

Uredniki: Mojca Schlamberger Brezar, David Limon, Ada Gruntar Jermol

**CONTRASTIVE
ANALYSIS IN
DISCOURSE STUDIES
AND TRANSLATION**

**ANALYSE
CONTRASTIVE
DE DISCOURS ET
TRADUCTION**

**KONTRASTIVE
DISKURZANALYSE
UND TRANSLATION**

Mojca Schlamberger Brezar, David Limon, Ada Gruntar Jermol (ur.)

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*Zbirka Prevodoslovje
in uporabno jezikoslovje*

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ZBIRKA PREVODOSLOVJE IN UPORABNO JEZIKOSLOVJE

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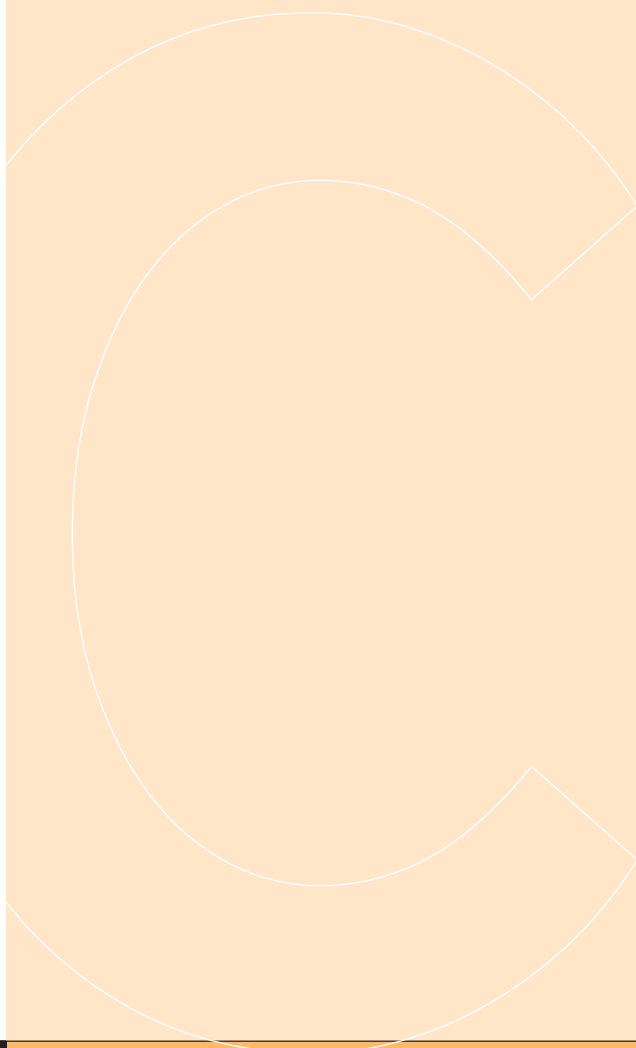
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Uvod

Pričujoča monografija z naslovom *Contrastive analysis in discourse studies and translation / Analyse contrastive de discours et traduction / Kontrastive Diskurz-analyse und Translation* prinaša članke s področja prevodoslovja in prevodoslovno usmerjene kontrastivne analiz v treh jezikih. Po lanski knjigi *Prevodoslovno usmerjene kontrastivne študije* v uredništvu Agnes Pisanski Peterlin in Mojce Schlamberger Brezar se je pokazala želja, da bi podobno knjigo izdali še s članki v tujih jezikih, saj bi bile tako raziskave tudi širše dostopne. Pobudi se je odzvalo enaindvajset avtorjev z enajstimi članki v angleškem, šestimi v francoskem in tremi v nemškem jeziku. Poleg omenjenih jezikov v povezavi s slovenščino knjiga prinaša še kontrastivne študije s primerjavo italijanskega, makedonskega in švedskega jezika.

Monografija je razdeljena v dva dela, v prvem delu so zbrane prevodoslovno usmerjene diskurzivne študije, v drugem delu pa članki o tolmačenju in prevajanju književnosti z različnih prevodoslovnih vidikov. Raziskave temeljijo na veliki količini obdelanega večjezičnega gradiva bodisi v obliki splošno dostopnih korpusov bodisi narejenih v ta namen. Poleg kvantitativne analize podajajo tudi kvalitativne poglede na obravnavano tematiko, kar je še posebej dragoceno za potencialne naslovnike.

Glede na trenutno stanje v preučevanju jezika in prevajalski stroki menimo, da je knjiga dragocen prispevek za vse, ki se že ukvarjajo z jezikoslovjem in prevajanjem ali pa se za to usposabljaajo. Nikakor ne ponuja enostranskih rešitev za prevodne probleme, spodbuja pa k razmišljanju o njih in podaja nove poglede na tematike, ki so v jezikoslovju in prevodoslovju vedno aktualne. Upamo, da naše raziskave ne bodo same sebi namen, ampak da bo šla knjiga med ljudi in v branje.

Uredniki

OVERVIEW OF THE ARTICLES / LE COMPTE-RENDU DES ARTICLES / KURZE DARSTELLUNG DER BEITRÄGE

David Limon considers word order in Slovene and English from a translation perspective. The discussion of the theoretical background covers functional sentence perspective, the information principle, end focus and the role of sentence adverbials. The paper then considers aspects of word order that cause problems when translating from Slovene to English, relating particularly to the distribution of information at the sentence level, but also discussing the issue of adverbial location.

Agnes Pisanski Peterlin looks at sentence initial adversative connectives in academic texts (from the field of geography), in particular their rhetorical function. The author compares translations into English from Slovene with similar original English texts and finds that in the latter such connectives are twice as common, which confirms the now frequent observation that translated texts tend to differ from comparable originals in the target language in terms of the use of various rhetorical elements.

Nataša Hirci and **Tamara Mikolič Južnič** focus on the adversative connective *but* and how it is translated into Slovene. Although there does seem to be quite a strong correspondence between the functions of *but* in English source texts and those of various adversative connectives (*ampak, pa, toda, a, vendar*) used as translation equivalents in Slovene, a closer look shows that there is a more complex relationship, where correlations for different functions may vary considerably.

Tamara Mikolič Južnič discusses nominalisation in Italian and Slovene literary texts. Making use of data from the parallel corpus Spook, she compares Italian originals and their Slovene translations, as well as Slovene original texts in order to carry out a quantitative study of nominalisation in literary texts. The results show that nominalisations occur less frequently in Slovene literary texts and in translations than they do in other kinds of texts, as well as less frequently than in Italian.

Martin Grad looks at promotional websites in Slovene and English, specifically the home pages of spas and how these address their readers – using imperative forms, pronouns, indirect address forms, rhetorical questions, and other forms of address. His analysis shows that English sites use more address forms than do Slovene ones. The paper also addresses a related issue specific to Slovene, i.e. the distinction between *T/V* forms of the imperative mood.

Simona Šumrada discusses referential explicitation, using a corpus of translated and interpreted speeches made by Slovene MEPs and during the Slovene presidency of the EU. Using the methods of discourse analysis, the author tests the theory of explicitation on patterns of demonstrative reference in Slovene and French, in both original texts and translations. The results show that referential explicitation can be language dependent, since more examples can be found in French than in Slovene.

Donald Reindl discusses the translation of Slovene toponyms into English, contrasting it with practice in other languages. The author points to the great variety of translation strategies applied, which depend to some extent on the stylistic demands of text type and subject matter, but are also influenced by factors such as linguistic nationalism. Although some toponymic representations clearly violate the norms of the target language, in many situations it is difficult to point to a single best choice. Instead, different ways of representing toponyms in translations can be described as stylistically more or less appropriate depending on a variety of factors. The author concludes with a number of recommendations for dealing with toponyms in translations.

Jaka Čibej and **Silvana Orel Kos** focus on Slovene and Swedish translation equivalents of the English passive constructions in both fiction and non-fiction. Examination of a corpus comprising the Treaty of Nice (2001) in English, Swedish and Slovene, as well as Slovene and Swedish translations of George R. R. Martin's novel *A Game of Thrones* (1996), shows that the Swedish translations contain a higher percentage of passive structures than do the Slovene texts translated from English. The differences between the three languages are less conspicuous in non-fiction. In fiction, however, passive constructions are considerably less frequent in the Slovene translation than in the English and Swedish texts.

Silvana Orel Kos discusses the use of speech presentation, especially indirect statements, in news reporting in English and Slovene. Depending on the authority of the information source, tense-backshift may occur with English reporting verbs in the Past tense. Since Slovene does not as a rule use tense-backshift, translators of Slovene news items into English may find it difficult to decide whether or not to take account of this grammatical feature in their work. Making use of an English-Slovene corpus of recent news articles by press agencies, quality and popular newspapers, temporal and tense relations in the structure of newspaper articles are considered, focusing primarily on parameters governing the sequence of tenses in English.

Marija Zlatnar Moe compares translations of literary texts with those of popular fiction and identifies differences in the way they are translated into Slovene.

Her paper is based on an analysis of six novels that appeared after 2000. Some of the changes are genre-specific and occur only in translations of literary works. Generally, there is a shift towards an unmarked, formal standard language, which neutralises the style of the books. The result of such changes may be texts that are merely stylistically neutral and hence less interesting, or texts that appear strange and awkward to the reader.

Nina Grahek Križnar analyses terms of address in translations of post-colonial novels into Slovene. She points out that translators use two strategies, either domesticating the terms of address by using expressions from the Slovene cultural context or leaving them in their original form. However, domestication fails to transmit the full complexity of meaning by falling short of accounting for the entire range of cultural and linguistic variables in the postcolonial arena.

Parmi les contributions en français, **Gregor Perko** se penche sur les valeurs aspectuelles et sémantiques des préfixes préverbaux slovènes et sur des difficultés que ce dispositif, à la fois sémantico-dérivationnel et grammatical, est susceptible de soulever dans une perspective contrastive slovène / français. L'étude programmatique veut rendre compte des deux systèmes, présentant différents moyens d'expression de l'aspect.

Mojca Schlamberger Brezar analyse, dans le cadre de la théorie informationnelle, l'ordre des mots dans les articles de presse français et slovènes, d'abord dans le corpus comparable et puis dans le corpus parallèle. Il en ressort qu'au niveau quantitatif, l'antéposition des compléments circonstanciels est présente aussi bien en français qu'en slovène et ne diffère qu'au niveau qualitatif.

Adriana Mezeg parle des constructions détachées nominales, dont les propriétés principales sont la liberté de position dans la phrase, la séparation du reste de la phrase par une virgule, la prédication seconde et la relation de coréférence avec le sujet de la phrase. Ces phrases, qu'elle met en évidence par une analyse dans le corpus parallèle français-slovène, composé des articles de presse et des textes littéraires, sont atypiques pour le slovène et présentent un enjeu pour le traducteur.

Irina Babamova propose l'analyse contrastive de l'emploi de l'indicatif et du subjonctif entre le français et le macédonien. L'étude concerne les équivalents macédoniens qui affichent une différence sémantique dans les contextes où les formes de l'indicatif et du subjonctif peuvent se substituer l'une à l'autre. Le subjonctif étant absent de la terminologie linguistique traditionnelle en macédonien, il est intéressant de voir tout de même les parallèles qui existent avec le français.

Jana Zidar Forte se consacr e   l'interpr tation, Son article sort un peu du commun des articles recueillis, mais reste en m me temps au coeur de la th matique traductionnelle. Elle compare les caract ristiques du discours parl  monologal tel que l'on rencontre dans l'interpr tation de conf rence en fran ais et en slov ne avec le discours oral spontan  et le discours  crit en vue d' claircir ses particularit s. Les discours analys s d rivent du mat riel authentique utilis  dans la pratique de l'interpr tation simultan e au cours de la formation des interpr tes de conf rence.

L'article de **Sonia Vaupot** et **Metka Zupan i ** est consacr    la pr sence de la litt rature qu b coise et franco-canadienne sur le territoire de l'ex-Yougoslavie en tenant compte des traductions en serbe, croate, mac donien et slov ne. Deux phases dans la traduction, avant et apr s 1991, dans le cadre yougoslave et apr s la dissolution de l'Etat commun, ne diff rent pas consid rablement ; toutefois, les auteurs constatent un int r t plus prononc  pour traduire la fiction qu b coise. En ce qui concerne le th  tre et la po sie, l'int r t est mitig , voire faible.

Im Rahmen der vorliegenden Monographie finden sich drei deutschsprachige Beitr ge: Der Artikel von **Ada Gruntar Jermol** besch ftigt sich mit *Aspekt und Aktionsarten*, wobei das Sprachenpaar Deutsch-Slowenisch einem Vergleich unterzogen wird. Anfangs werden die Begriffe Aspekt (*glagolski vid*) und Aktionsarten (*vrste glagolskih dejanj*) genauer definiert. Daraufhin wird an konkreten Beispielen auf die unkorrekte Verwendung perfektiver und imperfektiver Verben im Slowenischen hingewiesen und es werden einige unzureichende  bersetzungsl sungen vorgestellt, die  berwiegend gerade auf die Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Sprachen zur ckzuf hren sind.

Im Beitrag von **Vlasta Ku i ** mit dem Titel *Die Bibel bersetzung als Konfliktzone im volkssprachlich-lateinischen Sp tmittelalter - eine komparative Analyse von deutsch-slowenischen  bersetzungen* wird der Versuch unternommen, die kulturell-historischen Konstellationen der Lutherschen  bersetzung der Heiligen Schrift zu beleuchten und mit den slowenischen Bibel bersetzungen in Verbindung zu bringen. Die Bibel bersetzungen gelten als Emanzipationsfaktor der slowenischen Sprache und nehmen damit in der Entwicklung der slowenischen Kultur eine Schl sselrolle ein.

Das Hauptthema des Beitrags von **Ur ka Valen i  Arh** ist die  bersetzung von Kinegrammen in der Jugendliteratur. Die Autorin widmet sich der Untersuchung von Kinegrammen im ausgew hlten Korpus und ihrer Wiedergabe ins Slowenische. Im Beitrag wird auf bestimmte Aspekte der  bersetzung eingegangen, wobei das Augenmerk ganz besonders auf die  bersetzerischen Leistungen beim Entschl sseln der verbalen Kodierung der Kinegramme im

Originaltext und beim Wiedergeben dieser lexikalisierten Wortverbindungen in der Zielsprache gelenkt wird.

Contrastive Discourse
analysis / Analyse
contrastive de
discours / Kontrastive
Diskursanalyse

Aspekt vs. Aktionsarten - ein deutsch- slowenischer Vergleich

Ada Gruntar Jermol, Universität Ljubljana

Povzetek

V prispevku bom primerjala jezikovni par nemščina-slovenščina, pri čemer se bom osredotočila na glagolski vid – aspekt – na eni strani in vrste glagolskih dejanj - *aktionsarten* – na drugi strani. V prvem delu prispevka bom skušala opredeliti oba temeljna pojma ter opozoriti na razlike pri izražanju dovršnosti in nedovršnosti v obeh jezikih. Poleg tega bom na kratko predstavila tvorbo dovršnih in nedovršnih glagolov v slovenščini in njihovo rabo, opozorila pa bom tudi na napačno rabo (ne)dovršnikov, ki je še zlasti značilna za materne govorce severovzhodne Slovenije.

Ključne besede: glagolski vid, vrste glagolskih dejanj, nemščina, slovenščina, kontrastivna analiza.

1 EINLEITUNG

Im Vergleich zum Deutschen, das über ein reiches System von Aktionsarten verfügt, kennt das Slowenische (wie alle slavischen Sprachen) darüber hinaus die grammatische Kategorie des Verbalaspekts. Die Kategorie des Aspekts zählt im Slavischen neben dem Tempus zu den zentralen, aber (für Nicht-Muttersprachler) auch zu den am schwersten erlernbaren grammatischen Kategorien. Aber selbst slavische Muttersprachler wissen in der Regel lediglich intuitiv, wann der perfektive und in welchen Kontexten der (merkmallose) imperfektive Aspekt zu verwenden ist, z. B.:

*Ste **prebrali/brali** Vojno in mir?*

(dt.: Haben Sie Krieg und Frieden durchgelesen/gelesen?)

Andererseits haben die slowenischen Lerner häufig Schwierigkeiten beim korrekten Gebrauch der deutschen Temporalsätze für die Vorzeitigkeit, z. B.:

*Nachdem ich den Text **übersetzt habe**, mache ich einen Spaziergang.*

*Slow.: Ko **bom prevedla** besedilo, bom šla na sprehod.*

Wie man sieht, unterscheidet sich im deutschen und slowenischen Satz die Tempusfolge wesentlich. Vor allem wirkt (für die slowenischen Lerner) das Perfekt, das prinzipiell für die Vergangenheit verwendet wird, im deutschen Nebensatz ungewöhnlich, während im Slowenischen für die Beschreibung einer zukünftigen Handlung das Futur verwendet wird. Das Perfekt im obigen Satz hat keine temporale, sondern eine aspektuelle Funktion: das Verb übersetzen kennt nämlich keine perfektive und imperfektive Form, wie es im Slowenischen der Fall ist – *prevesti* (pf.) – *prevajati* (ipf.) –, weshalb die Perfektivität mit dem entsprechenden Tempus – dem Perfekt – ausgedrückt werden muss.

Im Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags wird das Sprachenpaar Deutsch-Slowenisch einem Vergleich unterzogen, weshalb anfangs die Begriffe (Verbal)Aspekt (*glagolski vid*) und Aktionsarten (*slow. vrste glagolskih dejanj*) genauer definiert werden. Im zweiten Teil des Beitrages weise ich an konkreten Beispielen auf die unkorrekte Verwendung perfektiver und imperfektiver Verben im Slowenischen hin und es werden einige unzureichende Übersetzungslösungen vorgestellt, die überwiegend gerade auf die Unterschiede zwischen den beiden untersuchten Sprachen – dem Slowenischen und dem Deutschen – zurückzuführen sind.

2 ASPEKT VS. AKTIONSART – ZUM GRUNDLEGENDEN UNTERSCHIED ZWISCHEN DEM SLOWENISCHEN UND DEM DEUTSCHEN

Im Folgenden wird der Versuch unternommen, die Begriffe (Verbal)Aspekt (slow.: *glagolski vid*) und Aktionsarten genauer zu definieren und voneinander abzugrenzen. Dabei stütze ich mich auf einige bekannte Aspektologen, allem voran Isačenko, sowie auf einige slowenische Aspektologinnen.

2.1 Aspekt

„Neben den Tempora gibt es in vielen Sprachen noch Aspekte als eine zweite Art der Grammatikalisierung zeitlicher Relationen“ betont Vater (1994: 87) und erklärt, dass es sich beim Tempus um die Relation zwischen der Ereignis- und der Evaluations-/Sprechzeit handelt, wohingegen der **Aspekt** die interne zeitliche Gliederung des beschriebenen Ereignisses bedeutet (vgl. ebd.). Das Deutsche kennt keine grammatische Distinktion für den Aspekt, obwohl sich nach Vater (ebd.: 88) beispielsweise „beim deutschen Perfekt und Plusquamperfekt tatsächlich aspektuelle Züge beobachten lassen, doch sind sie gleichzeitig Tempora.“

Nach Isačenko (1962: 387–388) ist der Aspekt¹

/.../ „im Russischen eine grammatische Kategorie, die sich in der Fähigkeit, ja in der Notwendigkeit äußert, jeden verbal ausgedrückten Sachverhalt entweder als ganzheitlich aufgefaßtes und in sich geschlossenes Ereignis zu kennzeichnen, oder aber das Geschehen ohne dieses Merkmal der Ganzheitlichkeit und inneren Geschlossenheit zu nennen. Die *Aktionsarten* (lat. *actiones verbi*) sind im Russischen allgemeine Verbbedeutungen, welche die Art und Weise des inneren Ablaufs eines Geschehens betreffen, von einem gegebenen Ausgangsverb gebildet werden und durch formale Kennzeichen (Präfixe, Suffixe, Laut- und Akzentwechsel) charakterisiert sind. Die Aktionsarten liegen immer nur in einem Aspekt vor und sind somit ‚unpaarig‘ (Perfektiva oder Imperfektiva tantum). Dadurch unterscheiden sie sich von jenen präfigierten Verben, die in Aspektpaaren auftreten.“

Beim imperfektiven Aspekt handelt es sich somit um das unmittelbare „Vor-sich-gehen“ einer Handlung, wobei ihr Anfang und Ende irrelevant sind, wohingegen es sich beim perfektiven Aspekt um eine Art Vogelperspektive handelt, was

¹ Diese Definition Isačenkos trifft auch für das Slowenische zu.

heißt, dass sich der Vorgang als Ganzes überblicken lässt. „Die Aspektkorrelation des russischen Verbs ist zweigliedrig oder binär: Dem perfektiven Aspekt steht der imperfektive Aspekt gegenüber“ (Schwall 1991: 12). Isačenko betrachtet die Glieder eines Aspektpaars als Formen ein und desselben Verbs, wobei diese Auffassung auch heute noch nicht vollends von der Aspektologie geteilt wird, da es Grenzfälle gibt, die schwer einzuordnen sind. So z. B. die slowenischen Aspektpaare *vreči* (pf.) – *metati* (ipf.) = *werfen*, *videti* (pf.) – *gledati* (ipf.) = *sehen/betrachten*, *narediti/storiti* (pf.) – *delati* (ipf.) = *tun/machen*, *vzeti* (pf.) – *jemati* (ipf.) = *(weg)nehmen*, bei denen die imperfektive Form nicht eine direkte Ableitung des perfektiven Verbs ist, sondern eine Ersatzform darstellt. Bei den meisten slowenischen Aspektoppositionen kann jedoch davon ausgegangen werden, dass den beiden Aspektgliedern eine einheitliche lexikalische Bedeutung zugrunde liegt und die grammatische Bedeutung des Verbalaspekts hinzutritt, z. B.: *zaliti* – *zalivati* (dt.: *gießen*), wobei *zaliti* perfektiv und *zalivati* imperfektiv ist.

