

Migration-related lexis in FraSloK

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Povzetek

Članek se osredotoča na rabo z migracijami povezanega besedišča v franco-slovenskem vzporednem korpusu FraSloK, ki vsebuje podkorpusa dveh tipov besedil: časopisnih člankov iz francoskega časnika *Le Monde diplomatique* ter njihovih slovenskih prevodov (članki in prevodi so bili objavljeni med 2006 in 2009) in 12 izvirnih francoskih romanov s slovenskimi prevodi (objavljeni so bili med 1995 in 2008). Zanimivo je dejstvo, da so štiri romane napisali avtorji (dva moška in dve ženski), ki so se priselili v Francijo v letih 1984–1990. Namen raziskave je po eni strani iz podkorpusov izluščiti besedišče na temo migracij, primerjati njegovo rabo glede na pogostnost in raznolikost v publicističnem in literarnem diskurzu, pri čemer bo posebna pozornost namenjena ugotavljanju, ali je v primeru rabe tovrstnega besedišča opaziti kakšne razlike oz. podobnosti med štirimi priseljenimi avtorji in drugimi avtorji. Po drugi strani je študija prevodoslovno usmerjena in prinaša analizo prevodov nekaterih francoskih besed na temo migracije, uporabljenih v korpusu, ter rezultate primerja s prevodnimi ustreznici iz Francosko-slovenskega slovarja Antona Grada (1975) pa tudi z njihovo pogostnostjo v referenčnem literarnem in publicističnem korpusu izvirnih slovenskih besedil. Pri tem nas bo še posebno zanimala pogostnost avtohtonih slovenskih besed v primerjavi z izposojenkami v primeru istega pojma (na primer raba besed *izseljenec* in *émigrant* kot možnih slovenskih prevodnih ustreznic za francosko besedo *émigrant*).

Ključne besede: prevajanje, migracije, izposojenka, francoščina, slovenščina, vzporedni korpus

0 INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history, migration, be it voluntary or involuntary, has affected virtually every society in the world due to economic, environmental, political, social and other reasons. This global phenomenon, concerning internal or international mobility of people, has had and continues to have an important impact on individual societies, for example with regard to their demographic structure, economy, religion, culture and language. The mixing of cultures or intercultural contacts due to migration and globalisation contribute, inter alia, to a possible evolution of a language of a certain society by bringing into it foreign language elements. These can, on the one hand, enrich a language by introducing words for notions that have previously not existed in it or, on the other hand, result in redundancies and provoke professional and/or public criticism in the event that we already have expressions for such notions that are fully integrated in the language. The 2017 TRANS international summer academy,¹ entitled “Translation and migration”, inspired us to explore this topic from a translation point of view.

Based on the FraSloK French-Slovenian parallel corpus (Mezeg 2011) containing French newspaper articles and novels along with their Slovenian translations, published in the period from 1995 to 2009, this article² is, on the one hand, aimed at exploring the variety and frequency of use of migration-related vocabulary in French journalistic and literary discourse. Four novels were written by the authors who emigrated to France between 1984 and 1990, therefore it seems interesting to investigate whether they contain more migration-related words than those written by the authors who were born and have lived all their lives in France. On the other hand, we wish to examine the differences and similarities in translating a selection of words from the lexical field of migration so as to find out whether the translators opted for a nativised Slovenian word (one which is not felt as having a foreign origin) or decided to use a loanword (i.e. a word taken from a foreign language and at least partly naturalised) under the influence of the source language (for example translating the French word *émigrant* as *izseljenec* (a nativised Slovenian word) or *emigrant* (a loanword)). The translations from FraSloK will be compared to the set of translation equivalents given in the Grad French-Slovenian dictionary (1975), which is considered as obsolete but still represents the most comprehensive dictionary for this language pair, and to the frequency of use of these words in a reference corpus of original Slovenian newspaper articles (a part of the Gigafida corpus containing 663 653 098.9 words) and novels (a part of the Spook corpus that has 1 454 275 words). The comparison with reference corpus data will help us evaluate the strategies used by

1 See <https://www.um.si/univerza/medijsko-sredisce/novice/Strani/novice.aspx?p=2102>.

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the translators of newspaper articles on the one hand and of novels on the other hand, as well as a possible influence of the source language on the target text. Based on our knowledge about the care for language used in Slovenian journalistic versus literary discourse, our supposition is that newspaper articles (translated as well as original) contain more loanwords than literary texts where we prefer using a word, if it exists, fully integrated in the Slovenian language.

