel together with the text when it is translated.

Film rights are usually sold separately from translation rights, and literary agents are likely to mention in their communication with publishers if film rights have already been sold. This fact suggests that the new title could be a worthwhile investment. Although the purchased film rights do not guarantee that a film version will indeed be produced, or that it would achieve worldwide success, yet it indicates that the book might be accompanied by a film and would boost book sales. Thompson describes the interplay of book and other popularizing factors in

the context of the USA regarding an Oprah TV show where discussion on a certain book induces an immediate effect after the TV program compared with the release of a film and book.

The movie effect displays a somewhat different pattern: sales of the book begin to increase several weeks or even months before the movie is released, as publicity for the movie kicks in and booksellers increase their stock-holding of the book and begin to re-promote it. Sales increase again when the publisher releases the movie tie-in editions, typically in both trade paperback and mass market formats. Sales then surge when the movie comes out, typically peaking a week or so after the movie's release, and then gradually fall off (2010: 304).

This pattern sounds very straightforward, but Thompson does not consider other influencing factors, such as ideological barriers when these 'bundles' of culture cannot travel together, which may also impact the process whether synergies can form. Let us see what cultural bundles Canadian literary pieces are attached to; first let us turn to films, next let us examine other forms such as music and theatre.

The reviewer's reports of Európa Publishing House dated between 1985 and 1989 mention the fact that film adaptations propel the popularity of the book in the Western countries, generally, however, these reports do not put a great emphasis on the film adaptations probably because the reviewer could not get access to the films. Film versions are briefly mentioned in the reports on Steven Vizinczey's *The Rules of Chaos* (review in 1985), Timothy Findley's *The Wars* (1985), *Famous Last Words* (1987), *Not Wanted on the Voyage* (1988). In a 1986 review, David Morell's *The Brotherhood of the Rose*, it is highlighted in the first paragraph that the film series starring Sylvester Stallone is probably the reason for the "notable success" of Morell's earlier books.

A considerable change, however, can be noticed in the reference to film adaptations in the reviewer's reports dated after 1989. Film versions are emphasised, especially in the case of Lucy Maud Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* (reviewed in 1991), *Anne of Avonlea* (reviewed in 1992), *Days of Dreams and Laughter* (reviewed in 1996). (More on Montgomery in Chapter 8.3.) According to Miklós M. Nagy, the film series titled *Avonlea* did influence the publisher's decision to translate the first Montgomery book *Anne of Green Gables* (in Hungarian *Anne otthonra talál*). The book was reviewed in 1991 and published in 1992. The film series was launched in CBC and Disney Chanel in January 1990, while in Hungary, the series was introduced on the Hungarian national TV (MTV1 and MTV2) in September 1993. Thus, the

film and the translated book were “consumed” roughly at the same time and this synergy strengthened book sales.

The Hungarian premier of the movie *Away from her* (produced in 2006) took place in Budapest in May 2007. Its special guest was Sarah Polley Canadian film director and screen writer, who is also a well-known actress for Hungarians from the TV series *Road to Avonlea* (in Hungarian *Váratlan utazás*) inspired by Lucy Maud Montgomery’s fiction. *Away from her* is a 110-minute-long film adaptation of Alice Munro’s short story titled “The Bear Came Over the Mountain” that was published in *Hateship, Friendship, Courtship, Loveship, Marriage* and appeared in English 2001 (in Hungarian in *Szeret, nem szeret...* published in 2006). The patron of the event was H. E. Robert Hague Canadian Ambassador to Hungary who in his speech dedicated the film to the iconic Hungarian sportsman and coach Öcsi Puskás, who immigrated to Canada due to the Communist oppression and became the coach of the Vancouver soccer team between 1958–1959. Although the film premier succeeded the translation and launch of Munro’s volume of short stories *Szeret, nem szeret...*, the premier can be still counted to be in the line of events related to the 2007 International Book Fair, as it took place only a month after that. While the event probably strengthened the network of the interested agents (diplomatic bodies, artists, audience), the art film was screened in an art cinema and was not widely circulated. There is no sign that the presence of the film would have influenced the book sales of Munro’s translated books. Not only the timing but the medium and place of screening of the adaptation also influences the backwash effect on the book. While the Munro book sales were not affected by the launch of the film, Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale* was heavily boosted by the HBO series came out in 2017. (More on Atwood’s case in Chapter 8.1.)

Michael Ondaatje’s novel *The English Patient* was published in English in 1992 and won the Booker Prize in the same year. At the time, the prize was granted to writers from the Commonwealth countries which has been extended globally for English language fiction published in the UK or Ireland. In 1996, the book was adapted to film and in 1997 won nine Oscars, as well as six awards from the British Academy of Film and Television Arts, and two Golden Globe Awards. To celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Prize, in 2018, the award governing foundation launched a special, Golden Man Booker Prize, the winner of which was Ondaatje’s *The English Patient* again, sixteen years after its first Booker prize. In the English-speaking countries, both the film and the novel have gathered a lot of prestige and recognition. The novel was published in 1997 by Magyar Könyvklub as well as Európa Publishing House. Translators Anna M. Szász and Imre Szász produced one text which is copyrighted under their

names. The film version of the book with the same title was launched in Hungary in the same year, translated by Anna Székely. The film was received very well probably also because of the Hungarian character, Count Almásy in the storyline and it had a positive effect on the book sales as well. The title was later republished by Lazi in 2007, and by 21. Század Publishing House with another cover in 2019. In all four covers, the clear link to the ‘cultural bundle’ of the film is evident.

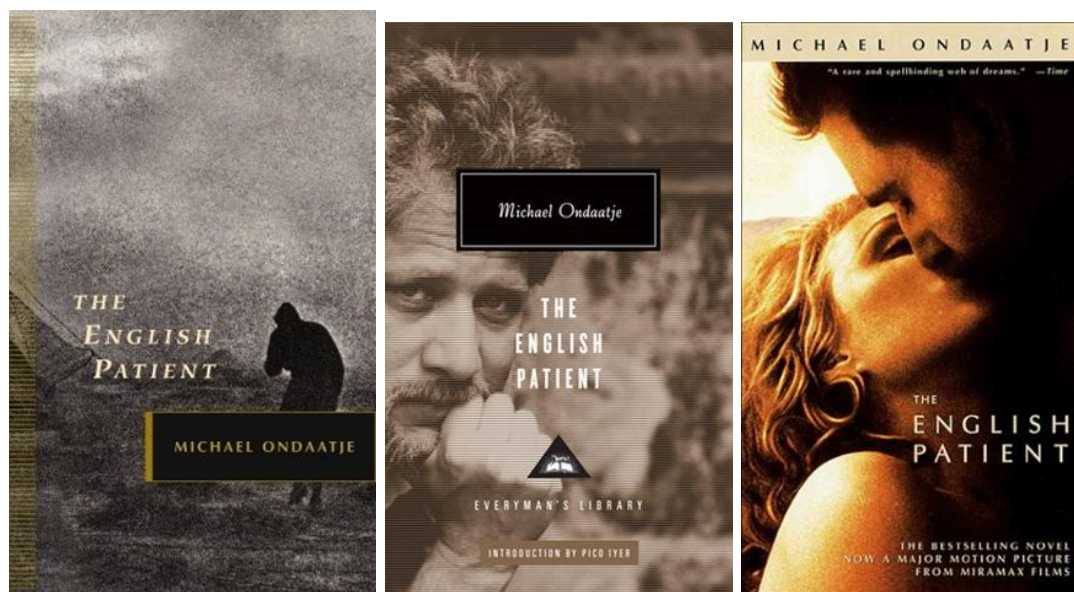


Illustration 10 Three English language covers for Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient*

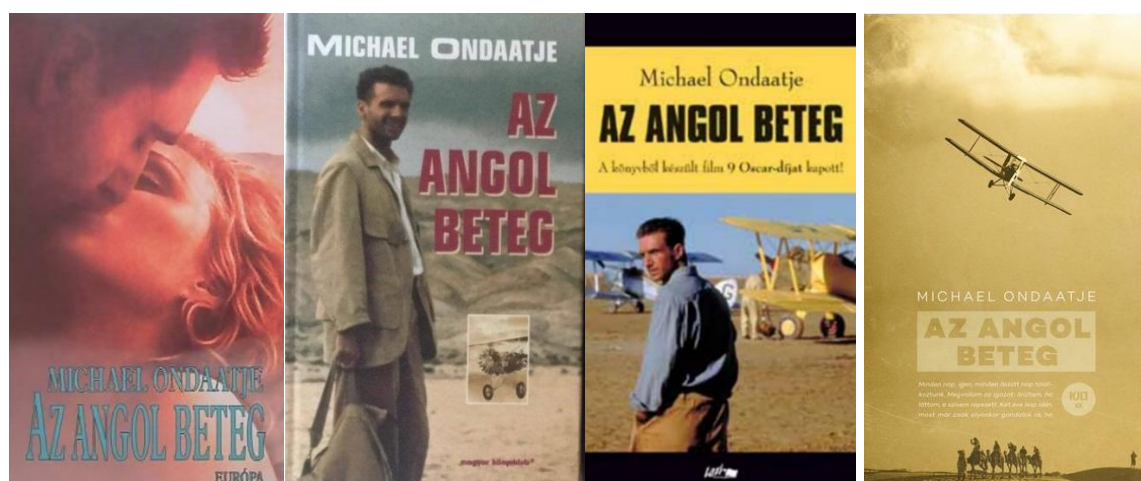


Illustration 11 Four translated covers for Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient*

Apart from *The English Patient*, four other novels by Ondaatje have been translated: *Divisadero* (2007) by Endre Greskovits (Cartaphilus 2014), *Warlight* (2018) translated as *A háború fényei* by Júlia Bíró, published by 21. Század (2018), and *Anil's Ghost* (2000) in Hungarian *Anil és a*

*csontváz* by Endre Greskovits (Európa 2000). It is important to notice that the publishers 21. Század and Európa increasingly keep up with the English language publications, that is, they review the books that appear on the global market and translate the titles immediately that fit their portfolio and might bring about financial or symbolic capital.

The process of translation and launching the book speeds up even more with the presence of film adaptations where dubbed versions are made, and subtitles are translated as in the case of Yann Martel's *Life of Pi*. The novel was published in 2001 and according to Martel's literary agent Derek Johns, five publishing houses turned down the novel before a small Edinburgh publisher Canongate bought the publishing rights (Guardian 2002). The film adaptation was premiered in the USA on 28 September 2012, while in Hungary it came out a few months later on 20 December 2012. The publishers indeed link the book to the existing film version by using the marketing material of the film. By copy-pasting the film poster on the cover of the book, the publishers introduce the book in the target culture in an instrumental way (to use Jijon's differentiation, 2019). In this act, publishers are taking a global cultural product into the local context without altering it or localizing it in any way. In Illustration 12 we can see the two English language book covers, the first with a cover design which emphasizes the prize and bestselling status of the book, the second is using the film poster. The third, fourth and fifth covers show the Hungarian translated versions.

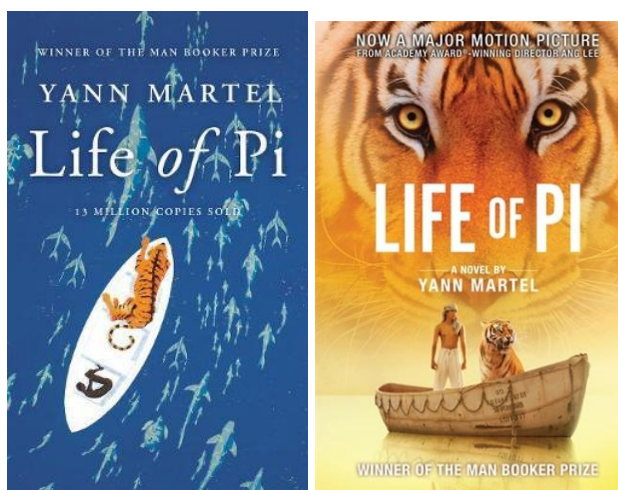


Illustration 12. Two English language covers of Yann Martel's *Life of Pi*

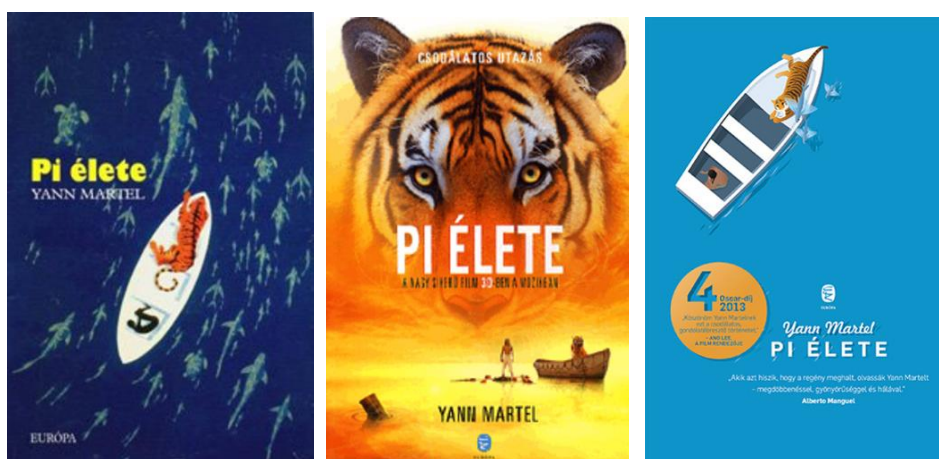


Illustration 13. Three translated covers for Yann Martel's *Life of Pi*

Other works by Canadian artists including music, theatre and contemporary dance also appear in Hungary. Leonard Cohen was an internationally recognized songwriter, performer and an iconic figure of the Beat Generation, but as writer and poet, he was not well-known in Hungary. Three books by Cohen have been translated into Hungarian, two novels and one volume of poetry. His novel titled *The Favourite Game* that appeared in 1963 in English was translated into Hungarian only in 2003 under the title *Kedvenc játék* by Katalin Szür-Szabó, the translator of Montgomery's Anne series, published by Ulpus Publishing House. With a similarly large time gap, *Beautiful Losers* was published in English in 1966 and translated into Hungarian under the title *Szépséges lúzerek* fifty years later in 2006 by László Körös for Cartaphilus which was at that time part of Alexandra publishing and distribution conglomerate. In 2014, a selection of translated poems titled *Ezer csóknak mélyén, Leonard Cohen magyarul* was self-published by writer László N. Göbolyös who writes about the history of rock music, and blues, focusing on Led Zeppelin, Jimi Hendrix among others. The translated volume of Cohen's poetry fits into his profile, but since the volume was self-published in a small print run, it is not available in the Central Metropolitan Library in Budapest, and no critical responses can be found about it. *Tiszatáj Literary Journal* also published three poems by Cohen translated into Hungarian by Péter Domonkos in January 2018.

