

# David Rowland's *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1586): analysis of expansions in an Elizabethan translation

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## ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the expansions in David Rowland's translation of *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1586). Given the fact that Elizabethan translators especially loved to embellish their texts, the target text expansions are analysed and discussed. 93.3% of these expansions are proved to follow the common practice of the time: to Anglicize the target text by providing the translator's own viewpoint. Protestant propaganda notions are commonly provided; European historical and social background prompted English translators to adapt texts to their own target language and culture. Certain expansions resemble those in a previous French translation. Indeed, foreign works were promptly translated using the French language as an intermediary. Elizabethan preference for detail and witticisms which can be identified in Rowland's translation will also be discussed.

KEYWORDS: expansions, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Elizabethan translation, French influence

## 1. Introduction

The number of translations into English increases considerably from 1538 to 1568. There are four times as many translations as in the fifty previous years (Barnstone 1993: 203) because of the introduction of printing technology (France 2000: 410) and the European socio-cultural context.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Matthiessen assures us that: "A study of Elizabethan translation is a study of the means by which the Renaissance came to England" (1931: 3). Translation is an act of patriotism (Randall 1963: 25; Luttikhuisen 1987: 178), for translators intend to enhance England's cultural and political role in letters and in commerce (Matthiessen 1931: 3). Political and economic changes result in new social classes which, lacking knowledge of Latin and

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<sup>1</sup> English Translation from 1600 to 1700 has been claimed "as the Golden Age of the English Translators" (Amos 1919: 135).

French, demand translations, books in their own language (Cohen 1962: 9; Vega 1994: 37).

Translators aim to improve the role played by the English language in Europe, and more specifically the cultural and political importance of their country. Much translation was deliberately intended to support commercial rivalry. Consequently, difficult terms or allusions to foreign history or culture are explained and adapted (Luttikhuisen 1987: 181); thus, 'domestication' is a common translation strategy (France 2000: 47). Following the metaphors commonly applied to Elizabethan translation theory (Hermans 1985),<sup>2</sup> "these source texts were 'transported' into England and 'put into English clothes'" (Morini 2006: 65). As Frances Luttikhuisen remarks:

translators did not pride themselves on making meticulous imitations of the original; their aim was to make foreign classics rich with English associations and, thus, by "Englishing" them (a word they employed often and that meant much more than translating into English as we will see), they could produce books that would strike into the minds of their fellow countrymen and become part of their nation's consciousness (1987: 177).

Translators love to elaborate their texts, showing a special "delight in words and sounds" for emphasis and rhythm (Luttikhuisen 1987: 178). As a result, translation is also a means of enriching the English language, primarily its lexicon (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 201). In addition, French texts are intermediate versions when translating from Spanish as French is the principal vehicle of recording the life of England at all levels from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Hence this paper is intended to analyse the expansions identified in David Rowland's translation (1586) of *El Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) with particular reference to Saugrain's French translation which Rowland used.

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<sup>2</sup> For the historical and literary context of Elizabethan England see Rowse (2003) and Bueno (2005) among others.

<sup>3</sup> There has been history of using French texts as intermediary in late Medieval England, which continued into the Renaissance. This French influence is more latent towards the middle of the seventeenth century, as France becomes the dominant political and cultural power on the continent (Gorp 1985: 138). However, knowledge of Spanish, if only as an obvious evolution out of vulgar Latin, existed and grew.

## 2. David Rowland's translation of *El Lazarillo de Tormes* (1586)

Rowland's text is the first translation of *El Lazarillo de Tormes* into the English language; it was published in London in 1586. The existence of a previous translation dated 1576 has been stated, although no copies have survived (Santoyo 1978: 17-20).