Ein Beweis dafür, dass der Verbalaspekt eine grammatische Kategorie darstellt, ist auch die Tatsache, dass die beiden Aspektkorrelationen ein sich ergänzendes Paradigma bilden: So lässt sich auch im Slowenischen die **aktuelle Gegenwart** (slow. *prava sedanjost* = *wahre Gegenwart*) nur mit dem imperfektiven Aspekt ausdrücken (vgl. auch Schwall 1991: 13), was bedeutet, dass sich (mit einigen wenigen Ausnahmen – siehe unten) Handlungen, die im Sprachmoment stattfinden, nur mit imperfektiven Verben ausdrücken lassen. Dem gegenüber können perfektive Verben im slowenischen Vergangenheitstempus (*preteklik*) oder im Futur (*prihodnjik*) verwendet werden, im Präsens (*sedajnik*) dagegen nur unter der Voraussetzung, dass sich das Geschehen auf die Zukunft bezieht oder wenn es sich um ein sich wiederholendes (vgl. Beispiel b) oder ein sich graduell entwickelndes Geschehen handelt (vgl. auch Toporišič 2004: 391):

- 1) *Prav zdaj **obešam** perilo.* (*obešati* = imperfektives Verb, kennzeichnet eine Handlung, die im Sprachmoment stattfindet; dt.: *Ich **hänge** gerade die Wäsche auf.*)
- 2) *Vsak dan **obesim** perilo.* (*obesiti* = perfektives Verb, kennzeichnet eine sich wiederholende Handlung; dt.: *Ich **hänge** jeden Tag die Wäsche auf.*)

Dagegen nicht:

*V tem trenutku *obesim perilo.* (dt.: *In diesem Moment **hänge** ich die Wäsche auf.*)

Derganc (2003: 67 f.) stellt fest, dass slowenische perfektive Präsensformen vor allem eine abstrakte und nicht-aktuelle Gegenwart ausdrücken sowie unterschiedliche modale Bedeutungen haben, z. B.:

Koliko strani napišeš v enem dnevu? (dt.: *Wie viele Seiten schreibst du in einem Tag?*)

Das perfektive Verb *napišeš* hat in diesem Fall folgende Bedeutung: *schreibst du in der Regel, kannst du schreiben, bist du imstande zu schreiben*.

Wie bereits erwähnt, können nur wenige perfektive Verben die aktuelle Gegenwart ausdrücken. Bei diesen Verben handelt es sich um Verben des Sagens (z. B. *povem, rečem, obljubim, predlagam, prisežem* = dt.: *sagen, versprechen, vorschlagen, schwören*), da diese eine Handlung oder ein Geschehen ausdrücken, die im Sprachmoment stattfinden. Über diese Fähigkeit verfügen z. B. auch die perfektiven Verbformen *kupim, prodam* (dt.: *kaufen, verkaufen*), die eine Einwilligung in ein Angebot ausdrücken (vgl. Toporišič 2000: 348):

Prisežem/Predlagam/Obljubim/Pravim, da gremo kmalu domov. (dt.: *Ich schwöreschlage vor/versprechelsage, dass wir bald nach Hause gehen.*)

Kupiš/Prodaš ta avto? – Kupim/Prodam ta avto. (dt.: *Kaufst/Verkaufst du den Wagen? – Ich kaufel/verkaufe den Wagen.*)

Isačenko vertritt den Standpunkt, dass nur die Suffigierung perfektiver Simplizia eine echte Aspektpaarbildungsart darstellt (z. B.: *odgovoriti* → *odgovarjati* = *antworten*, *umiriti* → *umirjati* = *beruhigen*, *obiskati* → *obiskovati* = *besuchen*), womit er die Präfigierung imperfektiver Simplizia als Bildungsmöglichkeit echter Aspektpaare ausschließt. Die Präfigierung ist nach Isačenko somit lediglich ein deverbales Wortbildungsverfahren, was bedeutet, dass je nach der Art des Präfixes neue lexikalische Einheiten oder Aktionsarten gebildet werden (vgl. Schwall 1991: 13).

Nach der slowenistischen Aspektologie gehören präfigierte Simplizia, wie z. B. *zapisati* < (*aufschreiben*), *zakričati* (*aufschreien*), *pozidati* (*bebauen*), *preleteti* (*überfliegen*), *odpisati* (*abschreiben*) dem perfektiven Aspekt an. Darüber hinaus bezeichnen alle präfigierten Verben einen bestimmten Typ bzw. den Verlauf der Verbalhandlung (= Aktionsart), da ihre Präfixe auch etwas Adverbiales bzw. Phasenhaftes ausdrücken. Bisherigen Untersuchungen nach kann man im Slowenischen nur in perfektiven Zusammensetzungen und ihren sekundären imperfektiven Verben auf echte Aspektpaare (slow.: *čisti vidski pari*) stoßen (vgl. Žele 2011: 26), wie z. B. pf. *oddati* – ipf. *oddajati* (*abgeben*).

Obwohl die meisten slowenischen Verben **ein aspektig** sind, kennt das Slowenische auch eine Gruppe nicht-präfigierter Verben, die beide Aspekte in ein und derselben Form ausdrücken und bei denen der Aspekt somit – formal gesehen – unausgedrückt bleibt. Es handelt sich dabei um wenige Verben – in erster Linie um aus anderen Sprachen übernommene Verben auf *-irati* (dt.: *-ieren*) und einige Simplizia, wie z. B. *zahtevati, upoštevati, prispevati* (dt.: *verlangen, berücksichtigen, beitragen*), deren perfektive oder imperfektive Bedeutung aus dem Kontext (z. B. aus dem Gebrauch von Adverbien) zu erschließen ist:

Analizirali smo borzne tečaje. (analizirati / analysieren = perfektiver Gebrauch; dt.: Wir haben Börsenkurse analysiert.)

Ves dan so analizirali borzne tečaje. (analizirati / analysieren = imperfektiver Gebrauch; dt.: Wir haben den ganzen Tag Börsenkurse analysiert.)

2.2 Aktionsarten

Nach Isačenko betreffen die Aktionsarten ausschließlich Verben, die mit Hilfe von Präfixen gebildet werden. Diese Präfixe ändern (zum Teil) die Grundbedeutung des Simplex (einfachen Verbs) und tragen zu seiner Perfektivierung bei, z. B. *pisati – napisati* (= schreiben – **aufschreiben**), *piti – popiti* (= trinken – **austrinken**). In diesem Zusammenhang unterscheidet Isačenko (1962: 358–359) zwischen qualifizierenden und modifizierenden Verbalpräfixen, wobei sich im Gegensatz zu modifizierenden Präfixen mit **qualifizierenden** Präfixen neue, selbständige Verben bilden lassen:

„Mit einem qualifizierenden Präfix gebildete Verben können ein vollständiges Paradigma bilden, d. h. sie neigen zur Vervollständigung ihres Verbalparadigmas durch die sogenannte sekundäre Imperfektivierung /.../, z. B. *varit (ipf)* (= kochen / Simplex) → *perevarit (pf) / perevarivat (ipf)* (= verdauen). Nach ISAČENKO sind die auf diese Weise neu entstandenen echten Aspektpaare vom ursprünglichen Simplex sowohl grammatisch unabhängig als auch semantisch sehr wohl verschieden“ (Schwall 1991: 15).

Modifizierende Präfixe bewirken keine äußere Qualifizierung – d. h. die Bildung neuer Lexeme –, sondern „lediglich eine innere Modifizierung der Realbedeutung des Simplex“, so dass auf diese Weise verschiedene **Aktionsarten** gebildet werden (vgl. Isačenko 1962: 359), z. B.: *kuhati – pokuhati* (kochen – eine Weile kochen). Die Realbedeutung der beiden Verben ist somit identisch: „das Präfix *po-* deutet bloß an, daß die Handlung des ‚Kochens‘ zeitlich begrenzt, d. h. auf einen bestimmten Zeitabschnitt (‚eine Weile‘) beschränkt ist“ (Isačenko 1962 ebd.). Das Verb *pokuhati* drückt somit die delimitative Aktionsart des Verbs *kuhati* aus (vgl. ebd.). „Präfigierte Verben konzentrieren sich auf eine Phase des gesamten Geschehens: den Beginn, die zeitliche Begrenzung, das Ende des Geschehens, auf die quantitative oder intensive Steigerung des Geschehens oder auf dessen innere Gliederung“ (Orel 1994: 24). Die Aktionsarten liegen stets nur in einem Aspekt vor und sind somit ‚unpaarig‘ (Perfektiva oder Imperfektiva tantum), womit sie sich von den präfigierten Verben unterscheiden, die in Aspektpaaren auftreten. Die slowenischen Verben *pisati* und *napisati* (schreiben – **aufschreiben**) bilden somit kein Aspektpaar. Aus **neuen** durch Präfigierung gebildeten **Verben** können

imperfektive Verben gebildet werden, z. B. 1. *pisati* (*schreiben*) > 2. *prepisati* (*abschreiben* – pf.) > 3. *prepisovati* (*abschreiben* – ipf.), wobei es sich nur bei Schritt 3 um die Bildung einer Aspektform handelt; *prepisati* und *prepisovati* bilden ein echtes Aspektpaar (vgl. Orel 1994 ebd.).²

Wie bereits angedeutet, gilt auch für slowenische Verben grundsätzlich, dass mit Präfixen als Wortbildungsmorphemen stets neue Lexeme gebildet werden können. Präfixe stellen auch die Morpheme zur Bildung von Aktionsarten dar, da die jeweilige Phasenbedeutung (ingressiv, finitiv, momentan, resultativ) gerade mit Präfixen ausgedrückt werden kann. Der adverbiale Stellenwert des Präfixes verleiht dem Verb eine neue Bedeutung und somit wird dieses auch zu einem neuen Lexem, z. B. *graditi* – *zgraditi* (dt.: *bauen* – *aufbauen*).

Neue Lexeme ermöglichen in der Regel die Bildung sekundärer imperfektiver Verben des Typs *zapisovati* aus dem perfektiven Verb *zapisati* (dt.: *aufschreiben*), *prepisovati* aus dem perfektiven Verb *prepisati* (dt.: *abschreiben*). Im Slowenischen ist die sekundäre Imperfektivierung (theoretisch) stets möglich, wobei sich einige Formen infolge einer häufigen Verwendung mehr etabliert haben (z. B. ipf. *zapisovati* aus dem pf. *zapisati* = *aufschreiben*, ipf. *nadgrajevati* aus dem pf. *nadgraditi* = *ausbauen*), wohingegen einige andere eher seltener verwendet werden (z. B.: ipf. *napisovati* aus dem pf. *napisati* = *aufschreiben*, ipf. *zgrajevati* aus dem pf. *zgraditi* = *auf-/erbauen*).

Dennoch muss darauf hingewiesen werden, dass auch Derivationsmorpheme, mit denen slowenische Aspektpaare des Typs *-ova(ti)* gebildet werden, die Verbbedeutung bis zu einem gewissen Maß ändern, weshalb eine klare Abgrenzung zwischen a) Derivations- und b) Wortbildungsmorphemen nicht gegeben ist: a) *pisati* > *napisati* vs. b) *pisati* > *zapisati* – *zapisovati* (in beiden Fällen dt.: *schreiben*, *aufschreiben*) (siehe Orel 1994: 25). Denn mit dem Derivationsmorphem *-ova/-eva* kann u. a. auch eine gewisse Wiederholung – d. h. Intensivierung – und so der Verlauf der Verbalhandlung ausgedrückt werden. So stellt sich hier die Frage, ob reine Aspektpaare, die ausschließlich einen Unterscheid in der Dauer und nichts anderes ausdrücken, überhaupt existieren.

Die Arten der Verbalhandlung – die Aktionsarten – werden durch folgende zwei Grundsätze verbunden: die **Wirtschaftlichkeit** und **Effektivität**. Die Wirtschaftlichkeit ist mit dem hinzugefügten Wortbildungsmorphem verbunden, das den Blick des Sprechers auf einen bestimmten Punkt oder eine bestimmte Phase der Situation lenkt. So richtet sich z. B. bei *napisati pismo* (dt.: *einen Brief*

² Isačenko 1962 und Avilova (in Schwall 1991) zählen zu den Aktionsarten nur Verben, die durch Affixierung gebildet werden, während Bondarko (vgl. Schwall 1991) zu diesen auch nichtpräfigierte atelische Verben, wie z. B. *stati*; *imeti*; *veseliti se*; *sekati*. (*stehen*, *haben*, *sich freuen*, *hauen*) zählt. Bondarko vereint in seiner Klassifikation die semantischen Eigenschaften der Verben, die Verbstellung (slow.: *glagolski položaj*, engl.: *situation types*) und die Aktionsarten (vgl. Orel 1994: 25).

schreiben) der Blick auf das Schreiben vom erreichten Schlusspunkt aus, bei dem der Schreibvorgang beendet ist, während bei *zaplesati valček* (dt.: *einen Walzer tanzen*) das Tanzen von seinem Anfangspunkt im Sinne von »zu tanzen beginnen« betrachtet wird:

Godba je zaigrala in mladoporočenca sta zaplesala valček. (dt.: *Die Musik spielte auf und jung Vermählten begannen einen Walzer zu tanzen.*)

Bei der Effektivität handelt es sich um den Grad der „Komprimierung“ der semantischen Bedeutung, die das Morphem zur Hauptbedeutung des Grundverbs beiträgt. Die Effektivität des Morphems beim Verb *zaplesati* ist geringer als beim Verb *razplesati se*: *zaplesati* = *zu tanzen beginnen*, *razplesati se* = *ausgiebig und ausschweifend zu tanzen beginnen* (vgl. Orel 1994: 24).

Die Wirtschaftlichkeit und Effektivität slowenischer Arten der Verbalhandlung zeigen sich beim Übersetzen in das Deutsche darin, dass das deutsche Äquivalent in der Regel aus einem Grundverb und dem Phasenverb *anfangen/beginnen* besteht:

zaplesati = *anfangen zu tanzen*, *zapihati* = *anfangen zu wehen*, *zaploskati* = *anfangen zu klatschen*.

Im Slowenischen, so wie auch im Deutschen, können derartige Konstruktionen durch ein Grundverb und dem Phasenverb *začeti*, (dt.: *beginnen/anfangen*) ersetzt werden, wobei aber diese längere Ersatzform in der Regel als stilistisch weniger angemessen gilt. In diesem Zusammenhang muss auch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass das Präfix *za-*, das wirtschaftlich das Phasenverb *začeti* ersetzt, nicht jedem Verb hinzugefügt werden kann (vgl. Miklič 1980: 117), z. B.:

delati > *začeti delati* (dt.: *anfangen zu arbeiten*), *snežiti* > *začeti snežiti* (dt.: *anfangen zu schneien*).³

Abschließend noch einiges über den Begriff Aktionsart in der Germanistik. Wie bereits erwähnt, verfügt das Deutsche über ein reiches System von Aktionsarten.

„Unter der **Aktionsart** kann man, im traditionellen und von Steinitz (1981) bekräftigten Sinn, Ableitungen von (einfachen) Verben sehen. Üblicherweise werden diese Ableitungen morphologisch markiert; dies ist aber nicht unbedingt nötig. Das Besondere an der Aktionsart ist vielmehr, daß sie auf der Wortebene definiert werden kann“ (Krifka 1989: 253).

Nach Erben (1968: 72–73, zitiert in Schwall 1991: 90) meint die Aktionsart „die Verlaufsweise des verbalen Vorgangs, die Art, wie die Verbalhandlung vor

³ Mehr zu den Aktionsarten im Slowenischen vgl. auch Toporišič (2004: 351–353).

sich geht.“ „In der Germanistik werden die Aktionsarten als eine rein semantisch-lexikalische Kategorie aufgefaßt“ (Schwall 1991: 90), was aber nicht die Voraussetzung ist; denn die Systemansätze, „die auf die Aktionsarten hinweisen, sind nach ERBEN (1968/1983: 73) in der Wortbildung und im syntaktischen Bereich zu suchen“ (ebd.).

Es werden folgende Möglichkeiten für den Bereich der aktionalen Differenzierungen angenommen (vgl. Schwall 1991: 90-91 und DUDEN 2005: 415):

- 1) Verlaufsweise des Vorgangs:
 - perfektive Verben, wobei zwischen ingressiven/inchoativen (wie *erblühen, aufbrechen, erklingen*), resultativen/egressiven (z. B.: *verblühen, aufessen, verklingen*) und punktuellen/momentanen Verben (wie *erblicken, finden, treffen*) unterschieden wird;
 - imperfektive/durative Verben: wie *blühen, schlafen, bleiben*.
- 2) Wiederholung und Frequenz: iterative Verben wie *flattern, krabbeln, streicheln*.
- 3) Grad und Intensität: intensiv, z.B. *schnitzen, schluchzen, liebeln, lächeln*.

2.3 Zur Bildung slowenischer (im)perfektiver Verben

Wie bereits erwähnt, handelt es sich bei dem Aspekt im Slowenischen um eine bedeutende, aber auch äußerst komplexe grammatische Kategorie. So stellt Miklič (2001: 311) in Anlehnung an Galton (1976: 286) fest, dass es praktisch unmöglich ist, dass ein Nicht-Muttersprachler den korrekten Gebrauch sämtlicher verbaler Aspektpaare des Slowenischen erlernen könnte. Denn die slowenischen perfektiven und imperfektiven Verben werden in verschiedenen syntaktischen Mustern gebraucht, so dass nach Miklič (ebd.) ein Muttersprachler mit seinem erworbenen Gefühl bei der Prüfung, ob ein Verb zur Gruppe der perfektiven oder imperfektiven Verben zählt, auf Hilfsmittel wie die folgenden zurückgreifen kann:

počakaj, da + dovršnik: pospravim/pojem (dt.: *warte, dass ich + finites perfektives Verb: aufräume, aufesse*)

začel / nehal je + nedovršnik: pospravljati/jesti (dt.: *Er fing an / hörte auf + infinites imperfektives Verb: aufzuräumen, zu essen – im Deutschen zu + Infinitiv!*)

Im Gegensatz dazu kann sich aber ein Nicht-Muttersprachler nicht auf seine Intuition verlassen, weshalb er sich mit morphologischen Charakteristiken beider Gruppen zu helfen versucht, was aber auch bisweilen mühevoll sein kann, wie Miklič (ebd.) hinweist. Mehr zur Problematik der Einordnung

slowenischer Verben ihrem perfektiven oder imperfektiven Aspekt nach siehe bei Miklič (2001: 311 ff.).

Im Weiteren sollen in äußerst elementaren Umrissen die Gesetzmäßigkeiten dargelegt werden, nach denen im Slowenischen perfektive und imperfektive Verben gebildet werden (zu weiteren und detaillierten Informationen zur Bildung perfektiver und imperfektiver Verben im Slowenischen vgl. auch Toporišič 2004: 348–350):

Im Slowenischen lassen sich aus perfektiven Verben imperfektive bilden,⁴ u. z.

- durch einen Wechsel des Suffixes (a) und oft auch des Stammvokals (b);
- häufig in Verbindung mit einem Vokal- (c) oder Konsonanteneinschub (d);
- durch das Auslassen von Präfixen (e);
- durch eine Veränderung der Form des imperfektiven Verbs (f) oder
- durch die Bildung imperfektiver Verben aus perfektiven unter Beibehaltung des Präfixes – sekundäre Imperfektivierung (g):

pf. →	ipf. (1. P. Sg. Präs.)	Infinitiv (pf. → ipf.)
dobim	dobivam	(dobiti – dobivati) = bekommen (a)
plačam	plačujem	(plačati – plačevati) = (be)zahlen (a)
izberem	izbiram	(izbrati – izbirati) = auswählen – wählen (b)
potopim	potapljam	(potopiti – potapljati) = senken (b)
začnem	začenjam	(začeti – začenjati) = anfangen (c)
umrem	umiram	(umreti – umirati) = sterben (c)
upognem	upogibam	(upogniti – upogibati) = biegen (d)
potonem	potapljam se	(potoniti – potapljati se) = sinken (d)
(e)		
vzcveteti	cveteti	(vzcveteti – cveteti) = aufblühen – blühen (f)
vržem	mečem	(vreči – metati) = werfen (f)

⁴ Es handelt sich dabei um die Bildung echter Aspektpaare.

rečem	govorim / pravim	(reči – govoriti/praviti) = sagen – sprechen (g)
pospravim	pospravljam	(pospraviti – pospravljati) = aufräumen (g)
odnesem	odnašam	(odnesti – odnašati) = wegtragen (g)

Bildung perfektiver Verben aus imperfektiven mit Hilfe von Präfixen (wobei es bei den Perfektiva um die Arten der Verbalhandlung geht):

ipf. →	pf. (1. P. Sg. Präs.)	Infinitiv (ipf. → pf.)
pišem	opišem	(pisati – opisati) = schreiben – beschreiben
spim	zaspim	(spati – zaspati) = schlafen – einschlafen

2.4 Zum Gebrauch der perfektiven und imperfektiven Verben im Slowenischen

In Bezug auf den Gebrauch ist auch die Konkurrenz zwischen perfektiven und imperfektiven Verben erwähnenswert (siehe Žele 2011: 32 f.):

- In einigen Fällen können im Slowenischen ohne Bedeutungsunterschiede sowohl perfektive als auch imperfektive Verben verwendet werden: *V mesto vsak dan pridejo/prihajajo turisti.* (dt.: *Jeden Tag kommen in die Stadt Touristen.*)
- In einigen anderen Fällen ist neben dem gebräuchlicheren perfektiven Verb auch das imperfektive möglich, wenn aus dem Kontext hervorgeht, dass die Handlung als eine einmalige und ganzheitliche zu verstehen ist: *Kdo je danes kupil/kupoval kruh? – Kdo je sezidal/zidal to zgradbo? – Ste prebrali/brali Vojno in mir? (dt.: Wer hat heute das Brot eingekauft/gekauft? – Wer hat das Gebäude erbaut/gebaut? Haben Sie Krieg und Frieden durchgelesen/gelesen?)*
- Die slowenische Sprache kennt aber auch Fälle, in denen perfektive Verben nicht durch imperfektive ersetzt werden können. In diesen Fällen überwiegt bei den imperfektiven Verben die Bedeutung des Prozesses oder des Iterativen, weshalb sie nicht für die Beschreibung einer einmaligen und ganzheitlichen Handlung geeignet sind, z. B.: *Moj stric se je *vzpenjal (korrekt: povzpel) na Everest. – Si kdaj *razbijal (korrekt: razbil) dragoceno vazo? – Si kdaj *izgubljal (korrekt: izgubil) dežnik?* (dt.: *Mein Onkel bestieg den/stieg auf den Everest. – Hast du je eine kostbare Vase zerbrochen? – Hast du schon einmal deinen Regenschirm verloren?*) (vgl. Žele 2011: 32 und Derganc 2003, die in ihrem Beitrag den Unterschied

zwischen dem Gebrauch perfektiver und imperfektiver Verben im Slowenischen und Russischen herausstreicht).

- d) In einigen Fällen sind beide Formen möglich, wobei von perfektiven Verben eine „Erwartungshaltung“ ausgeht (siehe Derganc 2003): *Si že bral ta članek? – Si že prebral ta članek?* (dt.: *Hast du den Artikel schon gelesen/durchgelesen?*) Das zweite Beispiel kann auch derart verstanden werden, als ob die Gesprächspartner die Lektüre des Artikels bereits gedanklich thematisiert oder angesprochen hätten oder als ob es den Sprecher interessierte, wann der Artikel zu Ende gelesen sein wird. Ungeachtet dessen ist in derartigen Fällen der Gebrauch perfektiver oder imperfektiver Verben aber häufig auch rein zufällig (siehe Žele 2011).