Leonard Cohen gave a concert in front of a packed concert hall in László Papp Arena on 31 August 2009. Cohen was 75 years old at the time, and the Budapest concert was part of his European tour, in a way, farewell from the fans. In 2015 and 2016, Péter Sziámi Müller and his music band with guests such as Judit Hernádi toured Hungary with concert program tour

titled *The Best of Leonard Cohen in Hungarian* performing translated Cohen songs, so his music had been in the foreground of cultural awareness. A few days after 11 November 2016, when Cohen died, Péter Sziámi Müller and his band gave a concert performing Cohen songs in the Synagogue in Budapest, which event had been advertised weeks before Cohen's death. These concerts became a place where fans paid homage to the artist (Kürtösi 2019: 78). It is a mere coincidence that two weeks after Cohen's death, the translation of a book titled *Leonard Cohen on Leonard Cohen: interviews and encounters* (2014) was published in Hungarian. The book that contains 26 interviews and is titled *Magáról, Cohenről* (2016) was translated by musician Sziámi Péter Müller and Péter Domonkos and published by Park Publishing House. The book was reprinted in 2017, which signals popularity. Regarding the reception of Canadian Literary works in Hungary, Kürtösi (2019) points out that the book reviews both in printed weeklies and online platforms often served as Cohen's obituary since the volume of translated Cohen interviews were published immediately after Cohen's death. Kürtösi also shows that although a lot of responses appeared in the Hungarian media immediately after Cohen's death, a thorough critical assessment on Cohen's oeuvre in Hungarian fora is yet to be published. Currently, opera singer Balázs Fellegi gives regular concerts with his band performing Cohen's songs in Hungarian, recently at Spinoza Theatre on 17 October 2024.

Based on this research, hypothesis 3 is confirmed, Canadian literature is linked to other cultural products which link can also be traced in the reviewer's reports, critical responses, interviews and on the book covers. Publishers are more likely to invest into the publication of a book after 1989 if it travels with a cultural bundle.

## 8. Towards the micro level: cases of translated authors and books

In the next chapter, the idiosyncrasies of the specific paths will be presented: how books were handled by the publishers. The cases were selected along variables such as publishing house operating in the capital or in the countryside, independent publisher/imprint of a conglomerate publishing house, prestige of the author/translator, prestige of the source/target country publisher, international/national awards, timing at the international/national book fairs, translated Anglophone/Francophone Canadian literature, and funded translation/bestsellers without state support. The presented cases will focus on micro-level agency and will portray the publisher's relations with other agents in the translation flow.

### 8.1. Margaret Atwood censored before 1989, *The Handmaid's Tale*

#### 8.1.1. Atwood before and after the political change of 1990

According to the reviewer's reports of the Európa Publishing House, nine Atwood books were considered for Hungarian translation between 1974 and 1990, but only one proved to be safe enough to be published during the Communist era. *Surfacing* appeared in Hungarian under the title *Fellélegzés* [Relief] translated by Eszter L. Pataricza in the Modern Library Series in 1984. This case study attempts to find the reasons for Atwood's late Hungarian reception.

For this case study, twenty-two in-house reviewing documents were examined. The in-house documents, so-called reports are located in the archives of Európa and will be studied in an anonymized way to map recurring themes and to understand how the first readers, that is, the publisher's reviewers saw Atwood during the Communist era in Hungary. Additionally, four Atwood translators were interviewed in reference to the time period between 1984 and 2014.

The dossier containing the reviewer's reports about Margaret Atwood's novels and collections of poetry was probably opened in the publishing house in 1974. On the cover, her surname is spelt with two T-s, with one T crossed out later, and corrected in blue ink. The dossier is not slim. It contains twenty-two documents, some in several copies, typed on thin duplicate carbon paper. The dates of the reports indicate that the name of the Canadian author, unknown at the time, came up again and again, every two or three years after 1974 in connection with a new title. Despite the predominantly positive reviews, it was the publisher's final

decision that the books would not be translated. According to the bibliographical data, the number of translated Atwood titles increased slightly after the political change, which tendency is typical of the Central European region, not only of Hungary. According to the translation database of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies (CEACS), data from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Czechoslovakia – later the Czech Republic and Slovakia –, Romania, and Bulgaria show a similar tendency, that is, Atwood's books started to be published in the region only after 1990, after the fall of Communism (see Figure 14).

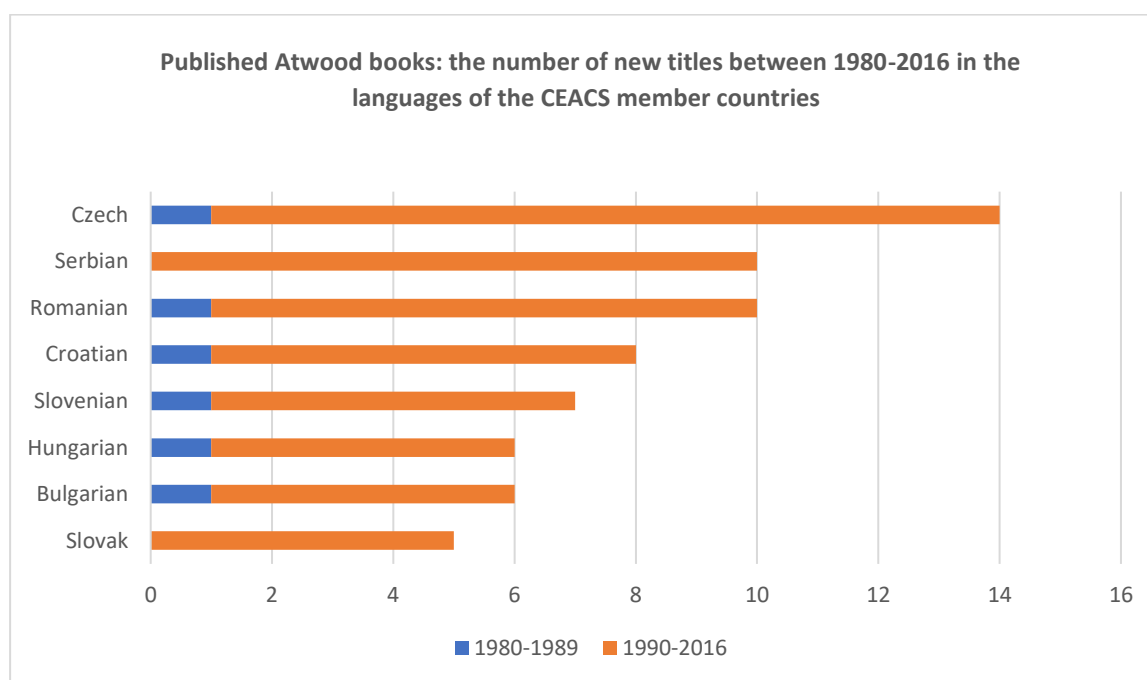


Figure 14. Published Atwood titles between 1980 and 2016 in the CEACS countries Source: CEACS database

The reviews show that although not a single book by Atwood appeared in Hungarian translation before 1984, Európa Publishing House – which was officially commissioned to publish world literature – followed Atwood's literary work closely, both her prose and poetry, reviewing it often shortly after the original English language publication. In every two or three years, new reports were requested about Atwood's books. At least two, sometimes three or four opinions were submitted to the publisher. The following volumes have been considered for publication by Európa, with the date of the English-language original in parenthesis: in 1974 and 1981 *Surfacing* (1972); in 1977 *You Are Happy* (1974); in 1977, 1981 and 1982 *The Edible Woman* (1969); in 1980, 1981, and 1982 *Life Before Man* (1979); in 1982 *Bodily Harm* (1981); in 1984

*Bluebeard's Egg* (1983); in 1986 *Dancing Girls* (1977); in 1987 and 1988 *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985); and in 1990 *Cat's Eye* (1988).

Atwood's English language texts were reviewed by seventeen people, twelve women and five men. The reviewers' gender does not influence, however, whether they supported the publishing of the reviewed book. Among the five male reviewers, only one gave a negative review, that of *Surfacing* in 1974, which was nevertheless selected for translation by the publisher. Four out of twelve female reviewers did not recommend a particular Atwood text to be published in Hungarian at all. The publisher rarely, only on three occasions asked the same person for their opinion. In Atwood's case, due to the large number of in-house and external reviewers involved, a wide variety of professional perspectives – ranging from writers, poets, translators, editors, literary historians, scholars, journalists – are present in the initial reception of Atwood. A total of six reports out of the twenty-two did not recommend the reviewed book for translation, three recommended a selection of the reviewed short stories, and thirteen gave a positive review and tried to push Atwood's text through the publisher's screening process between 1974 and 1990.

Next, I will discuss Atwood's reviewer's reports thematically, tracing recurring topics and references to Canadian literature. The documents have been carefully anonymized for research purposes. The following themes have been found: decision about the title, publishing translated poetry, the practice of multiple reviewing, social contexts described, paratexts, the reputation of international success, and Canadian literature.

### **8.1.2. The possible Hungarian titles for *Surfacing***

The novel tells the story of a young woman who leaves the city with three friends to look for her father who disappeared on one of the islands in the wilderness of Canada. While visiting the lake where she spent her childhood, uncovering layers of her consciousness, she is faced with issues of American consumerism, automatization, urbanization, and fate on a personal and social level.

Európa considered the translation of Atwood's novel titled *Surfacing* in the summer of 1974. Two opinions were submitted that year: the first recommended the publication, the second one discouraged it. Seven years later, in 1981, however, a third reviewer recommended the publishing and highlights that it is free from experimental writing and is characterized by everyday realism. Apart from these, three other reports dated 1981 and 1982 mention that Atwood should be introduced in Hungary with *Surfacing*, and a 1981 report on *Life Before Man*

also points out that Atwood's earlier works "should be considered" as well. The publisher finally published the volume in Hungarian in 1984 under the title *Fellélegzés* [Relief] but not all reviews shared a unanimous approval of the novel. A 1982 report on *Bodily Harm* as a side note mentions resignedly that *Surfacing* was not a good choice. From this document we know that the commission for translation was already made in 1982 but the novel was published only two years later. It took ten years for Európa Publishing House to consider, reconsider and finally publish the first Atwood novel in Hungarian, and as we know from the translator, it went through several hands. Translator Eszter L. Pataricza recalled that several translators declined the translation. For her, it was the first time translating a novel after her university studies, and the publisher did not allow her to turn the translation down. "Although I tried to back down from the job excusing myself that I was too young, and did not have the life experience needed for the translation, so this story was not for me. Nevertheless, the publisher commissioned me, and I translated it."<sup>39</sup> It is worth noting that the title of the published translation does not correspond with the titles suggested by the reviewers in the reports: *Felszínre bukkolás* [literal translation: coming to the surface], *Felmerülés* [literally: surfacing], or *Felszínre érni* [literally: reaching the surface], although these are much closer to the plot of the original novel and to the recurring Canadian topoi of a search for identity or survival.

### 8.1.3. Poetry weighed on scales

The second volume considered for translation in 1977 was a collection of poems titled *You are Happy*. This collection, the ninth among Atwood's volumes of poetry, was published in English only a few years earlier, in 1974. The reviewer describes Atwood's poetry as "powerful and evocative in every detail."<sup>40</sup> The reviewer agrees with the marketing text on the cover of the original and highlights Atwood's "mythological sense" in everyday events of life, meaning that "[t]he poet constantly gives signs of her knowledge about how things, phenomena, feelings are connected deep down, at the roots."<sup>41</sup> The insightful analysis is concluded by a comment: "I would like to see other works by the poet [...], I recommend the translation of her poems based on this single volume as well."<sup>42</sup> Besides that, several other reviews call attention to Atwood's poetry, for example, one in 1974: "The novel shows that its author is an excellent poet. Her style is concise, her imagery abstract yet these signs make perfect sense."<sup>43</sup> "Five volumes of

<sup>39</sup> Email communication, 26 March 2025.

<sup>40</sup> "Erőteljes, minden részletében szuggesztív költészet."

<sup>41</sup> "[a] költő mindig érezteti a dolgok, jelenségek, érzések mélységének, gyökereinek, összefüggéseinek tudását."

<sup>42</sup> "Szívesen megismerkednék a költő egyéb xxxxxxxxxx műveivel is - versei fordítását ennek az egy kötetnek alapján is javaslom." (The typography follows the typewritten manuscript.)

<sup>43</sup> „A regényen látszik, hogy írója kitűnő költő. Stílusa tömör, képei áttételes, de teljesen érthető jelzések.”

poetry have been published so far – she is considered to be one of Canada’s greatest poets.”<sup>44</sup> In 1980 one reviewer says: “she is known as a poet worldwide,”<sup>45</sup> or in 1982, „She is widely known in Europe already, but first and foremost for her poetry and not for her novels.”<sup>46</sup> Despite the fact that her poetry was recommended by several reviewers, only one report can be found about the volume *You Are Happy* in Atwood’s dossier, and it seems that the publisher’s attention turned from Atwood’s poetry towards her prose.

