RESEARCH ARTICLE:

Speaking Truth or Power? Issues in Translation of South African Children's Picture Books

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Abstract

Children's books communicate responsibilities and obligations such as good manners or how to overcome personal challenges. Through these stories, children learn how their society expects them to look and behave. Using a sample of bilingual picture books from the Nal'ibali reading campaign in South Africa, this research investigates the naturalised meanings projected to young readers by English stories and their Afrikaans translations. The visual symmetry of the English and Afrikaans versions of the story on a page may lead readers to think that these are direct translations or that the children are accessing similar meanings. The research questions ask whether the English readers are exposed to the same norms as the Afrikaans readers. Using a systemic functional linguistic framework to code evaluations of the books' characters, we foreground the differences in interpersonal meaning between the English and Afrikaans translations and why these are ideologically significant. Findings show that the Afrikaans translations prioritise a young girl's looks above her creativity, but they also construe a dedicated father who spends time with his child. Despite the small corpus, these preliminary findings indicate a need for a wider study of translation in children's books to investigate the congruency of their translations.

Keywords: *picture books; appraisal; multilingualism; translation*

Introduction

In 2023, the results of the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) for the year 2021 were released. PIRLS 2021 showed that 81% of Grade 4 children in South Africa could not read for meaning in any language (Spaull, 2023). These figures are not news, however. Similar statistics in 2011 inspired the founding of *Nal'ibali* (isiXhosa for 'here's the story'), a reading-for-enjoyment campaign. *Nal'ibali* has distributed more than 43-million free bilingual newspaper supplements containing cut-out-and-keep books to schools, libraries and post offices in South Africa. The stories are also hosted on the *Nal'ibali* website, which can be accessed with no data cost. As of the 196th edition, the newspaper supplement has been available in 11 of South Africa's official languages. By encouraging children's interest in stories and prompting caregivers and communities to read with children, the *Nal'ibali* campaign aims to boost literacy levels in South Africa, creating and sustaining a "literacy ecosystem that supports and promotes reading for leisure and enjoyment" (Nal'ibali, 2023a: n.p.). However, early childhood literacy scholars have noted that children learn values and behaviours based on the characters (and their representations) depicted in children's books. In a seminal paper, linguist Halliday (1990) emphasised that language does not reflect reality but rather *creates* reality through a series of words and grammatical structures chosen from a system of available options. Given that the *Nal'ibali* series is so prolific in South Africa, what realities are the books creating for their young readers with their words? What representations and ideologies have been chosen in the country's most abundant book series? Since children are not yet critical thinkers, they may internalise the taken-for-granted representations in the books, possibly influencing their worldview.

Our wider research project investigated representations of South African children in the *Nal'ibali* books. This article, however, reports on a pilot study of the translation of these representations. The *Nal'ibali* books are published in

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two languages in each supplement: English and another language commonly spoken in that area of South Africa. The two languages on the page are presented with a symmetry that implies equivalent content (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1: A page from a *Nal'ibali* book showing the position of the English words and their translation into the Afrikaans language (Kennedy *et al*., 2016: 8).

One would assume that what appears on the bottom of the page in Afrikaans has an equivalent meaning to what appears above in English. However, our research asks: Are these two versions congruent? In other words, are there any differences in meaning between the English version of a story and its translation into the second language on the page? If so, how might these different meanings impact the young readers' understanding of the world and thus what ideologies are naturalised? This article reports on our initial findings when comparing the implications of potential meanings construed by the English and Afrikaans versions of the *Nal'ibali* books, focusing on two stories which showed differences between the two translations.

The *Nal'ibali* reading campaign was launched to put books into children's hands and nurture a love for reading as a leisure activity in South Africa. Translation of the stories into all official languages of South Africa is at the core of the *Nal'ibali* vision. *Nal'ibali* challenges the dominance of English, aiming to encourage multilingual reading among primary school pupils in South Africa by providing stories in their own languages (Nal'ibali, 2023b: n.p.). However, the language of learning and teaching at school is English from Grade 4 onwards. For many children, the requirement to read, write, and be assessed in English after three years of education in their mother tongue is a stumbling block. Printing the English translation on the same page as the South African indigenous languages helps to expose children with an indigenous language as their mother tongue to English. PRAESA (Project for the Research of Alternative Education in South Africa), founder of the *Nal'ibali* campaign, champions the notion that literacy in two languages is necessary in South Africa: "At the heart of a modern multilingual democracy must surely be citizens, young and old, who can express themselves effortlessly – carefully, creatively and critically," argues Bloch (2015: 3). Literacy in English is advantageous to school graduates who wish to travel to other places where their mother tongue is not spoken.