An dieser Stelle soll noch erwähnt werden, dass der Gebrauch der perfektiven Präsensform für sich wiederholende Handlungen auch mit der Tatsache verbunden ist, dass das Slowenische für bestimmte perfektive Verben keine sekundären imperfektiven Verben kennt (z. B. *pojesti* - **pojedati*) oder aber hat das imperfektive Verb eine andere Bedeutung (*popiti* ≠ *popivati* = dt. *saufen*) (siehe auch Derganc 2003: 69), z. B.:

Zjutraj popijem (pf) *skodelico kave in pojem* (pf) *dve žemlji. – Vselej se naje* (pf) *do sitega.* (dt.: *Morgens trinke ich eine Tasse Kaffee aus und esse zwei Brötchen auf. – Er isst sich ständig satt.*)

Dagegen:

Domov je prišel/prihajal šele zvečer. (dt.: *Er kam erst am Abend nach Hause.*)

Im Gegensatz zum Slowenischen lassen sich die Perfektivität und Imperfektivität im Deutschen, die – wie bereits erwähnt – eine Nicht-Aspekt-Sprache ist, lediglich durch a) lexikalische, b) syntaktische und c) Wortbildungsmittel realisieren (mehr hierzu vgl. Helbig/Buscha 2001: 63–65), z. B.:

- a) *Er singt ununterbrochen / immer / unaufhörlich.* (ipf.)
Es klingelte plötzlich / auf einmal. (pf.)
- b) *Der Baum blüht. – Der Baum steht in Blüte.* (ipf.)
Sie ist zornig. – Sie gerät in Zorn. (pf.)
- c) *blühen* (durativ) – *erblühen / aufblühen / verblühen* (pf.)

2.5 Einige Schwierigkeiten beim Gebrauch des Aspekts im Slowenischen

Obwohl der Aspekt im Slowenischen eine komplexe morphologische Kategorie darstellt, bereitet sie slowenischen Muttersprachlern in der Regel keine (größeren) Schwierigkeiten. In einigen Dialekten und Umgangssprachen im Nordosten Sloweniens, u. z. in den Regionen Štajerska und Koroška, lassen sich unter den Muttersprachlern indes einige Unregelmäßigkeiten beim Gebrauch der perfektiven Verben feststellen:⁵ Zum Ausdruck der aktuellen Gegenwart (slow.: *prava sedanjost*) werden dort oft perfektive statt imperfektiver Verben verwendet, wobei, wie bereits betont, die meisten perfektiven Verben nicht für die aktuelle Gegenwart verwendet werden können, z. B.:

*Oče *pride, ga že vidim. (priti = pf.; dt.: Der Vater kommt, ich sehe ihn schon.)*

Korrekt: *Oče prihaja, ga že vidim. (prihajati = ipf.)*

*Ravno nam *pripravi zajtrk. (pripraviti = pf.; dt.: Sie/Er macht uns gerade Frühstück.)*

Korrekt: *Ravno nam pripravlja zajtrk. (pripravljati = ipf.)*

Obwohl hierzu keine Untersuchungen durchgeführt worden sind, lässt sich dennoch vermuten, dass sich die Irregularitäten beim Gebrauch perfektiver Verben auf folgende Tatsache zurückführen lassen: Der Nordosten Sloweniens war und ist noch immer dem Einfluss des Deutschen ausgesetzt und da z. B. die Verben *kommen, bringen* u. a. m. im Deutschen entweder imperfektiv oder perfektiv gebraucht werden können. Während im Slowenischen bereits auf Grundlage des Verbs festgestellt werden kann, ob es um eine perfektive oder imperfektive Handlung geht, ist dies im Deutschen bei zahlreichen Verben nur aus dem Kontext möglich, z. B.:

Arthur Schopenhauer war wettbewerbsunfähig. Zu seinen Vorlesungen an der Berliner Universität kam nur eine Handvoll Studenten, sein Hauptwerk verkaufte sich nicht und seine Ideen über Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung zündeten erst nach seinem Tod...⁶

Übersetzung:

*Arthur Schopenhauer je bil nekonkurenčen. Na njegova predavanja *je prišla le peščica študentov. (priti / kommen = pf.)*

⁵ Diese Unregelmäßigkeiten lassen sich oft auch bei den Studierenden am Institut für Übersetzen in Ljubljana bemerken, u. z. allem voran bei denjenigen, die aus dem Nordosten Sloweniens kommen.

⁶ Quelle: Die Zeit (25. 6. 2009): Hegel, hilf!

Kommentar: Im deutschen Satz geht die Imperfektivität aus dem Kontext hervor, da im Deutschen das Verb *kommen* sowohl die Perfektivität als auch Imperfektivität ausdrücken kann. Aus diesem Grund hätte in der slowenischen Übersetzung die Vergangenheitsform des imperfektiven Verbs *prihajati* (und nicht des perfektiven Verbs *priti*) verwendet werden müssen. Die Studierenden verwendeten (im Rahmen einer Umfrage, durchgeführt im Mai 2013) aber überaus häufig das nicht korrekte perfektive Verb (49%). Dieses Ergebnis impliziert eindeutig, dass die Studierenden unter dem Einfluss des deutschen Ausgangstextes beim Übersetzen häufig unreflektiert die falsche slowenische Lösung auswählen bzw. sich nicht bewusst sind, dass im Deutschen und Slowenischen die Perfektivität und Imperfektivität unterschiedlich ausgedrückt werden.

Ähnliche Beispiele, in denen die Studenten beim Übersetzen aus dem Slowenischen in das Deutsche nicht den Kontext berücksichtigen und deshalb häufig im Slowenischen nicht die richtige Verbform verwenden – entweder die perfektive oder imperfektive – sind nicht selten. Diese Schwierigkeiten treten allgemein und nicht nur bei Studenten aus dem Nordosten Sloweniens auf.

2.6 Zur Aspekt-Tempus-Beziehung im Slowenischen

Ein interessanter Unterschied zwischen dem Deutschen und dem Slowenischen zeigt sich indes bei dem Gebrauch der Tempora in Nebensätzen, wenn es sich um die **Gleichzeitigkeit in der Vergangenheit** handelt. Im deutschen Nebensatz wird bei den Verben des Denkens und der Sinneswahrnehmung oft das Präteritum verwendet, das im Vergleich zum Präsens (das sonst grammatisch auch korrekt ist) gehobener und somit stilistisch angemessener wirkt:

*Es war ein gewöhnlicher Tag; er zeigte mir die Zähne; auch ich war von Zähnen gehalten und konnte mich ihnen nicht entwinden; ich **wußte nicht**, wodurch sie mich **hielten**, denn sie waren nicht zusammengebissen... (Kafka 19??).*

*... auch weil ich **fühlte**, wie sehr ihn die Aussicht **beflügelte**, das bereits aufgegebene Ziel doch noch zu erreichen, aber ich bin sicher ... (Ransmayr 2006: 342).*

Im Gegensatz zum Deutschen wird im slowenischen Nebensatz, wie aus der nachfolgenden Übersetzung ersichtlich ist, nicht das Vergangenheitstempus, sondern das Präsens verwendet:

Übersetzung:

*Bil je običajen dan; pokazal mi je zobe; ti so me tudi držali in nisem se jim mogel izviti; **nisem vedel**, s čim me **držijo**, ker se niso sklenili v ugriz...* (Kafka 2011: 98).

*... tudi ker **sem čutil**, kako **ga omamlja** možnost, da bi morda vendarle še dosegel že opuščeni cilj, in vendar sem si povsem in docela gotov ...* (Ransmayr 2010: 362).

Im nachstehenden Beispiel wurde beim Übersetzen die Tempus-Regel im Slowenischen indes nicht berücksichtigt, was eine falsche Übersetzung zur Folge hatte:

*... es war die schönste Jahreszeit in Berlin und er hatte nie verstanden, warum die Leute ausgerechnet im Sommer in den Urlaub **fuhren** ...* (Regener 2001: 93).

Übersetzung:

*... to je bil najlepši letni čas v Berlinu in nikdar ni razumel, zakaj ***so se** ljudje ravno poleti **odpeljali** na dopust ...* (Regener 2005: 88).

Während das Original etwas Imperfektives – d. h. die Gewohnheit der Berliner, ausgerechnet im Sommer in den Urlaub zu fahren – ausdrückt, u. z. im Präteritum (*fuhren*), wird durch die falsch verwendete Tempusform (die des Vergangenheitstempus *so se odpeljali*) im Slowenischen die Einmaligkeit in der Vergangenheit betont. Um die Bedeutung des Ausgangstextes adäquat in das Slowenische zu übertragen, müsste im Zieltext statt des Vergangenheitstempus das Präsens (z. B.: *gredol/odhajajo/se odpravijo/se odpeljejo*) verwendet werden, z. B.:

*... to je bil najlepši letni čas v Berlinu in nikdar ni razumel, zakaj **se** ljudje ravno poleti **odpravijo** na dopust ...*

Zur Veranschaulichung noch ein weiteres Beispiel, wo bei der Übersetzung die Tempus-Regeln im slowenischen Nebensatz missachtet wurden. Außerdem lässt sich anhand dieses Beispiels auch zeigen, wie verschieden die Perfektivität im Deutschen und Slowenischen ausgedrückt wird:

Eine Geschichte ist dann zu Ende gedacht, wenn sie ihre schlimmstmögliche Wendung genommen hat (Dürrenmatt 1985: 91).⁷

Die nachstehende Übersetzung ist nicht korrekt, da im Nebensatz statt des Präsens das Vergangenheitstempus verwendet wurde. Während sich im deutschen Original die Perfektivität durch das Perfekt äußert, wird diese in der slowenischen Übersetzung durch das perfektive Verb *doživeti* ausgedrückt. Auch in diesem Bei-

⁷ 21 Punkte zu den Physikern. In: Dürrenmatt, Friedrich. Die Physiker.

spiel folgte der Übersetzer unreflektiert der deutschen Struktur mit der Folge eines im Slowenischen unzutreffenden Satzes:

*Neka zgodba je dovršena tedaj, če *je doživela najhjuši možni preobrat* (Dürrenmatt 1994: 89).

Da es beim obigen Satz gleichzeitig um eine Art Regel und somit um eine sich **wiederholende** Handlung geht – *immer wenn ..., dann ...* – (und nicht um die aktuelle Gegenwart), wird zum Ausdruck der Gleichzeitigkeit in slowenischen Nebensätzen das Präsens des perfektiven Verbs *doživeti* verwendet. Die adäquate Übersetzung mit dem Präsens im Nebensatz müsste demnach wie folgt lauten:

Zgodba je do konca domišljena takrat, ko doživl najhjuši možni preobrat.

3 ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wurde der Versuch unternommen, auf den grundlegenden Unterschied zwischen dem Slowenischen als einer Aspektsprache und dem Deutschen als einer Nicht-Aspektsprache aufmerksam zu machen sowie auch auf die Unterschiede beim Ausdruck der (Im)Perfektivität in der jeweiligen Sprache hinzuweisen. Außerdem versuchte ich an einigen Beispielen darzustellen, wie schnell eine Missachtung der entsprechenden Regeln der einen oder der anderen Sprache zu unkorrekten Lösungen führen kann, was sich insbesondere beim Übersetzen widerspiegelt.

Aus diesem Grund ist der kontrastive Vergleich zwischen den beiden Sprachen notwendig und meinem Erachten nach auch bei der pädagogischen Arbeit einzubeziehen. Ein kontrastiver Ansatz ist beim Erlernen einer Fremdsprache unumgänglich, zumal die Studierenden viel schneller und leichter den Gebrauch fremdsprachlicher Strukturen verstehen und sich infolgedessen auch aneignen, wenn sie die Funktionsprinzipien der eigenen Muttersprache verstehen und mit den wesentlichen Unterschieden zwischen den beiden Sprachen vertraut sind. Gleichzeitig sind sie auch für Fehler in der eigenen Muttersprache sensibilisiert und können diese leichter beheben.

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La préfixation préverbale en slovène et l'expression de l'aspect verbal

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Povzetek

Članek poskuša izdelati nastavke za sistematično diskurzivno in kontrastivno analizo predponskega izražanja glagolskega vida v slovenščini, ki ga bo mogoče vključiti tudi v raziskave drugih slovanskih jezikov. Predponsko sestavljanje je obravnavano znotraj leksematskega besedotvornega pristopa, v katerega skuša pritegniti model opisa glagolskih vidskih predpon D. Paillarda. Glagolske vidske predpone je potrebno obravnavati na enak način kot ostale postopke sestavljanja, saj sodijo na področje besedotvorja, ki je del leksikologije. Pomenska sprememba, ki jo povzroči predponsko sestavljanje, je najprej leksikalna, sprememba vida je nenujna slovnična posledica le-te. Kontrastivne analize in prevajalske tehnike se morajo problema analize in iskanja potencialnih ustreznic lotiti v prvi vrsti na leksikalni ravni.

Ključne besede : glagolski vid, predpone, sestavljanje, semantika, kontrastivna analiza

1 INTRODUCTION

Le présent article se penche sur les valeurs aspectuelles et sémantiques des préfixes préverbaux slovènes et sur des difficultés que ce dispositif, à la fois sémantico-dérivationnel et grammatical, est susceptible de soulever dans une perspective contrastive slovène / français. L'aspect verbal en slovène et son opposition, hautement grammaticalisée, imperfectif / perfectif sont des piliers du système verbal slovène et de toutes les langues slaves. Malheureusement, force nous est de constater que les études s'intéressant à la question du rapport entre la préfixation et l'aspect verbal restent relativement rares et qu'à quelques exceptions près elles ne mettent pas assez en valeur les particularités des procédés de préfixation au sein du système aspectuel (cf. Belić 1932, Magner 1963, Veyrenc 1980, Paillard 1998, 2002 ; Włodarczyk et Włodarczyk 2001).

De rares études contrastives qui se sont intéressées à l'expression de l'aspect verbal pour la paire des langues slovène et française (Schlamberger Brezar 2014), de même que des études qui ont porté sur le français en comparaison avec les autres langues slaves (citons par exemple Šabršula 1988, Srpová 1999, Lukajić 2013) ont abordé le problème en privilégiant nettement la dimension grammaticale. Selon ces études, les oppositions aspectuelles slaves se traduisent en français avec deux moyens complètement ou au moins partiellement grammaticalisés :

- avec l'opposition temps composé / temps simple, et notamment à l'intérieur du système des temps du passé, avec l'opposition passé simple (passé composé) / imparfait ;
- au moyen de périphrases aspectuelles (être sur le point de, être en train de) ou de verbes qu'on pourrait nommer « semi-auxiliaires d'aspectualisation » (*commencer, se mettre à, entreprendre, cesser de...*).

La dimension lexicale a été négligée et nous nous proposons d'attirer l'attention sur la nature essentiellement dérivationnelle et partant lexicale des procédés où entrent les préfixes dits « perfectifs ».

Dans la première partie de notre article, nous passerons en revue différentes notions d'aspect verbal. Nous nous consacrerons ensuite, en nous basant sur le modèle proposé par D. Paillard (1998, 2002), à développer une approche lexicaliste des préfixes préverbaux qui permettra d'intégrer les résultats de notre étude dans une perspective slave plus large et de poser des bases d'une approche contrastive morphologique, mais également discursive plus systématique de la question de l'aspect verbal.

2 IL Y A ASPECT ET ASPECT..

Les études systématiques de l'aspect verbal ont vu le jour au début du 20^e siècle lorsqu' Alfred Agrell entreprend des analyses du système verbal polonais. La notion d'*aspect* était d'abord appliquée aux langues slaves et au grec ancien mais ne tardait pas à déborder dans les études d'autres langues, dans un premier temps dans celles de l'allemand, ensuite dans celles des langues romanes, de l'anglais etc., au point de revêtir le statut d'une caractéristique linguistique universelle (Orešnik 1994). Mais cette universalité est trompeuse puisqu'elle dépend étroitement des systèmes verbaux de chaque langue respective ou de chaque groupe de langues.

En étudiant le système verbal français, G. Guillaume a introduit, en 1933, une distinction fondamentale entre *temps impliqué* et *temps expliqué* (Guillaume 1964 : 47-48). Le temps impliqué, rebaptisé parfois en *temps interne*, correspond à l'aspect que Guillaume considère comme une propriété inhérente et une partie intégrante du verbe, tandis que le temps expliqué, dit aussi temps externe, vise le temps divisible en plusieurs époques (passé, présent, futur) qui dépend du discours. Les notions proposées par Guillaume jouaient un rôle décisif dans la description du système des temps verbaux en français, et notamment dans l'analyse de l'opposition formes simples / formes composées en termes d'opposition entre aspect tensif et aspect extensif. À cette opposition, à la suite de Guillaume, venaient s'ajouter d'autres types d'oppositions aspectuelles dont il est difficile de dresser un inventaire exhaustif : accompli / inaccompli, perfectif / imperfectif, sécant / non-sécant, inchoatif / terminatif, semelfactif / itératif, statique / dynamique etc. (voir Riegel, Pellat et Rioul 1994 : 291-297 ; Wilmet 1998 : 312-325).

Dans les langues slaves, l'aspect, appelé *vid* en slovène (de *vyd* en tchèque), est une catégorie classificatoire et une contrainte grammaticale auxquelles n'échappent que de rares verbes¹. Le système verbal est basée sur l'opposition entre deux formes morphologiquement encodées : imperfective et perfective. Tout verbe est soit imperfectif, soit perfectif. L'opposition imperfectif / perfectif fonde une catégorie d'un haut niveau d'abstraction qui s'organise autour du trait de *globalité de l'action* ou, plus souvent, du trait de *limite* (voir Włodarczyk 1983). Selon Toporišič (1991 : 285), les perfectifs dénotent les procès délimités dans le temps, tandis que les imperfectifs dénotent les procès qui ne connaissent pas de limites dans le temps. La tradition slavisante dominante veut que l'opposition aspectuelle soit de nature grammaticale, qui se distingue de la nature lexicale (voir Bache 1982, Confais 2002 : 201-205) des *modes* (ou *modalités*) d'action (all. *Aktionsarten*), dont la pertinence et l'importance pour les langues slaves restent encore à être élucidées (voir plus loin). L'opposition grammaticale verbes

¹ Les verbes à double aspect sont rares : il s'agit essentiellement d'emprunts récents (Schlamberger Brezar, Perko et Pognan 2015 : 174).

imperfectifs / perfectifs dans les langues slaves se reflète dans des mécanismes morphologiques mettant en parallèle la préfixation et la suffixation verbales². La préfixation génère des verbes perfectifs à partir de bases imperfectives, tandis que la suffixation forme des imperfectifs à partir de perfectifs (Schlamberger Brezar, Perko et Pognan 2015 : 174-176) :

- *brati / berem > prebrati / preberem* (lire / je lis – préfixe *pre-* + *brati* : imp. > perf.)
- *omedleti / omedlim > omedlevati / omedlevam* (s'évanouir / je m'évanouis – suffixe *-va* + *omedleti* : perf. > imp.)

Comme toutes les langues slaves, le slovène connaît les verbes imperfectifs secondaires, issus d'une suffixation de perfectifs préfixés : *prepisovati* imp. secondaire (*recopier*) = *prepisati* perf. ((*re*)copier) + (*o*)v < *prepisati* perf. ((*re*)copier) = *pre + pisati* imp. (*écrire*). Dans notre article nous ne nous intéresserons pas de manière systématique aux imperfectifs secondaires qui mériteraient une étude à part.

Le parallélisme des deux procédés, préfixation d'imperfectifs pour en tirer des perfectifs et suffixation des perfectifs pour en dériver des imperfectifs, est pourtant trompeur. La suffixation est un procédé morphologique parfaitement grammaticalisé³, ce qui veut dire que la suffixation n'opère que le changement de la valeur aspectuelle du perfectif à l'imperfectif, sans que ce procédé s'accompagne de changements sémantiques lexicaux. Le suffixe peut être analysé comme un morphème grammatical, sémantiquement « vide », et dont la seule fonction est de générer les oppositions aspectuelles perfectif / imperfectif : *pasti / padem* perf. > *padati / padam* imp. (*tomber*), *plačati / plačam* perf. > *plačevati / plačujem* imp.

Pour ce qui est de la préfixation, une importante controverse portant sur la nature de la modification amenée par la préfixation agite et divise les slavisants. Faut-il voir dans les préfixes de simples morphèmes grammaticaux générant des verbes perfectifs à partir de bases imperfectives, comme ce pourrait être le cas des paires de verbes *robit* imp. / *vyrobit* perf. (*faire*) en tchèque, *robić* imp. / *zarobić* perf. (*faire*) en polonais ou bien *pisati* imp. / *napisati* perf. (*écrire*) en slovène ? Ou bien, ce procédé est-il de nature lexicale et produit des unités lexicales s'écartant

² La linguistique slovène, de même que les traditions linguistiques des autres langues slaves, distingue entre *composition préfixale* et *dérivation suffixale*. Pour ne pas ajouter à la confusion, l'article étant écrit en français et se basant sur les modèles théoriques français, on a adopté la terminologie morphologique française. Au terme de *préverbe*, souvent employé dans les études portant sur l'aspect « slave », nous avons préféré le terme de *préfixe* qui rend mieux compte de la nature et du fonctionnement de ce formant faisant pleinement partie de la composante morphologique de la langue. Nous avons laissé de côté le suffixe *-n-* (*dvigati* imp. > *dvigniti* perf. (lever)), issu de l'ancien infix slave *-no-*.

³ La grammaticalisation est un phénomène linguistique qui marque le passage, pour une unité linguistique, du lexical au grammatical. Voici la définition qu'en proposent P. Hopper et E. Traugott et qui est bien adaptée au traitement de l'aspect « slave », puisqu'elle ne conçoit pas la grammaticalisation comme un phénomène discret ne connaissant que deux valeurs opposées, mais comme un phénomène continu où différentes valeurs s'échelonnent entre deux extrêmes. La grammaticalisation est « that subset of linguistic changes through which a lexical item in certain uses becomes a grammatical item, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical. » (Hopper et Traugott 1993 : 2)

de façon décisive du sens des verbes de base ? C'est le cas du verbe *poljubiti* perf. (*donner un baiser, embrasser*) issu du verbe *ljubiti* imp. (*aimer*). Ou bien du verbe *zateči* perf. issu de *teči* imp. (*courir*), qui connaît, outre d'importants changements sémantiques, des modifications au niveau de la rection : *zateči* signifie *enfler, boursoufler ; attraper, surprendre qn.* ; sa forme pronominale *zateči se* signifie *trouver refuge auprès de qn./qch., trouver de l'aide auprès de qn.* Et si *teči* imp. n'admet que les compléments précisant la durée temporelle (*tekel je eno uro – il a couru /pendant/ une heure*) ou la distance (ou bien un but) dans l'espace (*tekel je dva kilometra – il a couru deux kilomètres ; tekel je do avta – il a couru jusqu'à sa voiture*), le verbe préfixé dans certains de ses sens exige un vrai complément (*Zatekla nas je noč. – La nuit nous a surpris. Zatekel se je k bratu. – Il a trouvé refuge / de l'aide auprès de son frère*).