Rowland's translation has been considered one of the best renderings of *El Lazarillo de Tormes*; it has regularly been reprinted, its last edition being published in 2000 by Keith Whitlock. The original Spanish novel implies a new form of fictional biography which enables the reader to access the narrator's mind and constitutes the essence of the realistic novel (Whitlock 2000: 37).<sup>4</sup> The shaping of English literature has been affected as a result (Santoyo 1987; Salzman 1990; Figueroa 1997: 61; France 2000: 421; Tazón 2003). Underhill assures us that: "Spanish literature performed its greatest service to the literature of Shakespeare's England in assisting the evolution of a living form through the example of the *Celestina* and *Lazarillo de Tormes*" (1899: 296).<sup>5</sup> The contemporary European context of political and commercial rivalry contributes to the positive reception of the English target text. In truth, the French and English translators present *El Lazarillo de Tormes* as comic entertainment and a sophisticated jest-book. W. S. Mervin argues that: "there was an affinity of character and temper between the two nations which were emerging as rivals for world domination, and the rough and boisterous life of Elizabethan England was quite similar to the adventurous pursuit of the Spanish" (1962: 33).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the contents of the novel are a gift to Protestant propaganda attacking the Roman Church, and the powers hostile to Spain such as France and England. The relations between England and Spain had broken down in 1586 and the Spanish Armada failed in 1588, which pointed to the decline of the Spanish political and military power in Europe. The English reader liked to read of Spanish corruption in the church,

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<sup>4</sup> Peter France claims that this fact obscures a translation problem: "the low-life setting causes difficulties of vocabulary, and the autobiographical format creates an ambivalent tone, especially when the protagonist writes as a repentant sinner" (2000: 421).

<sup>5</sup> David Hume (1964: 166) and Ulrich Wicks (1989: 233) prove that even Shakespeare read Rowland's text.

<sup>6</sup> As J.G. Underhill assures: "together with the romance of chivalry, it was the only literary work of an essentially Spanish type which made a strong impression upon the Elizabethans" (1899: 207).

incompetence of military officials and chaos in industrial life (Crofts 1924: vii). Interestingly enough, reprints of Rowland's translation coincide with crisis periods in the relationship between the two countries (Whitlock 2000: 1) and the economic decline and collapse in Spain.<sup>7</sup> The English translator himself, David Rowland of Anglesey (1589-1586), was a Protestant (Whitlock 2000: 12). This fact, as will be seen later, can be traced in his translation through including certain anti-Catholic comments. Many translators used to resort to any possible translation strategy in order to attack Catholicism and defend their Reformed faith: "As zealous patriots and convinced Protestants, anything harmful or negative touching their country or their faith was either only touched on lightly, varied somewhat or simply left out" (Luttikhuisen 1987: 181).

Rowland's text strays far from the Spanish source text in certain features which can be assessed by taking into consideration Elizabethan translation practice. As far as the structure of the novel is concerned, the existence of a prologue and a dedication to a famous and powerful crown representation in the Low Countries is a common marketing strategy (France 2000: 50). The English translator includes a prologue written by himself, and dedicates the novel "To the right worshipful Sir Thomas Gresham",<sup>8</sup> a Protestant Royal Agent in Antwerp on behalf of Queen Elizabeth I and founder of the Royal Exchange (Whitlock 2000: 29). Rowland explains the purpose of this translation in his prologue as he states that his relating of the Spanish customs of that time will help the English to know better that country (1586: 3).

Rowland is known to have used at least two texts to elaborate his translation: the Spanish text published in Antwerp in 1554 by Martín Nuncio, and Jean Saugrain's French translation published in 1561 under the heading *L'histoire plaisante et facetieuse du Lazare de Tormes, Espagnol, en laquelle on peult recoignoistre bonne partie des mœurs, vie e*

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<sup>7</sup> Blanshard and Sowerby argue that Thomas Wilson's translation of Demosthenes' *Olynthiacs and Philippics* also covers an anti-Spanish propaganda and critique of Elizabethan foreign policy (2005).

<sup>8</sup> "I was so bold to dedicate the fruit of my simple labour unto your worship, who both for travel, daily conference with divers nations and knowledge in all foreign matters is known to be such a one, as is well able to judge, whether these reports of little Lázaro be true or not" (Rowland 1586: 3).

*conditions des Espagnols*.<sup>9</sup> The influence of the French text on Rowland's translation can be clearly traced.<sup>10</sup> I support Gareth Alban Davies' opinion (1995: 373), that a preference for the Spanish text exists, although both source texts have been used without systematic criteria:

Rowland picked his own way through a labyrinth of different readings and renderings, not only choosing those renderings of the original text which he considered most accurate, but also taking at times from the French text a turn of phrase more suited to his own interpretation of the meaning, whilst at others striking out on his own (1995: 377).