At the World Library and Information Congress in 2015, Heale (2015: 3) rejoiced at the emergence of "a children's literature that is truly South African, that is relevant to South African readers", noting *Nal'ibali* as one of the successful distributors of these stories. She argues that the country's authors are "describing what is right and wrong in the new [post-apartheid] South Africa" (Heale, 2015: 3). With Bloch's emphasis on *Nal'ibali* encouraging critical expression, and Heale's declaration that the books show right and wrong to South African readers, a critical approach to these books themselves is our objective. To check for potential nuanced differences in meanings construed by the multilingual books, we analysed the books in the South African language in which we have the highest fluency, which is Afrikaans. We chose the *Nal'ibali* books because of their wide reach and accessibility for children whose parents cannot afford books. Thus, the ideologies contained in the books would not be restricted

to those who have the privilege of a bookshelf. Ideologies within the content of the *Nal'ibali* books can influence a child of any socio-economic status.

During the reading process, in addition to negotiating spelling and sounds, the reader needs to comprehend meaning and evaluate content. This content is what shapes the child's understanding of the world. We take the position of Collins-Gearing (2021: 73), who notes that children's books are "characterised by local concepts of childhood, including gender, grounded in sociolinguistic structures, birthed by cultural ideologies, and they shape and are shaped by political systems". We believe that evaluating such content is important so that children are exposed to fewer damaging and exclusionary ideologies. However, the power of ideologies is stronger when they are more hidden, or presented as fact, as they are more difficult to find and reconstruct. Hollindale (2003: 6) confirms this, stating that:

> *"It might seem that values whose presence can only be convincingly demonstrated by an adult with some training in critical skills are unlikely to carry much potency with children. More probably the reverse is true: those values at stake are usually those which are taken for granted by the writer, and reflect the writer's integration in a society which unthinkingly accepts them. In turn this means that children, unless they are helped to notice what is there, will take them for granted too".*

Our concern is also that children may be vulnerable to ideologies in the books because *Nal'ibali* frames reading as an activity that should be pleasurable, and the ideological investment occurs during the activity that is commonly regarded as making people more literate, more 'educated'. Books are the symbol of education, and what content is contained therein? Our interest in analysing the different translations of the story is rooted in the idea that the picture book is instrumental in naturalising ideologies for children. What differences in meaning are evident between the two languages on the same page? How might any differences impact the child's understanding of the world, and, thus, with what ideologies they align? Once ideologies are identified – made visible from their naturalised, taken-for-granted state – it becomes easier to decide whether these values and depictions of characters are uplifting and empowering to children. If the ideologies are undermining ones, these can be altered in a process of 'reconstruction' (Janks, 2010), explained in the next section.

Because ideologies operate in texts, especially in statements where readers are not given space to argue, we promote a critical approach to denaturalise the meanings that are "mobilised in the defence of domination" (Thompson, 1984: 35). In a foundational argument, Freire (1970) challenges assumptions about literacy as simply teaching students the skills necessary for reading and writing, encouraging people to reflect critically upon the processes of reading and writing themselves. According to Janks (2010), Freire's (1970) work shows that in the process of learning how to read the word and the world critically, those becoming literate regain their self-esteem as agents who can act to change their social situations. Freire uses literacy as a way of "breaking the culture of silence of the poor and dispossessed" (Janks, 2010: 12). We support this, arguing that to break this silence, there must be an awareness of the meanings construed by texts. Critical literacy involves critical deconstruction of texts, and like Janks (2010), we believe that it should also involve reconstruction in the interest of social justice. The goal of deconstruction – 'breaking down' a text by revealing the ideologies it promotes – is to show who has a position of power in a text: who benefits, who is disadvantaged? Although power relations may seem like common sense as a result of the consent produced, part of the work of critical literacy is to unmask these workings of power, revealing them as constructed representations of the social order which serve the interests of some at the expense of others (Janks, 2010). The reconstruction part of critical literacy is considering how stories can be re-written to validate and empower the oppressed, thereby contributing to the transformation that Freire envisages. Our identification of the ideologies inherent in the translations of the *Nal'ibali* stories is a form of deconstruction. Reconstruction begins with our suggestions to rewrite the text which naturalises negative ideologies where it is identified. The ideologies are rooted in the evaluations of the characters, and the next section outlines the framework and method used to code these evaluations and thereby make visible the ideologies in the text.