Il est peu probable que les exemples relevant des deux cas de figure extrêmes soient fréquents. Une analyse des verbes préfixés (sur *do-*, *iz-/s-/z*, *na-*, *od-*, *po-*, *pri-*, *v-*, *za-*) recensés dans le *Dictionnaire de la langue slovène standard (SSKJ)* montre qu'il est rare, voire impossible de trouver des exemples de paires verbes simples / verbes préfixés où la différence entre les deux formes ne se résume qu'à une opposition imperfectif / perfectif sans que cette opposition grammaticale s'accompagne d'un changement de l'aspect lexical ou, plus précisément, du sens lexical⁴. On peut constater que le processus de grammaticalisation est loin d'être mené à son terme⁵.

Cette constatation est corroborée par deux autres « preuves » indirectes. Une première preuve indirecte nous est fournie par l'existence de plus d'une dizaine de préfixes qui rentrent en concurrence dans toutes les langues slaves pour générer des perfectifs à partir d'imperfectifs. Le système linguistique tolérerait-il à long terme une telle profusion de formants « synonymes » ? Prenons l'exemple de la famille dérivationnelle⁶ qui s'établit autour du verbe imperfectif *delati* (*travailler*) > *dodelati* (*achever, mettre au point*), *izdelati* (*élaborer, confectionner, produire*), *obdelati* (*façonner, cultiver*), *oddelati* (*finir le travail*), *predelati* (*transformer, remanier*), *pridelati* (*gagner par son travail, produire*), *razdelati* (*élaborer dans les moindres détails*), *vdelati* (*insérer, incorporer*). Malgré l'aspect perfectif que ces verbes partagent, ils ne sont pas interchangeables et de même ne sauraient être traduits par les mêmes équivalents en français. Au lieu de parler de paires

⁴ Le traitement réservé aux préfixes verbaux par J. Toporišič fait bien ressortir leur « double nature » : ils sont décrits dans le chapitre consacré à la formation des mots et dans le chapitre consacré à la morphologie verbale (Toporišič 1991 : 161-169, 286).

⁵ Notre observation implique une prise en compte de la perspective diachronique selon laquelle les valeurs aspectuelles des préfixes sont dérivées de leurs valeurs lexicales premières (Paillard 1998). Rok Žaucer (2005), en s'appuyant sur la sémantique de la structure événementielle de J. Pustejovsky, a démontré que même dans une perspective synchronique il était possible de démontrer que la perfectivité des préfixés est le résultat du sens instructionnel lexical des préfixes.

⁶ Une famille dérivationnelle désigne un ensemble de mots construits sur une même base (par exemple la famille de *dati*), tandis qu'une série dérivationnelle désigne un ensemble de mots construits selon un même procédé, en l'occurrence sur un même préfixe (par exemple, les préfixes *od-* ou *po-*). Pour plus de détails, voir Roché et al. 2011 : 28, 263-266).

de verbes imperfectifs / perfectifs, il faudrait envisager d'étudier les paires verbe imperfectif / famille dérivationnelle perfective ; ce qui permettrait d'intégrer la dimension lexicale dans toute son importance.

Une deuxième preuve indirecte vient de l'emploi de ces mêmes préfixes qui sont susceptibles de s'appliquer également aux verbes simples perfectifs, comme par exemple à *dati* perf. (*donner*). Celui-ci se combine avec la majorité des préfixes « aspectuels », ce qui entraîne des changements sémantiques lexicaux analogues à ceux que subissent les bases imperfectives lorsqu'on ajoute les préfixes, sans que cet ajout entraîne le changement de l'aspect grammatical⁷ : *dodati* (perf. *ajouter*), *izdati* (perf. *publier ; rendre ; trahir*), *obdati* (perf. *entourer*), *oddati* (perf. *remettre*), *podati* (perf. *passer, remettre*), *predati* (perf. *rendre, remettre*), *pridati* (perf. *ajouter*), *razdati* (perf. *dépenser*), *zadati* (perf. *porter / un coup*). On peut en conclure que la modification de l'aspect ne paraît être qu'une conséquence « non nécessaire » du changement opéré par le procédé dérivationnel.

De même, il est exceptionnel de tomber sur des exemples où le sens lexical du préfixé change complètement, sans qu'il soit possible d'identifier soit des mécanismes réguliers de changements sémantiques (métaphores, métonymies), soit des jeux d'analogies ou d'interactions à l'intérieur des familles ou des séries dérivationnelles.

Nous souscrivons donc pleinement à l'hypothèse selon laquelle la majorité des procédés de préfixation subis par les verbes imperfectifs slaves se situent entre les deux pôles et qu'avant d'être décrites comme grammaticales, ces modifications doivent être analysées comme lexicales. En d'autres mots, au moins pour ce qui est des procédés de préfixation verbale, la distinction entre l'aspect grammatical et les modes d'action (de nature sémantique et lexicale) doit être envisagée sur de nouvelles bases.

3 DIMENSION LEXICALE DE LA PRÉFIXATION VERBALE

Dans la littérature sur l'aspect slave qui s'intéresse aux préfixes, les études traitent de différentes valeurs attachées aux préfixes dits « perfectifs » en termes de modes d'action (all. *Aktionsarten*), telles que valeurs inchoative, terminative, résultative, itérative etc. (Włodarczyk et Włodarczyk 2001). Confrontées à la complexité des phénomènes sémantiques, ces analyses sont souvent condamnées à morceler les valeurs majeures en plusieurs sous-classes, ce qui est dû au fait que les études

⁷ Signalons l'existence des verbes imperfectifs secondaires correspondant aux verbes cités : *dodajati* (imp. *ajouter*), *izdajati* (imp. *publier ; rendre ; trahir*), *obdajati* (imp. *entourer*), *oddajati* (imp. *remettre*), *podajati* (imp. *passer, remettre*), *predajati* (imp. *rendre, remettre*), *pridajati* (imp. *ajouter*), *razdajati* (imp. *dépenser*), *zadajati* (imp. *porter / des coups*).

partent essentiellement des verbes préfixés et ne prennent pas en compte le rapport entre le préfixe et la base (Paillard 2002). De plus, ces études ne mentionnent généralement pas les emplois des préfixes dits « perfectifs » qui ne changent pas l'aspect du verbe (voir plus haut).

Prenons en exemple la description de Toporišič qui est à cheval sur les deux approches, grammaticale et lexicale. Comme nous avons déjà dit dans la note 4 ci-dessus, Toporišič décrivait la dimension constructionnelle des préfixes préverbaux séparément des valeurs aspectuelles de ces mêmes préfixes. Sa description fait bien ressortir le caractère lexical des opérations de préfixation verbale. Prenons l'exemple de la description du préfixe *po-*. Toporišič (1991 : 164) distinguait entre sept valeurs sémantiques dont cinq impliquent la perfectivisation :

- diminuer et limiter la durée ou l'intensité du procès : *molčati* (se taire) > *pomolčati* (se taire pour un moment)
- accomplir le procès avec des agents et sur des objets différents : *moriti* (assassiner, tuer) > *pomoriti* (assassiner, tuer plusieurs personnes)
- commencer un procès : *leteti* (voler) > *poleteti* (s'envoler, décoller)
- terminer un procès : *hvaliti* (complimenter) > *pohvaliti* (donner un compliment)
- faire subir le procès : *biti* (battre) > *pobiti* (assommer, abattre)

Deux autres valeurs sémantiques n'impliquent pas le changement aspectuel :

- exercer le procès à des époques ou à des lieux différents : *popivati* (boire de l'alcool pendant longtemps, dans des endroits différents)
- exercer le procès ultérieurement : *pokipevati* (bouillir à petits bouillons après que le feu a été coupé)⁸.

L'interprétation du parcours dérivationnel proposée par Toporišič pour ces deux exemples ne nous paraît pas convaincante. Elle prévoit, dans les deux cas de figure, le passage par des formes potentielles non attestées, ³*pivati* et ³*kipevati*, qui ne sont guère probables, puisqu'il s'agirait de formes « doublement » imperfectives (*piti* imp. > ³*pivati* imp. *kipeti* imp. > ³*kipevati* imp.). Comme nous avons déjà fait remarquer plus haut, les suffixes « imperfectifs » ne jouent qu'un rôle grammatical et cette redondance sur le plan aspectuel ne saurait avoir un effet sémantique pertinent sur le plan lexical. Le parcours dérivationnel est le suivant : *piti* imp. > *popiti* perf. > *popivati* imp., *kipeti* imp. > *pokipeti* perf. > *pokipevati* imp. Ce parcours n'invalide aucunement notre hypothèse selon laquelle le changement de l'aspect est une conséquence du changement du sens lexical. Il montre bien que le préfixe n'est pas « en soi » un préfixe « perfectif », sinon ces formes imperfectives secondaires ne seraient pas acceptables.

⁸ Le préfixe *po-* reste dans cette classe proche de la valeur sémantique de son « homonyme » prépositionnelle. Nous n'aborderons pas la question épineuse du rapport entre les préfixes et leurs homonymes prépositionnels.

Le morcellement interprétatif est inséparable de ce genre d'études, qui passent par des schèmes de nomination que l'on confond trop souvent avec les opérations sémantiques associées aux procédés constructionnels (voir Roché et al. 2011 : 21-23). Les schèmes de nomination relèvent de la sémantique référentielle, tandis que les opérations sémantiques, plus abstraites, relèvent de la morphologie constructionnelle⁹.

Pour proposer un modèle unifié de la description de la préfixation verbale ayant des conséquences au niveau aspectuel, nous nous inspirerons librement du modèle proposé par D. Paillard (1998, 2002) que nous intégrerons dans le modèle lexématique de la morphologie constructionnelle.

Les modèles dits lexématiques (ang. *Word and Paradigm*, *Word/Lexeme-based* ; cf. Aronoff 1994, Fradin 2003, Roché et al. 2011, Perko 2013) ne considèrent plus le morphème comme unité de base d'opérations morphologiques, même si, par commodité, on continue d'employer encore les termes *morphèmes*, *affixes*, *bases* etc. Ces unités sont « dématérialisées » et cessent d'être des signes : elles ne sont plus que des « exposants » de fonctions morphologiques ou d'opérations constructionnelles. L'afixe *-aie* dans *chênaie* ou *pineraie* n'est pas un signe signifiant 'plantation de, forêt de', mais la réalisation de surface issue de l'application d'une opération constructionnelle aux lexèmes *chêne* ou *pin*. L'allomorphie qu'on observe dans les deux exemples cités (*chên(e)+aie*, *pin+eraie*) ne pose pas de problèmes particuliers aux modèles lexématiques : ces questions seront traitées sur le plan des contraintes linguistiques. Les modèles lexématiques s'intéressent donc principalement aux lexèmes, signes tridimensionnels comportant une représentation sémantique, une forme et un syntactique. C'est le lexème qui est l'unité de base de la morphologie et qui sert d'imput à des opérations morphologiques qui peuvent toucher soit la face formelle, soit la face sémantique, soit le syntactique du lexème. Le résultat final, output, dépend également de l'influence de différentes contraintes morphologiques, (morpho)phonologiques ou lexicales.

D. Paillard (1998, 2002) propose de traiter les préfixes verbaux russes à valeur aspectuelle comme des mots relateurs ayant une dimension prédicative à sens instructionnel et mettant en rapport deux termes, X et Y : X étant souvent la base, Y un élément autre que la base et, évidemment, autre que le préfixe. Les bases et les préfixes sont définis comme des scénarios abstraits, ce qui permet une approche prototypique et unifiée de ce domaine.

Paillard distingue deux catégories des préfixes, préfixes catégorisants et préfixes événements, provoquant deux types d'opérations sémantiques différents. Le

⁹ Nous ne mettons nullement en cause la pertinence des schèmes de nomination, puisque c'est sur les schèmes notamment que peut se baser l'approche onomasiologique

préfixe catégorisant confère à la base une propriété qui lui est externe, tandis que le préfixe événement désigne un événement auquel la base est entièrement subordonnée. Appliquons ce modèle, de manière simplifiée, à la description de quelques exemples slovènes.

Les préfixes slovènes *za-* et *pre-* sont de bons exemples de préfixes catégorisants qui recatégorisent la base par un élément qui ne fait pas partie du scénario de base.

za-

zapiti perf. *sina* (fêter, en buvant de l'alcool, la naissance de son fils), *zapiti* perf. *hišo* (dépenser son argent pour l'alcool et perdre sa maison) < *piti* imp.

Le changement important du sens est déclenché par le complément qui ne fait pas partie du scénario de la base qui exige un complément « buvable » (*piti vodo, vino* – boire de l'eau, du vin). Le changement entraîne même le blocage de la combinabilité du verbe *zapiti* avec les compléments désignant des boissons (**zapiti vino* – litt. boire le vin).

pre-

prespati perf. *predavanje* (dormir pendant son cours, manquer son cours parce qu'on ne s'est pas réveillé) < *spati* imp.

La base est recatégorisée par un objet ne désignant que de manière indirecte une entité temporelle.

Les préfixes événements peuvent être illustrés par *od-* et *po-* qui marquent le passage entre deux situations ou le changement de statut d'une situation.

od-

odleteti perf. (s'envoler) < *leteti* imp. (voler) ; *odmisliti* perf. (ne plus y penser, effacer de ses pensées) < *misliti* (penser)

Le préfixe marque une séparation qui implique le passage d'une situation 1 où l'événement désigné par la base est « présente » à une situation 2 où ce n'est plus le cas.

po-

posoliti perf. (ajouter un peu/suffisamment de sel) < *soliti* imp. (saler) ; *popoprati* (ajouter un peu/suffisamment de poivre) < *poprati* imp. (poivrer), *pokuhati* perf. (cuire pendant une courte période) < *kuhati* imp. (cuire) ; *potrpeti* perf. (souffrir pendant une courte période avant d'obtenir, atteindre qch.) < *trpeti* imp. (souffrir)

Le préfixe marque que le procès impliqué par la situation est réalisé avec une intensité faible ou suffisante, mais non pas excessive.

4 EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

L'article est resté au niveau du système et nous ne nous sommes pas intéressé au discours qui joue cependant un rôle primordial dans le fonctionnement de l'aspect verbal (Włodarczyk 1983). Il est indéniable que la nature essentiellement lexicale de la préfixation perfectivisante demande, pour pouvoir être étudiée dans une perspective contrastive et traductologique, la prise en compte du contexte et de la situation d'énonciation. Avant de pouvoir étudier l'aspect dans sa dimension discursive, que ce soit dans une perspective monolingue ou contrastive, il nous semblait primordial de poser des bases d'un modèle théorique cohérent.

Nous avons tenté de démontrer que la préfixation perfectivisante doit être traitée comme toute autre opération dérivationnelle, c'est-à-dire avec des outils de la morphologie constructionnelle. L'opération de changement sémantique est, dans un premier temps, lexicale, le changement de l'aspect n'en est qu'une conséquence grammaticale. L'opposition imperfectif simple / perfectif préfixé ne se laisse pas décrire comme une opposition binaire, ne faisant intervenir qu'une paire de verbes, mais comme une mise en relation entre un imperfectif simple et sa famille dérivationnelle perfective. Les approches contrastives et les techniques de traduction doivent tenir compte d'abord et avant tout de la dimension lexicale. Autrement dit, lorsqu'on traduit les verbes perfectifs préfixés (par exemple *izdelati*) figurant dans des énoncés circonstanciés, il convient en priorité de trouver un équivalent sémantiquement et discursivement adéquat (pour *izdelati* : confectionner, construire, élaborer, établir, fabriquer, réussir...).

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Slovene and English word order from a translation perspective

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Povzetek

V slovenščini pregibanje zmanjšuje možnosti za nastanek pomenske nejasnosti, skladska in semantična vloga stavčnih členov pa sta neodvisni od njihovega vrstnega reda. V nasprotju s tem se v angleščini v veliki meri opiramo na besedni red, da razjasni, na primer, kaj je osebek in kaj predmet. Večina stavkov sledi shemi osebek > povedek > predmet. V angleščini lahko stilno zaznamovan besedni red povzroči nejasnost in bralcu oteži razumevanje. To je še posebno pomembno pri prevajanju med slovenščino in angleščino. V tem poglavju obravnavamo teoretsko podlago, predvsem členitev po aktualnosti, načelo razporeditve informacij, končni poudarek in vlogo stavčnih prislovnih določil v obeh jezikih. Ogledali si bomo tudi nekaj tipičnih problemov, povezanih z besednim redom, ki se pojavljajo pri prevajanju med slovenščino in angleščino.

Ključne besede: členitev po aktualnosti, prevajanje, slovenščina, angleščina, načelo razporeditve informacij, znane in nove informacije, končni poudarek, stava prislovnih določil

1 INTRODUCTION

Word order at the sentence level seems to me a rather neglected area in contrastive studies and yet it is one that can cause difficulties. When translating, novice translators tend to focus primarily on vocabulary or terminology, searching for appropriate translation equivalents, and on lexico-grammatical issues at the sub-sentence level. Similarly, the revision process usually focuses on lexis or on localised features such as verb forms, prepositions and articles. However, in reviewing English translations of Slovene texts, a problem I often encounter is unmotivated changes through which unmarked word order becomes marked or vice versa. Such changes make it more difficult for the reader to process the target text. Thus in this chapter I consider word order in Slovene and English from a translation point of view. I begin by discussing the theoretical background, including functional sentence perspective, the information principle, end focus and the role of sentence adverbials, considering the similarities and differences between the two languages. I then go on to consider aspects of word order that cause problems when translating from Slovene to English. Although the main focus will be on the distribution of information at the sentence level, I also look at the problem of adverbial location and at a couple of issues connected with adjectives. In addition, translation comments are offered in relation to the examples, which are from a wide range of authentic texts, where other useful points can be made.

2 FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE

Word order¹ in Slovene is governed by the principle of functional sentence perspective (FSP, in Slovene *členitev po aktualnosti*) (Toporišič 1984: 532) which relates to the communicative function played by the parts of the sentence. In the case of unmarked or neutral word order, the sentence begins with the theme (*izhodišče*), which is what the sentence is about, and ends with the rheme (*jedro*), which tells us something new about the theme. If there is no emphasis involved, then the theme will consist of one of the following sentence elements: subject, predicate, object or adverbial (Toporišič op. cit. 533). With the exception of interrogative sentences beginning with a question word (e.g. *kdo, kam*), the less important part of the message comes first; this is often connected with what has already been said (*ibid.*).

In relation to FSP, Firbas (1964: 112) states that, roughly speaking, thematic elements “convey facts known from the verbal or situational context”, whereas rhematic elements “convey new, unknown facts”. Thus there develops within a

¹ Strictly speaking, what we are actually referring to here is the order of sentence elements, i.e. subject, verb, objects, predicates and adverbials.

text a cohesive pattern of given and new information. The former is treated by the speaker/writer as retrievable from the preceding discourse or context of situation; the latter is what the speaker/writer chooses to present as worthy of attention or ‘newsworthy’ (see Halliday 1967, Fries 1994). Moreover, in line with what Firbas (1992: 118) calls the “FSP linearity principle”, clause elements are arranged in a linear progression from the most thematic to the most rhematic, with the latter contributing the most towards the development of the discourse. The speaker/writer organises the message according to what he or she wishes to communicate – or rather, the way he or she wishes to communicate it, due to communicative, expressive or stylistic factors. This means that by changing the word order we may (perhaps unwittingly) change the message.

Within the theme-rheme framework, the order of the constituents of sentence elements or phrases is basically a matter of language convention. The order of phrase constituents, the position of clitics and their sequence in a clitic chain in Slovene is described by Toporišič (op. cit. 465-471, 535-540). This aspect of word order, which we shall not discuss in any detail here, is referred to by Firbas (ibid.) as “the grammatical principle”. In Slovene, marked word order deviates from the FSP linearity principle (i.e. where a rhematic element precedes a thematic one) and/or the grammatical principle.

2.1 The information principle

Word order in Slovene is far freer than in English, thanks to the inflectional system which means “there is little scope for ambiguity and the sequential order of words does not change their syntactic or semantic functions” (Herrity 2000, 333). In English, the “information principle” and the “principle of end-weight” (cf. Biber et al. 1999, Ch. 11) lead readers to expect information to be distributed in a particular way; failing to adhere to these principles for no apparent contextual reason undermines both the cohesion and coherence of the text, causing problems for the reader.

As in Slovene, the preferred distribution of information in the clause in English is for a gradual rise in information load as the clause progresses – this is the information principle, which corresponds to the FSP linearity principle mentioned above. The unmarked pattern here is always given-new. This makes the job of the listener/reader easier, contributing as it does to the cohesion of the text, since the given information is “closest to that which it connects back to and the new information is very often taken up in the subsequent discourse” (Biber et al., op. cit. 897). Consider the following sequence from an IMF press briefing:

We welcome the measures announced today that will strongly reinforce the ECB's accommodative stance. The planned expansion of the ECB's balance sheet will help lower borrowing costs across the Euro area, raise inflation expectations and reduce the risk of a protracted period of low inflation. These measures will also strongly increase the prospects of the ECB achieving its price stability mandate.

Each of these sentences begins with information which the speaker feels can be understood from what has been said before and build up to the information the speaker regards as most newsworthy. The speaker assumes that those present know which measures he is referring to; one of these measures is the planned expansion of the European Central Bank's balance sheet; and, of course, 'these measures' is an anaphoric reference to the preceding text. This does not mean that the climax of information has to be at the end of the clause – information can be re-ordered or fragmented to serve the needs of discourse – but this is what the members of the press would be expecting and so it facilitates communication.

The information principle is supported by the general principle of “end focus” (Biber et al., op. cit. 911), which places the nuclear intonation or stress on the last lexical item in the clause – and thus on the new information, for example:

The spokesperson announced that they were satisfied with the results of the new measures.

This is not undermined by double focus, in which an adverbial at the start of the sentence may also be emphasised:

At today's press conference, the minister expressed his confidence that the gathering would be a success.

Further support is provided by the principle of end-weight (Biber et al., op. cit. 898). In any clause, elements are frequently of different size, complexity or weight: by placing long and complex elements towards the end of the clause, we make it easier for the receiver, who does not have to retain complex information in short-term memory. Since 'heavy' elements tend to have a high information load, then the information principle and the principle of end-weight often reinforce each other.