#### **8.1.4. The practice of multiple reviewing**

In the 1980s, when the ideological control became somewhat softer, it was a common practice among publishers to repeatedly review books that had been rejected earlier (Czigányik 2011: 225). Multiple reports were submitted reviewing Atwood’s novel *The Edible Woman*, which was first reviewed in 1977, in the same year when the collection of poems titled *You Are Happy* was also considered. One of the two 1977 reviews of *The Edible Woman* urged for the publication of the “excellent novel,” a critique of consumer society, the other one – although found the subject matter fascinating – rejects the novel. According to the reviewer, the characters are “not likable,” they are part of a passionless, disinterested, declining society. Four years later, in 1981, the publisher decided for another round of reviews. Both reports (1981, 1982) recommend the publishing of the book. The third review points out that it is a “sophisticated work of an early career writer”,<sup>47</sup> and the fourth document notes that the book is “easy to read and enjoyable.”<sup>48</sup> While the writers of the reports in the 1970s highlight the ideological questions related to consumer society, in the 1980s they are increasingly aware of the marketability of the translated books.

#### **8.1.5. Social contexts described in the in-house documents**

It sounds archaic today that the two main characters Marian and Duncan, meet in a laundromat in *The Edible Woman*. In the report, the Hungarian reviewer uses the word “Patyolat,” the name of a state-owned cleaning company that was very popular during Communism. This “domesticating” translation strategy (Venuti 1995) is also typical for the way Canadian social classes are described in the reader’s reports. Almost every single reviewer describes the social context that Atwood’s characters belong to. The reports describe the 1960s of Canada in a way

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<sup>44</sup> “Öt verseskötete jelent meg eddig – Kanada egyik legjobb költőjének tartják.”

<sup>45</sup> „...mint költőt már világszerte ismerik.”

<sup>46</sup> „Már Európában is igen nagy népszerűségnek örvend, de elsősorban nem regényeinek, hanem inkább versesköteteinek köszönhetően.”

<sup>47</sup> „a pályakezdés igényes műve.”

<sup>48</sup> „könnyen emészthető és élvezetes”

that is consistent with the Communist world view of the 1970s in Hungary and meaningful to the editors of Európa Publishing House. Canada as presented in *Surfacing* is “an urbanized, uniformized, and Americanized world”<sup>49</sup> (1974), where the “Francophone-Anglophone conflict appears.”<sup>50</sup> The four reports on *The Edible Woman* make reference to the USA in one way or the other. The first (1977) points out that the novel “(this early piece of writing already) is a bit of an anti-American caricature of consumer society.”<sup>51</sup> The main character is a “young intellectual woman”<sup>52</sup> (1977, second review), and the story takes place in the “world of the young intellectuals: the characters in the story have completed their university studies”<sup>53</sup> (1981, third review). The novel portrays “young Canadian-American intellectuals [...] attracted to the order of social norms”<sup>54</sup> (1982, fourth review), in other words “young American intellectuals who belong to the lower-middle class”<sup>55</sup> (1982).

*Bodily Harm*, reviewed also in 1982, takes place mostly outside of Canada. Two negative and one positive reports were submitted. The first opinion describes the novel as “remarkable, [...] interesting, well written,”<sup>56</sup> but does not recommend it for translation, as Joan Didion’s *A Book of Common Prayer* (in Hungarian: *Imádságoskönyv*, 1981), which tells a similar story and was published around that time. The second reviewer expresses disappointment and expects that the book will attract only “a small number” of readers, concluding that “[t]his book is not ready for publication, at least for the time being.”<sup>57</sup> The third report, unlike the previous two, is a five-page document that praises the writer for her brilliance, and gives a detailed description about the plot: “it portrays a well-known version of a Latin American scenario: a corrupt dictatorship that pretends to be a democracy, the votes are bought, with a strong but threatened opposition, active, sect-like guerilla groups.”<sup>58</sup> The reviewer is quite blunt when explaining that the protagonist accidentally becomes “a witness of political conspiracies,”<sup>59</sup> after “an isolated and hasty uprising attempt fails, and in the hysteria of a bloody retaliation, the police arrests Rennie as well.”<sup>60</sup> The description of the social unrest is

<sup>49</sup> „urbanizált, uniformizált és amerikanizált világ”

<sup>50</sup> „megjelennek a francia-angol ellentétek”

<sup>51</sup> „a fogyasztói társadalom (már ebben a korai regényben is kissé Amerika-ellenes) karikatúrája”

<sup>52</sup> „fiatal intellektuel nő”

<sup>53</sup> „fiatal szakértelmiségiek világa: a regény szereplői egyetemet végeztek”

<sup>54</sup> „fiatal kanadai-amerikai értelmiségiek ... a társadalmi normák rendjének vonzásában”

<sup>55</sup> „alsóközéposztálybeli fiatal amerikai értelmiségiek”

<sup>56</sup> „figyelemreméltó, ... érdekes, jól megírt”

<sup>57</sup> „Ez a kötet nem kiadásra termett, legalábbis egyelőre”

<sup>58</sup> „a forrongó latin-amerikai szcéna egyik ismert változatát mutatja: demokráciának álcázott korrupt diktatura, vásárolt szavazatok, erős, de megfélemlített ellenzék, mozgolódó szekta-szerű gerillák.”

<sup>59</sup> „politikai konspirációk kénytelen tanujává”

<sup>60</sup> „egy elszigetelt, elhamarkodott felkelési kísérlet elbukik, a véres megtorlás hisztériájában a rendőrség Rennie-t is letartóztatja.”

thus not “domesticated” according to the expectations of the editors of the publishing house. At the same time, the reviewer probably did not work very often as a reviewer for Európa Publisher, because he or she does not follow the strict form of the report and at the end of the document, a clear statement is missing whether to publish the book or not. The publisher decided not to translate *Bodily Harm*.

In 1984 and 1986, two collections of short stories were reviewed in Európa: *Bluebeard’s Egg* and *Dancing Girls and Other Stories*. Three, out of the four reports, did not recommend the translation of the whole volume, instead, they suggested a selection. Apart from the excellent portrayal of characters, the readers considered the characters and their life situations too commonplace. “Her heroes are everyday women – an elderly farm woman and a simple housewife, young girl and a freelance journalist, a lonely old woman and a woman giving birth – everyday fates”<sup>61</sup> (1986). The Hungarian word used for an elderly woman living on an isolated farm (*tanyasi asszony*), however, evokes the atmosphere of the Hungarian Great Plains. The reviewer does not use a ‘foreignizing’ translation strategy (Venuti 1995) here, which would make it clear that the story is set in Canada.

Of the two reports on *The Handmaid’s Tale* in 1987, only one recommended a translation. The positive first report describes the social order of Gilead in brief statements.

The president of the United States was shot, the members of the Congress were disarmed, the military declared a state of emergency. People became disoriented, hid in their homes and watched TV. The Constitution was ‘temporarily’ suspended. There was no resistance, since no one knew where to look for the enemy. Censorship. Newspapers were banned. The female shop assistants were replaced by men.<sup>62</sup>

In the description of the plot, the reviewer obviously tries to push the novel through the selection process, so regarding taboo topics the reviewer says that the sexual relationship between Offred and the Commander are “pronouncedly free of any eroticism.”<sup>63</sup> The reviewer emphasizes that the lack of humor in the novel is resolved only in the last chapter, which is rich in humor and irony. And since before the political change the genre of science fiction fell into the permitted

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<sup>61</sup> “Hősei mindennapi nők – idős tanyasi asszony és egyszerű háziasszony, fiatal lány és szabadúszó ujságíró, magányos öregasszony és szülő nő –, mindennapi sorsokkal.”

<sup>62</sup> “Az Egyesült Államok elnökét lelőtték, a Kongresszus tagjait lefegyverezték, a hadsereg kimondta a szükségállapotot. Az emberek kábultan lakásaikba bújtak és – TV-t néztek. Az Alkotmányt »ideiglenesen« felfüggesztették. Ellenállás nem volt, hisz azt sem tudta senki, hogy hol keresse az ellenséget? Cenzura. Az ujságokat betiltották. Az üzletekből a női kiszolgálók helyére férfiak léptek.”

<sup>63</sup> “hangsúlyozottan mentes minden erotikától”

and mostly in the not promoted category (Sohár 1999, 2022), the reviewer adds: “An excellent writer, a fairly well written sci-fi /without sci/?”<sup>64</sup> At the end of the reader’s report, the author notes the “inconsolable hopelessness” of the novel: “Only the lives cannot be replaced any more. /How many times has this been the case in our own history?!/” This overt personal reflection does not appear in any of the twenty-two examined reports before 1987. The first review mentions key aspects why the novel conforms to the Communist ideals of literature, and it makes a straightforward, clear political statement at the end of the report. The second reviewer is outspoken about why the novel is not for publication. The reviewer rejects the idea of “a revolution that creates a totalitarian dictatorship”<sup>65</sup> along gender lines and considers the novel to be boring, even disgusting, and merely a copy of George Orwell’s prose that carries a “real trouvaille”<sup>66</sup> (1988). The name of Orwell is an important reference here, as none of his books were published in Hungarian until 1989 (Czigányik 2011: 226) and only samizdat copies of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in Hungarian were circulating among intellectuals. The reviewer considers the novel to belong to the genre of utopia and science fiction, and harshly criticizes Atwood for using stereotypical science fiction templates. The literary genre of dystopia is not mentioned, probably due to the fact that this category was prohibited during the Communist era.

After the political change, in November 1990, *Cat’s Eye*, a novel which had been published in Canada in 1988, was considered by the Hungarian publisher. A change can be noted in the way the plot is summarized in the report. Not only success is referred to be a driver for translation, but the 1956 revolution is also mentioned. This historical event was a taboo during the Communist era. The first reviewer considers the novel to be “a deservedly successful novel, worth publishing in Hungarian translation”<sup>67</sup> in which a 1956 Hungarian refugee, a teacher of the protagonist, also appears, although only briefly. The second reviewer does not go into detail about the multilayered nature of Canadian society, only mentions: “Elaine is on a time travel between the present time and the time of her childhood and youth, that is the 1940s and 50s’ Canada.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> “Kitűnő író, önmagához méltóan megírt sci-fi-je /sci nélkül/?”

<sup>65</sup> „A totalitáriánus társadalmat kialakító forradalom”

<sup>66</sup> “igazi trouvaille”

<sup>67</sup> “méltán sikeres, magyar nyelvű kiadásra érdemes regény”

<sup>68</sup> “Elaine időutazást tesz a jelen és a gyermek- és ifjúkor, azaz a negyvenes, ötvenes évek Kanadája között.”

### 8.1.6. Relying on paratexts

Placing the author and the work in the context of national and world literature was an important part of the reviewer's reports. However, since the reviewers had no access to literary criticism from the West, they often relied on the paratexts that were surrounding the original texts, such as the blurb on the cover or the foreword (Genette 1997). The primary role of these accompanying texts is to help the source text readers position Atwood and her literary work on the Canadian and the English-American book market. We find seven references to the blurbs of the original volumes in the reports. In 1974, for example: "The blurb describes her as the greatest Canadian poet of our time. In Hungary, as far as I know, she is unknown,"<sup>69</sup> or in 1982, "In this case, we can take the words of the blurb literally: "few authors have such talent to read the soul of the characters than Margaret Atwood."<sup>70</sup> The first readers thus took the blurbs to be a reliable source to contextualize Atwood for the Hungarian publisher. One of the reader's reports also makes reference to the foreword by Ferenc Takács which was published along the Hungarian translation of *Survival* in 1984. The reports are paratexts themselves, or more precisely – to use Genette's term – epitexts, texts that are texts accompanying the literary piece, so in a way they are subordinate to the text, yet, since they review the text, they have a certain "power." In the case of the reader's reports, the texts draw on the paratexts produced earlier in the source culture to initially frame texts for the Hungarian publisher in the decision-making process.

### 8.1.7. The reputation of international success behind the Iron Curtain

Several reports draw attention to Atwood's international popularity regardless of whether the particular work was recommended or not by the reviewer for Hungarian publication. There are seven references in the documents to Atwood's popularity in Canada, and eight reports mention her international success. The first reviewing document in 1974 highlights, for example, that a year after the book was published in Canada, a "paperback" edition also came out in the UK, pointing to the importance of print runs and cheaper editions. According to a review dated in 1981, "Margaret Atwood, poet and novelist, is a recognized and greatly appreciated figure of contemporary Canadian literature even outside of Canada."<sup>71</sup> In 1982, another review says:

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<sup>69</sup> "A fülszöveg szerint Kanada legnagyobb ma élő költőjeként tartják számon. Nálunk, legjobb tudomásom szerint, ismeretlen"

<sup>70</sup> "Kivételesen szó szerint vehetjük a fülszöveg mondatait: 'Kevés írónak van olyan tehetsége a hősök lelkében való olvasáshoz, mint Margaret Atwoodnak.'"

<sup>71</sup> "Margaret Atwood költő és regényíró a mai kanadai irodalom Kanadán kívül is elismert és nagyra értékelt büszkesége."

“She earned herself an international reputation as a poet, while also publishing successful novels.”<sup>72</sup> From the 1980s, the reviews refer to a general recognition, as well as the value markers of the English and American book market. In 1982, although the reviewer considers it a bit far stretched, highlights the international prominence of *Surfacing*: “the *New York Times Book Review* called the novel ‘one of the most important novels of the 20th century.’”<sup>73</sup> One of the two documents dated 1987 references the handbook of “Contemporary Authors,” the other one refers to the English-language radio program on books by the BBC World Service. It is worth noting, however, that two reviews dated after 1989 emphasize the value markers of the international book market. The reviewer of *Cat’s Eye* mentions that “*The Handmaid’s Tale* was an international bestseller, but the *Times Literary Supplement* and the *New York Times Book Review* agree that it is surpassed by [...] *Cat’s Eye*”<sup>74</sup> (1990). The second opinion, submitted in the same year, highlights that the *Cat’s Eye* has “made it to the *New York Times* bestseller list”<sup>75</sup> and points out that “its publication offers a “glimmer” of hope for intellectual as well as financial success even at the current state of the Hungarian book market /winter of 1990/. ”<sup>76</sup> Therefore, it can be seen, that in Atwood’s reviewing documents during the years leading up to the political change and immediately afterwards, there is an increasing number of references made to the profitability of publishing. References to the value markers having international prestige signal not only the end of a restricted inflow of world literature but also a broadening of references used by Hungarian critics. In the 1970s, in Atwood’s reviewing documents, international success was thus partly attributed to the presence of a paperback, popular, low-priced edition, while from the 1980s on, success was measured rather by the book’s presence in prestigious forums (eg. BBC, *New York Times*) and on bestseller lists which reflect sales figures.