The Appraisal Framework

Appraisal is a systemic functional linguistic framework premised on the idea that writers or speakers choose from a range of options when they want to evaluate something. We argue that this framework is appropriate for identifying ideologies in children's books because evaluations are made in a certain context and encode a person's norms, values, and beliefs. Appraisal provides resources for the coding of these choices, and having terminology to code the choices gives us a meta-language of evaluation in order to understand the ideologies at work in texts.

One of the initial proponents of Appraisal, Martin (2000), notes that the system's resources evaluate the emotions negotiated in a text, the intensity of these feelings, and how readers are positioned in alignment with these views that have been expressed. Three subsystems fulfil these functions – Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement. Although these terms usually appear in lowercase, we have capitalised the initial letters of the subsystems to avoid confusion with the non-technical use of these words. As this article focuses on evaluations made in different languages, we will focus mostly on the Attitude system.

Attitude is the evaluation of feelings, behaviour, and things and consists of three corresponding subsystems: Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation (see Figure 2). Each of these concerns' different aspects of evaluation, according to Martin and White (2005: 42). Affect is linked to emotion; Judgement is linked to ethics; Appreciation is linked to aesthetics. Instantiations of these subsystems can be classified as positive [+], referring to the presence of something a category describes, or negative [-], referring to the absence of it.

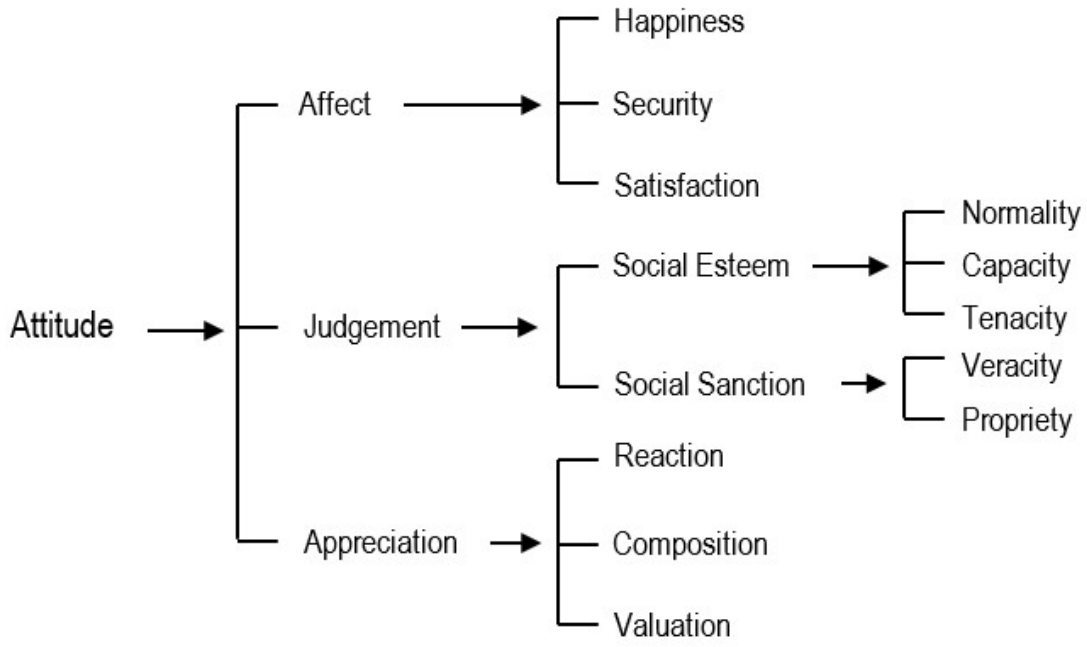

Figure 2: The Appraisal framework: Attitude (cf. Martin and White, 2005)

The Affect subsystem comprises resources for the construal of emotion (positive or negative feelings), states Martin (2000). Affect resources from which speakers choose are Happiness, Security, and Satisfaction. According to Martin and White (2005: 49), emotions such as sadness, happiness, love, and hate fall under Happiness. Security is concerned with feelings of physical and emotional safety. Satisfaction deals with feelings that include displeasure, curiosity, and respect. Examples from the data follow (these are italicised and drawn from two *Nal'ibali* books titled *Nomsa* and *Lulu*, introduced in the next section:

> [+Happiness]:
>
> Nomsa *loves* to dance (*Nomsa*: 2).
>
> [+Security]:
>
> … *into Papa's arms*! (*Nomsa*: 7).

We found no instantiations of Satisfaction in these two books. Judgement, the second subsystem of Attitude, evaluates behaviours (see Figure 2). Normality refers to how special someone's behaviour or personality is, while Capacity refers to someone's ability to do something, and Tenacity refers to their perseverance in completing a task. Other resources for Judgement include Veracity, which evaluates the honesty of someone's actions or words, and Propriety, which evaluates whether someone's conduct is ethical. In the two books within the scope of this article, Capacity is the only Judgement subsystem from which the writer draws. An example of this appears below, where the girl is evaluated as having the ability to dance well:

[+Capacity]:

… *can spin like a top* (*Nomsa*: 6).