2.2 Placement of adverbials

A further word order issue that arises when translating from Slovene to English is the location of adverbials – the latter term referring to adverbs and adverbial phrases that modify either the verb or the whole sentence. Basically, adverbials

can occur in initial, medial or final position in the sentence. The main difference with regard to the two languages relates to the medial position: in English this requires a particular type of adverbial, but in Slovene there is no such restriction. Thus Slovene medial position adverbs need to relocate to either initial or final position (Davis 1996).

The unmarked word order in English is SVO and, although adverbials are very mobile clause elements, the position between the verb and the object is usually avoided unless the object is complex, as in the following example:

The law of the survival of the fittest led inevitably to the survival and predominance of the men who were effective in war and who loved it because they were effective.

Note, however, that the adverbial could occur before the verb and indeed such a location is much more common.

Adverbials in initial position modify the whole sentence, offering some kind of setting – spatial, temporal or conceptual (e.g. probability, usuality, desirability, presumption):

In Central Europe it is usually Christmas Eve that is the main day of celebration.

Ever since I moved here, I have had problems.

Emotionally, I still can't come to terms with it.

Generally, it is the female that grows the largest.

The most common position for adverbials in English is final position, involving adverbials of manner, direction, time and so on that modify only the predicate:

She threw all his things out of the window.

His coronation was marked by a violent incident of anti-Semitism that *was all too common* in Medieval Europe.

I think she was treated very unfairly.

She always dresses very elegantly.

The medial position in English tends to involve certain types of adverb, such as those expressing frequency or indefinite time, degree and manner in passive sentences (e.g. I'm sure that the evidence will have been very carefully examined

by the police) (Davis 1996: 63). The medial position is thus fairly restricted in English but widely used in Slovene; we shall look at problems involving the translation of medial position adverbials below.

2.3 Basic clause patterns in English

English word order may not exactly be fixed, there is variation, but “the placement of core elements in the clause is *strictly regulated*” (Biber et al., op. cit. 898; my emphasis). Any variations that do occur are unusual or marked choices of word order. With the exception of certain interrogative (e.g. involving *do*) and negative clauses (e.g. following *never*), there is a preferred, unmarked order of clause elements: subject before verb, verb before its complements, and so on. Marked word order is where core clause elements are placed in an unusual position to achieve cohesion, emphasis or some other stylistic effect. It is worth reminding ourselves here of the major clause patterns in English, which are determined largely by how many elements the verb combines with²:

- SV Subject – verb phrase
Answers the question ‘What does/did X do?’ Often has an optional adverb added.
e.g. We **waited** (patiently).
- SVA Subject – verb phrase – obligatory adverbial
Answers ‘When is/was X? Where is/was X?’
e.g. He **was lying** on the floor.
- SVP_s Subject – verb phrase – subject predicate
Characterising pattern answers ‘What is/was X (like)? How did/has X change/changed?’
e.g. She **was** a teacher for ten years; now she’s a translator.
e.g. The restaurant **was closed** by the health inspector.
Identifying pattern answers ‘Which one is/was X?’
e.g. My only reliable source of work **is** a local publisher.
- SVO_d Subject – verb phrase – direct object
e.g. The demonstrators **burned** the American flag.
e.g. He **wrote** a book about climate change.

² This analysis is based on that used in the *Longman Grammar of English* (Biber et al. 1999). Note that in other grammars (such as Quirk et al. 1985) ‘predicate’ may be referred to as ‘complement’.

SVO_p Subject – verb phrase – prepositional object
 This pattern is rather difficult to distinguish from SVA! The prepositional object can be elicited with the question ‘Who? What?’
 e.g. A newly appointed commission **will look into** ways of economic and industrial co-operation.

SVO_iO_d Subject – verb phrase – indirect object – direct object
 e.g. Ivan’s mum **brought** him a cup of coffee.

SVO_dO_p Subject – verb phrase – direct object – prepositional object
 e.g. Some analysts **blame** the situation **on** tough competition in the European market.

SVO_dP_o Subject – verb phrase – direct object – object predicate
 e.g. My mother **found** it cold here.
 e.g. I **didn’t find** it funny.

SVO_dA Subject – verb phrase – direct object – obligatory adverbial
 e.g. She **placed** the baby on a blanket in the living room.
 e.g. **Leave** the essay in my pigeon hole.

Of course, clauses are adapted to fit the requirements of communication. For example, in visual descriptions such as we find in tourist guides, the fronting of locational information reflects the way we use such guides and look at the world around us:

To your left, you will see a large statue of a former mayor.

Thus the real-world strategy, which could be characterised as “stop-look-see” is “iconically mirrored in the syntax” (Enkvist 1991: 9). Similarly, we may switch from the active to the passive voice to retain the same ‘theme’ in subject position, maintain cohesion and thus ease text processing:

The minister got out of the car. He was immediately surrounded by journalists.

The passive is frequently used in English precisely for this reason – it enables us to place the object in subject position and vice versa (compare: Journalists immediately surrounded him). Passive forms and other devices, such as the use of ‘existential there’ (e.g. There are so many reasons why I can’t marry you) and clefting (e.g. It’s the expense that worries me) can be employed to make clauses fit the context, building a coherent text, giving emphasis where required and making the reader’s task easier.

3 TRANSLATING FROM SLOVENE INTO ENGLISH

The principles of word order in Slovene and English are not fundamentally different, and so it is likely that, when translating, in the great majority of cases the word order can remain the same – this is particularly the case when there is an unmarked given-new pattern in Slovene and/or the subject precedes the verb and the predicate. However, Slovene is more flexible than English, with word order more often being adjusted for emphasis or for stylistic reasons, and so there are cases where we may have to make changes. We shall now identify what might indicate that a change in word order may be required during the translation process.

3.1 The verb precedes the subject

The most obvious indication is where a sentence in the Slovene original does not follow an SV(O) pattern. Where the predicate and also, possibly, the verb comes before the subject then it is highly likely that a change of word order will be required, unless the passive is used in English.

In the simplest examples, where the passive is not an option, we may simply have to reverse the position of verb and subject to achieve an SVO pattern:

- (1_S) *Od leta 1963 podeljuje (V) društvo (S) vsako leto Sovretovo nagrado za posebne prevajalske dosežke v preteklem letu ali za življenjsko delo odličnih prevajalcev.*
- (1_E) Since 1963 the association (S) has granted (V) the annual Sovre Award for outstanding translation achievements in the previous year or for the lifetime achievement of first class translators.³

By contrast, here is an example where the passive is possible and the word order remains the same:

- (2_S) *Teran (O), to odlično vino karminaste barve, pozna (V) človek (S) že od davnine.*
- (2_E) Teran (S), this excellent carmine-red wine, has been known (V_{pass}) to man since ancient times.

³ In all the examples, the proposed translation is, of course, not the only possible one.

In the following sentence, about St. Valentine, the passive is used for the third person plural in Slovene and the prepositional phrase follows rather than precedes the verb:

(3_S) *V Angliji ga (O) kot zaščitnika zaljubljenecv in dobrih prijateljev častijo (V) že več kot petsto let.*

(3_E) In England, he (S) has been celebrated (V_{pass}) as the patron saint of lovers and close friends for over 500 years.

Translation note: in examples 1, 2 and 3 the Present Perfect, rather than the Present Simple, is used to translate the Slovene present tense; it denotes a time period beginning at a point in the past and lasting until the present.

And a similar example from a museum text, in which the initial prepositional phrase is relocated:

(4_S) *Iz železa so bili (V) nakit in zaponke (S) le ob začetku železne dobe.*

(4_E) Jewellery and clasps (S) were made (V_{pass}) of iron only at the beginning of the Iron Age.

Translation note: the use of *only* in English (for Slovene *le*) often causes problems because of the involvement of the dummy auxiliary *do* as in: 'Only after he said it did he realise he was wrong'. (We do not say: Only after he said it *he realised he was wrong).

In example 5, the emphasis in the sentence shifts from initial to final position:

(5_S) *Ne samo nanjo, tudi na mamo in očeta so (V) moje slike (S) naredile večji vtis, kot sem pričakoval.*

(5_E) My pictures (S) made (V) a much greater impression than I had expected – not only on her, but also on her mother and father.

The word order in the following example could not be duplicated in English; the train is the subject of the sentence and has to precede information about where it arrives:

(6_S) *V Celje pride (V) vlak (S) ob 3. uri in potniki gredo skupno k sv. Jožefu, kjer bode kratka pobožnost.*

- (6_E) The train (S) arrives (V) in Celje at 3 a.m. and the visitors will go together to St. Joseph's, where there will be a short service.

In example 7 the basic word order of the original is retained, but to achieve this, the initial prepositional phrase becomes the subject of the sentence and the Slovene subject becomes the object in the English translation:

- (7_S) *Pri projektu Pierre Auger sodelujejo (V) tudi slovenski strokovnjaki (S) z Univerze v Novi Gorici.*

- (7_E) The Pierre Auger Project (S) also involves (V) Slovene scientists (O) from the University of Nova Gorica.

One point relating to word order at the micro level: *also* tends to precede the verb in English – for example, ‘means also’ gets 560,000 hits in Google, whereas ‘also means’ gets 18.7 million. However, in many contexts *tudi* is used for emphasis in Slovene in a way that *also* is not in English and so it can be omitted during translation.

The final example in this section, a heading from a book about tea, involves a VOS pattern, which would be highly marked in English:

- (8_S) Kako pijejo (V) čaj (O) Kitajci (S)

- (8_E) How the Chinese (S) drink (V) tea (O)

3.2 The object is in initial position

Where the Slovene sentence begins with the object of the verb, the English sentence is likely to begin in the same way only if the passive is called for. In the first example, from a tourist leaflet, we find the pattern direct object, subject, verb, adverbial. In the translation, a change of word order is required:

- (9_S) *Sedanjo značilno podobo (O) je grad (S) dobil (V) sredi 16. stoletja.*

- (9_E) The castle (S) acquired (V) its current characteristic appearance (O) in the mid-sixteenth century.

Here, because of the inanimate subject, we would not use the passive (*was acquired by the castle). By contrast, in example 10 the passive can be used, so the word order does not change apart from the time adverbial, which moves to initial

position to frame the sentence (see further examples below), and the object becomes the subject:

(10_S) *Sprva renesančno stavbo (O), ki so jo postavili (V) grofje Szechyji, so v 18. stoletju baročno prezidali grofje Szaparyji.*

(10_E) In the eighteenth century, the original Renaissance building (S) built (V_{pass}) by the Counts of Széchy was rebuilt in Baroque style by the Counts of Szapáry.

In the next example, an OVS pattern in the original becomes SVO in the translation. This also contributes to cohesion in English, since the subject of the sentence (the famous eighteenth century beekeeping expert Anton Janša) is given information:

(11_S) *Gojenje čebel (O) je spremenil (V) v gospodarsko proizvajalno panogo: oskrboval je veliko število panjev, dosegal visoke pridelke medu in voska.*

(11_E) He (S) turned (V) bee-keeping (O) into a commercial enterprise: he tended a large number of hives, achieving high yields of honey and wax.

Translation note: the imperfective verbs *oskrbovati* and *dosegati* are translated by the Past Simple; inexperienced translators often draw a false analogy between imperfective verb forms in Slovene and Continuous forms in English. Note also the use of the non-finite verb form 'achieving' in the final clause (instead of, for instance, 'and achieved'); such non-finite forms tend to be under-represented in English translations from Slovene.

The next rather complex example, from an opinion piece, where the given information at the start of the Slovene sentence, which refers to the preceding text (describing online attacks, originating from Slovenia, on former President Türk's possible candidature for UN Secretary-General), is moved to the end of the clause:

(12_S) *Tovrstnih ravnanj (O) v dvomilijonski Sloveniji, ki bi morala ceniti vsak preboj 'naših' v mednarodne institucije, nikoli nisem in nikoli ne bom razumel (V), zato o tem vedno znova tudi pišem.*

(12_E) I (S) have never been able to understand (V) and never shall why our small country with its two million inhabitants, which should be celebrating every success of 'our people' in international institutions, would stoop to such actions (O), and that is why I keep revisiting this topic.

The only way that a similar word order could be retained in English would be through the use of the passive, but this is unlikely here because the writer is expressing a personal opinion. In another example from the same article, what is emphasised at the beginning in Slovene is once again placed at the end in the translation:

(13_S) *Da dr. Türk 'ni dober kandidat' za mesto Generalnega sekretarja OZN (O), je po tem, ko je nekdanji predsednik Republike Slovenije najavil načelno pripravljenost kandidirati, namignil (V) odhajajoči veleposlanik ZDA v Sloveniji, g. Joseph Mussomelli (sic) (S).*

(13_E) After the former president of Slovenia announced his willingness to run, the outgoing US Ambassador to Slovenia, Joseph Mussomeli (S), implied (V) that Türk was 'not a good candidate' for the position of Secretary-General of the UN (O).

The final example in this section, from a newspaper opinion column, about relations between Russia on the one hand and the EU and US on the other, is a good illustration of how what is achieved through declension in Slovene is achieved by word order in English. The Slovene reader knows that the Americans are the object and the Russians the subject from the endings, but the English reader deduces this from the word order, with the subject preceding the object:

(14_S) *Američane (O) bi Rusi (S) lahko bolj ponižali (V) samo, če bi pripravili, da pridejo na Krim.*

(14_E) The Russians (S) could humiliate (V) the Americans (O) even more only by convincing them to come to the Crimea. [for a meeting of the G8]

3.3 Sentences beginning with a verb

Where a reflexive verb is in initial position in Slovene, the English translation will place the subject before the verb, as in this example connected with the history of Italian fashion:

(15_S) *Uveljavljati so se začeli (V) njeni ustvarjalci in ustvarjalke (S), ki so kot blagovne znamke še danes ultimativni pojem za modo Made in Italy.*

(15_E) Its designers (S) started to make (V) a name for themselves and they have to this day remained the ultimate trademarks for the fashion labelled as *Made in Italy*.

Translation note: in many contexts *uveljaviti se* can also be translated by ‘become established’ or ‘make one’s mark’.

In minutes of meetings there is frequent use of sentences such as the one below that begin with a passive form in Slovene, but where the passive verb in English occurs in final position:

(16_S) *Sprejeti so bili* (V_{pass}) spodaj predlagani sklepi (O).

(16_E) The following resolutions (S) were passed (V_{pass}).

And in media reports about meetings, sentences with an initial verb are common – in this case in a headline – while the translation is likely to involve a passive form:

(17_S) *Razpravljali so o možnostih sodelovanja avtomobilske in letalske industrije*

(17_E) Possible cooperation between the automotive and airline industries was discussed

Another common pattern in Slovene involving an initial verb can be seen in example 18, where the translation involves the empty subject *it*:

(18_S) *Omeniti je potrebno, da je brez tega aparata včasih težko ugotovljati, ali gre za pravo ali le za navidezno ploskost.*

(18_E) It should be mentioned that without this device it is sometimes hard to ascertain whether it is real or only apparent flat-footedness.

In many kinds of formal functional texts an active form in Slovene is likely to be translated by a passive form in English. In example 19, from a museum text, the first person plural verb is translated using the passive so that the object from the Slovene sentence becomes the subject of the English one and the initial prepositional phrase is placed after the noun:

(19_S) *Iz Emone poznamo (V) večje število bronastih, t.i. čebulastih sponk (O), ki so včasih tudi pozlačene.*

(19_E) A large number of bronze, sometimes gilded, crossbow fibulae (S) from Emona have been found (V_{pass}).

3.4 Relocation of clause adverbials

3.4.1 Medial adverbials

As already indicated, Slovene medial position adverbs very frequently need to be relocated during translation, usually to initial position. This often involves sentence framing time adverbials, as in examples 20 to 25:

(20_S) *Po ukazu Vojnega ministrstva je bil Cvetko 13. septembra 1916 premeščen v pohodni bataljon 16. pehotnega polka v Bjelovar.*

(20_E) *On 13th September 1916, in line with an order from the Ministry of War, Cvetko was transferred to the infantry battalion of the 16th infantry regiment in Bjelovar.*

(21_S) *Slovenski odbor je konec leta 2013 štel 135 članov, od tega 13 institucionalnih.*

(21_E) *At the end of 2013 the Slovene National Committee comprised 135 members, 13 of them institutional.*

Translation note: the word *leto* can usually be omitted (at the end of *the year 2013).

(22_S) *Vitrine Kranjskega deželnega muzeja so bile konec 19. stoletja dodobra napolnjene s tisoči železnodobnih in rimskih najdb, ki jih je izkopal zlasti na Dolenjskem in v Beli krajini.*

(22_E) *In the late nineteenth century the display cases of the Carniolan Provincial Museum were filled with thousands of Iron Age and Roman finds he had excavated, particularly in the Lower Carniola and White Carniola regions.*

Translation note: *konec ... stoletja* is usually best translated by ‘in the late ... century’ and *začetek ... stoletja* by ‘in the early ... century’.

(23_S) *Dunajski pohištveni umetniki so v tem času razvili svojo različico empirskega sloga, ki je bila intimnejša, namenjena tudi meščanskim domovom in je v dvajsetih letih 19. stoletja neopazno prešla v znameniti elegantni dunajski bidermajer.*

- (23_E) In this period Viennese furniture makers developed their own variant of the Empire style, which was more intimate, intended also for bourgeois homes, and in the 1820s this imperceptibly transitioned into the famously elegant Vienna Biedermeier style.

Translation note: expressions like *dvajsetih letih 19. stoletja* are most simply translated by ‘the 1820s’.

- (24_S) *Njegova poklicna pot izraža že zelo zgodaj edinstvene poteze.*

- (24_E) Even at a very early stage his career path displayed unique features.

- (25_S) *Fizičen upor ulic v zadnjih desetletjih nikakor ni izgubil pomena.*

- (25_E) In recent decades, physical resistance on the streets has by no means lost its significance.

In the first sentence below the adverbial in the second dependent clause is relocated, as well as the medial adverbial in the second sentence:

- (26_S) *Iz ohranjenih fotografij in ob dražbi popisane grajskega inventarja je mogoče razbrati, da je bil grad v prvi tretjini 20. stoletja še bogato opremljen, zlasti reprezentančni prostori. Stene in strop glavnega salona so po sredini 18. stoletja dobili rokokojsko zaznamovano iluzionistično arhitekturno in alegorično poslikavo v nežnih pastelnih barvah.*

- (26_E) From the preserved photographs and the inventory prepared for the auction, it can be established that in the first three decades of the twentieth century the manor house was still richly furnished, especially the reception rooms. In the second half of the eighteenth century the walls and ceiling of the main salon acquired Rococo-style illusionist architectural and allegorical painting in gentle pastel shades.

Translation note: very often *grad* is not ‘castle’ but ‘manor house’, as here, or ‘mansion’, e.g. *Cekinov grad* – Cekin Mansion; it depends on the style of building.

In example 27, the medial adverbial is followed by a related relative clause that also moves to earlier in the sentence:

- (27_S) *Italijanska moda kot svetovno najbolj reprezentativni primer mode je bila v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja, ko se je življenje po končani drugi svetovni vojni normaliziralo, na začetku svojega razcveta.*

- (27_E) In the 1950s, when post-World War Two life had normalised, Italian fashion as the most illustrious example of fashion in the world was just starting to flourish.

In this slightly different example the underlined prepositional phrase, which is the subject of the clause, moves to sentence initial position following the empty subject *it*:

- (28_S) *Od začetkov boja za pravice žensk je preteklo že precej več kot dobro stoletje in do danes se je že kar nekaj pogumnih moških vključilo v zagovornišтво enakosti spolov.*

- (28_E) It is well over a century since the start of the fight for women's rights and a number of brave men have participated in the advocacy of gender equality.

In the next example, other word order changes are required in addition to relocating the medial adverbial; because of this shift, the translation of the phrase *in so še vedno* has to be placed in a separate clause not governed by the adverbial:

- (29_S) *Slovenski čebelarji so bili že pred Janševim obdobjem in so še vedno med vodilnimi svetovni strokovnjaki na svojem področju.*

- (29_E) Even before Janša's time Slovene bee-keepers were among the leading world experts in their field and they still are today.

Translation note: temporal expressions involving *že* are frequently translated using 'even' or 'as early as', rather than 'already'.

In example 30, the medial adverb relocates to frame the sentence, while the parenthetical phrase moves to final position:

- (30_S) *Okupatorji so med vojno zaprli, največ v gestapovsko kaznilnico v Begunjah, okoli 300 Bohinjcev.*

- (30_E) During the war, the Axis forces imprisoned around 300 people from Bohinj, mostly in the Gestapo prison in Begunje.

Examples 31 to 35 involve non-temporal adverbs of location, comparison or manner:

- (31_S) *Mojca Turk pri svojem delu ničesar ne prepušča naključju.*
 (31_E) In her work, Mojca Turk leaves nothing to chance.

(32_S) *Moški se danes sicer v večji meri vključujejo v skrb za otroke v primerjavi s prejšnjimi generacijami, pri čemer številni poskušajo z enakopravnim očetovanjem presegati tradicionalne spolne vloge in dosežati večjo enakost v partnerstvu.*

(32_E) It is true that, in comparison with previous generations, today's men play a more active role in childcare and many of them undertake equal parenting to transcend the traditional gender roles, thus achieving greater equality in their partnership.

Translation note: in many contexts, such as here, a useful translation equivalent for the verb *presežati* is 'transcend' (rather than the frequently inappropriately used 'surpass').

(33_S) *Nekdanji predsednik SLS, ki so mu očitali, da je zase poskrbel v Bruslju, stranko pa pahnil iz parlamenta, je sodeč po zadnjih aktivnostih zagovornik uporabe sklada za prilagajanje globalizaciji, ki ga nekatere države s pridom izkoriščajo.*

(33_E) Judging from his latest activities, the former president of the Slovene People's Party, who was reproached with having saved his own skin in Brussels while pushing the party out of Parliament, is an advocate for using the European Globalisation Adjustment Fund, which certain countries are benefiting from.

(34_S) *O razsežnosti 'klikivističnih' akcij v primeru Gaze priča visoka frekvenca objav na spletnih medijih, predvsem na Twitterju.*

(34_E) In the case of Gaza, the scope of 'clicktivist' campaigns can be observed in the frequency of posts on social media, especially Twitter.

(35_S) *Nemci so kot povračilni ukrep po partizanskih napadih streljali ujetnike iz gestapovske kaznilnice v Begunjah.*

(35_E) In retaliation for partisan attacks, the Germans shot the prisoners in the Gestapo prison in Begunje.