### 8.1.8 In what way is this literature “Canadian”?

Canadian literature can be considered peripheral from the point of view of the international book market, also less well-known compared to other literatures written in English or French. It is perhaps not surprising that the same position can be noted before the political change. It is worth noting, however, that in the examined reader’s reports, the personal interest of the

<sup>72</sup> “Költőként vivott ki magának nemzetközi hírnevet, közben sikeres regényekkel is jelentkezett.”

<sup>73</sup> “a *New York Times Book Review* a ’20. század egyik legfontosabb regényének’ nevezte.”

<sup>74</sup> “*The Handmaid’s Tale* aratott nemzetközi bestseller-sikert, a *Times Literary Supplement* és a *New York Times Book Review* egybehangzó véleménye szerint azonban felülmúlja ezt a [...] *Cat’s Eye*.”

<sup>75</sup> “felkerült a *New York Times* bestseller listájára”

<sup>76</sup> “megjelenése még a könyvpiac jelenlegi /1990. tele/ helyzetében is a közös nevezőre emelhető szellemi-anyagi siker reményével ’kecsegtet’.”

reviewers is directed not only towards Atwood but also to Canadian literature in general. In the opinions on Atwood's literary work, we find strong images, associations of Canada, for example "raw, stark naturalism in the depiction of details can be noticed in the work of other Canadian writers as well; this shifts sometimes to the almost mythical, pagan worship of the Canadian, wild, natural environment."<sup>77</sup> (1974). In the literary works, the "Canadian wilderness" (1981) is contrasted with urban life. This dichotomy is also pointed out by another reviewer: "in modern Canadian literature, the themes of the city and countryside, urban environment and natural landscape bring forth rather interesting literary developments in their anachronistic rawness, at least for us"<sup>78</sup> (1981). The reviewer of *Bluebeard's Egg* in 1984 mentions the influence of Canada on the literary work as the most important factor. "Themes in Atwood's works have always been determined by her life experiences of being Canadian, a woman, and her relationship with nature."<sup>79</sup> These three themes appear in Atwood's oeuvre. One of the reviewers of *Bodily Harm* reflects on the reception of Canadian literature in 1982:

Just because Margaret Atwood is the most prominent author of Canada, I have to admit that until I started to read her book, I did not expect much, which is due to my /superficial/ knowledge of Canadian literature that it often deals with things that are provincial and not-so-important. And by the time ... I reached the end of the book, it became clear to me that what I have read is a first-class book by a very contemporary writer who is extremely good, mature, clever and lovable, not only by 'Canadian' but also by world literature standards.<sup>80</sup>

This opinion is strengthened by another review dated 1986 about *Dancing Girls*, whose writer does not recommend the whole book for publishing, and notes that the reason for selection is that "very little of Canadian literature reaches our country"<sup>81</sup> (without date). This observation still holds up till today, although thanks to Margaret Atwood and Alice Munro, Canadian literature is becoming more widely known these days.

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<sup>77</sup> "...más kanadai íróknál is megfigyelhető a nyers, kemény naturalizmus a részletek ábrázolásában; ez időnként a természet – a kanadai, ősi természeti környezet – szinte mitikus, pogány imádatába csap át"

<sup>78</sup> "a modern kanadai irodalomban város és vidék, urbanizáció és természetközelség témaköre éppen ezért, igen érdekes irodalmi eredményekkel, a maga – számunkra anakronisztikus – nyersségében taglalódik"

<sup>79</sup> "Atwood tematikáját mindig is alapvető létélmenyei: kanadaisága, asszonyorsora és a természethez való viszonya határozta meg"

<sup>80</sup> "Hogy Margaret Atwood Kanada legjelentősebb írója, ettől, míg könyvét el nem kezdtem olvasni, bevallom nem vártam sokat a gyakran provinciális, nem-fontos dolgokkal babráló kanadai irodalom /felszínes/ ismeretében. S mire ... a könyv végére értem, egyértelművé vált bennem, hogy nem 'kanadai', hanem világirodalmi mértékkel nézve is szenzációsan jó, érett, okos, szerethető, nagyon mai író elsőrendű könyvét olvastam."

<sup>81</sup> "a kanadai irodalomból igen kevés jut el hazánkba"

### 8.1.9. Changed publishing trends after 1989

According to the translation database of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies, in the former Communist block, the Hungarian translation of *Surfacing* was the second book by Atwood published in the region in 1984. It was preceded only by *Lady Oracle* published in 1982 in Bulgarian. The bibliographic data shows that while the translations of Atwood's novels were available in the surrounding post-Communist countries well before 2017, in the Hungarian literary field, it was relatively difficult to introduce Atwood even after the political change.

The journey of the book was thus rather difficult. *The Handmaid's Tale* was translated into Hungarian in 2006, twenty-one years later than its English language publication, by Enikő Mohácsi initially with Lazi Publisher, a small-scale publishing enterprise (est. 2005) in the city of Szeged. By that time, the book was recommended no longer by a reviewer's report, but based on literary value by Katalin Kürtösi, professor at the Department of Comparative Literature at the University of Szeged. The contracts were negotiated through a literary agency; it was a general process, and the publisher bought the rights for four years. When it was published in 2006, however, it did not find a receptive readership. According to the publisher, István Lázár, it was a complete failure. Right after the political transformation, genres that sold well were horoscopes, commercial fiction, science fiction, fantasy and horror and less the genre of dystopia. Although Lazi tried to improve its marketing strategy and changed the book cover, *The Handmaid's Tale* did not sell well. The first cover was designed by Róbert Odegnál, a Hungarian graphic designer using his own artwork. The second cover depicted a scene from the 1990 film adaptation, an American-West German coproduction with acclaimed actors, directed by Volker Schlöndorff, and the script written by Harold Pinter, but the new book cover did not help the sales either. Finally, the books were sold in the discounted book shops, István Lázár shared. "Maybe we picked up the book at the wrong time. The link between film adaptation and published books are not always straightforward" he said. It is worth noting that the Hungarian premier of the film was in 1991, so 15 years earlier than the first translation was published.



Illustration 14 Three covers for the translation of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*

The publishing rights expired with Lazi, and an edited translation of the novel with a new marketing strategy was put on the market in 2017 by Jelenkor Publishing House (part of the Libri conglomerate)<sup>82</sup> in Budapest. The third book cover shows a scene from the HBO-GO film series, so it clearly packages the literary product with a cultural bundle frame. Enikő Mohácsi, who is a translator of detective fiction, science fiction, fantasy, and youth fiction (translated for example Ursula K. Le Guin, Brian Herbert, Orson Scott Card), turned down Jelenkor's offer to edit her own translation as she did not enjoy translating the book in the first place. The text was edited by Zsófia Nádor, editor<sup>83</sup> of Jelenkor, in 2017, who also translated Atwood's foreword that appeared in the new edition and which additional paratext is also highlighted on the cover as well. Thanks to the Hulu-HBO-GO series adaptation<sup>84</sup> that came out in the same year under the same title, the book has been reprinted thirteen times up until 2021. Although Atwood holds an impressive list of literary awards<sup>85</sup> in the source and global literary field, in Hungary, the author became known only after the launching of the film adaptation in 2017.

<sup>82</sup> Jelenkor was founded after the change of the regime in 1993 in Southwest Hungary in the city of Pécs. From 2015 becomes an imprint of Libri, Budapest. It focuses on upmarket literature and has an impressive portfolio with prestigious contemporary Hungarian writers and international Nobel prize winners.

<sup>83</sup> Zsófia Nádor is an editor and translator, among others of Umberto Eco.

<sup>84</sup> *The Handmaid's Tale* film adaptation was directed by Bruce Miller, streamed by Hulu - HBO GO originally in April 2017, dubbed by SDI Media Hungary, streamed in Hungary in July 2017. Translators: Augusztina Vass, Viktor Blahut.

<sup>85</sup> Governor General's Award (1966, 1985), Los Angeles Times Fiction Award (1986), Nebula Award (1986), Prometheus Award (1987), Arthur C. Clarke Award for Best Science Fiction (1987), Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1988), Trillium Book Award (1991, 1993, 1995), Man Booker Prize (2000), Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal Canada (2012), Franz Kafka Prize, Czech Republic (2017), Lifetime Achievement Award by PEN Center USA (2017), Peace Prize of the German Book Trade Germany (2017)

The most reviewed book before the change of regime, *The Edible Woman*, was translated forty-four years after the original Canadian release in 2020 by Ágnes Csonka for the Atwood oeuvre series of Jelenkor Publishing House which holds exclusive translation rights for Atwood. Finally, from the list of Atwood books considered for publishing between 1974 and 1990, *Cat's Eye* was also translated by Csonka in 2020 for Jelenkor under the title *Macskaszem*, thirty years after the initial publishing. While several novels have been published, Atwood's poetry still waits to be introduced in Hungary. Other books that were not among the reviewed works but were translated into Hungarian up until 2014 are *The Blind Assassin* (*A vak bérnyilkos*, translated by Márta Siklós, Jelenkor, 2003), *The Penelopeiad* (*Pénélopeia*, translated by István Géher, Palatinus, 2007), and *Oryx and Crake* (*Guvat és Gazella*, translated by Zsuzsanna Varga, Európa, 2012). Márta Siklós literary translator shared<sup>86</sup> she has been translating for almost thirty years, mostly for Európa Publisher but sometimes for other publishers as well. Translating *The Blind Assassin* was one of the most enjoyable commissions she has taken on from Jelenkor, now part of Libri Publishing. In the early 2000s she was recommended for the Atwood translation by Hungarian writer and translator Zsuzsa Rakovszky. When asked about the translation process, Siklós shared that "it is much easier to translate a well written text because it lends itself to translation" and praised Atwood for her crystal clear sentences. Zsuzsanna Varga, the translator of *Oryx and Crake* studied biology at university and also has a degree in foreign trade. She shared<sup>87</sup> that she had lived in Canada for a few years where she accidentally found *The Handmaid's Tale* in a library. Upon her return to Hungary, she decided to become a translator and completed the translator training of Hungarovox. At a book launch at Írók Boltja [Writers' bookshop], she met Imre Barna, director of Európa Publishing House (between 2006 and 2013), and pointed out that Atwood was not known in Hungary. She translated the first two books of the MaddAddam Trilogy: *Oryx and Crake* and *The Year of the Flood* (*Az özönvíz éve*, in Hun. 2015), but Európa Publisher was in a financially dire situation and let the Atwood rights go. *MaddAddam* was translated into Hungarian by Ágnes Csonka at Jelenkor Publishing House in 2019.

The analysis of the reviewers' reports shows that the editors of Európa Publishing House kept an eye on Atwood even before the change of the regime. The case study has examined twenty-two reviewer's reports which were part of the selection process for world literature before 1989 in Hungary. A clear change can be noticed in the wording of the reviewing

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<sup>86</sup> Email communication 22 March 2025.

<sup>87</sup> Email communication 24 March 2025.

documents. While the reviews written in the 1970s try to give a precise description of the plot, the characters' place in society, and point out any taboos that are not compatible with the Communist literary standards, in the second half of the 1980s, the reports focus on potential success in the target culture, accessibility, marketability. In addition to that, close to 1989 and in the 1990s, overt political references can be found in the plot descriptions of the novels. By taking up publishing practices of the global book market after the political change, the publishers' tools for selection have also changed, as we can see that in the case of Atwood's books as well. Due to the accelerated publishing practices, it is now rare that publishers would ask external readers for reviews. Bestseller lists, the prestige of international literary prizes, pitches of literary agencies and the network of personal contacts serve as a filter to select books that are economically safe to publish.

Date of the review	Address (date of publishing in source language)	Recommendation (+ publishing is recommended, - not recommended)	Possible title	Notes
1974	Surfacing (1972)	+	<b>Felszínre bukkanás</b>	
1974	Surfacing (1972)	-	<b>Felmerülés</b>	
1981	Surfacing (1972)	+	<b>Felszínre érni</b>	
1977	You Are Happy (1974)	+	<b>Boldog vagy</b>	
1977	The Edible Woman (1969)	+	<b>Az ehető nő</b>	
1977	The Edible Woman (1969)	-	<b>Az ehető asszony</b>	
1981	The Edible Woman (1969)	+	<b>Az ehető asszony</b>	First recommends publishing <i>Surfacing</i> .
1982	The Edible Woman (1969)	+	<b>Az ennivaló nő</b>	Calls attention to the popular book of <i>Surfacing</i> .
1980	Life Before Man (1979)	-	<b>Élet az ember előtti időkben</b>	
1981	Life Before Man (1979)	+	<b>Élet az ember előtt</b>	It would be worth introducing Atwood through her earlier novels.
1982	Life Before Man (1979)	+	<b>Élet az ember előtt</b>	
1982	Bodily Harm (1981)	-	<b>Testi sérülés</b>	
1982	Bodily Harm (1981)	-	<b>Testi hiba</b>	Recommends the publication of her poetry.
1982	Bodily Harm (1981)	+	-	
1984	Bluebeard's Egg (1983)	-	<b>Próbatétel</b>	Recommends a selection of short stories.
1984	Bluebeard's Egg (1983)	+	<b>Kékszakáll tojása</b>	
-	Dancing Girls (1977)	-	<b>Táncosnők</b>	Recommends a selection.
1986	Dancing Girls (1977)	-	<b>Táncosnők és Más Történetek</b>	Recommends a selection.