The final subsystem of the Attitude framework is Appreciation, which deals with resources that convey how we value aesthetics and value of 'things' (Martin and White, 2005: 56). Three resources can be activated when describing things: Reaction, Composition, and Valuation. Reaction measures how much we like something or how emotionally captivating something is (Martin and White, 2005).

[+Reaction]:

Lulu *loves* clothes. (*Lulu*: 2)

Martin and Rose (2007) state that Composition evaluates how coherent, logical, and balanced something is or how complex it is. Coherence, logic and balance construe [+Composition], so imbalance and chaos construe [-Composition], as implied in this example where the young dancer spins out of control:

[-Composition] (balance):

WHOOPS (*Nomsa*: 7).

According to Martin (2000), the third subsystem, Valuation, records that something is considered useful, worthy, or significant by the person evaluating it. By using the Appraisal framework's resources to code the evaluations, it is possible to pair the evaluation itself with what is being evaluated in order to identify the ideologies in the texts. For example, if the book's character is a child who likes to play outside and climb trees, will this tree-climbing behaviour be evaluated positively, using instantiations of [+Tenacity] because the child is exploring and persevering in his or her activities, or will instantiations of [-Propriety] be used because the child is getting his or her clothes dirty? Which meaning will shape the young reader's perception of the behaviour?

Coding the Nal'ibali books

For the part of our research that analysed the representations of South Africans in the *Nal'ibali* books, each evaluation of a feeling, behaviour, or thing was coded using resources from the Appraisal framework. This is a qualitative procedure used by Droga and Humphrey (2002) which asks which Appraisal resources are activated on each line. This is the first step in finding out what the books construe as appropriate or inappropriate behaviour, or desirable attributes. The coding is recorded in a table which allows the researchers to track evaluative meaning through the book (see Table 1 and 2 below). This also allows for a quantitative analysis of how often a particular Appraisal resource is activated and in which contexts. The table includes (from left to right in Table 1): the page number; the words which realise the evaluation; who makes the evaluation (the appraiser); columns for the subsystems of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation; whether the evaluation is positive or negative; whether the evaluation is inscribed or invoked (overt or implied); and who is evaluated (the appraised). English and Afrikaans coding was recorded in separate tables to allow for potential differences in meaning.

Table 1: Coding table for Attitude evaluations in the English version of *Nomsa*

Page	Ideation/ Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/ -	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	loves	Narrator			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Dancing
	(d/coding)	Narrator	Happiness			+	Invoked	Nomsa
3	… can jump	Narrator		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Nomsa
	like a cat	Narrator		Capacity		+	Invoked	Nomsa
4	[can] fly	Narrator		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Nomsa
	like a butterfly	Narrator		Capacity		+	Invoked	Nomsa
5	[can] float	Narrator		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Nomsa
	like a cloud	Narrator		Capacity		+	Invoked	Nomsa
6	[can] spin	Narrator		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Nomsa
	like a top	Narrator		Capacity		+	Invoked	Nomsa
7	WHOOPS	Narrator			Composition	-	Invoked	Nomsa
	into Papa's arms!	Narrator	Security			+	Invoked	Nomsa

Table 2: Coding table for Attitude evaluations in the Afrikaans version of *Nomsa*

Page	Ideation/ Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/ -	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	graag	Narrator			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Dancing
	(d/coding)	Narrator	Happiness			+	Invoked	Nomsa
3	kan spring	Narrator		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Nomsa
	soos 'n kat	Narrator		Capacity		+	Invoked	Nomsa
4	[kan] vlieg	Narrator		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Nomsa
	soos 'n vlinder	Narrator		Capacity		+	Invoked	Nomsa
5	[kan] sweef	Narrator		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Nomsa
	soos 'n wolk	Narrator		Capacity		+	Invoked	Nomsa
6	[kan] spin	Narrator		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Nomsa
	soos 'n tol	Narrator		Capacity		+	Invoked	Nomsa
7	SJOEP	Narrator			Composition	+	Invoked	Nomsa
	reg in Pappa se arms!	Narrator	Security			+	Invoked	Nomsa

With these tables, researchers can compare the English and Afrikaans translations by line number to check which Afrikaans word is used in the same position in the book as its English counterpart. When there is a difference in meaning, researchers can scan to the middle columns to note whether the translated word or phrase construes a different meaning (coded as Affect, Judgement, or Appreciation). If there is a difference, what is that difference, and what effect may it have on the self-image or worldview of the reader? If there is a more subtle difference in meaning (where the Appraisal resources used are the same but there is a nuanced difference between the English and Afrikaans translations), what is it and what are the consequences of these differences?