In this example, from a text about Trubar, the adverbial phrase is transformed into a noun phrase followed by an inserted verb (*claim*), while the initial information occurs after the main subject and verb:

(36_S) *Za osnovo slovenskega knjižnega jezika je po novi teoriji vzela ljubljanski mestni govor, po starejši pa domače dolenjsko narečje.*

(36_E) *A new theory claims that he used the local urban dialect of Ljubljana as the basis for standard Slovene, whereas according to the older theory it was his native Lower Carniolan dialect.*

(Another possible translation would be: ‘he took as the basis of the standard Slovene language the urban speech of Ljubljana’.)

3.4.2 Initial adverbials

Sometimes a prepositional or adverbial phrase in initial position may move during translation to final position:

(37_S) *V partizanih so ostali le Tomaž Godec, Avgust Gašperin, Valentin Sušnik, Alojz Pintar in Viktor Žnidar.*

(37_E) *Only Tomaž Godec, Avgust Gašperin, Valentin Sušnik, Alojz Pintar and Viktor Žnidar remained with the Partisans.*

As indicated earlier, in tourism texts in English, the norm is to indicate where we are first (with a locational adverbial) and then what we are looking at:

(38_S) *Kot odprto knjigo gledamo Bohinj z Vodnikovega razglednika nad Koprivnikom.*

(38_E) *From the Vodnik Viewpoint above the village of Koprivnik, we can look down on Bohinj as on an open book.*

In example 38, from a promotional text, the order of the sentence is reversed, with the initial adverbial following the imperative verb and prepositional object:

(39_S) *V spremlstvu dragocenih darov iz »eksotičnih« dežel se podajte na vznemirljivo popotovanje!*

(39_E) *Embark on an exciting voyage in the company of these precious gifts from “exotic” lands!*

In the next example, too, about violence during World War II, the order of elements is almost reversed, while the third person plural form in Slovene is translated by a passive verb:

(40_S) *Kot grešne kozle, ki naj bi izdali bataljon, so umorili družino Strgar*

(40_E) The Strgar family, who it was said had betrayed the battalion, were murdered as scapegoats

Translation note: the pattern *naj bi* can be translated in a wide variety of ways in addition to the often ambiguous ‘supposed to’, for example: ‘it is said/thought/believed/claimed/considered/supposed that’; ‘is/are thought/believed/considered... to have/be’; ‘allegedly/supposedly’.

In example 40, from a text about Giuseppe Tartini, the information conveyed by the initial locational adverb is new information, which needs to go at the end of the clause in English:

(41_S) *V Padovi je bil glasbeni vodja v cerkvi sv. Antona in prav v tem mestu ustanovil violinsko šolo, v katero so zahajali najboljši učenci iz vseh krajev Evrope.*

(41_E) He was concert master at the Church of St Anthony in Padua, where he established a violin school attended by the most promising pupils from across Europe.

3.4.3 Final adverbials

In this example, the fact that the subject was killed is surely more ‘newsworthy’ than where this occurred:

(42_S) *A že 30. avgusta je ruska granata pretrgala nit njegovega življenja pri Pžemislanih.*

(42_E) But on 30 August, near Peremyshliany, a Russian grenade ended his life.

The time adverbial in example 42 (about Gorenjska) relocates to the beginning to frame the sentence:

- (43_S) *Njena naravna bogastva so omogočala gospodarski razvoj od prve prisotnosti človeka vse do danes: lov, železarstvo, rudarstvo, gozdarstvo, kmetijstvo, turizem.*
- (43_E) *Ever since man first moved here its natural riches have facilitated economic development: hunting, iron-making, mining, forestry, farming and tourism.*

3.5 Location of adjectives

Micro-level word order changes will take place when an attributive adjectival phrase involving a participle in Slovene has to be translated by a predicative adjective in English:

- (44_S) *Ponovno ju bodo igrali 2. junija, ob 156-letnici Elgarjevega rojstva, v njemu posvečenem muzeju.*
- (44_E) *They will be played again on 2 June, on the 156th anniversary of Elgar's birth, in the museum dedicated to him.*

It is quite common in Slovene to begin a sentence with an adjective, as in: *Zanimiv/pomemben/žalosten/posrečen je, da...* Such patterns have to be translated into English using a cleft sentence: 'It is interesting/important/sad/fortunate that...'

4 CONCLUSION

The differences between word order in Slovene and English should be constantly borne in mind when translating between the two languages. The need for a change in word order may be signalled by a Slovene sentence or clause where the verb precedes the subject, where the object is in initial position or which begins with a verb. When translating into English, it is thus essential to analyse the Slovene sentence or clause (in the case of a complex sentence) and identify in particular the main verb and the subject, followed by any objects, predicates and adverbials – including those which give a temporal, locational or other 'frame' to the sentence and may need to go in initial position. Another clue may be provided by given-new information patterns: where new information is found at the start of the sentence, then a change of word order is likely. As far as adverbials are concerned, those in medial position almost always have to be relocated – usually to initial position. In the case of initial or final adverbs, it depends very much

on the context and the role that the adverbial plays in the sentence. However, word order in Slovene and English are governed by the same basic principles, so a sound piece of advice when translating from Slovene into English is to change the word order only when you know why you are doing so. Unmotivated changes or those made because 'it sounds better' are likely to make the reader's task much more difficult.

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Sentence-initial adversative connectives in Slovene-English translation of academic discourse: A corpus study

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Povzetek

Raziskave retorike akademskega diskurza so pokazale, da so medkulturne razlike med jeziki/kulturami precej velike, to pa pogosto predstavlja poseben izziv za prevajalce akademskih besedil, ki morajo te razlike poznati in se nato odločiti, ali naj sledijo izvorniku ali naj se prilagodijo konvencijam ciljnega jezika/kulture. V pričujočem prispevku je predstavljena študija medpovednih protivnih konektorjev. Študija se osredotoča na vprašanja, ali obstajajo medkulturne razlike pri rabi medpovednih protivnih konektorjev v slovenskem in angleškem akademskem pisanju, kako se te potencialne razlike odražajo pri prevodu akademskega besedila v angleščino in ali se prevedena angleška akademska besedila razlikujejo od primerljivih izvornikov v angleščini. V ta namen je analiziran korpus znanstvenih člankov s področja geografije, ki je sestavljen iz podkorpusa izvornih slovenskih člankov, podkorpusa njihovih prevodov v angleščino ter podkorpusa primerljivih angleških člankov. Rezultati pokažejo precejšnje razlike med podkorpusi tako v pogosti rabi kot v diskurzivnih funkcijah medpovednih protivnih konektorjev.

Ključne besede: medpovedni protivni konektorji, prevajanja akademskega diskurza, kontrastivno jezikoslovje, korpusna študija

1 INTRODUCTION

Research in the rhetoric of academic discourse has identified considerable intercultural differences in rhetorical conventions (cf. Williams 2006, Dahl 2004, Vassileva 2001, Mauranen 1993, etc.). Such conventions often present a particular challenge for translators of academic discourse who need to recognize the differences in conventions and decide whether to adhere to the source text or adapt the target text to the conventions of the target lingua-culture.

A number of studies examining intercultural rhetorical differences and their implications for translators (e.g., Hirci and Mikolič Južnič 2014, Mussachio and Palumbo 2010, Becher 2009, Altenberg 1998, etc.) have focused on elements in cohesive and/or discourse-organizing function, identifying a number of specific differences between lingua-cultures and subsequent issues arising in translation, but these studies have mostly focused on non-academic genres.

Sentence-initial adversative connectives have been recognized as a noteworthy cohesive device (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976; Giacalone Ramat and Mauri 2011) because of their frequent use, variety of forms and different discourse roles. It is therefore interesting that there have yet been no studies of the impact of intercultural rhetorical differences on the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives in translations of academic discourse.

The present paper attempts to establish whether there are intercultural differences in the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives in Slovene and English academic writing, to examine how these potential differences are dealt with in Slovene-English translation and to analyze whether the translated English texts differ from comparable English originals in terms of sentence-initial adversative connective use. For this purpose, the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives functioning as cohesive devices is examined in a 500,000-word corpus of geography research papers comprising original Slovene texts, their English translations and comparable original English texts.

2 CONNECTIVES AS A COHESIVE DEVICE

Successful use of cohesive devices is of utmost importance in text organization: connectives have long been recognized as an important class of cohesive resources (cf. conjunction in Halliday and Hasan 1976). Different models assume different definitions of connectives: Halliday and Hasan (1976) focus on intersentential links, while Gutwinski (1976) and Van Dijk (1979) include

both intrasentential and intersentential ties. Conjunctive cohesion is generally classified into four categories: additive, adversative, causal and temporal (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976; Schiffrin 2003).

Intercultural rhetorical research has shown that there are important differences between different languages in the use of connectives (e.g., Altenberg 1999, Ramm and Fabricius-Hansen 2005, Pit 2007). Since much research attention has been given to connectives in academic discourse, it is not surprising that various studies have also highlighted interdisciplinary differences in the use of connectives (e.g., Hyland and Tse 2004, Bondi 2004).

The issue of connectives in Slovene has been addressed from various perspectives among others by Gorjanc (1998), who focuses on the use of connectives in Slovene academic writing, Schlamberger Brezar (1998), whose study examines the role of connectives in discourse, Smolej (2004), whose research combines discourse analysis with grammatical analysis and Žele (2012) who explores connectives from a semantic and syntactic point of view. Several intercultural rhetorical studies have shown that there are considerable differences between the use of connectives in Slovene and other languages in various genres (cf. Schlamberger Brezar (2000) for differences between Slovene and French; Pisanski Peterlin (2010) for differences between Slovene and English in popular science discourse; Hirci and Mikolič Južnič (2014) for Slovene, English and Italian literary texts, Balažič Bulc and Gorjanc (2015) for Slovene and Croatian academic discourse).

2.1 Sentence-initial adversative connectives

Previous research into intercultural differences in the use intersentential and intrasentential *and* in popular science texts clearly identified pronounced differences between the English and Slovene texts (Pisanski Peterlin 2010). Furthermore, studies of the use of connectives in the writing of non-native speakers of English (cf. Granger and Tyson 1996), as well as contrastive studies (e.g., Altenberg 1998) and translation-based studies (e.g., Mussachio and Palumbo 2010) for various pairs of languages, also identify sentence-initial connectives as a cohesive device that merits particular attention in interlingual communication. It therefore seems that the use of intersentential connectives (or conjunction in the sense of Halliday and Hasan 1976) may be of particular interest in the context of Slovene-English rhetorical differences.

The present study thus focuses on the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives in academic discourse. Adversative connectives, i.e., connectives expressing contrast, are especially interesting for cross-linguistic comparison be-

cause they show a high degree of “intra-linguistic variation” (Giacalone Ramat and Mauri 2011: 657), i.e., there tend to be a number of adversative connectives “partly overlapping in their functions” (Giacalone Ramat and Mauri 2011: 657) in a language.

While there have been a number of studies on the use of connectives in academic discourse (e.g., Hyland and Tse 2004, Bondi 2004), there have been no studies focusing on the pragmatic functions of sentence-initial adversative connectives in academic genres. Bell’s (2007) analysis of the discourse functions of sentence-initial *but* in academic writing is the most thorough analysis of the pragmatics of this type of connective. Bell (2007) identifies three main functions of this adversative connective: marking off idea units by adding the final element in a list, shifting the topic domain and argument development. Although the use and function of the various adversative connectives is only “partially overlapping” (Giacalone Ramat and Mauri 2011: 657) and there are clearly syntactic and prosodic features characteristic of specific adversative connectives, Bell’s (2007) three discourse functions of sentence-initial *but* seem to be general enough to be likely candidates for the main discourse functions of all sentence-initial adversative connectives.

Bell’s (2007) model of the discourse functions of sentence-initial *but* is briefly outlined below:

- a) **Adding the final element in a list.** By adding the final element in a list, an idea unit is marked off. The passage below is one of the examples provided by Bell (2007: 195) to illustrate this type of use:

*People cannot make use of a technique unless the technique really works, and that it works at least to the extent it is believed to work. This is the second criterion. **But** there is one more thing to consider in a definition of usefulness.*

- b) **Topic shift.** In some cases, the sentence-initial connective introduces a new topic. The text organizing function of the connective is particularly salient. Again, the passage below is one of the examples given by Bell (2007: 196):

*The second, I think more interesting, interpretation allows that Hegel escapes from a “specular” ideology, something we can “see through,” but accuses him nevertheless of falling into a purely “linguistic” ideology, language pretending to be and do other than it is and does. **But** before taking up de Man’s charges, I shall run through Hegel’s account.*

- c) **Argument development.** The previous argument is refined or cancelled. Bell (2007) observes that this is the most frequent use of sentence-initial *but* in his corpus. Once again, Bell's (2007: 196) example is given below to illustrate his point:

*I am not suggesting that war equaled a pleasure trip. **But** it did introduce many German men (and some women), willingly or not, to new experiences, cultures, landscapes, foods and customs.*

3 CORPUS AND PROCEDURE

The 500,000-word corpus comprises 90 geography research articles grouped into three subcorpora: original Slovene research articles (30 texts), their English translations (30 texts) and comparable English research articles (30 texts). All the texts were published between 2000 and 2006 in two peer-reviewed journals indexed in international databases. An overview of the size of the three subcorpora is provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Size of subcorpora

	Slovene Originals	English Translations	English Originals
Number of words	130,000	150,000	200,000

First, electronic corpus analysis was used to identify all the instance of sentence-initial adversative conjunctions in the corpus; the analysis was carried out using WordSmith Tools 5.0 (Scott, 1996). For English, the search words/phrases were: *But, However, Yet, On the other hand, Nevertheless* and *In contrast*; for Slovene, the search words and phrases were *A, Ampak, Vendar, Toda, Pa, Po/Na drugi strani, V nasprotju* and *Nasprotno*. The frequencies were then normalized to 10,000 words to allow comparison.

Subsequently, sentence-initial adversative connectives in the Slovene originals and their matching English translations were compared to establish the degree of correspondence. Since the Slovene originals and their corresponding English translations had already been aligned at sentence level using DéjàVu (2007), the search for corresponding expressions was automatic; ParaConc (Barlow, 2003) was used for this purpose.

Finally, the concordances for the individual search words were examined in terms of their discourse function using Bell's (2007) model proposed for sentence initial *but* to establish potential differences in pragmatic functions of sentence-initial adversative connectives in the three subcorpora.

4 RESULTS

The results of the analysis are presented below in terms of the frequency of use of sentence-initial adversative connectives (4.1), shifts in translation involving these connectives (4.2) and the discourse functions (4.3).

4.1 Frequency of use

Table 2 below presents the results of the corpus analysis in terms of the raw frequency and the overall frequency of sentence-initial adversative connectives per 10,000 words for the three subcorpora.

Table 2: Sentence-initial adversative connectives per 10,000 words

	Slovene Originals	English Translations	English Originals
Total number	61	105	288
Per 10,000 words	4.7	7.0	14.4

4.2 Shifts in translation

The degree of correspondence in the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives between the Slovene originals and their English translations is presented in Table 3 below. For each subcorpus, the total number of sentence-initial adversative connectives is broken down into the number of matches (i.e., corresponding adversative connectives found in both the originals and the translations), and unique items occurring in one of the subcorpora only, i.e., omissions and additions. Omissions are defined as sentence-initial adversative connectives that only occur in the Slovene originals and are omitted in the English translations, while additions are defined as sentence-initial adversative connectives that only occur in the English translations and have no corresponding sentence-initial adversative connective in the source text, i.e., they are added

in translation. For each category, the ratio relative to the total number of items (percentage) is specified.

Table 3: Degree of correspondence between the Slovene originals and their translations

	Slovene Originals	English Translations
Matches	44 (72.1%)	44 (41.95%)
Omission / Additions	17 (27.9%)	61 (58.1%)
Total number	61 (100%)	105 (100%)

A more detailed examination of the sentence-initial adversative connectives omitted in translation shows that only four of them are full omissions where no substitute item is used to replace the connective from the original. In two other cases the order of clauses is reversed and an adversative connective (*but* and *however*) is used intrasententially. In all other cases a different type of sentence-initial connective (for instance *and* or *furthermore*) is used.

A more detailed examination of the sentence-initial adversative connectives added in translation reveals that the vast majority of additions (46) occur where there was no sentence-initial connective device used in the original. There are, however, nine instances which involve changes in the order of clauses: in those cases the original contained some sort of an intrasentential adversative (*pa*) or concessive (*čeprav*) conjunction. There are also six cases where a different type of sentence-initial connective device (*nadalje*, *kljub temu da*) is used in the original.

4.3 Discourse functions

An analysis of the discourse functions of the sentence-initial adversative connectives identified in the corpus reveals that the vast majority of them are used for argument development. Examples 1 and 2 below illustrate this type of use in the Slovene and English originals respectively:

- (1) *Pri proučevanju degradacije prsti z izbrano metodo smo naleteli na vrsto težav, ki se odražajo tudi v rezultatih. Metoda kot taka se je za proučevanje degradacije prsti izkazala kot uspešna, kar potrjuje njena široka in vedno pogostejša uporaba v svetu. **Vendar** potrebujemo za kvalitetno izvedbo tudi zelo kvalitetne, natančne in obsežne podatke. Teh v Sloveniji vsekakor primanjkuje ali pa so nedostopni. Posledice se odražajo v končnem rezultatu, ki je sicer relevanten, a premalo konkreten in kvantitativno opredeljen.*

- (2) *Problems associated with conventional drainage methods. Theoretically, the negative impacts of precipitation should be regulated by the land use planning system, utilising methods such as building regulations and advice from the EA and other consultees. **Yet**, despite the existence of land use controls since 1947, England and Wales have been afflicted with what appears to be an increasing incidence of problems associated with the management of precipitation.*

The other two discourse functions were only found in four examples in the Slovene originals. An overview of the concordances shows that only *Na drugi strani* and *Po drugi strani* were used for discourse organization, i.e., to add a final point to a list and for topic shift. The two examples below (3-4) illustrate adding a final point and topic shift respectively in the Slovene originals.

- (3) *Pri vrednotenju rezultatov regionalnega razvoja mora biti glavni poudarek namenjen uspešnosti in učinkovitosti, saj sta oba indikatorja primerna za presek stanja na katerikoli stopnji izvajanih aktivnosti. Obenem dajeta koristno informacijo upravljavcem programa in njihovim ocenjevalcem pri oblikovanju čim boljših programskih odločitev (ibid.). Proučevanje učinkovitosti odpira vprašanja, kot sta: ali bi lahko isti rezultat dosegli z manj vložkov in ali bi z enako količino sredstev lahko dosegli več ciljev. **Na drugi strani** je proučevanje uspešnosti usmerjeno predvsem na spremljanje pričakovanih učinkov, manjši poudarek pa je namenjen morebitnim nepričakovanim pozitivnim ali pa negativnim učinkom (ibid.).*
- (4) *Če izhajamo iz predpostavke, da je geografija veda, ki preučuje tiste dejavnike, ki oblikujejo pokrajino, in se obenem zavedamo dejstva, da je najpomembnejši preoblikovalec pokrajine človek, lahko kaj hitro uvidimo pomen posameznih državnih politik. Te imajo pri iskanju vzročnih povezav in razlag za razmere v prostoru prav posebno mesto, ki pa ga geografija do sedaj ni dovolj upoštevala. Predstavljajo namreč okvir za človekove posege v prostor. **Po drugi strani** predstavlja prostorska politika le eno od zanimanj analize politik. Ta preučuje prostorsko politiko z vidika njenega izvajanja, torej kot proces sam po sebi, manj pa njene dejanske učinke in če že, ne v iskanju vzročne povezanosti z ostalimi prostorskimi elementi.*

The majority of the sentence-initial adversative connectives found in the English originals were also used in the function of argument development, but the two other functions were not as infrequent as in the Slovene originals. In addition, various forms of sentence-initial adversative connectives were used to add a final point and for topic shift, which is unlike the Slovene originals, where these two discourse functions were only realized through the two sentence-initial adversative connectives discussed above. Example 5 illustrates adding a final point, while example 6 illustrates topic shift in the English originals.

- (5) *Researchers from the Stockholm Environment Institute-York (SEI-Y), with the Sociology Department at the University of York found that the public had meaningful knowledge about technical subjects (Yearley, Forrester and Bailey, 2001). Further, they found that the focus group, especially when moderated by an independent facilitator, held promise as a tool for generating policy-orientated dialogue around environmental issues (Forrester, 1999) and could provide a platform for non-experts to interact with professionals on a more equal footing. **Nevertheless**, the knowledge was largely created in a sphere outside of that within which policy actors and local authority scientists normally worked.*
- (6) *Point distributions can be analysed in a number of ways; for example, to consider whether the pattern is clustered, random or regular. **However**, the present paper focuses on whether there is variation in the relative extent to which farms within the Scenic Areas and the buffer zones around them have diversified into the tourist accommodation market. In other words, it is a question of determining the level of uptake of this phenomenon within the farm populations of these areas.*

The discourse functions of the sentence-initial adversative connectives in the English translations that had corresponding equivalents in the source texts obviously matched those of the Slovene originals. However, an overview of the items added in translation shows that although the majority were used for argument development, as in example 7, there were also several instances of sentence-initial adversative connectives used to add the final point, as in example 8 or for shifting the topic, as in example 9. The corresponding originals are provided in examples 7a, 8a and 9a.

- (7) *For each layer it can be presumed that the density within this layer does not change. **However**, if the layer was big enough and if it was likely that the density from the upper part of one layer differed from the lower part, two samples of this layer were taken.*
- (7a) *Privzeli smo, da se gostota znotraj plasti ne spreminja. Če je plast zelo debela (več kot 40 m), lahko vzamemo več vzorcev in ugotovimo znotraj nje nove plasti.*
- (8) *A benefit of the latter is the relatively high inflow into the city coffers, since income tax is one of the principal sources of financing for Slovenia's municipalities. A further advantage of jobs in public administration is their relative stability and security. As a strong employment center, Ljubljana has attracted workers from the entire country for a long time including from the marginal areas of Slovenia and generally employs the better-educated population.*

***However**, while the concentration of population reduces the per capita cost of public services, it also increases the pressure on the environment, which can lead to the occurrence of diseconomies or other negative effects resulting from such concentration.*

- (8a) *Slednje se ugodno kaže v relativno visokih prilivih v mestno blagajno, saj je dohodnina eden poglavitnih virov financiranja slovenskih občin. Naslednja prednost delovnih mest v javni upravi je tudi njihova relativna stabilnost in gotovost. Kot možno zaposlitveno središče je Ljubljana že dalj časa privabljala prebivalstvo iz celotne države tudi z obrobni območij Slovenije, pri tem pa se v mestu zaposlujejo boljše izobraženi prebivalci. Nadalje se z zgoščevanjem prebivalstva zmanjšujejo stroški javnih storitev na prebivalca, povečujejo pa pritiski na okolje, kar lahko vodi v nastanek diseconomije, oz. negativnih učinkov, ki jih prinaša zgoščevanje prebivalstva.*
- (9) *The advantage of the D-16 method is obvious; there are 16 directions instead of 8, and thus the computed trajectory is approximated to the actual fall-track. **However**, the method has a systematic weakness in skipping the surrounding area of cell S of window 3×3 , thus we may ask ourselves whether these cells have higher height above the sea level than cell S.*
- (9a) *Prednost metode D16 je jasna: namesto 8 imamo 16 smeri in s tem dosežemo, da se računski poti približa dejanski poti padanja. Metoda ima tudi sistemsko slabost, da preskoči okolico celice S okna 3×3 , zato se moramo vprašati, ali nimajo mogoče te celice višje nadmorske višine kot celica S.*

5 DISCUSSION

In this section, the results of the corpus analysis are discussed from the point of view of Slovene-English intercultural rhetoric (5.1), Slovene-to-English translation analysis (5.2) and the language of translations (5.3).