1 METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of this study, we used the FraSloK French-Slovenian parallel corpus (Mezeg 2011), so far the only parallel corpus for this language pair. Containing about 2.5 million words, it was completed in 2011 using the ParaConc tool (Barlow 2001). It consists of two subcorpora of comparable size: a) a journalistic subcorpus that includes 300 articles from the French monthly journal *Le Monde diplomatique* (637 297 words) and their translations from the Slovenian edition *Le Monde diplomatique v slovenščini* (526 777 words), published between 2006 and 2009 and available on the Sketch Engine web platform; b) a literary subcorpus that comprises 12 original French novels (701 715 words) and their Slovenian translations (601 196 words), published in the period from 1995 to 2008; this subcorpus is freely available online (after acquiring a username and a password) thanks to the Spook project (Vintar 2013).

The FraSloK size and structure make the corpus interesting for this research that will provide an insight into the use of migration-related vocabulary in the selected original French and translated Slovenian texts in the period from 1995 to 2009. Using the ParaConc bilingual concordance tool, we will first create a word frequency list containing all the words in the corpus. For lack of semantic annotation of the FraSloK corpus, we will then manually extract from each subcorpus all the words pertaining or closely related to the lexical field of migration in order to discover their frequency in newspaper articles and novels during the observed period of time. Secondly, we will verify the frequency of the extracted words in individual articles and novels and calculate their relative frequency which will enable us to compare their distribution in these texts. In the last part of the article, we will focus on eight migration-specific French words and search for their translations in both subcorpora for the purpose of comparing the translation strategies used. The set of acquired translation equivalents of a certain French word will be compared to the entries in the French-Slovenian dictionary (Grad 1975) which will enable us to evaluate the utility of parallel translation corpora versus bilingual dictionaries in terms of the choice of translation equivalents proposed. Moreover, the frequency of individual Slovenian translation equivalents will be compared to that in the reference corpora of original Slovenian texts (Gigafida and Spook

corpora) which will help us assess the different translation solutions and easily reveal the translator's (in)visibility in the translated texts.

2 THE FREQUENCY OF MIGRATION-RELATED VOCABULARY IN FRASLOK

The manual extraction of migration-related words from the FraSloK corpus resulted in 23 groups of words having the same root and a different suffix or, to put it differently, in 96 types or distinct words and 1281 tokens or total number of words in the journalistic subcorpus, and 85 types and 435 tokens in the literary one.

Table 1: List of all the migration-related vocabulary extracted from FraSloK (absolute and relative frequency (per 500 words)).

	French newspaper articles (absolute frequency)	<i>absolute</i> (<i>relative</i>) <i>frequency</i>	French novels (absolute frequency)	<i>absolute</i> (<i>relative</i>) <i>frequency</i>
1	asile (19)	19 (0,015)	asile (7)	7 (0,005)
2	assimilation (12)	12 (0,0094)	assimilation (0)	0 (0)
3	carte de séjour (1)	1 (0,0008)	carte de séjour (5)	5 (0,0036)
4	clandestins (13), clandestine (10), clandestinement (8), clandestin (7)	38 (0,03)	clandestins (12), clandestin (7), clandestinité (4), clandestine (4), clandestinement (2), clandestines (1)	30 (0,021)
5	déplacements (31), déplacés (17), déplacement (15), déplacer (15), déplace (3), déplacée (3), déplacées (3), déplacent (2), déplaceraient (1), déplacements (1), déplacé (1)	92 (0,07)	déplacement (12), déplacer (12), déplacements (5), déplacée (5), déplacé (4), déplace (1), déplacent (2), déplacées (1), déplacés (1)	43 (0,03)
6	diaspora (7), diasporas (1)	8 (0,0063)	diaspora (0)	0 (0)
7	émigration (12), émigrés (6), émigrer (4), émigrants (2), émigré (2), émignons (1), émigrée (1), émigrées (1)	29 (0,023)	émigration (12), émigrés (9), émigré (6), émigrants (5), émigrer (5), émigrées (1)	38 (0,027)
8	étrangers (115), étranger (81), étrangère (60), étrangères (60)	316 (0,25)	étranger (56), étrangers (34), étrangère (24), étrangères (10)	124 (0,088)