In this article, we only show the books with a difference in meaning between the English and Afrikaans translations. Of the data set of 10 books used in an intensive multimodal study of Appraisal strategies, two books showed differences between the English and Afrikaans versions. These are two books about young girls, each named after its protagonist: *Nomsa* and *Lulu*. To show the differences between the two versions in each language, we tabulated the English and Afrikaans written texts and inserted the English translation of the Afrikaans text between these. This helps the reader of this article to compare two English versions side-by-side – the original text plus the one translated from Afrikaans. Naturally, there are many influences exerted on the text during the publication process. The writer, editor, translator, publisher, and others have various priorities and worldviews that they bring to the text. However, the individual motives of these stakeholders are not our concern in this article. Our interest is in the final text that is 'consumed' by the young reader. No matter which part of the publishing process the ideologies arose from, these texts received the final approval to be distributed to children across South Africa.

Findings and Discussion

The findings presented here are minor differences, and there is one phrase in each book where the translations use different evaluations. However, we believe that we cannot dismiss these findings as irrelevant or 'not strong enough'. There is no doubt that further research is needed with a larger corpus. However, we must consider that these books go out to thousands of children and can be read multiple times, even to entire classes of children at school. If there is an ideology that perpetuates an oppressive stereotype that disempowers some of the readers, is that acceptable? Can we dismiss it with 'it's only one story'? One drop of a poisonous liquid can contaminate a whole bucket of water; similarly, one story with negative naturalised ideologies can impact a child. The motto of *Nal'ibali* is "it starts with a story", and this can very well be the case, where a child's low self-esteem or poor behaviour starts when they internalise the evaluations in one story. The converse is also true, where a child can be inspired by the behaviour of a character when empowering ideologies are projected, and that is what we wish to be the case with all stories. Thus, in the following analyses, as we deconstruct a text to find the ideologies at work, we highlight the instances in *Nomsa* and *Lulu* that could be reconstructed.

Nomsa

Nomsa, written and illustrated by Niki Daly and published by Jacana Media, comprises seven pages. The book is one long description of Nomsa's dancing, which ends when she spins out of control and is caught by her father before she falls. On page 2, we meet a young girl with miniature dreadlocks, wearing a pink and white dress with a tutu skirt, purple leggings, and pink ballerina-like shoes. *Nomsa loves to dance*, says the text. A string of similes follows in a list. *She can jump like a cat*, says page 3, with an image of a cat about to land on the ground on its

front paws. Page 4 continues with … *fly like a butterfly*, below an image of Nomsa dancing after a butterfly. Nomsa dances under a cloud on page 5, with the text reading *float like a cloud*. Page 6 pictures Nomsa spinning beside a top (*spin like a top and*…). The story ends with … *WHOOPS into Papa's arms!* on page 7 as Nomsa spins too fast and lands in the arms of a man we understand is her father (see Figure 3 below). He is on his haunches to catch her.

Figure 3: Nomsa in her father's arms (Daly, 2015: 7)

The full texts of the story in English and Afrikaans are reproduced in Table 3 below, with the translation of the Afrikaans back to English in the middle. This is followed by the Appraisal analysis by which the ideologies in the story are deconstructed. The cover page of the book, which only bears the main character's name, is regarded as Page 1, so it is not included in Table 3.

Table 3: English/Afrikaans text and translation of Afrikaans text in *Nomsa*

Page	English	Afr. to Eng. translation	Afrikaans
2	Nomsa loves to dance.	Nomsa likes dancing.	Nomsa dans graag.
3	She can jump like a cat,	She can jump like a cat,	Sy kan spring soos 'n kat,
4	fly like a butterfly,	fly like a butterfly,	vlieg soos 'n vlinder,
5	float like a cloud,	glide like a cloud,	sweef soos 'n wolk,
6	spin like a top and…	spin like a top and…	spin soos 'n tol en…
7	…WHOOPS ~ into Papa's arms!	… WHEE ~ right into Daddy's arms!	… SJOEP ~ reg in Pappa se arms!