5.1 Slovene-English intercultural rhetoric

A comparison of the frequency of use of sentence-initial adversative connectives in Slovene and English academic writing reveals that the ratio is approximately 1:3. This means that while the original Slovene texts contain on average 4.7 instances of sentence-initial adversative connectives per 10,000 words, the comparable English originals contain on average 14.4. Furthermore, the

findings show that that the discourse functions of sentence-initial adversative connectives are more limited in Slovene than in English. In both sets of originals, argument development is the main discourse function of sentence-initial adversative connectives, yet in the English originals, there were also a number of instances of the two text-organizing functions, i.e., adding the final item to a list and topic shift. In the Slovene originals, instances of these two functions were very rare.

These findings stand in marked contrast to the results of intercultural rhetorical studies involving English and Romance languages, such as English and Italian (cf. Mussachio and Palumbo (2010: 3) for a brief summary of contrastive studies for this combination of languages) or English and French (for an overview of contrastive studies in this field, see Granger and Tyson 1996: 19), but very much in accordance with the claims of Becher et al. (2009) who observe in their study that sentence-initial concessive connectives are more common in English than in German. They suggest that one of the reasons for this is different textual norms, claiming that “while English (spoken and written) discourse may be characterized as interactional, dialogous and addressee-oriented, German discourse has been described as ‘transactional’, monologous and content-oriented” (Becher et al. 2009: 125). The findings of the present study are therefore very much consistent with the claims of a strong influence of the German intellectual tradition (cf. Pisanski Peterlin 2005: 311; 2006: 140).

5.2 Slovene-to-English translation analysis

The omissions and additions of sentence-initial adversative connectives identified in translation from Slovene into English suggest, in accordance with previous studies, that translation of connectives tends to involve a considerable number of translation shifts (cf. Altenberg 1999, Musacchio and Palumbo 2010). The translation analysis of the corpus used in the present study showed that there were more additions than omissions in translation: 27.9% of the instances of sentence-initial adversative connectives found in the Slovene source texts were omitted in translation, while 58.1% of the instances of sentence-initial adversative connectives found in translations had no corresponding equivalents in the Slovene source texts and were therefore additions. This suggests that there was an attempt to adapt the text to the conventions of the target culture, taking into account the intercultural rhetorical differences discussed in 5.1.

The fact that some of the additions were also used in the text-organizing function (adding the final item to a list and topic shift) furthermore reflects adaptation to the target culture conventions. This is very much in accordance with the

suggestions that translated academic texts need to adhere to the conventions of the target culture found in the literature (e.g., Siepmann 2006; Williams 2007).

5.3. The language of translations

The results of the present study show that the translators attempted to adapt the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives in the target text to the target lingua-cultural conventions in terms of frequency and discourse functions. However, the quantitative results show that the differences between the translated English texts and the comparable English originals in the frequency of use of such connectives are nevertheless quite pronounced. In the translated English texts, 7.0 sentence-initial adversative connectives were used on average per 10,000 words, while the comparable English originals contained twice as many instances of such connectives (14.4 per 10,000 words). This corroborates the findings of a number of studies showing that translated texts tend to differ from comparable originals in the target language in terms of the use of various rhetorical elements (e.g., possessive pronouns in original and translated Italian economic articles (Musacchio 2005), thematic items in original and translated Spanish medical research articles (Williams 2005), connectives in a bidirectional parallel German and English corpus (Becher (2011), causal connectives in a bidirectional parallel French and English corpus (Zufferey and Cartoni 2012), to name just few). In fact, corpus-based research in translation studies focusing on the characteristics of translated language has consistently shown that translated texts tend to exhibit very specific characteristics and that they can be regarded as a type of hybrid texts (see Mauranen (2004) for a detailed discussion of the topic).

6 CONCLUSION

The study presented in this paper aimed to examine whether there are intercultural differences in the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives in academic writing between Slovene and English: the results confirm that there are significant differences between the two lingua-cultures both in terms of frequency and discourse function. The study furthermore attempted to determine how these differences are dealt with in Slovene-English translation: the findings show that there is a considerable degree of omissions and additions of sentence-initial adversative connectives in translation, very likely reflecting the translators's attempt to adapt the text to the conventions of the rhetorical conventions of the target culture. Finally, the study focused on the question whether differences between the translated and the original English academic texts can be observed: the results confirm that there are in fact significant differences between the translated and the non-translated texts.

The findings of the study raise several interesting questions. First, to what extent are the results obtained limited to the discipline of geography? A follow-up study comprising translated academic texts from different disciplines would be needed to show whether the results can be generalized across different disciplines. Second, to what extent are the translators' decisions concerning shifts in translation deliberate and intentional? A discourse-based interview study would shed light on whether translators of academic discipline deliberately intervene in the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives to adapt the target text to the target lingua-culture. And finally, can similar intercultural differences in the use of sentence-initial adversative connectives be observed between English and other languages that have been influenced by the German intellectual tradition? To establish this, parallel studies for different pairs of languages focusing on sentence-initial adversative connectives would be necessary.

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Anything *but* simple? Adversative connectors between English and Slovene

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Povzetek

Članek se osredotoča na pogostnost in načine rabe angleških protivnih povezovalcev in njihovih prevodnih ustreznic v slovenskem jeziku. Tovrstni povezovalci predstavljajo zanimiv raziskovalni izziv za kontrastivne študije, saj se v različnih jezikovnih okoljih lahko pojavljajo v različnih vlogah, kar posledično pomembno vpliva tudi na prevajalske odločitve. V članku je predstavljena korpusna raziskava na osnovi angleško-slovenskega dela prevodoslovnega korpusa Spook. Po pregledu pojavljanja najpogostejših angleških protivnih povezovalcev so podrobneje predstavljene pogostnost in raba povezovalca *but* ter njegove prevodne ustreznice v vlogah medpovednega, medstavčnega in medbesednega protivnega povezovalca, pa tudi druge pragmatične in povezovalne funkcije, ki niso vezane na protivnost. Študija izhaja iz hipoteze, da ima, tudi zaradi svoje polisemičnosti, angleški povezovalec *but* v slovenščini na voljo celo paleto prevodnih ustreznic ter da je mogoče razpoznati določeno korelacijo med vlogami angleškega povezovalca *but* in njegovimi slovenskimi ustreznici. Zavedanje o različnih vlogah, ki jih povezovalci odigrajo v besedilu, je pomembno tudi v pedagoškem okolju in lahko pripomore k višji kakovosti študentskih prevodov.

Ključne besede: angleški protivni konektorji, konektor *but*, slovenske prevodne ustreznice, neprotivna raba

1 INTRODUCTION

Sentence connectors, such as conjunctions and linking adverbials, are one of the most important explicit markers of cohesion since, in the words of Halliday and Hasan (1976: 226), they “express a certain meaning which presupposes the presence of the other components in the discourse”. The authors distinguish between four main types of logical relation which explicitly signal the links between clauses, sentences and even larger parts of text: additive, adversative, causal and temporal (*ibid.*: 238-239). These relations may be associated with “different threads of meaning at the different places in the fabric of language”; thus it follows that “when they are expressed on their own, unaccompanied by other explicit connecting factors, they have a highly cohesive effect” (*ibid.*: 227).

In this paper, the notion of connectors is understood as covering a wide array of expressions used as a linking device to create cohesive ties within and between sentences. When used as cohesive devices, connectors are language-bound, therefore contrastively interesting, and often subject to changes in the process of translation. Although a number of authors (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976, Van Dijk 1977, 1979, Schiffrin 2003) have investigated and discussed in detail these English elements from a cohesive point of view, few of their findings were taken into account and further explored in Slovenia. Instead, connectors have mostly been discussed with regard to their structural syntactic function, foregrounding their inter- and intra-sentential role (cf. Toporišič 1991). Toporišič (*ibid.*: 378-379) briefly examines conjunctions at the sentence level and those with more than just one role, i.e. used in either coordinate or subordinate structures. However, he fails to account for the text-organising function of connectors. In fact, there are few researchers of Slovene with studies focusing on connectors, especially with regard to their text-organising function (cf. Gorjanc 1998, Schlamberger Brezar 1998). Only lately, running parallel to the new discoveries in corpus linguistics, intercultural rhetoric and translation studies, more attention has been paid in Slovenia to the inter-cultural and meta-textual role of connectors (cf. Balažič Bulc 2010, Balažič Bulc and Gorjanc 2009, 2015, Gorjanc 2005, Hirci 2013, Hirci and Mikolič Južnič 2014, Pisanski Peterlin 2010, 2013, Schlamberger Brezar 2011, 2013). Thus it seems that this particular field has by no means been explored exhaustively in Slovenia, neither for Slovene itself nor contrastively, and much still needs to be done in particular with regard to the cohesive and pragmatic function of connectors.

The article aims to assess the relationships between English and Slovene adversative connectors: we are interested in the frequency and distribution patterns of adversative connectors. These connectors present a challenge for contrastive studies, since their extremely varied uses may differ considerably in different language

situations. As a result, this may have a significant impact on translation choices, in particular when translating from English into Slovene.

Since adversative relations are among the most common in the analysed texts and the number of occurrences for all adversative connectors is far too extensive to be dealt with in a study of this size, the central part of the analysis focuses on the most frequent English adversative connector *but*: the main aim of the paper is to show which translation equivalents of the connector *but* are found in the corpus of literary texts (cf. section 4), how the interpretation of this connector may be shifted from adversative to other relations, and how its functions may shift during the process of translation.

2 ADVERSATIVE CONNECTORS

2.1 Overview of adversative connectors in English

As connectors are quite a large group of cohesive devices, the present study foregrounds only adversative connectors, since the concept of contrast is one of the four basic entities used to connect ideas or events (cf. Altenberg 2006, Halliday and Hasan 1976: 250-256, Rudolph 1996, Quirk et al 1985: 935). The main function of adversative connectors in both coordination and subordination is to indicate that there is a connective relation between two contrastive states and the speaker's opinion on the expressed relationship. Thus the connection of contrast in an A – B proposition expresses the speaker's opinion about these two propositions, which are both valid simultaneously, while proposition B signifies some contrast to the information presented in proposition A (Rudolph, 1996: 32-40). Typically, English adversative connectors are divided into two main groups – those that are expressed as a single word (e.g. *but*, *yet*, *however*), and those used as a multi-unit phrase (e.g. *at any rate*, *on the other hand*). According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 242), adversative connectors can be further divided into adversative proper (e.g. *however*, *although*, *though*, *but*), contrastive (e.g. *in fact*, *on the other hand*), dismissive (e.g. *in any case*), and corrective (e.g., *on the contrary*).

Wang (2011: 12-13) reports that as many as 68 English contrastive connectors¹ can be found in the BNC and COCA corpora; in his study it emerges that the connector *but* is by far the most frequent, as it covers over a half (51.4% in BNC and 53.9% in COCA) of the total usage of contrastive connectors. Therefore this

¹ Wang (2011) uses the term *contrastive connector* (synonymous with connective) as an umbrella term for all linking expressions (conjunctions and adverbials alike) expressing both adversativity and concession in coordinate and subordinate structures.

paper is primarily concerned with the adversative connector *but*, although the basic frequencies of some of the most frequent adversative connectors have also been verified in order to confirm its central position among adversative connectors in the corpus.

The connector *but* can be used as both a co-ordinate and subordinate conjunction expressing adversity or contrast (cf. OALD², Halliday and Hasan 1976). It may denote either something which is a complete contrast of positive-negative opposition, or it may show only partial contrast or concession. When in its adversative role, *but* is used to introduce a phrase or a clause contrastive with what has already been mentioned. In addition to functioning as a co-ordinating or subordinating conjunction with negative implication, indicating the impossibility of anything other than what is already mentioned, the connector *but* can also express the meaning of *except* or *only*, which cannot be understood in a strictly adversative sense. Bell (2010) explores different functions of sentence initial *but* in academic discourse, while Altenberg (1999, 2002) focuses on the functions of concessive connectors and their cross-linguistic correspondence.

The connector *but* can thus be used in a number of ways. In the present study, the focus is not on the type of adversative relation implied, but on Halliday and Hasan's implication that these elements function on textual, clausal and phrasal level (1976: 238-239). In view of the multi-faceted nature of *but*, a distinction is made between its adversative and non-adversative uses (cf. section 4), as well as among the functions mentioned.

2.2 Overview of adversative connectors in Slovene

In his fundamental grammar of Slovene, Toporišič (1991: 378-379) distinguishes between adversative conjunctions expressing contrast to what has already been mentioned (such as *a*, *ampak*, *pa*, *toda*, *vendar*) and those expressing opposition yet with a different purpose (*temveč*, *marveč*, *samo*, *le*).³ The *Dictionary of Standard Slovene* (Bajec et al., 2000) offers brief explanations on the differences in meaning between the studied linguistic elements, which are accompanied with some practical examples of use.

However, it can be quickly established that no detailed theoretical study has been made so far with a clear delineation between the various distribution patterns, uses and functions of adversative connectors which would be of help in further

² For more details, see <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/but>.

³ More on the topic of conjunctions, conjuncts and connectors in Slovene can be found in Černelič (1993), Jakop (2000), Smolej (2004), and Skubic (1999).

studies between two or more languages. It is not the aim of the authors of this paper to engage in a detailed theoretical discussion of the individual connectors and their roles in Slovene, as they are studied only insofar as they are used as translation equivalents for the English connector *but*.

3 CONNECTORS AND TRANSLATION

A number of studies on connectors in translation studies seem to be related to the topic of the explicitation hypothesis proposed by Blum-Kulka in her seminal work from 1986. An overview of the literature (cf. Baker 1996, Baumgarten et al. 2008, Denver 2009, Englund Dimitrova 2005, House 2004, Klaudy 2008, Nølke 2007, Olohan and Baker 2000, Pym 2008, Vinay and Darbelnet 1995) shows that it is cohesive relations in particular which seem to be subject to explicitation, as translators frequently resort to adding cohesive links in their translations. The explicitation concept is in fact linked to the idea that the language of translations often differs considerably from the language of original works, because translators state more explicitly information that is usually only implicit in the original language. Some scholars have argued against the theory (most notably Becher 2010, 2011), as earlier studies on the explicitation hypothesis have given somewhat contradictory results (cf. Englund-Dimitrova 2005: 35). As far as adversative relations are concerned, however, studies have been published which report that there appears to be a strong tendency to explicitly mark these relations (Denver 2009).

In Slovenia, several studies have been undertaken on a variety of different topics in contrastive analysis and intercultural/rhetorical differences between the studied languages, yet only a few have a clear focus on connectors (Balažič Bulc 2010, Balažič Bulc and Gorjanc 2015, Hirci 2013, Hirci and Mikolič Južnič 2014, Pisanski 2010, Schlamberger Brezar 2011), although none deal with adversative relations in particular.⁴

Our study focuses on the ways the connector *but* is translated into Slovene and on the degree of correspondence between the functions of the studied connectors in both source texts and target texts. In addition to the frequency and distribution patterns of the adversative functions of *but* in English and a correlation of the overall usage of its renderings in Slovene, we are also interested in its presence in a non-adversative capacity. Therefore, the aim is to address the following questions:

⁴ A new study by Pisanski Peterlin on the translation of sentence-initial adversative connectives from Slovene into English in academic discourse is included in the present volume.

- Is the connector *but* used in all the possible functions at all levels?
- Which Slovene adversative connectors are used as translation equivalents of *but*?
- Will the functions of *but* and its target text translation equivalents mostly correlate?
- Is there a correlation between the target text functions and target text translation equivalents?

4 CORPUS AND METHOD

A corpus methodology was applied to obtain the results, with automatic extraction of examples and manual analysis of functions and translation equivalents. The study is based on Spook, the first Slovene translation corpus, designed and compiled between 2009 and 2011 as part of the *Slovensko prevodoslovje – viri in raziskave* project.⁵ The Spook corpus consists of 95 literary works and has a subcorpus of 23 original Slovene novels and four subcorpora of literary works in foreign languages (English, French, German and Italian) and their translations in Slovene (cf. Vintar 2013). All parts of the corpus are tagged for morpho-syntactic specifications, while the parallel corpora are also aligned. Table 1 provides some details on the corpus composition of the parts relevant for our study, i.e. the subcorpora of original texts in English and Slovene, and the subcorpus of translations from English to Slovene.

Table 1: Statistical data on the relevant Spook subcorpora.

Spook subcorpus	Tokens (million)	Units	From	To
Original English	1.16	9	1992	2007
Translations from English	1.15	9	2002	2008

The subcorpus of original texts in Slovene comprises 1,644,967 words, while the parallel English-Slovene subcorpus contains 2,308,870 tokens, of which 1,160,451 are part of the English subcorpus and 1,148,419 are part of the Slovene subcorpus. All original texts in the Slovene subcorpus were written by native speakers of Slovene; translations from English into Slovene were also made by Slovene native speakers.

The present study was carried out in several stages and included both automatic and manual analysis. The CUWI⁶ concordancer also created as part of the Spook

⁵ Project coordinator Špela Vintar.

⁶ More details on the corpus are available at <http://nl.ijs.si/cuwi>.

project helped in the automatic extraction of all the relevant connectors in all the subcorpora in question. Raw data were further analysed manually.

Initially, an overview of English adversative connectors present in the corpus was performed, extracting examples of frequent adversative connectors in order to establish which of them is the most frequent. The connector *but* was singled out and stage two comprised a manual analysis of all the concordances containing *but* found in the subcorpus, and all the relevant translations in Slovene. Three separate analyses of these examples were then carried out: a) an analysis of the functions of *but* in the source texts (see section 5.2); b) an analysis of the translation equivalents of *but* in the target texts; and c) an analysis of the functions of the translation equivalents in the target texts.

The analysis focused on the cohesive role played by *but* in the source and target texts, therefore we divided the uses of the connector according to whether it was used as a connector at the text, clause or phrase level. Since *but* is polysemous in nature, as shown in section 2.1, a separate category was introduced for those instances where it was not used as an adversative connector. These different functions and uses are illustrated in the following examples:⁷

- a) **Textual function:**
*You three were evidently meant to go with the great people. **But** you would not have fared any better.*
- b) **Clausal function:**
*Why, Sophie could not begin to imagine, **but** that was hardly the issue at this point.*
- c) **Phrasal function:**
*Ron, on the other hand, looked sheepish **but** also rather pleased with himself.*
- d) **Non-adversative use:**
*He's nothing **but** carrion now.*
*Langdon **could not help but** marvel over Saunier's brilliant hiding.*

Some examples were far from clear-cut and a decision had to be made during the analysis on the main function played by the connector *but*. The main criterion was whether it was used in simple sentences and main clauses (textual function), connecting two clauses (clausal function) or connecting units smaller than a clause, e.g. two phrases/words, including examples of ellipsis of link verbs (phrasal function).

⁷ All examples are from the Spook corpus.

Translation equivalents of *but* were identified manually and classified according to the type of Slovene connector used (e.g. *a, ampak, pa, toda, vendar*, etc.). Afterwards, they were also analysed in terms of the above mentioned functions in the same way as the English examples. Finally, the results of these analyses were cross-compared in search of correlations between the function in the source and target texts, as well as between the function and choice of translation equivalents in the target texts. The results are provided in the next section of the paper.

5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, the results yielded by the Spook corpus analysis are discussed. First an overview of all adversative connectors found in the subcorpus is given (5.1), then the functions of the connector *but* in source texts (ST) and target texts (TT) are presented (5.2), further on, statistics about the target text translation equivalents (TEs) of the connector *but* are discussed, and, finally, functions of TEs of *but* are presented and cross-compared with source text functions and types of target text equivalents (5.3). The last part of this chapter is devoted to the instances of non-adversative uses of *but* (5.4).

5.1 Adversative connectors in the English subcorpus

In order to verify the notion of *but* being the most frequent adversative connector in English (Wang 2011), we did a quick overview of the most common adversative connectors in the subcorpus. The most common adversative connectors (expressing both contrast and concession) are single connectors such as *but, however, nevertheless, nonetheless, only, rather, still, though* (in final positions), *yet*, and phrases such as *at any rate, in any case, in fact, on the contrary* and *on the other hand*. As shown in Table 2, the search yielded results revealing that the connector *but* is by far the most common of all the selected adversative connectors. This is indeed in line with Wang (2011: 12-13), who also reports similar findings on the overall frequency of *but* in BNC and COCA, as mentioned above. A decision to choose *but* for our analysis was thus confirmed.

Table 2: Distribution of English adversative connectors in the English subcorpus

	Absolute occurrences	Frequency per 100,000 words
although	142	12.2
but	5,997	516.7
however	229	19.7
in any case	38	3.3
in fact	100	8.6
nevertheless	19	1.6
nonetheless	19	1.6
only	1,393	120
on the contrary	12	1
on the other hand	16	1.4
rather	334	28.8
still	1,193	102.8
though	799	68.9
yet	651	56

5.2 Functions of the connector *but* in source texts and target texts

Below, the results are provided for the different function of the connector *but* in STs (Figure 1), followed by functions of Slovene TEs of the connector *but* in TTs (Figure 2).

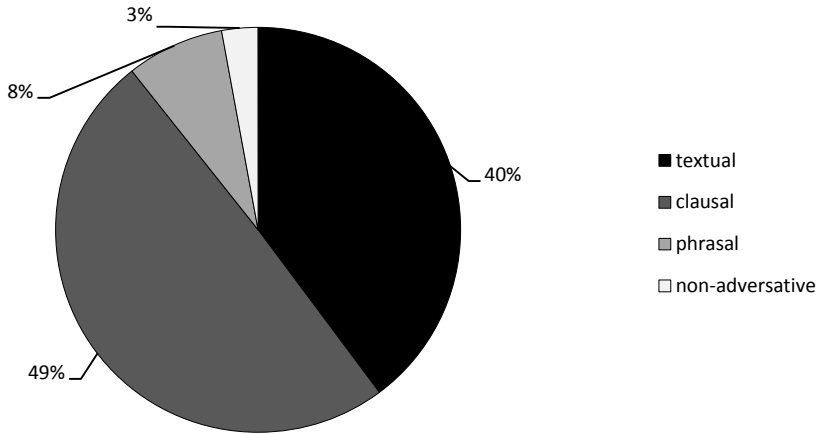


Figure 1: Functions of *but* in ST.