1987	The Handmaid's Tale (1985)	+	A szolgáló meséje	
1988	The Handmaid's Tale (1985)	-	A szolgálólány meséje	
1990	Cat's Eye (1988)	+	-	
1990	Cat's Eye (1988)	+	Macskaszem	

Table 5. The recommendations of the reviewing documents on the literary work of Margaret Atwood

## 8.2. Alice Munro with one publisher but several Hungarian translators

Books with high literary quality are usually part of the backlist of a publisher. In the next case, we will see an author who has gained reputation in both Canada and the English-speaking publishing world, but the Hungarian editor had to and still has to fight for each book to be translated and published despite the fact that there are several film adaptations of her short stories available in Hungarian.

### 8.2.1. Background: the author and the works

Alice Munro published her first short story as a university student in 1950 in *Folio*, a literary journal of the University of Western Ontario in Canada (Stein 2012). A few years later, however, her work was already published in prestigious magazines, among these *The New Yorker*, *Myfair*, the *Tamarack Review*, and *The Montrealer*, a magazine that was targeting the English speaking, mainly female readers of Montreal (Thacker 2005: 317). She made her debut in the Canadian literary life with her first collection of short stories titled *Dance of the Happy Shades* published by Ryerson Press in Toronto in 1968, and in the same year she received the highest recognition in Canada, the Governor General's Award for it. Her work, which she has published regularly, carries a style that is characteristic of Munro. Her critics and her biographers both agree that her succinct and concise use of language, her precise sentence structures and her crystal clear portrayal of characters earned her the title: the master of storytelling.

Alice Munro has been endowed with rich cultural capital since the beginning of her literary career, she has received several prestigious awards and prizes for her work. She has been granted the Governor General's Award three times (1968, 1978, 1986), the Trillium Book Award also three times (1991, 1999, 2013), and the Giller Prize twice (1994, 2004). In 1998 she received the National Book Critics Circle Award (USA), in 2009 the Man Booker International Prize (UK), and in 2013 her life oeuvre was awarded with the Nobel Prize in Literature (Thacker 2005/2011, Staines, 2016). Her published works that circulate in the

international literary field are the following: *Dance of the Happy Shades* 1968; *Lives of Girls and Women* 1971; *Something I've Been Meaning to Tell You* 1974; *Who Do You Think You Are* (abroad: *The Beggar Maid*) 1978; *The Moons of Jupiter* 1982; *The Progress of Love* 1986; *Friend of my Youth* 1990; *Open Secrets* 1994; *The Love of a Good Woman* 1998; *Hateship, Friendship, Courtship, Loveship, Marriage* 2001; *Runaway* 2004; *The View from Castle Rock* 2006; *Too Much Happiness* 2009; *Dear Life* 2012.

After the first publication in Canada and in the United States, her work was available on the British book market from the second half of the 1970s which was negotiated by her first literary agent Virginia Barber based in New York, USA (Thacker 2005: 553). Munro's short stories have been widely translated; these translations, however, appeared with a great lapse in time compared to both the first Canadian publication and to each other. As a comparison, on the European market, the first German translation came out in 1983, the first Slovak translation appeared in 2000, and the first Czech translation was published in 2003. In Slovenia the first collection of short stories was published in 2010, while in Romania it was brought out only in 2011<sup>88</sup>, so in these countries Munro was discovered only after her Man Booker Prize. Regarding Munro's Hungarian publication, we can note that at the beginning of the 1980s Attila Tárnok approached Hungarian publishers with some of Munro's short stories without success (2013: 1242). Some years later, literary journals published a few translations by Judit Márta Elek (1985), Erzsébet Cziné (1986), and Mária Borbás (2003). Before that, however, we have a period of non-translation, when Európa Publishing House had *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971) reviewed by Ágnes Walkóné Békés<sup>89</sup> in 1985. She says:

It would be advisable to publish the novel of the outstanding contemporary Canadian writer in Hungarian, especially since none of her works have been put on the Hungarian book market yet. (Let me add, however, that her writing, which at first sight does not appear to be hard to translate, is actually written in a highly

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<sup>88</sup> Source: *Central European Association for Canadian Studies* Translation Research online database <http://korel.savana-hosting.cz/cecanstud/www/sign/in?backlink=lmznb>

<sup>89</sup> Ágnes Walkóné Békés, Ph.D. received her doctorate from the University of Debrecen in 1944, but as she was of Jewish origin, she was deported to the concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen, Germany two days later. When the American liberating troops arrived, she served as an interpreter for them. Upon her return to Hungary, she remained a lecturer at the University of Debrecen, a language teacher at ELTE Radnódi Miklós Training School and High School, Budapest and a reviewer and translator for Európa Publishing House, rendering for example I. B. Singer from English into Hungarian. The quote from the reviewing document is named with the permission of the rights holders.

refined language and is full of possible pitfalls, thus requires a talented and experienced Hungarian translator.) Budapest, 2 May 1985.<sup>90</sup>

Despite the positive review, Európa decided not to publish Munro at the time. The first book publication of Alice Munro's short stories had to wait until 2006, when Park Publishing in Hungary purchased the rights to publish the first volume. As we can see, the European reception of Alice Munro's books is fairly diverse in time and in these countries as well. Regarding the Hungarian publication of Munro's work, we must emphasize that in some cases, the target culture readers could only access the texts more than forty years later after their first publishing.

The following volumes and a movie tie-in book have been published in Hungarian:

The title of the Hungarian translation, date of publication	Translator	The title of the source text, date of publication	Years passed between source and target text publication
<i>Szeret, nem szeret...</i> 2006	Mária Borbás	<i>Hateship, Friendship, Courtship, Loveship, Marriage</i> 2001	5
<i>Csend, vétek, szenvedély</i> 2007	Mónika Mesterházi	<i>Runaway</i> 2004	3
<i>Egy jóra való nő szerelme</i> 2008	Mónika Mesterházi	<i>The Love of a Good Woman</i> 1998	10
<i>Mennyi boldogság!</i> 2011	Mónika Mesterházi	<i>Too Much Happiness</i> 2009	2
<i>Asszonyok, lányok élete</i> 2013	Mónika Mesterházi	<i>Lives of Girls and Women</i> 1971	42
<i>Drága élet</i> 2014	Mónika Mesterházi	<i>Dear Life</i> 2012	2
<i>A boldog árnyak tánca</i> 2015	Zsuzsa Rakovszky	<i>Dance of the Happy Shades</i> 1968	47
<i>Nyílt titkok</i> 2016	Zsuzsa Rakovszky	<i>Open Secrets</i> 1994	22
<i>Juliet, három történet</i> 2017 (© 2007)	Mónika Mesterházi	<i>Julieta: three stories</i> 2016 (© 2004)	1
<i>Ifjúkori barátnőm</i> 2017	Zsuzsa Rakovszky	<i>Friend of my Youth</i> 1990	27
<i>Kilátás a Várszikláról</i> 2018	Laura Lukács	<i>The View from Castle Rock</i> 2006	12
<i>A kolduslány</i> 2019	Laura Lukács	<i>The Beggar Maid</i> 1978	41
<i>A Jupiter holdjai</i> 2021	Dóra Elekes	<i>The Moons of Jupiter</i> 1982	39
<i>A szeretet útja</i> 2022	Laura Lukács	<i>The Progress of Love</i> 1986	36
<i>Valamit el akartam mondani</i> 2023	Júlia Kada	<i>Something I've been meaning to tell you</i> 1974	49

Table 6. Translated titles of Alice Munro's oeuvre

<sup>90</sup> "Korunk jelentős kanadai íróőnének regényét kívánatos lenne magyarul megjelentetni, különösen, ha eddig még egyik műve sem került magyar könyvpiacra. /Zárójelben szeretném megjegyezni, hogy ez az első látásra nehéznek nem látszó, de valójában igen raffinált írásmód, buktatókkal teli nyelvezet tehetséges, tapasztalt magyar fordítót igényel./ Budapest 1985 május 2."

In the table above, it can be noted that Munro was first published in 2006 in the lead up to the Budapest International Book Festival where Canada was the guest of honor. The organizers invited Munro to attend the event, but she had other engagements.

In 2015, besides the book form, under the title *Anyám álma* [The dream of my mother] an audio book featuring a well-known Hungarian actress Anikó Für was placed on the Hungarian market by Kossuth/Mojzer Publishing House to reach the audience with a preference for auditory information. The audio book uses Mónika Mesterházi's translation.

### **8.2.2. The publisher and its translators**

Several Hungarian publishers have brought out English Canadian literature for the Hungarian readers since 2000, such as Ulpus, Jelenkor, and Európa, yet the translation rights for Alice Munro's books have all been promptly secured by Park, a venture established in 1988, just before the political transformation. The profile of Park Publishing has changed over the years, adapted to the dynamics of the national and international book market. First it published non-fiction and popular, easily accessible books to gain capital, but in a few years' time it expanded its portfolio to literary works endowed with symbolic value, and published works of Nobel prize winning authors such as Saul Bellow and Toni Morrison. In 2013 Park Publishing joined a conglomerate, Libri Publishing Group. In this case, the publishing of Alice Munro's lifework confirms the large-scale pole coherence (Sapiro 2008, 2010) between the publishers of Random House and Park, which after the merge with Libri, is considered a large-scale publisher in the Hungarian context.

Alice Munro's collections of short stories have been translated to Hungarian by six translators. Mária Borbás translated the first published volume titled *Hateship, Friendship, Courtship, Loveship, Marriage*, the next five volumes were rendered by Mónika Mesterházi, then the following three collections by Zsuzsa Rakovszky. Following that Laura Lukács translated three volumes and one was translated by Dóra Elekes and one by Júlia Kada. Who are these translators, and what kind of cultural capital do they hold in the Hungarian or international literary field?

Mária Borbás was born in 1930, studied Hungarian, French and English at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, later worked for Európa Publishing House as an editor. She was a highly respected Hungarian literary translator, who translated world literature extensively. She also published two books on the professional aspects of literary translation. She was awarded the József Attila Literary Prize in Hungary in 1994.

Mónika Mesterházi was born in 1967, studied Hungarian and English at Eötvös Loránd University, from where she holds a PhD in contemporary Irish literature. She received four Hungarian literary prizes (1996, 2005, 2007, 2008), among them the József Attila Prize and the Artisjus Prize. She is a translator of contemporary poetry and fiction, and has also published five volumes of her own poetry (1992, 1995, 1999, 2007, 2021).

Zsuzsa Rakovszky was born in 1950, studied Hungarian and English at Eötvös Loránd University. She writes both fiction and poetry, and has extensive institutional recognition. She translates world literature as well as contemporary commercial fiction. Rakovszky has been awarded with numerous literary and state prizes, including the József Attila Prize (1988), the Kossuth Prize (2010), and the Hungarian Laurel Wreath Award (1997).

Laura Lukács translates from English and Portuguese into Hungarian. She is the retranslator of George Orwell's *Nineteen eighty-four* (in Hungarian 2022), also has translated John Steinbeck, Louisa May Alcott, Paulo Coelho, Raduan Nassar, Toni Morrison, and Ian McEwan among others.

Dóra Elekes, writer, editor, translator, was born in 1975; she received a degree in English and Hungarian literature at the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary. She is a recipient of the Géza Csáth literary prize and the translator of the year for her rendition of Kipling's tales. She translated Stephen King, Agatha Christie, Toni Morrison, and retranslated George Orwell's *Animal Farm* in 2021 into Hungarian together with Miklós M. Nagy.

Júlia Kada is a renowned translator, born in 1939, and is the recipient of the prestigious József Attila Prize (2009). She studied at Eötvös Loránd University and was a literary editor of the Hungarian Television in the 1960s. In the 1970s she worked for the literary journal called *Élet és Irodalom* and was a contributor for the *Nagyvilág* literary journal, which disseminated world literature in Hungarian. She is the translator of William Golding, Erich Segal, Kazuo Ishiguro, Agatha Christie among others, and a retranslator of Jane Austen's books.

We can see that all six translators are endowed with different kinds of symbolic capital. They hold prizes and literary awards for their achievement, but the translated works that they have 'consecrated,' also become their 'transnationally accumulated symbolic capital' (Sapiro 2008). Casanova points out that

in the world literary universe translation is both one of the main weapons in the struggle for literary legitimacy and the great authority of specific consecration. For a dominated writer, struggling for access to translation is in fact a matter of struggling for his or her existence as a legitimate member of the world republic of letter for access to the literary centers (to the critical and consecrating authorities), and for the right to be read by those who decree that what they read is worth reading. [...] In other words, in the dominated regions of the literary field, translation is the only specific means of being perceived, becoming visible, of existing” (Casanova 2002: 11).

Although Park Publishing House may have chosen the translators for their existing symbolic capital, for the translators, working with Alice Munro’s texts may also have meant a process of legitimization of their own literary career as well in the aftermath of the political transformation.

### **8.2.3. Marketing strategies of the publisher**

The volume of short stories did not immediately become a success. When Munro’s literary Nobel was announced on 10 October 2013, all daily and weekly newspapers as well as national TV channels reported the event. With the author, all agents of the field: translators, publisher, editors etc. shifted to a more central place in the literary field. On the international level, *BookNet Canada* and *Nielsen Book* collected data on the sales of Munro’s books through an eight-week period, starting before the announcement of the Nobel Prize. The figures show that the sales of Munro’s short story collections soared internationally due to the prize (BookNet Canada, Websites and Databases 13). Although the Hungarian market can be considered small in the context of the global book market – print runs of even 3,000 copies are considered to be a fair amount for literary books –, the fact that further collections of short stories have been translated since 2013 suggest an increase in the sales figures of the Hungarian publisher as well. Several different types of marketing strategies have been employed by Park that influence the reception of Munro’s books. On the visual level, the volumes have been labelled with special stickers that call attention to international literary prestige, refer to the International Man Booker Prize or the Nobel in literature. These books get special promotion, they are placed in the forefront with the bestsellers at the place of selling.