French influence in English translations is typical of this time period. Actually, in the seventeenth century only French source texts are considered in the translation process; Spanish source texts appear to be ignored in the translation process. Translations become freer as the aesthetic code of French classicism is applied; we can speak of adaptations rather than translations (Gorp 1985: 139). Moreover, Rowland's translation structure resembles that of the French text. As Saugrain does, Rowland adds an eighth *treatise* or chapter to the novel, which indeed constitutes the first chapter of the second part by Juan de Luna published in Antwerp in 1555. However, in both translations this treatise is not separated from the other seven treatises which constitute the Spanish source text.

Rowland adds thirty-four marginal notes or glosses to this translation. Twenty of them are due to the English translator's own invention, whereas fourteen are copied more or less literally from the French translation. Saugrain and Rowland usually provide a personal comment about the narration; most glosses are not required to resolve out cultural or linguistic translation problems. It cannot be ignored that explication is a common procedure in English Elizabethan translation (Boutcher 2000: 51); translators have "an extraordinary eye for detail," a concrete image is commonly preferred (Luttikhuisen 1987: 179). In addition, Keith Whitlock

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<sup>9</sup> Obviously, the title emphasises the comic and anti-heroic qualities of the book. A previous translation by Jean Saugrain exists; it was published in Lyon in 1560 under a different heading: *Les Faits marveilleux, ensemble la vie du gentil Lazare de Tormes, et les terribles aventures á lui aventures à lui avenues en duvers lieux*.

<sup>10</sup> French influence has commonly been stated. Some authors claim that "the translator found himself translating the French and checking it by the Spanish" (Crofts 1924: xi), whereas others assure that: "it's not that the Welsh translator ignored the Spanish text; he simply depended more on the French" (Randall 1963: 59).

claims that even footnotes aim at contributing to Protestant and political propaganda (2000: 15). In treatise 3, for example, Rowland adds the following marginal note concerning food: "There is not such provision of meate in Spaine as there is in England" (Rowland 1586: 63). Rowland rewrites a previous French note maintaining its implicit criticism of Spain: "Lon ne vit point de provision en Espagne comme lon fait en France" (Saugrain 1561: 30). In any case, many marginal notes enclose an anti-Catholic criticism. The following four notes, for instance, resemble those previously added in the French translation. As can be concluded from the examples, Rowland's unnecessary comments enclose clear Protestant references and criticism to Spanish religion and customs from an ironic viewpoint. Rowland even changes French as he suppresses a reference to the saints, and in the last example he includes the term "heresy":

There is an order in that country that when any More doth committe any heinous offence, to strip him naked and being bound with his hands and his knees together to bast him with hote droppes of burning Larde (Rowland 1586: 13)

Lon larde les Mores en Espagne avec le degout de lard ardant (Saugrain 1561: 7)

Blind men stand there in Church porches ready to be hired for money to recite any prayer (Rowland 1586: 21)

En luy donnant un denier ilvous dira l'orai son de quel saint que vous voudrez, & telle pourra estre qui contiendra plus de doux cens vers (Saugrain 1561: 10-11)

Lazaro was a good Christian beleeving that all goodnesse came from God (Rowland 1586: 46)

Lazare estoit bon Chrestien puis qu'il estimoit le bien luy venir par la main de Dieu (Saugrain 1561: 22)

A man may scape in Spaine the hands of the officers of Iustice if they can flee into some church so it be not theft, treason or religion (Rowland 1586: 116)

Tout homme peut eschapper la main de iustice en Espagne se reitrant en quelque Eglise si ce n'est pour auoiur faict larrecin, trahison, ou pour cas d'heresie (Saugrain 1561: 55)

An exhaustive analysis of Rowland's translation shows that expansions constitute an essential feature of the English text. This rendering strategy comprises a valuable divergence in viewpoint, and as a consequence, considerable fluctuations arise between the

features of English and Spanish picaresque novels. Elizabethan translators commonly resort to expansions in order to enhance the original text, not only to ameliorate linguistic and cultural translation problems, but also because they simply love elaborating (Luttikhuisen 2001: 209). Elizabethan translators possess liberty to clear up obscurities and problems and, what is more, to simply embellish the text following their personal decisions and criteria, in an attempt to adapt the text to the target culture and language, to anglicize it. This fact also seems to be related to the “common Renaissance idea that identifies elegance with abundance” (Morini 2006: 66).