In both the English and the Afrikaans texts, Nomsa's love for dancing is established on Page 2. The activity of dancing will therefore be paired with [+Reaction] from the Appraisal framework as it is a captivating activity for Nomsa. The similes such as *jump like a cat* and *fly like a butterfly* evaluate her [+Capacity], i.e. her dancing skill, in both languages. Until page 7, the English and Afrikaans versions are the same. The only difference between the two versions is the meaning construed when Nomsa's dance ends with her in her father's arms. The word *WHOOPS* is used in the English version. *WHOOPS* is a vocal expression used when an accident happens, and it can be coded as [-Composition]. This implies that Nomsa lost her balance while spinning like a top and her father catches her, preventing her fall. Therefore, being in her father's arms is evaluated as [+Security], as it saves her from injury when she spins out of control. However, in the Afrikaans version, the expression used is *SJOEP*. *SJOEP* implies a swift, gliding movement, not necessarily one that is out of control or has gone wrong. Google Translate uses 'swish' as the direct translation, and in an email dated 4 December 2023, director of the Dictionary Unit for South African English, Tim van Niekerk, recommended 'whoosh' as the English equivalent of 'sjoep' (van Niekerk, 2023: pers. comm.). We have coded it as [+Composition] because a gliding movement might be part of her dance routine. Without the meaning of accidental motion that *WHOOPS* implies, Afrikaans readers may think that Nomsa's father is the target: that she intended to spin into his open arms. Therefore, the feeling of being in her father's arms may have less to do with security and more like [+Happiness] as they are spending planned time together, not that he is there to stop her from falling. In summary, the multilingual book has two subtly different meanings: with *WHOOPS*, the English version implies that Nomsa fell into her father's arms accidentally, so he

provides [+Security] for her; whereas with SJOEP, the Afrikaans translation implies that Nomsa glides into her father's arms on purpose as she is happy to see him ([+Happiness]) and ends her dance when she has reached him. The Afrikaans text conveys more of a participatory role of the parent than the English text does, where the father rescues the child in passing because she is in danger.

What does the above mean for the ideologies inherent in the text? The presence of the father figure is noteworthy, as in many South African households, fathers are not present. The 2021 State of South African Fathers report by the Human Sciences Research Council notes that 37% of biological fathers live with their children (Van den Berg *et al*., 2021: 16). This means that Nomsa's story reflects an experience of fatherly support that many South African children will not know. Japhet (2023) concedes that some South African fathers are absent physically from their children's lives as they migrate for job opportunities to provide financially for their children. However, he states that there are other equally important roles, as children need someone to spend time with them in play, reading, sharing thoughts, and so on (Japhet, 2023). Another reason for absent fathers, according to Japhet (2023), is that many men grew up with absent fathers and are unaware of the actions or benefits of being involved in a child's life. Based on his work in 1970, Freire might suggest that depicting an ideal (of a loving father who is supervising his child) shows how those who have been marginalised can take action to improve their situation. A boy reading this story will learn how a father can support his daughter, whether by purposefully planning time with her (as the Afrikaans translation suggests) or whether he is present at the right time to rescue her (as the English translation suggests). Either way, the father is in the house and accessible to his daughter. If the reader supports his daughter one day, that will make a big difference to her, even if it only marginally improves the statistics of absent fathers. Others might argue that Nomsa's father rescuing her in the English version naturalises the stereotype of the helpless female being rescued by the strong, reliable man. They are correct, but we believe that it is more important that the man doing the rescuing is her father. Given the scarcity of fathers in their children's households across the country, that the ideology of a loving, reliable, present father that this story construes does more reparations than it does damage. A supportive parent is therefore a desirable ideology to have in a text. Although the English text does construe a supportive parent when deconstructed, it can be reconstructed to reflect a similar ideology as the Afrikaans text. Using *WHEE* instead of *WHOOPS* (as we have in the re-translation of Afrikaans to English in Table 3) may be a better indicator of purposeful activity, construing the father consciously spending time with his daughter, and that her spinning into his arms is more a continuation of her joy than a relief after a potential fall. We have used *WHEE* instead of 'whoosh' or 'swish' as it is an expression which implies the movement construed by *SJOEP* but also echoes the happiness on the characters' faces, reinforcing that the movement towards the father is deliberate.