In the same year, various cultural events were also organized by the publisher, the retailer, or the academia to familiarize the public with Munro’s work. For example, a panel discussion took place in a well-known central bookshop in Budapest called *Írók Boltja* [Writers’

bookshop] on 4 December 2013, where the chief editor of Park Publishing Vera Tönkö, journalist Ildikó Orosz and translator Mónika Mesterházi discussed the specific challenges of the translation and publication of the texts. It is one of the occasions where three agents of varying interests cooperated.

#### **8.2.4. Film adaptations**

Some of Munro's short stories have also been adapted to feature films. As mentioned earlier, *Away from Her* by Sarah Polley (Hungarian title *Egyre távolabb* [Further and further]) was screened in the largest art cinema, Művész in Budapest on 27 June 2007. Renowned Spanish film director, Pedro Almodovar, also adapted three short stories "Chance," "Soon," "Silence" from the volume *Runaway* (2004) into one film titled *Julieta* (2016). In Hungary the movie tie-in book was titled *Juliet* (trans. Mónika Mesterházi, 2017), but the film kept the title *Julieta* and was premiered in Művész in Budapest on 4 May 2017. The film was also screened on Duna Television in January 2020 and on M2 Hungarian National Television in April 2022. Although both film adaptations recognize Munro as source, they were premiered in an art film cinema, which does not disseminate the films to a wide audience, rather targets the art film enthusiasts. Next, I will discuss the readers' responses to Munro's books, which reveals that the film adaptations are still mentioned, and the texts and the audiovisual input are consumed together.

#### **8.2.5. Reactions and responses of the readers**

Andrew Chesterman says (2007) that "[e]ven if people are not aware that a given text is a translation, they nevertheless react to it as a text; and these reactions themselves are of relevance to translation research" (2007: 179). He posits that translations will induce a reaction in society that may manifest in certain *responses*, i.e. "observable acts of behaviour" (ibid. 179). In this section I would like to examine the reception of Alice Munro's short stories based on the readers' responses. From a text typological point of view, I differentiate between critical responses in literary journals, articles of journalists published in newspapers targeting the general public, and the informal web2 online discussion forum of readers based on Lothar Hoffmann's genre analysis (Hoffmann 1991). Nine Hungarian literary journals (*Korunk*, *Élet és Irodalom*, *Műút*, *Látó*, *Holmi*, *Jelenkor*, *Árgus*, *Nagyvilág*, and the *Szépirodalmi Figyelő*), seven newspapers (*Magyar Napló*, *168 óra*, *Magyar Nemzet*, *HVG*, *Magyar Narancs*, *Népszabadság*, and *Litera.hu*, an online literary magazine aiming at a general readership) have been surveyed for responses to Munro's published books. The largest online discussion forum of books in Hungary, [www.moly.hu](http://www.moly.hu), was the source for the readers' informal responses. 40 published articles and 170 online forum entries have been examined according to the following

aspects: date of publication, whether they were published in response to Alice Munro's Nobel Prize, the mention of the text being a translation, the person or habitus of the translator or the mention of any other agents of the literary field.

It may not be surprising that 84% of the articles aimed at the general public appeared only after October 2013. 75% of that, that is 12 articles were published between 10 October 2013 and 28 February 2014 in connection with Munro's Nobel Prize. In the same time period, 7 publications appeared in literary journals, which is 33% of the articles aimed to reach literary experts. Thus, we can see that the responses of literary critics are more evenly spread out in time, and only part of their responses are connected to the award of the Swedish Academy, they mostly focus on the literary aspects of Munro's work. Almost half (49%) of the examined 21 articles that were published in literary journals were brought out by the prestigious Hungarian literary journal *Élet és Irodalom* [Life and Literature]. These publications appeared from 2007 on, that is, from the launch of the first translated volume, and since that time Munro's work has been regularly reviewed there. In 2007, *Runaway* (*Csend, vétek, szenvedély*) – the second volume appearing in Hungary – received a very positive critical acclaim by *Élet és Irodalom*, which may have moved Munro's work from the periphery to a more central place in the Hungarian literary field.

Among the articles written for the general public, I would like to highlight the article by journalist Ildikó Orosz. On the one hand, she reports about the Budapest International Book Festival, where Canada was a guest of honor in 2007, on the other hand, she comments on the two published volumes of Alice Munro, whom she refers to as a "possible Nobel Prize winner" at that time. The journalist differentiates between the translations done by Mária Borbás and Mónika Mesterházi, and considers the work of Borbás a "fair" translation, while refers to Mesterházi as the "Hungarian voice" of Munro and says that "...for the precise, unadorned sentences following the original text, the praise goes to Mónika Mesterházi" (*Magyar Narancs*, 2007).

Out of the examined literary journal and newspaper responses, 63% recognize that the published volumes are translations, even if that only means mentioning the name of the translator. When referring to the translator's work, they use phrases such as "excellent translation," "clearly reflects the original," "a sensitive interpretation," "solves the task very well," "a worthy rendering of the original," in one occasion "mistranslation," and also once "not Munro's style." In the total of 40 articles examined, there are five critical remarks on the

translator's strategies. Two of these refer to the translation of Canadian realia, one to the translation of a name, one to a stylistic problem, and once an alternative meaning of a phrase is offered by the critic. It is important to point out that the agents of the literary field reacted to the cultural product immediately after its appearance on the market with critical reviews, journalistic writing, and interviews with the translators and the chief editor. These responses have also made the translator and other agents *visible*, to use Venuti's term (Venuti 2009).

The differences between the voices of the translators have been also pointed out by literary critic Borbála Ruff in the 28 February 2014 issue of *Élet és Irodalom*, in which she reviews four collections of short stories. She remarks on the stylistic differences between the translated texts. "I feel that Mária Borbás in her translations did not find that which Mónika Mesterházi instinctively discovered and fine-tuned to be the most valuable trait of the texts. Munro's stories are complex. Their structure may be simple, but by playing with language, important moments that may almost go unnoticed in everyday happenings become emphatic." Although Ruff could not name "that," the "most valuable trait" of the texts, which is present in one text and not in the other, she emphasizes Munro's crystal clear style and the instinctive attitude of the translator when rendering the text. This *response* refers to the three different translator habitus. Mária Borbás uses domesticating strategies (Bánhegyi 2015), Mónika Mesterházi aims to give a precise translation of Canadian realia such as species of nature, while keeping the concise, unadorned style of the texts, and Zsuzsa Rakovszky makes textual coherence a priority, and creates a narrative that runs smoothly. The surveyed reception of Munro reflects that the responses, although only to a small extent (5%), make mention of the fact that the texts were translated by multiple translators and point to different habitus.

The surveyed reception also includes four interviews and a translator's commentary. This latter text was published in 2007 by a literary journal titled *Holmi*, as a preface to Mesterházi's translation in which she comments on the literary features of Munro's writing. Two interviews with Mónika Mesterházi were published in printed media, one interview with translator Zsuzsa Rakovszky, and also one with Vera Tönkö, chief editor of Park Publishing in online media. The interviews all appeared in media (*Heti Világgazdaság*, *Magyar Narancs* and *Litera.hu*) targeting the general public. While the translators talk about the challenges of rendering the text, Mesterházi also draws attention to the often undervalued work of revisers and proofreaders. The interview with the chief editor of Park allows an insight into the network of the agents in the literary field, as she explains that a Canadian friend of András Rochlitz, CEO of Park Publishing recommended Munro's recently published book, *Hateship, Friendship*,

*Courtship, Loveship, Marriage* in 2001, which appeared later in Hungarian in 2006. In the interview, the chief editor also says that they keep contact with the writer through her literary agent.

Finally, I would like to turn to the reader who as an agent in the flow has several different possibilities to *respond* to the texts. One of the most important online reading communities in Hungary is *Moly.hu*. The web2 based readers' forum was launched in 2008, and currently has 391.976 members (8 July 2024). Hungarian researcher Máté Tóth has studied the sociological aspects of the online community, the attitudes and motivation of participation and the reading tastes of the members in comparison with a Norwegian readers' portal *Boekelskere.no*. His quantitative study shows that the "majority of the members of *Moly.hu* (83.5%) are women, belonging mostly to a young age group. The average age of female members was 27.5, for male 27 years, the average age 27,4. [...] Those who filled in the questionnaire fall into the highly educated category in their age group, mostly university students or with a university degree" (Tóth 2011). Tóth points out that "the users of the book community belong to a fairly homogeneous group, and this virtual space does not lend the possibility to negotiate differing opinions, exchange views between members belonging to various layers of society" (ibid). He adds that although there is no great difference in the sociological status of the users, the reading tastes do present a great variety, thus the dialogue, expressing opinions are still meaningful exchanges on the interface of the online forum.

I examined 170 posts that have appeared between 1 December 2008 and 31 August 2017. The posts concern the eight volumes of Munro that have been published up to August 2017, although the amount of responses for each book vary to a great extent. Due to the diverse number of posts (one volume has been evaluated by only two members) and the homogenous nature of the online community, we cannot claim that these posts are representative of Hungarian readers' tastes, but we can nevertheless examine the comments thematically for any mention regarding the dynamics and agents of the Hungarian literary field which affect the reception of Munro's work.

The responses given by readers to the short stories vary indeed according to reading tastes. The posts are highly subjective, a common characteristic of the posts is that the readers express their opinion fairly soon after having read the book. Besides expressing likes and dislikes, the comments can be thematically categorized by comments on the book cover, the literary Nobel Prize, the translation of the title, the translators and audiovisual adaptations. A

high number of posts refer to the cover, which shows that the book cover influences reception even before one's exposure to the text. One commenter says: "If I only see the cover and the title, I would have never read it..." (langimari, 19 November 2013.) Posts that appear after October 2013 often regarded the Nobel Prize as a guarantee, as a label of quality, which then influenced the readers' "horizon of expectations" (Jauss 1982). The work of the translator was commented upon only by 3% of the examined responses in connection with three volumes. Out of these five responses, one praises the translator, the other four, however, connect their bad reading experience with bad translation, but, unlike the literary critics, do not give an example of the noticed mistakes. Regarding the film adaptations of Munro's short stories, the readers recommended the event of public screening. Although a wide range of opinions are expressed on *Moly.hu*, the possibility of expressing a personal opinion on a reading experience is an important feature of the literary field that did not characterize the cultural field before 1989.

We can conclude that Munro's oeuvre has moved from a peripheral position, being published occasionally in literary magazines, to a central position in the Hungarian literary field via translation. The reception of Munro's short stories has been closely connected to the translation process as well, as six recognized translators have been involved in the co-creation of the texts. The published volumes have received extensive literary praise and prompted all agents in the field to respond in various ways. The reception of the books and the attitudes of the agents of the field have been closely connected with the transnational symbolic capital that Alice Munro holds, part of which capital is due to the Nobel Prize. The effect of this institutional recognition has been a major factor, but as we have seen, it is not exclusive in the responses. 84% of published media responses aimed at the general public appeared only after October 2013 and 75% of them were published between 10 October 2013 and 28 February 2014. The positions and the role of agents within the literary field have significantly changed since the political transformation, where relations are continuously being negotiated by the agents, and in which key figures are the publishers, the translators and the readers. Alice Munro has several Hungarian voices, the six translators, as well as the theatre artist who is featured on the audio book. Apart from them, we can also refer to the invisible proofreaders and editors who have shaped the voice that Hungarian readers can read or hear. This 'heteroglossia' to use Mikhail Bakhtin's term is quite usual in Canada as well, from where Alice Munro's narratives originate. The multiple voices of the agents in the literary field thus form the social context of the Hungarian reception of the texts.

### 8.3. The most translated Canadian author Lucy Maud Montgomery

According to Theodore F. Sheckels, “[a]s a popular icon within the national culture, Anne Shirley ranks right up there with the moose, the beaver, the Mountie, and the Habs” (189). This case study traces the transferred books of Lucy Maud Montgomery, more specifically the translator who became Montgomery’s Hungarian voice. Montgomery’s ‘Anne books’ have been translated into 40 languages worldwide and in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, she is the most translated author according to the CEACS database with 18 translated titles and numerous print runs.

Montgomery’s reception in Hungary varies significantly from that in the former Czechoslovakia. *Anne of Green Gables* was translated into Slovak as early as 1959 under the title *Anna zo Zeleného domu* by the publishing house Mladé letá located in Bratislava. Otrísalková and Gazdík (2012) have traced the translation of English Canadian Literature into Slovak language from the beginnings up to 2012. Regarding the entrance of the Montgomery translations into the literary field, they link the books with a larger political move. “Towards the end of the 1950s, when political pressure lessened as a result of a socio-political ‘thaw’ that set in after Krushchev’s denunciation of Stalin’s personality cult, publishers sought to re-establish continuity with the years immediately following the Second World War” (ibid. 120). Before 1990 three titles were translated into Slovak: *Anne of Green Gables* in 1959, *Anne of Avonlea* in 1969, *Anne of the Island* in 1969. The writers make note of the fact that although the books went through 11 reprints and were immensely popular, Montgomery’s critical assessment is still missing probably due to the fact that the series were labelled as children’s literature which at the time was not considered “serious literature.” In the same publication Otrísalková examines the translation of *Anne of Green Gables* into Slovak. She points out that the heroine, Anne Shirley, was compatible with the Communist ideals. As a teacher, Anne took up responsibility in society and in the local community, she was active outside the home, and also fulfilled a care-giving role as a mother. Otrísalková points out regarding the textual completeness that the text was heavily censored. All references to religion, the words such as ‘God’ or ‘Christianity’ as well as complete sentences were omitted from the Slovak version hindering understanding at certain places. Interestingly, the Slovak publisher has been using this text which was censored in 1959 and has not initiated retranslation despite Montgomery’s popularity (174). The film series appeared in 1993 on Slovak Television (170). The bibliographic catalogue thus shows that in the former Czechoslovakia, young adults grew up in

the Communist era with the stories of three Montgomery books from the 1950s, while this was not the case in Hungary. The date of the Hungarian publication is comparable to that of the Bulgarian translation, which appeared in 1993, or the Croatian translation in 1997.