	French newspaper articles (absolute frequency)	<i>absolute</i> (<i>relative</i>) <i>frequency</i>	French novels (absolute frequency)	<i>absolute</i> (<i>relative</i>) <i>frequency</i>
9	exil (26), exiler (6), exilé (5), exilés (5)	42 (0,033)	exil (26), exilés (14), exiler (10), exilé (10), exilée (3), exila (2), exilai (1), exilant (1), exileraient (1), exilez (1), exils (1)	70 (0,05)
10	exode (21)	21 (0,0165)	exode (1)	1 (0,00071)
11	immigration (73), immigrés (50), immigrants (16), immigré (4), immigrées (3), immigrée (2)	148 (0,116)	immigrés (10), immigré (3), immigrants (2), immigration (1)	16 (0,0114)
12	intégration (86), intégrer (23), intégré (13), intègre (6), intégrante (6), intégrée (6), intégrant (4), intégrait (1)	145 (0,114)	intégrer (11), intégration (4), intégré (3), intégrai (1), intégrant (1), intégrées (1), intégrés (1)	22 (0,016)
13	marginalisés (11), marginaux (7), marginalisation (6), marginales (4), marginal (3), marginalisée (3), marginaliser (3), marginalisé (2), marginalisées (1), marginale (1), marginalement (1), marginalisant (1), marginalise (1), marginalisent (1)	45 (0,035)	marginal (2), marginalité (2), marginaliseront (1)	5 (0,0036)
14	migrants (73), migrations (24), migration (16), migratoire (12), migratoires (9), migrant (4), migrante (2)	140 (0,11)	migration (2), migrations (1), migratoires (1), migrait (1)	5 (0,0036)
15	minorités (49), minorité (33), minoritaire (11)	93 (0,073)	minoritaire (3), minoritaires (2)	5 (0,0036)
16	naturalisation (8), naturalisant (1), naturalise (1), naturalisent (1), naturaliser (1), naturalisé (1)	13 (0,010)	naturalisation (5), naturalisés (1)	6 (0,0043)
17	patrouille (2), patrouillent (1), patrouilles (1)	4 (0,0031)	patrouilles (3), patrouillent (2), patrouille (2), patrouillaient (1), patrouillait (1)	9 (0,0064)
18	permis de séjour (3)	3 (0,0024)	permis de séjour (0)	0 (0)

	French newspaper articles (absolute frequency)	absolute (relative) frequency	French novels (absolute frequency)	absolute (relative) frequency
19	permis de travail (2)	2 (0,002)	permis de travail (0)	0 (0)
20	réfugiés (63), réfugié (6), réfugier (3), réfugiées (3), réfugie (1), réfugiement (1), réfugiée (1)	78 (0,061)	réfugier (9), réfugiés (7), réfugiée (5), réfugiés (4), réfugié (3), réfugia (2), réfugiaient (2), réfugie (2), réfugiait (1), réfugiement (1), réfugiâmes (1), réfugiées (1)	38 (0,027)
21	sans-papiers (16)	16 (0,013)	sans-papiers (0)	0 (0)
22	titre de séjour (2)	2 (0,002)	titre de séjour (1)	1 (0,00071)
23	visa (14)	14 (0,010)	visa (10)	10 (0,007)
	total	1281 (1,00/500 words)	total	435 (0,31/500 words)

The relative frequency, calculated per 500 words, reveals a rare use of migration-related vocabulary in both subcorpora, particularly in the literary subcorpus where it is three times less used (0,31 occurrences per 500 words) than in the journalistic one (1 occurrence per 500 words). The use of the most frequent words, as can be seen in Table 1, varies in terms of lexical items and their frequency. In the journalistic subcorpus, where the choice and frequency of individual tokens is greater, stand out the words *étrangers* (*foreigners*, 115 occurrences), *intégration* (*integration*, 86), *étranger* (*foreigner*, 81), *immigration* (*immigration*, 73), *migrants* (*migrants*, 73), *réfugiés* (*refugees*, 63), and in the literary subcorpus *étranger* (*foreigner*, 56), *étrangers* (*foreigners*, 34), *exil* (*exile*, 26), *étrangère* (*foreign*, 24), *exilés* (*exiled*, 14) and *émigration* (*emigration*, 12).