Lulu

Lulu is another book by Niki Daly, published by Jacana Media, that bears the name of its protagonist. In the same spirit as *Nomsa*, it shows a girl going through the motions of her favourite pastime: playing dress-up with her clothes, slippers, and self-made accessories. On page 2, the reader meets a little girl with a brown bob hairstyle and flushed pink cheeks. She is smiling with her eyes closed, arms around a dress and a pair of shorts, as if enjoying a moment of bliss. *Lulu loves clothes*, explains the text below. Page 3 says *Lulu in stripy shorts and socks!* under a picture of Lulu wearing the shorts from the previous page. On page 4, Lulu dances in the pink dress above *Lulu in a spotty dotty dress!* Page 5 has two pictures: one of Lulu pulling something out of a box beside *What are these?* and another of her looking at her feet, newly encased in *Lulu's doggie slippers!* Page 6 asks *What next?* beside an image of Lulu gazing down at a bowl, a sheet of red cardboard, and a pair of scissors. *Lulu's hat!* reads the text beside Lulu putting the upended bowl on her head. There is a red heart on the 'hat': the reader must assume that she has cut a heart shape out of the cardboard and stuck it to the bowl. Page 7 shows Lulu walking away from the clothing rail that held all the clothing she is now wearing (see Figure 4 below). She pulls a string tied to the shoebox that her slippers were in. The box is decorated to resemble a dog. *Smarty arty Lulu!* the text above it reads. Lulu pretends the bowl is a hat and the box is a dog that she can take for a walk. This short book shows the reader that one can play dress-up by being creative with some household items, promoting imaginative play.

Figure 4: Lulu dressed up (Daly, 2016: 7)

In Table 4 below, the full texts of *Lulu* in English and Afrikaans appear, again with the Afrikaans translated back to English in the middle column. To deconstruct the text and thereby expose its potential naturalised ideologies, the Appraisal resources activated by each text are considered.

Table 4: English/Afrikaans text and translation of Afrikaans text

Page	English	Afr to Eng translation	Afrikaans
2	Lulu loves clothes.	Lulu likes dressing.	Lulu hou van aantrek.
3	Lulu in stripy shorts and socks!	Lulu's stripy pants and socks!	Lulu se strepiesbroek en kouse!
4	Lulu in a spotty dotty dress!	Lulu's dotted dress!	Lulu se kolletjiesrok!
5	What are these? Lulu's doggie slippers!	And what's this? Lulu's doggie slippers!	En wat's die? Lulu se woefie-pantoffels!
6	What next? Lulu's hat!	What's next? Lulu's hat.	Wat's volgende? Lulu se hoed!
7	Smarty arty Lulu!	See how pretty Lulu looks!	Kyk hoe mooi lyk Lulu!

The evaluations of Lulu present the most ideologically significant difference between the two versions, though it is not the only difference. The differences between the English and Afrikaans versions of Lulu lie on Page 2 and Page 7. On page 2, the English sentence says *Lulu loves clothes*. However, the Afrikaans translation says *Lulu hou van aantrek* (literally: "Lulu enjoys dressing", referring to an activity). The Afrikaans translation's recording of what she loves as a process describes it more as a hobby, a game of dress-up. The English version is unclear when you consider the Afrikaans one. What does it mean to like clothes? Does she like shopping, following fashion trends, or playing dress-up? Because she makes a hat out of a bowl, the reader can assume, in hindsight, that she is playing a game of pretend.

In the English version of page 7, *Smarty arty Lulu!*, the evaluation of Lulu's creativity is positive. *Smarty* is ambiguous; it is unclear whether *Smarty* refers to being clever or well-dressed. Either one is a positive evaluation as it meets with the evaluator's favour. This is an evaluation of [+Capacity] as she has the ability to be clever or dress herself well due to her *arty* nature, her creativity. The evaluation is of her skill at dressing and making clothing accessories out of household objects, promoting an ideology that creativity is praiseworthy. This encourages children to use their imagination, which is helpful later in their school years. However, the Afrikaans text reads *Kyk hoe mooi lyk Lulu!* ("Look how pretty Lulu looks!"). This evaluation is one of [+Reaction], where something is captivating to look at (see Martin and White, 2005: 56). Activating the Appraisal resources of Appreciation means that the evaluator is appraising an object. The positive evaluation of Lulu as being pretty objectifies her as a 'thing' to be appraised. The reader has seen Lulu build her own accessories but what is praiseworthy, or valuable, in the Afrikaans version is her beauty. Despite the loss of the positive evaluation of creativity, however, the Afrikaans text is clearer in its description of Lulu's story as an imaginative activity on page 2: dressing up, not just wearing clothes.

The ideology presented in the Afrikaans text of beauty as praiseworthy instead of creativity as praiseworthy is concerning, as this can encourage young Afrikaans girls to seek praise for aesthetic reasons and not for their imagination and skill, the latter of which can be taught and improved by practice. Children can choose to use their imaginations and learn how to create things, but becoming beautiful by the standards that their culture holds is

often beyond their control and can lead to low self-esteem later in life. Our proposal for reconstructing this text would be to align the Afrikaans translation more with the English version, perhaps using *kunstig* (artistic) or *kreatief* (creative): *Kyk hoe kunstig/kreatief is Lulu!* ('Look how artistic/creative Lulu is'). If these words are regarded as too advanced for the young reader, *slim* (clever) may be used as an adjective instead, as someone clever can mean someone who is innovative or highly educated, and an education is something a child can achieve with hard work and dedication (as opposed to beauty, which is culture dependent).