The first translation of the Anne series entered the Hungarian market in 1992 through Európa Publishing House with the translation of *Anne of Green Gables*. One year earlier, in 1991, a reviewer's report of Európa recommended the book for publishing. The report highlights that two popular film adaptations as well as a theatre play were based on the book. There is no trace of Montgomery being reviewed in Európa earlier than 1991. Altogether five reports have been found in the publisher's archives, in which one report may contain an opinion on several books (*Anne of Green Gables*, *Anne of Avonlea*, *Anne of the Island*, *Anne of Windy Poplars*, *Anne's House of Dreams*, *Rainbow Valley*, *Rilla of Ingleside*, *Anne of Ingleside* in 1991, *Anne of the Island* and *Tales of Avonley* in 1996, *Days of Dreams and Laughter* in 1996, *Rilla of Ingleside* in 1996, and one on *Anne of Avonlea* and *Anne of the Island* is without a date). Four out of five reviews highlight the success of the four-part film adaptation of the Anne books made in Canada in 1985 and 1987, as well as its 1992 launch on the Austrian and the Hungarian Television. The 1991 report compares the popularity of the Anne books with the American series *Little House in the Prairie* and the Hungarian "Cilike" stories which date back to the beginning of the 1900s. The reviewer states that the success of the Anne books can be attributed to the character portrayal of the protagonist, the precise description of both society and nature, and an obvious religious morality.

The 1996 review explains that the four volume book series titled *Váratlan Utazás* [Unexpected Journey] (published in 1993, 1994, 1995, translated by Zsuzsa Rakovszky) is falsely accredited to Montgomery as they are only inspired by her books, she is not the author per se. The movie tie-in books follow the storyline of the CBC and Disney Chanel TV series titled *Road to Avonley* which were directed by Kevin Sullivan screened in Canada between 1990 and 1996. In Hungary, the TV series were dubbed and screened on the Hungarian National Television between 1993 and 1997. The episodes were merely inspired by Montgomery's *The Story Girl* and *The Golden Road* which novels were translated in 1999 at Európa Publishing House with the title *Mesélő lány* (translated by Katalin Gádos and Győző Ferencz), and *Az arany út* in 2000 (translated by Katalin Gádos). The mention of the film adaptations – both *Anne of Green Gables* and the Montgomery inspired *Road to Avonley* – in the publisher's in-house documents as well as in the readers' online forums are important to note as they have always been part of the cultural assemblage that Montgomery's books travelled with.

The following titles have been translated into Hungarian (listed according to the date of publication):

<b>Title of the original</b>	<b>EN publishing</b>	<b>Title of the translation</b>	<b>HU first published (time between original-translation)</b>	<b>Translator</b>	<b>Hungarian Publisher, date first publishing and reprints</b>
<i>Anne of Green Gables</i>	1908	<i>Anne otthonra talál</i>	1992 (84)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Európa (1992, 1993, 1994, 1997), Könyvmolyképző (2004, 2011, 2018), Lazi (2021, 2022)
<i>Anne of Green Gables</i>	1908	<i>Anne a Zöld Oromból</i>	New translation (115)	Júlia Morcsányi	Manó Kv. (2023)
<i>Anne of Avonlea</i>	1909	<i>Anne az élet iskolájában</i>	1993 (84)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Európa (1993, 1994, 1995), Könyvmolyképző (2005, 2008, 2013, 2017), Lazi (2021)
<i>Anne of the Island</i>	1915	<i>Anne válaszáton</i>	1994 (79)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Európa (1994, 1999), Könyvmolyképző (2006, 2011), Lazi (2022)
<i>Anne of Windy Poplars</i>	1936	<i>Anne új vizekre evez</i>	1995 (59)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Európa (1995), Könyvmolyképző (2007, 2011), Lazi (2022)
<i>Anne's House of Dreams</i>	1917	<i>Anne férjhez megy</i>	1996 (79)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Európa (1996, 2007),

					Könyvmolyképző (2007) Lazi (2023)
<i>Anne of Ingleside</i>	1939	<i>Anne családja körében</i>	1997 (58)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Európa (1997), Könyvmolyképző (2008, 2012), Lazi (2023)
<i>Rainbow Valley</i>	1919	<i>Anne és a Szivárvány-völgy</i>	1997 (78)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Európa (1997), Könyvmolyképző (2008)
<i>Rilla of Ingleside</i>	1921	<i>Anne gyermekei a háborúban</i>	1998 (77)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Európa (1998), Könyvmolyképző (2009)
<i>The Story Girl</i>	1911	<i>A mesélő lány</i>	1999 (88)	Katalin Gádos, Győző Ferencz	Európa (1999)
<i>Emily</i>	1923	<i>Emily</i>	1999 (76)	Vera Loósz	Esély Mozaik (1999), Könyvmolyképző (2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)
<i>The Golden Road</i>	1913	<i>Az arany út</i>	2000 (87)	Katalin Gádos	Európa (2000)
<i>Christmas with Anne: and Other Holiday Stories</i>	1995	<i>Anne karácsonya</i>	2005	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Könyvmolyképző (2005, 2008, 2020)
<i>The Blue Castle</i>	1926	<i>A kék kastély</i>	2008 (82)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Könyvmolyképző (2008)
<i>Chronicles of Avonlea</i>	1912	<i>Avonlea-i krónikák</i>	2008 (96)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Könyvmolyképző (2008)
<i>Further Chronicles of Avonlea</i>	1920	<i>Avonlea-i krónikák 2.</i>	2010 (90)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Könyvmolyképző (2010)
<i>Pat of Silver Bush</i>	1933	<i>Ezüst erdő úrnője</i>	2012 (79)	Katalin Szűr-Szabó	Könyvmolyképző (2012)

<i>Mistress Pat</i>	1935	<i>Pat úrnő</i>	2016 (81)	Katalin Szür-Szabó	Könyvmolyképző (2016)
<i>A Tangled Web</i>	1931	<i>Gubanc</i>	2017 (86)	Katalin Szür-Szabó	Könyvmolyképző (2017)
<i>Kilmeny of the Orchard</i>	1910	<i>Kilmeny a gyümölcsöskertben</i>	2023 (113)	Gerda Barcza	Lazi (2023)
<i>The Blythes are Quoted</i>	2009	<i>Gleni krónikák: Anne és a „Hajdanvolt” mesék</i>	2024 (15)	Katalin Szür-Szabó	Lazi (2024)

Table 7. Translated L. M. Montgomery books in Hungarian

It is worth noting that while the most recent translation came out only 15 years after the English language publishing, the largest time span between original and translation is 115 years. In most cases, the time lap falls between 70-80 years, as a result of which, the socio-historical contexts of the original and translation considerably vary. One of the most striking examples is *Rilla of Ingleside* that depicts the involvement of Canada in World War I through the story of Anne's children. The book was originally published only a few years after the war in 1921 and contains the personal memories of the author trying to come to terms with the horrors of the war. The entrance of the Hungarian translation on the other hand into the Hungarian literary field is quite different. Sohár (2022: 246) points out regarding translated popular genres during the Kádár era that a Communist mass culture was created which involved novels named '*Pöttyös könyvek* and *Csikós könyvek*' [Dotted Books, Striped Books] produced for teenage girls. The series had an indoctrinating motive behind the simple storyline. After the political transformation, a new cultural need was filled by the Anne series which arrived in the place of this programmatic literature in 1992, and *Rilla of Ingleside* in 1998. Montgomery's books thus filled a vacuum and a very different socio-economic need in the target culture in the post-Communist era compared to the source culture.

Although Montgomery initially wrote her novels and short stories for adults and wished to share her personal experience with women on the topics of raising children, being a pastor's wife, living in Canada during a world war etc., the books became popular with adolescent and teenage girls as well. In the target culture, the translations were positioned for the younger generation from the start and were presented as such by the publisher which can be traced especially in the illustrations. Most of the illustrations in Európa's published titles were done

by Krisztina Rényi, a renowned Hungarian graphic artist, who recreated the characters according to her own visual interpretation, which clearly differs from the image presented in the film series. Most of the drawings depict only the contour lines of the characters which page can be used as a coloring activity for children. Additionally, in the catalogue of the Szabó Ervin Metropolitan Library in Budapest, Montgomery's books appear under the category of 'children's literature' and can be located in the children's library section.

The Hungarian translations of Montgomery's books were produced by six publishers: Európa, Könyvmolyképző, Lazi, Manó Kv., Esély Mozaik, and Fabula. Európa's portfolio became very diverse in the 1990s, as it had to publish a variety of genres including fast sellers and YA novels to cover raising publishing costs. In 1992 Európa acquired the translation rights for *Anne of Green Gables*. Miklós M. Nagy, former director of Európa, shared<sup>91</sup> that in the publication of the consecutive translations, he also had a personal motivation: his daughters were avid readers of the Montgomery series. Európa published 10 titles, then released the rights. Next, Könyvmolyképző located in the city of Szeged (South Hungary), focusing on young adult readers, picked up the rights. Later, when Európa wanted to publish Montgomery again, the rights were still contracted by Könyvmolyképző. Currently, the rights are with Lazi, also located in the city of Szeged. This small publisher releases Hungarian and world literature, various genres from young adult literature to science fiction, fantasy, academic books, history, philosophy, psychology and often reprints earlier translations of literary pieces that are free of royalties (eg. Jane Austen). The Montgomery books at Lazi are positioned slightly differently compared to the earlier publisher as the books are listed under the tab "International Literature" rather than "Children's and YA Fiction".

Sixteen out of twenty Montgomery books listed above were translated by Katalin Szűr-Szabó and due to that, the Anne book series have received a unified voice and style in Hungarian. Szűr-Szabó at the beginning of her career worked as an English teacher and, on the side, took on translation jobs. Initially she accepted various translation assignments, even technical texts. In 1975 she started a job at the University of Theatre and Film Arts, by which date she had already translated a coursebook for theatre studies. In the 80s she returned to teaching and delved into translating world literature. In a personal interview<sup>92</sup> she expressed that her linguistic skills were refined by reading a lot of world literature. She especially benefitted from a practice that was common before 1989 that publishers would include the

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<sup>91</sup> Personal interview with Miklós M. Nagy on 28 February 2019 at the headquarters of Libri in Budapest.

<sup>92</sup> Telephone interview with Katalin Szűr-Szabó, 20 May, 2024.

translator's notes in the footnotes or include a translator's commentary. She pointed out that these notes and footnotes revealed the norms and principles of translation.

The Montgomery series are a substantial part of her work as translator, but she also translated other authors as well. She started translating for Európa in 1980. Initially, she did a test translation but several weeks passed without an answer, and she finally called the publisher only to find out that she was not only accepted but got a specific book assignment. Her first translation for Európa was a crime fiction titled *Death of an Expert Witness* (1977) by P. D. James (in Hungarian *Fehérköpenyes halál*, 1985) and later she translated prestigious authors such as Irwin Shaw, E. L. Doctorow, Philip Roth among others. She has worked for other publishers as well such as Park, Ulpius, Partvonal, Édesvíz, Könyvmolyképző, Maxim, and Lazi. Szűr-Szabó has translated other Canadian authors as well, for example Leonard Cohen's *A kedvenc játék* (*The Favourite Game*) for Ulpius in 2003 and Carol Shields' *Norah, gyere haza!* (*Unless*) for Geopen in 2004.

Carol Shields, the Pulitzer-winning author has also been translated into Bulgarian, Czech, Serbian, and Croatian. In Hungary, three different publishing houses tried to introduce Shields, involving three different translators. Helikon published a title in 1998, Geopen followed in 2004 and Ulpius launched a title in 2007. The phenomenon of publishing a single title from a particular author is typical in the Canadian—Hungarian translation bibliography. This practice, however, does not encourage the reception, since each publisher frames the books differently in the target culture using varying styles for book covers, different marketing material and distribution venues. The various publishers often involve different translators, and thus make the oeuvre of a translated author very fragmented. In the case of Montgomery, however, Katalin Szűr-Szabó became a trademark, the so called 'Hungarian voice' for the Canadian author.

Montgomery was selected for translation by Európa as mentioned above. Mária Borbás, literary translator, editor, suggested that the style of the novels would fit well with Szűr-Szabó. Győző Ferencz, poet, translator, editor was the proofreader of the translations. He was very thorough but suggested only a few changes which were duly sent back to the translator to be approved. The in-depth checking in Montgomery's case at that time was still an important step in the editorial process. In a personal interview<sup>93</sup> Szűr-Szabó expressed that it became rarer and rarer in the 1990s for the translator to get the proofread version back for approval. By the end

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<sup>93</sup> Telephone interview with Katalin Szűr-Szabó, 20 May 2024.

of the turn of the millennium, the editorial processes sped up, often simplifying the proofreading, correcting, and multiple rounds of linguistic checking of the text. She explained that before the time of computers and the internet, she would type her translation in four copies using carbon paper and used lexicons, the Webster dictionary, and English-speaking acquaintances to clarify unknown realia. While Szűr-Szabó did not find culture specific items, such as natural environment (eg. flora and fauna typical of Canada) difficult to translate, she found it challenging to find Hungarian technical terms some architectural features (eg. house types, gables, drains etc.). She expressed that translating Montgomery was not much different from translating other Anglo-Saxon authors that she got from the publisher. Interestingly, through Montgomery, she became very familiar with the environment of the Prince Edward Island through translation, and although she has visited several English-speaking countries, she has not had the opportunity to visit the island.