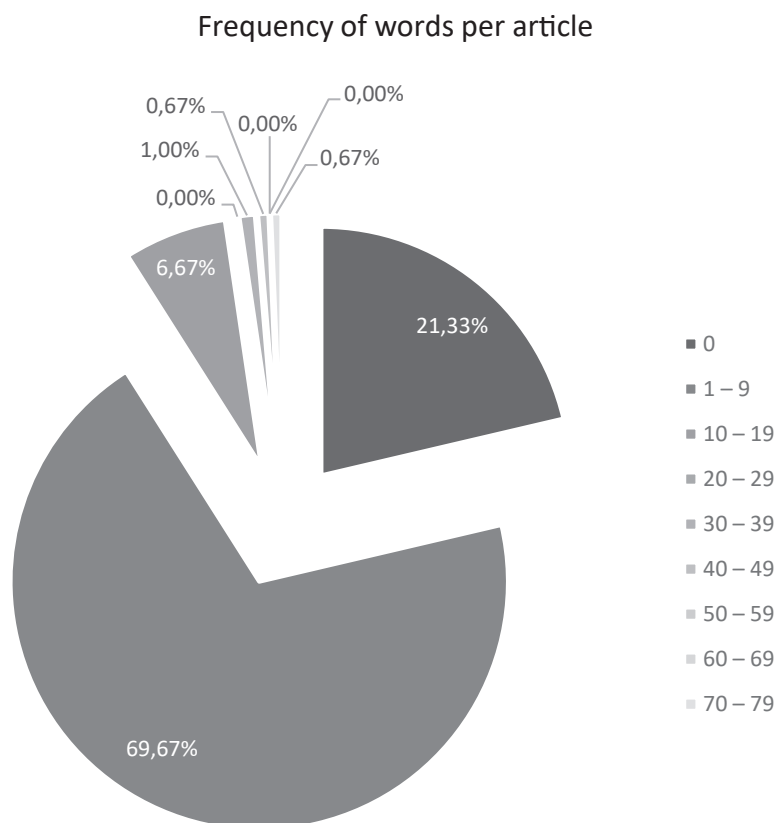
Moreover, as these data can only refer to the two subcorpora as a whole and do not tell us anything about the texts included, it seemed relevant to examine the distribution of the extracted migration-related words in individual newspaper articles and novels.

As shown by Figure 1 below, 21.33 % of articles (or 64 articles out of 300) do not contain a single migration-related word while more than two thirds (69.67 % or 209 articles) include from 1 to 9 such words, which makes migration still a very marginal topic in these articles. The same can be said for 20 (6.67 %) articles comprising from 10 to 19 migration-related words as, depending on the article's length,³ this still represents only from 0.31 % to 0.76 % of all the words in

3 Based on the MS Word word count, the articles from *Le Monde diplomatique*, included in FraSloK, contain from around 1500 to 3500 words.

an article, the only exception being an article with 19 migration-specific words (1.33 % of all the words in that article) which is centred on immigration.⁴

Figure 1: Distribution of migration-related words per newspaper article.



In terms of the frequency of migration-related words stand out 7 articles (2.3 % of all the articles) of which 3 (1 %) contain from 30 to 39 such words, 2 (0,67 %) from 40 to 49 and another 2 from 70 to 79. Taking into account the length (in words) of individual articles, migration-related words represent from around 1.07 % to 4.24 % of all the words used. This percentage would be even higher if we eliminated all the grammatical words and considered only the lexical ones. If we take as an example the article with 77 migration-related words, it contains 2308 words of which 1197 (52 %) are grammatical (articles, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions etc.) and 1111 (48 %) lexical. In this respect, migration-related

⁴ The article is entitled *Ministère de l'hostilité (Immigration stigmatisée)* (literally *The Ministry of hostility (Stigmatised immigration)*), <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2007/07/LIAUZU/14941>.