### 3. Analysis of expansions

The number of expansions identified in Rowland’s translation comprises 527 examples.<sup>11</sup> To begin with, expansions have been first classified as justified or non justified in an attempt to establish the translator’s norm. However, certain expansions possess such relevant features that they have been further arranged into other subgroups in order to enable easier classification and analysis. Thus, apart from justified and non justified expansions, tautologies, explanations and recreations have also been included. Tautologous expansions involve the repetition of an idea or concept; explanations are expansions which define the meaning of the source words; recreations comprise the addition of an element to enhance the text or to provide the translator’s viewpoint by means of a periphrasis. As this suggests, tautologies and recreations are frequently non justified, whereas explanations are usually justified expansions.

#### 3.1. Justified expansions

As could be supposed, the inclusion of expansions may be justified on account of several reasons, principally linguistic and cultural. The number of justified expansions seems almost irrelevant in this analysis, 4.7%, which demonstrates that Rowland prefers the inclusion of non justified additions to provide his own viewpoint about the narrative, as examples will show.

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<sup>11</sup> For the contrastive analysis I used Rowland’s translation (1586) and Francisco Rico’s edition (2000). The latter is arguably the best current Spanish edition of *El Lazarillo de Tormes*.

- (1) por ensalzar la fe, había muerto en los Gelves (Rico 2000: 21) [fol. A 6.r]<sup>12</sup>  
in maintaining the faith of **Jesus Christ against Turkes**, died in the battle of Gelves (Rowland 1586: 14)

In example 1 the English reader is supposed not to be aware of the cultural and historical reference in the terms “fe” and “Gelves”. The expansion attempts to explain the historical situation; one of the battles between Christians and Turks in the Mediterranean was at Gelves (1510). There was political, commercial and religious rivalry in the sixteenth century, for Turkish Muslim pirates operated in the English Channel. The added prepositional phrase modifies the noun “faith”; however, the context is actually clarified only by means of the addition of the noun “battle”. The English translator also reveals his Protestant ideology as he adds a Protestant qualification. “the faith of Jesus Christ.” The incorporation of the French translation may be traced in these words: “en la bataille des gelues” (Saugrain 1561: 7) which are not in the Spanish.

### 3.2. Explanations

Rowland uses the strategy of explanation to clarify and define notions unfamiliar to an English reader. Explanations only comprise 1.9% of the examples analysed. However, the same strategy could have been included in other examples throughout the text illuminating significant differences between English and Spanish languages and cultures.

- (2) en esta ciudad andan muchos ladrones que siendo de noche *capean* (Rico 2000: 79) [fol. C 4.r]  
ruffians and theeves doe meete men every night *to spoyle them of their cloakes and caps* in the darke (Rowland 1586: 70)

In example 2 Rowland uses an explanation to render the verb “capean” as no equivalent verb exists in the English language. The addition of a note invented by himself is hardly surprising: “the streets are narrow & darke few lanternes are hong out” (Rowland 1586: 70). Spain does not seem an attractive country to English people. Crofts remarks that: “Spain had an evil reputation with travellers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and few

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<sup>12</sup> As Rowland is judged to have used the Spanish edition published in Antwerp in 1554, I also include references to the pages of that edition between square brackets.

visited the country except for reasons of diplomacy and commerce" (1924: v). Once again Rowland seems to persist in his anti-Spanish propaganda.

### 3.3. *Non justified expansions*

Interestingly enough, the greatest number of examples belongs to this group (93.3% including tautologies and recreations, which will be discussed in the following sections). Non justified expansions (27.3%) are frequently of Rowland's own creation, for he seems to have attempted to anglicize, enhance and embellish the text.<sup>13</sup>

The influence of the previous French translation may also be found in some examples. Rowland copies or rewrites certain expansions included by Saugrain. As to this point, it is worth noting that French translators in the 16 and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries are said to include non justified expansions and reductions, despite the fact that when so doing source texts could be slightly modified and even distorted (Spier 1990: 3).

- (3) "¿pensaréis que este mi mozo es algún inocente? Pues oíd si el demonio ensayara otra tal hazaña" (Rico 2000: 34) [fol. A 10.r]  
do not think that his childe is some innocent *and alwayes at the ende of his tale these would be his words* who unlesse it were the devil him selfe could have found out such rare pranques? (Rowland 1586: 24)

The clause added in example 3 seems to corroborate Elizabethan preference for providing as many details as possible concerning context. Moreover, Rowland does not seem comfortable with Spanish syntax or direct speech.