At the micro-level, we see that the translation flow is heavily influenced by the translator and publisher, and the translator and audience interaction. These relations involve recognition and the translator's visibility. Szűr-Szabó is not only a sought-after translator by the publishers, but the readers also appreciate her work. On the already mentioned web.2 social media platform for readers *Moly.hu*, 205 translations are registered under Szűr-Szabó's name. There are twenty-one evaluations<sup>94</sup> for her translations, 90% (19) of which assigned the maximum 5 stars, and 10% (2) assigned 3 stars. On the platform, readers also have a possibility to upload their opinion about the translations. 7 readers responded with positive comments, such as "Only quality translations flow out of her hands which unfortunately is rare today. My compliments!"<sup>95</sup> (gumicukor, 3 April 2020) or "Her name is guarantee for quality translation and for good books based on my experience"<sup>96</sup> (evé, 2 November 2013) and "She is my utmost favourite translator! I was 13 when I first read Anne, and I found the translation so beautiful that from that time I did not want to become an author anymore, but a translator"<sup>97</sup> (mdmselle, 14 June 2013). These positive comments reaffirm the translator and motivate the translation flow as well.

Regarding the translator-audience relationship, it must be mentioned that the Anne series has attracted a sizable group of fans in Hungary. The Facebook fan page named *Anna a Zöld Oromból* [Anne from the Green Gables] gathers over 10.000 Hungarian followers and

<sup>94</sup> 21 evaluations can be considered a fair number compared with that of other renowned literary translators: for Mária Borbás 19 evaluations, or Zsuzsa Rakovszky 14 evaluations.

<sup>95</sup> "Igényes fordítások kerülnek ki a kezei közül, ami manapság sajnos nem igen jellemző. Le a kalappal előtte!"

<sup>96</sup> "A neve garancia az igényes fordításra, és az eddigi olvasmányaim alapján a jó könyvekre."

<sup>97</sup> "Ő a legkedvencebb fordítóm evör! 13 éves voltam, amikor először olvastam az Anne-t, és annyira szépnek találtam a fordítását, hogy attól fogva már nem is író akartam lenni nagykoromban, hanem fordító."

releases about one post every month. Although it focuses on the details of the CBC film adaptation, it also provides links to recent publications of Montgomery books in Hungarian. The fan website registered under the <https://avonlea.hu/> domain, and linked to the Facebook page, was started on 20 July 1998 and contains detailed information about the *Road to Avonlea* TV series. The subdomain <https://anne.avonlea.hu/> focuses on the story of Anne Shirley but is not updated with recent translations. The website contains links to international webshops of Anne merchandise and international Montgomery fan pages. The website presents an example of the cultural bundle that contains translated books, films, theatre plays, merchandise, and the feedback of the consumers in the target culture. The fan club also organizes regular meetings where translator Katalin Szűr-Szabó has also been invited as a special guest.

While the translator becomes visible in the translator–audience interaction as seen above, he or she often remains invisible when it comes to translator–publisher relations, which fact may negatively impact the translation flow. Although Szűr-Szabó is a renowned translator, she expressed that it is not easy to rely only on translation when it comes to financial aspects. Publishers often allocate little time for translation and pay low honoraria. Also, when a book translation is used for the audiovisual adaptations, e.g. for creating subtitles or dubbing, the translator is not named. Szűr-Szabó is a member of the Hungarian Association of Literary Translators (MEGY) which has joined the international initiative called *#namethetranslator*, but she pointed out that the translator is very often listed along with the technical details on the colophon. This might be the reason why the literary translator’s work is not mentioned in the critics’ assessment of the book. For her, it is clearly a passion for translation that motivates her work and despite all difficulties. “The reward of translation is in the work itself” she said<sup>98</sup>.

We have seen that although Montgomery’s Anne series entered the Hungarian literary scene as late as 1992, much later than for example in the former Czechoslovakia, yet, the publisher’s personal preference, the audiovisual adaptations availability at the time of reading, the prestige of the literary translator, the consequent contracting of the same translator, and the response of the consumers of the cultural assemblage in a combined effect propelled the translation of Montgomery’s books and made her to be the most translated Canadian writer in Hungary.

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<sup>98</sup> Telephone interview with Katalin Szűr-Szabó, 20 May 2024.

## 9. Conclusion

The political transformation of 1989 opened new possibilities for publishers in Hungary who adapted to a global circulation of books and at the same time shaped the local market. Canadian authors were known in Hungary for mostly children's books before the change of regime, but after 1989, new authors and genres were introduced from the West, including authors from multicultural Canada. The thesis aimed at tracing contextual elements that affected the Canadian–Hungarian literary translation flow between 1989 and 2014. The study explored the paths of specific titles and traced the agency of publishers who negotiated the transfer process by selecting, framing and promoting books in an emerging market.

The research took an interdisciplinary approach and built on theories of sociology, translation studies, organizational studies and historical research in order to get a holistic overview of the translation flow on a macro, meso and micro level. The small-N research was driven by a quantitative, bibliographical initial enquiry, but was complemented by a qualitative dataset. The data were triangulated in order to eliminate blind spots in both quantitative and qualitative data and facilitate a socio-historical investigation. Triangulation for completeness in a study of social contexts was not, however, merely a cross-checking of datasets, but a coherent integration of methods (e.g. Jakobsen 1999, Pym et. al 2006, Aguilar-Solano 2020), which specifically reflected on and counterbalanced the strengths and weaknesses of available datasets. The qualitative dominant, research-specific mixed-method design, thus, allowed for the examination of the translation flow's situatedness in a time period of social change. The initial data set was the bibliographical database of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies launched in 2010, a catalogue which lists Canadian literature translated into eight languages in Central Europe which proved to be the most complete and reliable bibliographic catalogue in regard to the translation flow.

Publishers in the Communist Kádár era functioned in a financially stable but controlled environment where they were integrated into the structures of state propaganda, operated with a large staff, produced quality translations in long allocated time. Publishing operated under paper quota and selection processes were based on ideology. From the 1980s, the position of the few medium size or large publishers were less stable as state funding was decreasing. At the same time, there was an increasing academic interest in Canadian literature due to Canadian literary scholars excelling internationally at the time and also a growing literary output as a

result of state support in the source cultural field. In Hungary, there was a dynamic but financially unstable environment after 1989, where a lot of small publishers were established and operated with few staff producing an increasing number of titles in lower print runs. Some established publishers remained in the market, but a reshuffling of positions took place with the appearance of the small businesses with mixed profiles. The growth of the market saturated in the 2000s, and the profile of the publishers started to be less diverse. Following a cleaning of publishing portfolios, a professionalization process started through which Hungarian publishers aligned themselves to the global markets, relying upon commonly agreed value markers such as bestsellers lists or scouts for selecting literary works for translation. The 2007-2008 global financial crisis affected the Hungarian books market which macro level impact can also be noticed in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow. After 2007, the investigation shows a struggle, certain years producing higher or a fluctuating number of translated titles. The qualitative data explains that it is source country government funding acquired by publishers, the impact of international awards and the agency of interested individuals such as authors (e.g. Zsuzsa M. Papp), editors (e.g. Vera Tönkö), and translators (e.g. Katalin Szűr-Szabó) who motivate the flow in spite of the global financial crisis. The most active Hungarian publisher for Canadian literature has been Európa Publishing House (est. 1946), a large publisher in Hungary both before and after the political transformation, followed by Könyvmolyképző (est. 2000) a medium size entrepreneurship focusing on young adult literature. While we can see a build-up in the volume of the translation flow up to 2007, the date when Canada was a guest of honour at the Budapest International Book Fair, and after that some wavering in the number of translated books, it is difficult to periodize and pinpoint specific turning points as there is not a linear causality in historical processes. Rather, we can see path dependency and multiple causes that interact as shown in the specific case studies of the thesis.

Six hypotheses were checked against data in the research. First, the volume of the translation flow was checked according to the language of the source text. The research found that between 1989 and 2014 an overwhelming majority, that is 95% of the books were translated from English (452), and 2.5% from French (12) and an even lower percentage of 1.5% from Czech (7), and 1% from Spanish (4). Even though Canada is officially a bilingual country, the position of the English language exerts its hypercentrality in the world system of languages (de Swaan 1993, Heilbron 1999). The volume of transferred books compared to the United States, however, allow us to note a peripheral position of Canadian literature in the Hungarian cultural markets. The second hypothesis investigated the impact of Canadian diplomacy and state

support for translations. The study found that although there were large-scale structural funding schemes in place as part of the country's tools for cultural diplomacy, these were mostly effective in Western Europe and not in Central Europe, more specifically in Hungary where publishers were not aware of the available support. The third hypothesis aimed to explore links with other cultural products that have an impact on the publisher's decision to translate books between 1989 and 2014. It has been found that publishers were motivated by the presence of audiovisual adaptations of novels when deciding for translation. These film adaptations also appeared on book covers and in the media responses. Other art forms, however, for example visual art, theatre, contemporary dance, music had only indirect influence on the publishing scene. The fourth hypothesis traced events where Canadian literature was introduced between 1989 and 2007 and Canada's guest of honourship at the International Book Fair in Budapest in 2007. Datasets converge on this matter, as both statistical data and interview data prove that the 2007 book fair was the most significant motivator of the translation flow. Interested agents with varying agendas, such as academic scholars, the Canadian Embassy, MKKE the organizer foundation of Budapest International Book Fair, literary agents, publishers, and the media bodies were cooperating to disseminate the translations prepared for the event and introduce Canadian culture to the Hungarian readers. The fifth and sixth hypotheses made an enquiry about the framing practices of publishers with special attention to literary genre and awards, and four framing strategies: regional, universal, commercial and cultural bundles. It has been found that a mix of regional and universal frames are generally used when presenting Canadian literature. Among the regional frames, not only references to Canada, but also references to Hungarian history came to the forefront. For Hungarian-Canadian immigrants, publishing literature became a way of keeping contact with Europe and the 'homeland' which in this case is hard to name, since Hungarian-Canadian immigrants also originate from regions that currently belong to surrounding countries, to Romania, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Ukraine. European historical traumas (Trianon treaty, Holocaust) are discussed in these novels, which are main themes of Canadian literary flow to Hungary, which was not expected at the beginning of the research. These Canadian-Hungarian personal relations also aid the publishing of these books, since the Canadian authors are more likely to know about the funding scheme of the Canada Council for the Arts.

Although there has been a growth and an increasing interest for Canadian literature in Hungary, 79 out of 116 publishers launched only one or two titles, and a concerted effort to introduce specific Canadian authors is missing. Often varying publishers acquire the translation

rights for authors and the fragmented marketing strategies do not aid the reception process in the target country. As has been pointed out, translations do not carry the recognition of the originals and the marketing effort through reframing is the key factor when introducing new titles.

We have seen in the case of the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow, that the contextual factors are so intertwined and embedded in the socio-cultural consciousness that without a conscious positioning and reframing of the new translated title (in the selection, production, distribution phases) the book carries a risk of not being received in the target culture. Publishing is an interpretative act, where the intermediary agent is transferring meaning and significance into the target culture, thus is enacting a hermeneutic process. While in translation some meaning is lost, something might also be gained. As we have seen through this research, through the events and the increasing volume of the translation flow, a window to a multicultural Canada was opened that have enabled publishers on the one hand to enter into a global circulation of books after the political transformation of 1989, on the other hand introduce new Canadian literature and facilitate the possibility and continuity of a dialogue between Hungarian-Canadian writers and Hungarian readers.

## 10. Terminology

Translation flow (ENHU)	“This notwithstanding, sociologists of translation have thus far tended not to delve into intralingual aspects when analyzing crossborder literary transfer, preferring to foreground <b>translation flows</b> between languages and/or between clearly delineated nation states.” (McMartin 2019: 52)	<b>fordításáramlat</b>
Macro, meso, micro level (ENHU)	“The <b>macro</b> level pertains to the center–periphery structure of the global translation system and the balance of power between the language groups and countries that form this system. The <b>meso</b> level concerns the predominantly national publishing fields and the strategies different publishing houses use to acquire translation and publishing rights. The <b>micro</b> level, finally, concerns the role of the various actors who are effectively involved in the selection (publishers, editors), translation	“A szerző különböző színtereken (család, munka, civil mozgalmak tere) és elemzési szinteken ( <b>mikro, mezo, makro</b> ) vizsgálja a szolidaritás megjelenési formáit Magyarországon.” (Vida 2024: 1)

	(translators) and framing (publishers, literary critics) of particular books." Van Es-Heilbron 2015: 298.	
Literary agent (ENHU)	"The <b>literary agent</b> is prominent in trade book publishing in the UK and the US, whilst the role is rarer in other publishing markets, such as in continental Europe." (Angus 2020: 170)	"Budapesten kezdtem szabadúszóként (a Kortárs Drámafesztiválnál dolgoztam szakmai kapcsolattartóként, fordítóként, majd a fesztiváligazgató, Szilágyi Mária színházi ügynökségénél voltam <b>irodalmi ügynök</b> ." (Adorján 2021)
Kommunista (HUEN)	<i>Translation Under Communism</i> (Rundle, Lange, Monticelli 2022)	"A korai <b>kommunista korszak</b> magyar könyvkiadásáról olvasható még néhány önéletrajzi jellegű írás, valamint a nyolcvanas években készült szintézis, mely a kiadáspolitika szerkezeti változásait és a kiadók profiljának alakulását követi nyomon." (Klenjánszky 2009: 123)
3T (HUEN)	"[...] a nálunk is működtetett <b>3T rendszerhez (Támogat, Tűr, Tilt)</b> hasonló keretek között a fordítások voltak azok, amelyek nagyobb bizonyossággal kerültek a	"This was achieved in terms of a strategy described in Hungarian with reference to the 'three Ts' (tilt, tűr, támogat), a division of the cultural sphere into products

	Támogatott vagy a Túrt kategóriákba." (Lénárt 2020: 31)	that were for the sake of preserving the alliteration <b>prohibited, permitted and promoted.</b> " (Kontler 1999: 445)
Kiadói Főigazgatóság (HUEN)	"A <b>Kiadói Főigazgatóságot</b> az 1043/1954. (VI. 17) minisztertanácsi rendelet hozta létre." (Bart 2002:16)	"Publishing was a state monopoly under the control of the <i>Kiadói Főigazgatóság</i> [ <b>General Directorate of Publishers</b> ] to whom the 22 Specialized state-owned publishing houses submitted their annual publishing plans for approval." (Sohár 2022: 246)

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