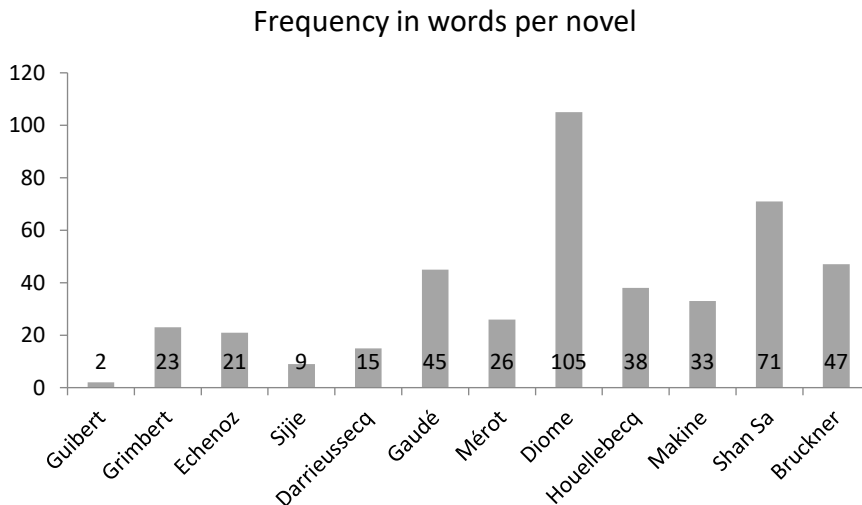
words represent 6.9 % of all the lexical words used and thus show that migration is an important (if not central, as it indeed is) topic in this article.⁵ This statement can also be justified by the title of the article (see note 5). In fact, the topic of migration is evident from the titles of all 7 articles.

In conclusion, these results show that in the period from 2006 to 2009, migration issues were central in only about 2.3 % of the articles included in the *Le Monde diplomatique* subcorpus, the majority of the articles covering completely different topics.

Similarly, the analysis reveals a rare use of migration-related words in all the 12 contemporary French novels from the literary subcorpus. Out of 435 words extracted, slightly less than one quarter (24.1 % or 105 words) is found in the novel *Le ventre de l'Atlantique* (*The Belly of the Atlantic*) by Fatou Diome who emigrated to France from Senegal in 1990. However, in this novel, migration-related words represent only 0.17 % of all the words used, whereas in the other novels they constitute from 0.014 % to 0.092 % of the words.

According to Figure 2 below, migration-related words also stand out in the novels *Impératrice* (*Empress*) (16.3 % or 71 words) by Shan Sa who emigrated to France from China in 1990, *L'Amour du prochain* (literally *Love thy neighbour*) (10.8 % or 47 words) by Pascal Bruckner and *Eldorado* (10.3 % or 45 words) by Laurent

Figure 2: Distribution of migration-related words per novel.



⁵ The article written by Albrecht Kieser in June 2006 is entitled *De l'immigration à l'intégration. Le droit du sang prime encore en Allemagne*, <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2006/06/KIESER/13525> (in the English edition, the article is entitled: *Immigration, chaos and crisis. Germany: you're not wanted*, <https://mondediplo.com/2006/06/08germany>).

Gaudé. In other novels, we found less than 10 % of the words from the field of migration. With regard to the question raised at the beginning of this article whether the novels written by the authors who emigrated to France contain more migration-related words than those written by the authors who were born and raised in France, this study reveals that this is only partly the case as it is only true for the two emigrated women writers (Fatou Diome and Shan Sa), whereas the novels by the two emigrated men writers (Dai Sijie (emigrated from China in 1984), *Balzac et la petite tailleuse chinoise* (*Balzac and the Little Chinese Seamstress*); and Andreï Makine (emigrated from Russia in 1987), *Le testament français* (*The French testament*)) contain less migration-related words than those by some of the French writers (Sijie 2.1 % or 9 words and Makine 7.6 % or 33 words).

3 TRANSLATION OF SELECTED EXAMPLES OF MIGRATION-RELATED LEXIS: FRASLOK VS. BILINGUAL DICTIONARY VS. REFERENCE CORPORA

This part of the article discusses translation equivalents of selected examples of migration-related words extracted from FraSloK and compares them, on the one hand, to the translations provided by the Grad French-Slovenian dictionary (1975) and, on the other hand, to their frequency of use in a reference corpus of original Slovenian newspaper articles (journalistic part of the Gigafida Slovenian national corpus) as well as novels (part of the Spook corpus). We wish to discover whether the French words, all of which are borrowed from Latin, keep the foreign flavour in Slovenian translations and are thus expressed by a loanword or borrowing, or a nativised Slovenian word is used instead. The following words, which we found the most intriguing from a translation point of view, will be examined: a) *asile* (*asylum*), b) *visa* (*visa*), c) *migrant(s)* (*migrant(s)*), d) *migration(s)* (*migration(s)*), e) *émigration(s)* (*emigration*), f) *émigrant(s)/émigré(s)* (*emigrant(s)*), g) *immigration(s)* (*immigration*), h) *immigrant(s)/immigré(s)* (*immigrant*).

a) ASILE

Grad dictionary: *azil, pribežališče, zavetišče, zatočišče*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)⁶

⁶ The data in the reference corpora were acquired in July 2017.