- (4) ella me encomendó a él, diciéndole como era hijo de buen hombre (Rico 2000: 21) [fol.A.6.r]  
she *being right wel content* most earnestly prayed him to be good master unto me, because I was a honest mans sonne (Rowland 1586: 14)

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<sup>13</sup> Guadalupe Martínez in her edition of James Mabbe's translation of *La Celestina* clearly explains the reasons for the inclusion of these strategies in translations from Spanish books of XVI and XVII centuries. Leaving aside the cultural and linguistic reasons, this author argues that expansions were included because the translator "simply found some stimulus in a Spanish sentence or word to give free rein to this natural impulse to enlarge, or embroider a speech with copious additions and witticisms" (1965: 59).

In example 4 Rowland interprets the main character's feelings and states his own personal viewpoint. Lazaro's mother is supposed to be glad to provide her son a hopeful future as she commends him to the blind master.

- (5) señor, no lo disimules; mas luego muestra aquí el milagro (Rico 2000: 119) [fol. D 7.r]  
 good Lorde, that thou will not dissemblye it, *but immediately, that it may please thee* to shewe here a miracle (Rowland 1586: 108)

This expansion resembles the French words: "incontinent te plaise icy monstres miracle" (Saugrain 1561: 52). This emphasis on the deceit being practiced could be anti-Catholic. Apart from that, Luttikhuisen argues that the common inclusion of adverbs and past participles in Elizabethan translations results in a "liveliness that carried the reader into a real imagination unsuggested by the original", in accurate concrete images (1987: 179).

#### 3.4. Tautologies

The number of tautologies is highly relevant (49.1% of the number of expansions), which indicates that the translator elaborates his own viewpoint by emphasising specific aspects of the text. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tautologies are frequent; the source text is embellished with witticisms (Classe 2000: 819). What is more, both synonyms and binary expressions are used to render individual ideas from the original in Elizabethan translations (Matthiessen 1931: 4; Murillo 1994: 353; Luttikhuisen 1987: 179).

- (6) era el ciego para con éste un Alejandro Magno, con ser *la misma avaricia* (Rico 2000: 47) [fol. B 3.r]  
 the blynde man was in comparison of his master, a great Alexander. Howbeit, hee was so *covetous and niggarde* (Rowland 1586: 39)

The *Oxford English Dictionary* records a similar example in the year 1548.<sup>14</sup> It is worth highlighting that this gemination produces a transposition, for a noun becomes two adjectives in the target text.

- (7) gente llana y *honrada*, y tal bien proveída, que no me la depare Dios peor cuando buena sed tuviere (Rico 2000: 128) [fol. D 10.r]

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<sup>14</sup> Hall. *Chron. Ed.IV 217b*. "An extreme niggard and covetous extorcioner."

plaine people *full of honestie and gentle curtese*, and so well provided all times, that I woulde to God when I am thurst, I might alwayes meete with such men (Rowland 1586: 125)

The influence of the French translation may be clearly traced in example 7 (Saugrain 1561: 59). The number of added doublets is notable in Rowland's translation as it cannot be ignored that during the Elizabethan period nouns, adjectives and even verbs often appear in pairs (Luttikhuisen 1987: 179).

- (8) Andando así discurriendo de puerta en puerta, con harto poco remedio, porque ya la caridad se subió al cielo (Rico 2000: 72) [fol. C1.r]  
*But now I demanding almes from dore to dore for Gods sake*, I found little remedy, for charitie had then ascended up to heaven (Rowland 1586: 62)

The expansion in this example is split and seems to add a sarcastic religious reference attacking an allegedly Christian country. The expansion emphasises the fact that Lázaro is begging in order to acquire food and to be able to aid his master, who is a church goer.

### 3.5. Recreations

Recreation is a highly frequent type of expansion in Rowland's translation (about 16.9% of the whole number of expansions); it is the clearest example of how he attempts to enhance the target text with witticisms and similar strategies. The translator rewrites the source words by providing his own personal comments.