When examining the differences between English and Afrikaans translations of the stories, it is important to remember that these may be isolated instances of differences from individual translators and they thus serve as a point of departure for further analysis. However, the contaminated water metaphor applies here: even one drop of contaminated water may be unsafe to drink. Likewise, if the ideologies construed by any single translation are disempowering, they should be reconstructed. Even if one child is affected, it can have far-reaching consequences. The child may naturalise these ideologies and transmit them to others. A single negative ideology surrounded by positive ones may be even more 'undercover' as adults reading the book may not notice it, or it might not seem so shocking to the child if there are other taken-for-granted ideologies in the text. An argument from Janks in 1997 is still true today: "[I]deology is at its most powerful when it is invisible, when discourses have been naturalised and become part of our everyday common sense." (Janks, 1997: 341). If the ideologies are reconstructed in line with Freire's vision of empowering those who are oppressed, the books are moving one step closer to promoting social justice among the large number of readers they reach every month.

In summary, in our data set, two books showed differences in the meanings construed to the young readers. When these differences are deconstructed by looking at the Appraisal resources they activate, one translation in particular requires reconstruction. On page 7 of *Lulu*, the English text's *Smarty arty Lulu!* evaluates creativity (Lulu making a hat out of a bowl and some paper) as [+Capacity]. The Afrikaans translation has other priorities, objectifying the girl with *Kyk hoe mooi lyk Lulu!* ("Look how pretty Lulu looks!"). This evaluation is [+Reaction] towards her appearance. Developing beauty to the standards of a particular culture is not something that girls should be encouraged to do. Beauty is beyond their control and trying to keep up with society's changing standards many have harsh consequences for their self-esteem and their relationships. The Afrikaans translation can be reconstructed to value Lulu's skills so that her [+Capacity] is also evaluated in Afrikaans. Creativity and imagination can be developed to help children at school, so this can be an educational asset which empowers children throughout their lives.

In *Nomsa*, the Afrikaans translation is closer to reconstruction than the English one. The translation of the evaluation of [-Composition] *WHOOPS* is translated as *SJOEP*. This Afrikaans word does not evoke [-Composition] because it implies a purposeful movement, so the idea of Nomsa's father preventing her from falling is less likely to be activated here. It thus seems that Nomsa meant to spin into her father's arms. It avoids the stereotype of the male character 'saving' the helpless female character and shows that her father is deliberately spending time with her. The English translation, with its implication of Nomsa accidentally falling into her father's arms, could construe that his time spent with his daughter was also accidental. The translation of *WHEE* instead of *WHOOPS* (see Table 3) is a possible site for reconstruction in the English text to show that Nomsa's father is a deliberate participant in her activity.

Conclusion

Our research set out to investigate whether the seemingly congruent versions of the same story in two different languages do indeed construe the same meaning to the young reader. Following Halliday's (1990) statement that language constructs reality, we questioned what kind of reality was created for English children and for Afrikaans children, how these realities might be different, and what the consequences of these differences might be. We used a qualitative approach by comparing the translations after coding them using specialised tables. Of the few differences that exist between the English and Afrikaans translations of *Nomsa* and *Lulu*, one is a 'good' difference. The Afrikaans translation could be adopted into the English version in the interest of reconstruction, reducing the stereotype of the male character rescuing the helpless female and aiding the understanding that time spent with a child is planned, purposeful and desirable. The second difference between the English and Afrikaans texts is less empowering, perpetuating the ideology that little girls should be praised for being pretty. Without further research using a larger corpus of stories, it is not clear whether this is common in Afrikaans books, but this one story needs attention. Considering the impact picture books have on shaping the young reader's identity, each version of the stories, in all 11 languages, should be deconstructed to evaluate the potential meanings that are construed in their

words. Reconstruction of stories with destructive ideologies is vital to improve the self-esteem of young readers and move closer towards social justice, one story at a time. Though the corpus is small, this study confirms that the two versions of the story in two languages in the *Nal'ibali* stories are not fully congruent in meaning – despite their similar layout – and therefore English and Afrikaans readers do not experience the same 'reality'. These findings point to the need for further comparative Appraisal research, increasing the size of the corpus to identify the range of differences between translations and the ideologies that these construe to the young reader.

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