<i>corpus</i>	azil absolute/relative f ⁷	zatočišče absolute/relative f	zavetišče absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	17/0.08	2/0.009	0/0
Gigafida articles	6146/0.03	6803/0.03	9147/0.04
FraSloK novels	1/0.004	1/0.004	5/0.02
Spook novels	4/0.008	8/0.02	2/0.004

The Grad dictionary proposes 4 equivalents for the French word *asile*, without any additional information as to their frequency, use etc. Only 3 were found in the Slovenian part of FraSloK: a loanword *azil* and their Slovenian counterparts *zatočišče* and *zavetišče*. The absolute and relative⁸ numbers indicate that the loanword *azil* is much more frequent in newspaper articles (particularly translated ones but also original Slovenian), whereas in the novels we observe the predominance of the nativised Slovenian words *zatočišče* (in original Slovenian novels) and *zavetišče* (translated novels). The latter, however, also stands out in the corpus of original Slovenian newspapers where the difference between the use of loanwords and nativised Slovenian words does not seem noticeable.⁹

b) VISA

Grad dictionary: *vizum*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

<i>corpus</i>	vizum absolute/relative f	viza absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	5/0.02	9/0.04
Gigafida articles	7443/0.03	1499/0.007
FraSloK novels	5/0.02	4/0.02
Spook novels	1/0.002	2/0.004

For the French word *visa*, the Grad dictionary proposes only one equivalent, i.e. *vizum* which was borrowed through German from Latin in the 20th century. This loanword is the only standard word for this notion in Slovenian. However, in

⁷ The abbreviation 'f' stands for 'frequency'.

⁸ Due to different size of respective corpora used and in order to enable comparison across them, we calculated the frequency of individual (translation) equivalents per 3000 words.

⁹ We do not discuss semantic differences between individual words/translations as this would exceed the scope of the article.

all the corpora examined, we also notice the variant *viza* which is, in fact, a colloquial word borrowed from French (Slovenski etimološki slovar). Interestingly, this variant predominates in the translated newspaper articles and in the original Slovenian novels, whereas in the original Slovenian newspaper articles, the word *vizum* stands out. In translated novels, the standard variant is slightly more used than the colloquial one.

c) MIGRANT(S)

Grad dictionary: no translation equivalent indicated

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

<i>corpus</i>	migrant(i) absolute/relative f	priseljenc(-ci) absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	58/0.3	16/0.08
Gigafida articles	1772/0.008	9447/0.04
FraSloK novels	0/0	0/0
Spook novels	0/0	4/0.008

The French word *migrant* is not included in the biggest French-Slovenian dictionary nor do we find a loanword *migrant* in the Slovenian etymological dictionary (Slovenski etimološki slovar), therefore one could assume that this word was borrowed into Slovenian fairly recently. Interestingly, the use of the loanword *migrant(i)* is the highest in the corpus of translated newspaper articles, whereas in the original Slovenian newspaper articles it is fairly low. The latter prefers the use of the Slovenian equivalent *priseljenc(-ci)* which is also true for the original Slovenian novels. In the French corpus of novels, no occurrence of the word *migrant(s)* was found.

d) MIGRATION(S)

Grad dictionary: *preseljevanje, selitev*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

<i>corpus</i>	migracija(-e) absolute/relative f	selitev(-ve) absolute/relative f	preseljevanje absolute/relative f	priseljevanje absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	25/0.12	4/0.02	13/0.06	3/0.01
Gigafida articles	3931/0.02	17913/0.08	1353/0.006	3371/0.02
FraSloK novels	0/0	2/0.009	0/0	0/0
Spook novels	0/0	9/0.02	1/0.002	0/0

Whereas the bilingual dictionary only proposes two translation equivalents for the French word *migration(s)*, i.e. *preseljevanje* and *selitev*, the translated corpora material reveals two more: *priseljevanje* and *migracija(-e)*. The latter, a loanword, prevails in the translated Slovenian newspaper articles as well as in the original ones, but in the Gigafida corpus only with a slight difference in contrast to *priseljevanje*. The variant *preseljevanje* is the least used and mostly occurs in newspaper articles. In the novels, only a few occurrences of the nativised Slovenian word *selitev(-ve)* were found.