- (9) Mas turóme poco, que *en los tragos* conocía la falta (Rico 2000: 31) [fol. A 8.r]  
 but that happy time continued but *a while for I was not wont to leave so little behinde mee*, that he might soone espie the faulte *as in deede immediately hee did mistrust the whole matter wherfore hee began a newe order* (Rowland 1586: 22)

In example 9 a prepositional phrase becomes a complex clause that is split. In order to enhance the text Rowland adds two clauses in which he conveys his personal viewpoint and explains what wine means for Lázaro. The first clause states that he drinks as much wine as possible, whereas the second one points out that the blind man is conscious of the trick.

- (10) mas de que vi que su venida mejoraba el comer *fuille queriendo bien* (Rico 2000: 17) [fol. A.5.r]  
 but after that I once perceiving how only by his resort our fare was so well amended *I could by no means finde in my heart to hate him, but rather beare him good will, reioyaing to see him* (Rowland 1586: 11)

The expansion in example 10 implies a transposition and a modulation, a change in the grammar structure and in the point of view, both of which contribute to focus on Lazaro’s positive love of his black stepfather. Rowland seems to enhance the source text words.

- (11) tomaba una paja, de las que aun asaz no había en casa y salía a la puerta escarbando *los que nada entre sí tenían* (Rico 2000: 94) [fol. C 10.r]  
 he was wonte to take a straw in his hand, wherf also there was wante in our house, and standing out the dore, would therewith picke *those which had little neede of picking for any thing that had stucke in them with eating* (Rowland 1586: 85)

In example 11 the expansion results in an alliteration between the terms “picke” and “picking” and a pun between “wonte” and “wante”. Rowland has linked words to highlight the prevalence of famine in Spain. In addition, Rowland adds a note which does not exist in the French translation and explains the meaning of the source text: “small neede to picke his teeth for any meate he had eaten” (1586: 86).

#### 4. Conclusions

The analysis of the data obtained in the analysis of expansions enables us to reach some conclusions as can be deduced from table 1.

| Type of expansion        | Number of examples | Percentage |
|--------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| justified expansions     | 25                 | 4.7%       |
| explanations             | 10                 | 1.9%       |
| non justified expansions | 144                | 27.3%      |
| tautologies              | 259                | 49.1%      |
| recreations              | 89                 | 16.9%      |

*Table 1*

To begin with, it is worth noting that few expansions (only 4.7%) are justified on the grounds of cultural and linguistic clarification. Explanations are restricted to a highly specific number of items (1.9%

of examples); their inclusion is justified to solve cultural or linguistic translation problems by means of periphrases.

By contrast, most expansions are non justified (27.3%) because their aim lay in the enhancement of the translation despite the semantic differences in meaning generated in the target text; the translator is believed to have included them following his own political and religious criteria and attempting to adapt it to the target language and culture. Rowland's Protestant ideas can be often traced in these examples.

Certain non justified expansions are specifically classified as recreations (16.9%). By means of adding certain grammatical elements the translator rewrites the source text, in an attempt to embroider the source text words as translators used to do. Some expansions are explicitations, highlighting a preference for providing an accurate and detailed description.

A notable number of tautologies (49.1%) is also observed in Rowland's translation. As can be supposed, this type of non justified expansions can even cause slight modifications in the target text, although core meaning is frequently preserved. Interestingly enough, these strategies appear to compensate for the omission of certain tautologies characterising the original Spanish anonymous author's style. Concerning tautologies the addition of geminations or binary groups constitutes another central feature of Rowland's translation. The practice could also be justified on the basis of their common occurrence in the English language of the Elizabethan period, or of Rowland's own invention.

In certain examples, mainly in non justified expansions, the influence of the French translation is noticed. Since Rowland uses it like a source text to elaborate his translation, some of its expansions, and even marginal notes, are copied literally. Most marginal notes in the target text are non justified as Rowland provides his own comments commonly paraphrasing French notes. These marginal notes often contribute to criticising Spain's religion and society. In any case, Saugrain himself exercises his own invention regarding the Spanish text. Actually, a preference for free translation starts to emerge in France in the mid-sixteenth century. In keeping, both the French and the English translations diverge from the original Spanish text.

To sum up, the great number of non justified expansions (93.3% of the analysed examples, including recreations and tautologies) implies one of the most significant features of Rowland's translation;

the translator's viewpoint is provided and enlarged in an attempt to anglicize the target text, to contribute to highlighting a Protestant propaganda, or only to embroider the text. A preference for detail, and for binary and repetitive structures is also evident. These strategies, as well as the impact of the French translation, seem to be embedded in this translation.

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