e) ÉMIGRATION(S)

Grad dictionary: *izselitev*, *emigracija*, *selitev* (*ptica* (of birds))

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

<i>corpus</i>	emigracija absolute/relative f	izselitev absolute/relative f	izseljevanje absolute/relative f	izseljenstvo absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	6/0.03	0/0	4/0.02	0/0
Gigafida articles	1505/0.007	2166/0.009	1090/0.005	840/0.004
FraSloK novels	1/0.004	3/0.01	1/0.004	7/0.03
Spook novels	1/0.002	0/0	0/0	0/0

Apart from the word *selitev* which, according to Grad, concerns the migration of birds, the French-Slovenian dictionary suggests two possible translation equivalents of the French word *émigration(s)*, i.e. *izselitev* which we only find in translated novels and in the original newspaper articles, where it predominates, and *emigracija*, a loanword that prevails in translated newspaper articles and, albeit with only one occurrence, in the original Slovenian novels. The translated corpus data bring two more equivalents, *izseljevanje* (the process of emigrating) which is the second most used translation for *émigration(s)* in the corpus of translated newspaper articles and rarely found in other corpora, and *izseljenstvo* (the fact of

living abroad, according to the Slovenian monolingual dictionary (SSKJ)) which stands out in the corpus of translated novels and appears with low frequency in the original Slovenian newspaper articles.

f) ÉMIGRANT(S), ÉMIGRÉ(S)

Grad dictionary: *émigrant(s)*: *izseljenec*, *emigrant*

Grad dictionary: *émigré(s)*: (*politični*) *begunec* ((*political*) *refugee*), *emigrant*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

<i>corpus</i>	emigrant absolute/relative f	izseljenec absolute/relative f	priseljenc absolute/relative f	prebežnik absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	0/0	5/0.02	1/0.005	0/0
Gigafida articles	2096/0.009	4160/0.02	9447/0.04	5287/0.02
FraSloK novels	3/0.01	12/0.05	2/0.009	1/0.004
Spook novels	9/0.02	1/0.002	4/0.008	1/0.002

In relation to the previous French lexical item, we were wondering what happens with the designation of people who emigrate (in French *émigrant*) or are emigrated (*émigré*). The Grad dictionary proposes a loanword *emigrant* for both of them, but also *izseljenec* for *émigrant* and (*politični*) *begunec* ((*political*) *refugee*) for *émigré*. Since we found no examples of (*politični*) *begunec* in the translated corpora,¹⁰ we did not investigate it further. Interestingly, the data show the predominance of the loanword *emigrant* in the corpus of original Slovenian novels, whereas in the translated newspaper articles and novels, the nativised Slovenian word *izseljenec* (a person who emigrates) prevails. In the original Slovenian newspaper articles we observe the predominance of the word *priseljenc* (a person who is immigrated) which corresponds more to the French word *immigré*, as we will see later on. In the corpus of translated novels, we also find one occurrence of the word *prebežnik* (*fugitive*) which bears a connotation in contrast to the source French word, but is appropriate according to the context (it is used for people from Africa who try to cross the Mediterranean by boats in order to come to Europe).

¹⁰ This is not surprising since *begunec* (*refugee*) is a questionable translation because of its connotation.

g) IMMIGRATION(S)

Grad dictionary: *priseljvanje, priselitev, imigracija*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

<i>corpus</i>	imigracija absolute/relative f	priseljvanje absolute/relative f	izseljvanje absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	21/0.1	32/0.2	1/0.005
Gigafida articles	603/0.003	3371/0.02	1090/0.005
FraSloK novels	0/0	1/0.004	0/0
Spook novels	0/0	0/0	0/0

With regard to the French word *immigration*, the bilingual dictionary suggests three translation equivalents: *priseljvanje, priselitev* and the loanword *imigracija*. The translated corpora do not reveal a single occurrence of *priselitev*, but we found one example of *izseljvanje* in a translated newspaper article which is, in fact, an equivalent of *émigration*, not *immigration*. Anyhow, the corpus data show the predominance of the nativised Slovenian word *priseljvanje* as a translation equivalent of the French *immigration*, namely in all the corpora except in the corpus of original Slovenian novels where the notion of immigration is not expressed by a noun. As far as the loanword *imigracija* goes, it is only used in translated newspaper articles (about one and a half times less than *priseljvanje*) and in the original ones (more than five times less than *priseljvanje*).

h) IMMIGRANT(S), IMMIGRÉ(S)

Grad dictionary: *immigrant(s): priseljenc*

Grad dictionary: *immigré(s): priseljenc*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

<i>corpus</i>	imigrant absolute/relative f	priseljenc absolute/relative f	izseljenc absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	4/0.02	60/0.3	1/0.005
Gigafida articles	910/0.004	9447/0.04	4160/0.02
FraSloK novels	0/0	7/0.03	4/0.02
Spook novels	1/0.002	4/0.008	1/0.002

Lastly, we were interested in translation equivalents of the words *immigrant* and *immigré* (person who immigrated somewhere) for both of which the Grad dictionary suggests the translation *priseljenc*. In fact, this fully integrated Slovenian word stands out in all the four corpora examined. The loanword *immigrant* was found in all corpora except in the corpus of translated Slovenian novels, but with very low frequency in comparison with *priseljenc*. In all the corpora we can also observe the presence of the word *izseljenc* (in translated Slovenian novels it is the second most used translation equivalent) which actually corresponds to *émigrant*.

The results of the analysis are summed up in the table below:

Table 2: Summary of the translation strategies used.

	FraSloK articles	Gigafida articles	FraSloK novels	Spook novels	total
nativised Slovenian word	3	7	6	4	20
loanword	5	1	1	3	10

With regard to the translation of the selected examples of migration-related vocabulary from French into Slovenian, we can observe that on the whole, the use of the nativised Slovenian words is twice as big as the use of loanwords; it particularly stands out in the corpus of original Slovenian newspaper articles and in the corpus of translated novels where only one example of loanword was found. As we assumed, loanwords are the most frequent in the corpus of translated newspaper articles; in fact, their frequency is almost twice as high in comparison to the nativised Slovenian words. Interestingly, a very slight difference between the use of a nativised Slovenian word versus a loanword is observed in the corpus of original Slovenian novels, the difference being only 25 % in favour of the nativised Slovenian word.

4 CONCLUSION AND PERSPECTIVES

The present study revealed a rare use of migration-related vocabulary in the French newspaper articles as well as novels, published between 1995 and 2009. In fact, it would be even smaller if we excluded the lexemes from group 8 (*étranger(s)* (*foreigner(s)*) etc.; see Table 1). In the journalistic subcorpus, comprising three times more migration-specific words than the literary one, 7 (out of 300) articles contain more than 30 such words (from 30 to 77), which is still only from

about 1 % to 4 % of all the words used in these articles, whereas in the other articles, their use is very rare or non-existent. In the literary subcorpus, 4 novels contain each more than 10 % of the words extracted (altogether 61,5 %). Two of them were written by the emigrated women writers, whereas the other two novels written by the emigrated men authors do not stand out with regard to the use of migration-specific words. This only partly confirms our supposition that the emigrated authors used more such words in comparison with the native French ones, and raises a new hypothesis, i.e. that emigrated women writers are more burdened with migration issues than men authors. To verify it, a bigger corpus with a number of additional novels should be investigated.

The comparison of translations of the selected examples of migration-related words revealed the differences between the journalistic and literary discourse, confirming our supposition that the translated newspaper articles contain much more loanwords than the translated novels where nativised Slovenian words stand out. Most of the Slovenian loanwords were, according to the Slovenian etymological dictionary, borrowed into Slovenian through German from Latin, except *viza* (*visa*) which was borrowed from French.

As far as the reference corpora go, in the Gigafida corpus of the original Slovenian newspaper articles, the nativised Slovenian words predominate, whereas in the corpus of the original Slovenian novels, the relation between nativised and loanwords is almost the same.

The results of the analysis of corpora data raise two new hypothesis to be verified in the future, i.e. that a) in translated literature, there is a bigger care for Slovenian words without a foreign feel than in translated newspaper articles where loanwords seem to prevail, and that b) the original Slovenian newspapers seem to pay greater attention to the use of Slovenian words than the Slovenian novelists (for example *emigracija* (*emigration*) and *emigrant* instead of *izseljevanjel/izselitev* and *izseljenec*).

Finally, on the basis of the examples studied and the corpora data used, we can notice that the Grad French-Slovenian dictionary gives a poor list of translation equivalents for individual entries. Moreover, it does not include some entries (such as *migrant*), which calls for the need to update it using corpus data.

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