As Figure 1 shows, *but* is most frequently found in its intra-sentential role functioning as a linking element connecting various clauses (49%), which is closely followed by *but* in the textual function (40%), while its function as a linker on the level of phrases is much less pronounced (8%). In the remaining 3% of the examples *but* was used in a non-adversative function (see section 5.4).

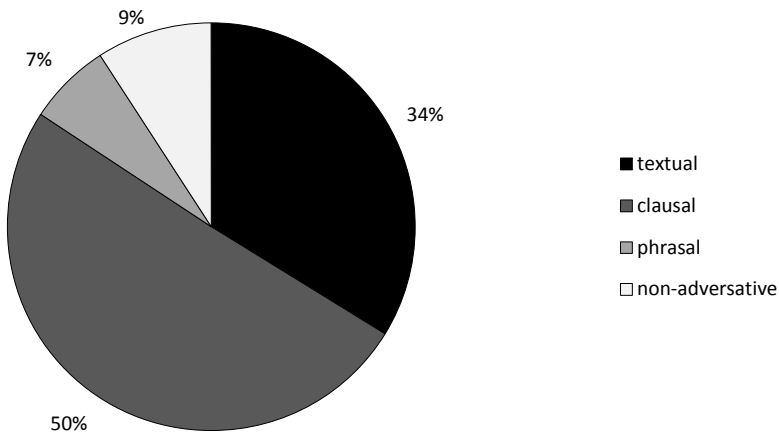


Figure 2: Functions of TEs of *but* in TTs.

Although the analysis of the functions of Slovene TEs (see section 5.3) followed the identification of the TEs themselves in the original research, we decided to

present the results of the former here in order to be able to compare them more easily with the proportions of the functions of *but* in the ST subcorpus. Figure 2 shows the results of this analysis, where the same distinctions as those summarised in Figure 1 were followed. It appears that the functions of the Slovene TEs used in place of the English connector *but* correlate quite strongly with the distributional patterns of the functions established for *but* in the source texts: in 50% of the examples TEs were also used in the clausal function, followed by examples of the textual function (34%), where the dissimilarity with the corresponding ST function proportion was most prominent (the proportion was 40% in the STs). On the other hand, similar to the proportion in the STs, in only 7% of the examples were the TEs used in the phrasal function. At the same time, 9% of the TT examples, i.e. three times as many as in STs, contain TEs in a non-adversative capacity. It would thus appear that in some instances, instead of retaining its original function, *but* was translated into Slovene by a connector occupying a different function altogether. Judging from the two figures above (cf. Figures 1 and 2), we could conclude that a proportion of instances whose function was originally textual has been shifted to a non-adversative level in the TT. To verify the validity of this, the results for single functions of *but* in the ST were cross-compared with the functions of Slovene TEs. Figures 3, 4 and 5 below illustrate to what extent single functions of *but* in the ST subcorpus correlate with the functions of the TEs in the TT subcorpus.

As far as the textual function of *but* is concerned, as evident from Figure 3, the corpus results revealed a significant, 80% correspondence with the textual function of the TEs, showing that the great majority of occurrences of the connector *but* do have a corresponding Slovene TE in the same function (example 1). Yet 11% of the examples were translated with TEs in the clausal function (example 2), 1% even with a lower rank status, i.e. the phrasal function (example 3), and as many as 8% of all instances of *but* in textual functions were translated with non-adverbial elements (most commonly with the Slovene co-ordinate conjunction *in*, or *and* in English, in the textual function; cf. example 4).

1. *Sometimes I have it during the day, but then it's a daydream. **But** I often have it at night as well.*
***Ampak** večkrat jih sanjam ponoči.*
2. *...no way around it, to school he must go. **But** he could be with John at weekends, ...*
*Harriet mu je skušala pojasniti, da se temu ne more izogniti, da se v šolo pač mora, in dodala, da **pa** bo lahko z Johnom vsak konec tedna in med počitnicami.*
3. *It was all temporary. **But** not for Ziplock.*
*Zanj že mogoče, **ampak** ne za Vrečko.*

4. *But you're doing what it says?*
In ti greš meni nič tebi nič narediti to, kar je pač tam načičkano zraven?

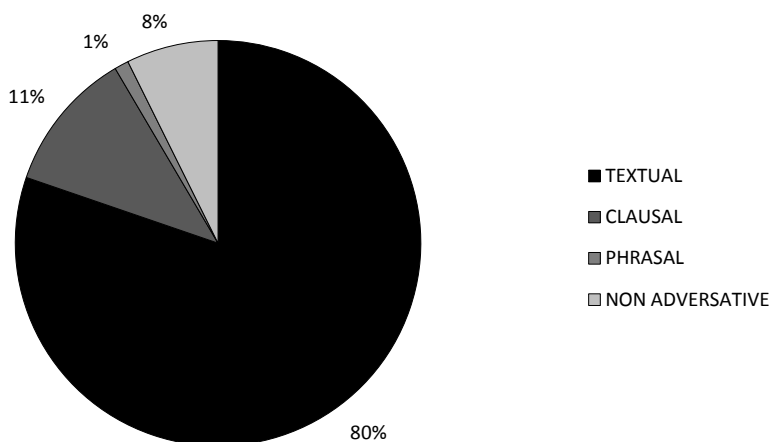


Figure 3: Functions of TEs of textual *but*.

An even higher, 86% correspondence can be discerned between the clausal functions of *but* and its Slovene TEs, as illustrated in Figure 4 (cf. example 6). Still, in a few instances, clausal *but* was translated with a TE in textual (3%, example 5) or phrasal functions (4%, example 7). Again, quite similarly to the translations of textual *but*, 7% of the TEs were used in a non-adversative capacity (example 8).

5. ... over his companion's head, **but** the source of the noise proved to be nothing ...
 ... prek glave pajdaša. **A** izkazalo se je, da gre zgolj za snežno belega pava, ki dostojanstveno stopa vrh žive meje.
6. At some stage the hull had been coated with European Union blue, **but** most of that had been scraped off during various salvage missions.
 Pred mnogimi leti so raketo prebarvali v živo modro, **vendar** je bila ta plast že pošteno izdelana.
7. Life had become easier ... **but** this was only as she saw it, as Dorothy
 Življenje je postalo lažje ... **a** samo v njenih očeh, kakor ji je razkrila Dorothy.
8. Not only did he owe Langdon a favor, **but** Teabing was a Grail researcher...
 Ni samo dolgoval usluge Langdonu, **tudi** preučeval je gral ...

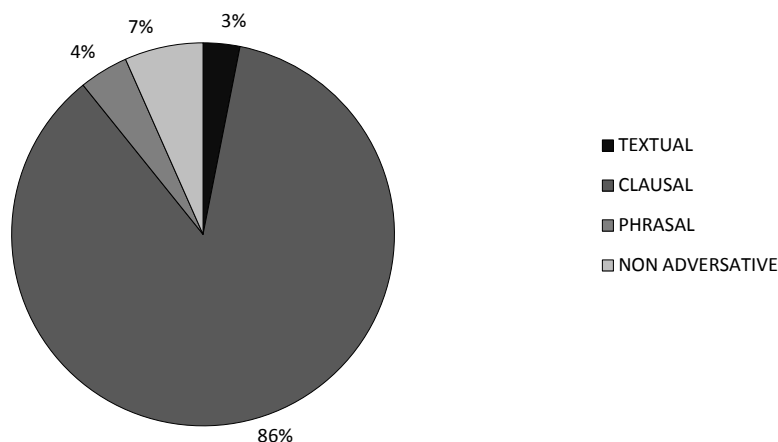


Figure 4: Functions of TEs of clausal *but*.

However, some more variation can be observed between the TEs of phrasal *but* (cf. Figure 5), where 49% of connectors in the target text in fact shifted to a different function. So while 51% of the instances were translated with a TE in the phrasal function (example 11), as many as 38% were upgraded to the clausal function (example 10) and a few (3%) even to the textual function (example 9). Similar to the previously analysed correlations, 7% of all the instances of *but* in the phrasal function were translated with non-adverbial connectors (example 12).

9. *'What have you got in there?' asked William, jocular **but** uneasy, seeing Harriet's stomach convulse.*
*"Kaj pa imaš tam notri?" je šegavo, **a** nelagodno vprašal William, ko je videl, kako se je Harriet krčevito zveržil trebuh.*
10. *...golden head was in the shape of a cross, **but** not a normal cross.*
*Velika zlata glava je imela obliko križa, ki **pa** ni bil običajen.*
11. *Yet it was not her blood - **but** Myton's!*
***Pa** ni bila njena - bila je Mytonova!*
12. *With juice like a fruit **but** hard like a nut.*
*Sočen kot sadje **in** trd kot oreh.*

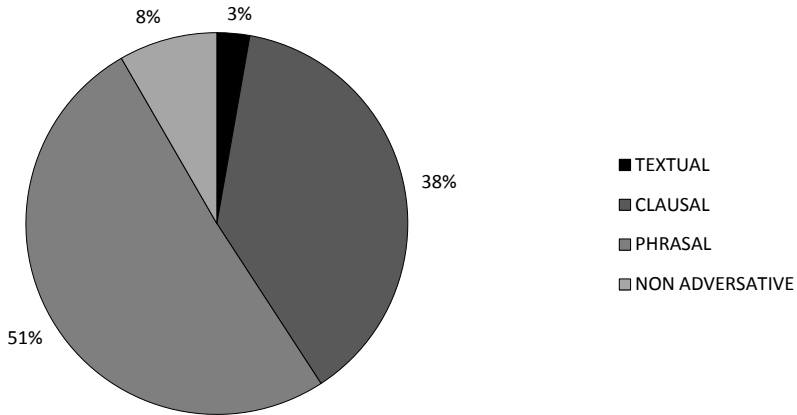


Figure 5: Functions of TEs of phrasal *but*.

In conclusion, we can clearly see that the picture painted by a simple comparison of Figures 1 and 2 above, i.e. by the functions performed by *but* and its TEs, is not an accurate one. Though the textual and clausal function of *but* are largely preserved in TTs, up to 20% of the instances display a shift in their function, caused most frequently by slight variations in expressing the meanings from the STs or, occasionally, by pragmatic or stylistic constraints, as seen in the above examples. The most differences can actually be observed in those examples where *but* is used at the phrasal level. Though from the overall proportions given in Figures 1 and 2 it would seem that the English instances are almost straightforwardly translated with TEs in an equivalent function, in fact only slightly more than half of them are. We could tentatively suggest, judging from the examples found in the corpus, that adversative *but* in the phrasal function tends to be translated with a TE in the clausal function when in the original instance we are dealing with a case of ellipsis: the Slovene version then contains a more explicit version with a verb added or repeated, thus changing the function of the adversative TE from phrasal to clausal, as shown in example 10.

5.3 Translation equivalents for the connector *but* in target texts

The connector *but* can be translated into Slovene by a range of Slovene adversative connectors. The analysis yielded results showing a vast array of different Slovene TEs were indeed used in the literary translations in Spook.

The most frequent translation equivalent for *but* in the Spook corpus (cf. Figure 6) was *ampak* (27%), followed by *pa* (19%), *toda* (16%), *a* (14%) and *vendar* (8%); the remaining Slovene TEs of *but* comprise various other adversative connectors such as combinations of two adversative connectors, e.g. *vendar pa* (example 18),⁸ or other, less frequent connectors⁹ (7%), and a number of non-adversative expressions (9%; discussed in more detail in section 5.4). Examples 13 to 18 show the types of adversative TEs used in place of the connector *but* listed above.

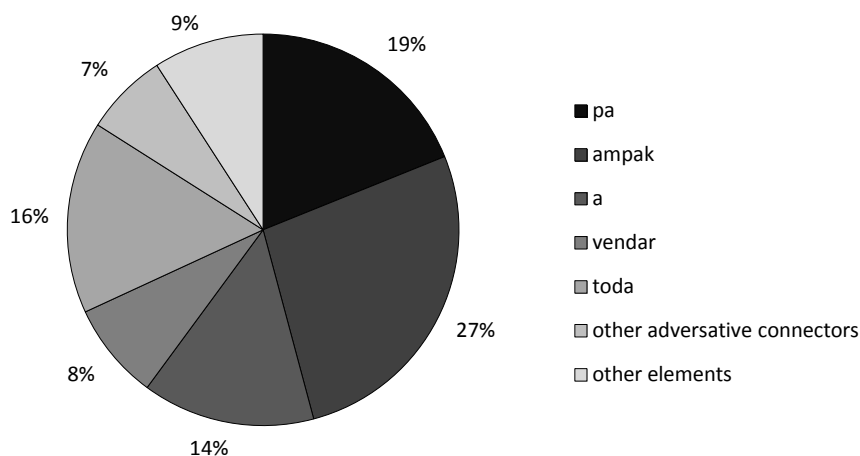


Figure 6: Types of connectors in TT.

13. *Willesden was not as pretty as Queens Park, but it was a nice area.*
*Willesden ni bil tako lep kot Queens Park, bil **pa** je prijeten.*
14. *No offence, but I've got work to do.*
*Ne mi zameriti, **ampak** res imam veliko dela.*
15. *He shook my shoulder a little bit but I didn't move.*
*Malo me je stresel za ramo, **a** jaz se nisem premaknil.*
16. *But things are not as good as they were*
***Toda** danes stvari ne stojе več tako dobro, kot so.*

⁸ In the category of other adversative connectors, almost half were combinations of the connectors *vendar* and *pa* in either order or occasionally in the form of *pa vendarle*. They amounted to 3% of all the TEs found.

⁹ These comprised, in order of frequency, the adversative connectors *temveč*, *samo (da)*, *le (da)*, *marveč*, *pač pa*, *sicer pa*, *ampak ... pa*, *zgolj* and some combinations with other types of connectors (expressing cause or clarification) such as *pa saj*, *ampak saj* etc.

17. *Sophie wanted to run, but she stood transfixed.*
*Sophie je hotela zbežati, **vendar** je stala kot ohromela.*
18. *But he needed a fire, and other things besides...*
***Vendar pa** je potreboval ogenj, poleg ognja pa še druge reči.*

No conclusive correlation can be observed between the functions of *but* in the source text and the type of preferred TEs. In fact, the differences between the types of TEs which were used to translate the various functions of *but* are relatively small, as all types of TEs are used for all functions of the connector *but* (see Table 3). It might be noted that *ampak*, *pa* and *toda* are preferred in the textual function, while *pa* and *ampak* are most commonly used in the clausal function, and *a*, *ampak* and *pa* are most common in the phrasal function. Since all of the Slovene TEs are the translations of one and the same English connector, we can assume that in many cases Slovene adversative connectors are perhaps to be considered as interchangeable and probably regarded as synonymous.

Table 3: Proportions of TEs for various functions of *but* (in %).

Types of TEs	Function of <i>but</i> in STs			
	textual	clausal	phrasal	non-adversative
pa	19.3	19.7	17.3	4.0
ampak	31.1	24.9	23.3	1.2
a	11.7	16.9	15.6	1.2
vendar	5.0	10.0	13.7	0
toda	19.5	15.2	5.6	1.2
other adversative connectors	4.9	6.6	16.2	13.9
other elements	7.4	6.6	8.3	78.6

A closer look at the results yielded by the Spook corpus reveals that some TEs are in fact slightly more frequent in some functions than others: e.g. Slovene adversative connector *vendar* is much less frequently used in the textual function (5%), and is more often employed as a TE of *but* in clausal or phrasal capacity (10% and 13.7% respectively), while the reverse is true of *toda*. Connector *toda* is actually much less frequently found in translations of *but* used in the phrasal function (only 5.6%) compared to its use as TE for both textual and clausal functions of *but* (19.5% and 15.2% respectively). The connectors united in the category ‘other adversative connectors’ are more frequently used as TEs of *but* in

the phrasal function (16.2%) compared to translations of *but* in textual (4.9%) or clausal (6.6%) functions.

In the same way, we also checked if there was any correlation between the functions performed by TEs in the TTs and the types of Slovene adversative connectors employed. Nothing conclusive could be established on this front either, as is seen in Table 4. The same slight preferences for specific connectors in some functions rather than others confirm what was observed above: *vendar* is preferred on the phrasal level, *toda* is more common in textual and clausal functions, and other adversative connectors are most commonly used on the phrasal level.

Table 4: Proportions of types of TEs in relation to their function (in %).

Types of TEs	Function of TEs			
	textual	clausal	phrasal	non-adversative
pa	12.3	26.4	20.8	0.9
ampak	38.1	24.4	26.9	0.3
a	14.6	16.2	17.3	0.2
vendar	5.7	10.2	14.7	0
toda	23.4	14.8	5.6	0
other adversative connectors	5.3	7.7	13.9	3.1
other elements	0.6	0.3	0.8	95.5

5.4 Translation equivalents for non-adversative *but*

Considering the polysemous nature of *but*, it is no surprise that in some of the instances found in the corpus this connector was not used in its adversative meaning. The proportion of these non-adversative examples is a mere 3% of all the concordances found; thus it can be concluded that *but* is indeed most common as an adversative connector.

Furthermore, there is – again, not surprisingly at all – a very strong correlation between the non-adversative uses of *but* and translations with non-adversative TEs, as illustrated by the results in Figure 7: 78.6% of all these instances were translated with non-adversative elements.

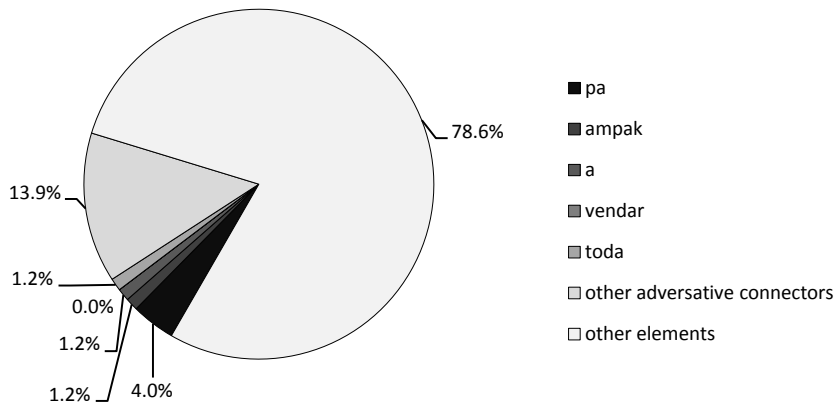


Figure 7: TEs for non-adversative *but*.

An extremely rich variety of expressions in Slovene can be observed as TEs in place of the non-adversative connector *but*, depending on the meaning that it assumes in the single instances, as evident from the following examples:

19. ...*who can tell me -? **But** Miss Granger can, of course!*
 ... *kdo mi zna povedati...? **Kdo drug kot** gospodična Grangerjeva, jasno!*
20. ...*those wreckers of all **but** the best-laid plans.*
 ... *ti pogubi vseh, **razen** najboljše skovanih načrtov.*
21. ...*Teabing would have no choice **but** to kill them both.*
 ... *Teabingu ne bo ostalo drugega, **kakor da** ubije oba.*

On the other hand, over 20% of the instances of non-adversative *but* were translated with adversative connectors. We might speculate that as the adversative interpretation of *but* is so common translators might be led to translate it with an adversative connector even when that is not the relation implied in the ST, as in example 22 below.

22. *Draco Malfoy did nothing **but** stare at Albus Dumbledore...*
*Draco Malfoy, ki je stal pred njim, **pa** je samo bolščal v Albusa Dumbledora ...*

6 CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of the present study was to observe the similarities and/or differences in the function and distribution patterns of Slovene translation equivalents of the English adversative expression *but*, which is the most frequently used

adversative connector in both in English in general (cf. Wang 2011) and in the corpus analysed here.

The analysis showed that there is quite a wide range of alternatives for the English adversative connector *but* in Slovene. The most frequent translation equivalent found in the corpus is the Slovene connector *ampak*, followed by *pa*, *toda*, *a* and *vendar*, which cover approximately 84% of all instances. Some 7% of the examples had other adversative connectors instead (such as *marveč*, *temveč*, *samo*, *le*). The remaining 9% are instances where translations of *but* comprised non-adversative elements. The results also show that despite a seemingly quite strong correspondence between the functions of *but* in STs and those of various adversative connectors used as target TEs in Slovene, a closer look reveals a more complex relationship, where correlations for different functions may vary considerably (e.g. for the phrasal function).

The functions of adversative connectors both in STs and TTs were cross-compared with the types of TEs, but no significant correlations were established. A few preferences were noticed in connection with some TT adversative connectors such as *toda* and *vendar*, but it would appear that in most cases translators can use any of the available adversative connectors as a TE of adversative *but* and that it is mainly a question of choice and stylistic preference.

Some limitations of the study ought to be pointed out, the first one being strongly related to the corpus. Since the Spook corpus is a collection of literary texts, it is fair to assume that a more varied corpus could perhaps yield different results on both frequency as well as distributional patterns of the analysed connectors.

Furthermore, it would be interesting to verify whether the distributional patterns of the Slovene connectors found in the corpus differ in any way from their distribution in original Slovene texts; however, this was out of the scope of the present research, which focused on translation equivalents, not on the situation concerning adversative connectors and their functions in (original and translated) Slovene. This remains to be analysed further in future research.

Another area reserved for future studies would be to verify the behaviour of other English adversative connectors, as they may or may not be similar to *but* in their uses and translatability. A study which would take into account a number of text types and a more varied range of ST adversative connectors and their TEs in the TTs would greatly benefit our understanding of the behaviour of these cohesive devices.

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Nominalization in literary texts: A corpus-based study of contrastive and translational aspects

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Povzetek

Študija se osredotoča na pojavljanje nominalizacije v italijanskih in slovenskih literarnih besedilih. Podatki so zbrani s pomočjo korpusa Spook, ki združuje italijanska izvirna besedila in njihove slovenske prevode, pa tudi izvirna slovenska leposlovna besedila. Na podlagi analize s korpusno metodologijo opazujemo, v kolikšni meri je pogostnost nominalizacije odvisna od jezika in v kolikšni od besedilnega tipa. Osvetliti želimo tudi vpliv prevodnega procesa na pojavljanje nominalizacije. Ker niso vsi primeri tega pojava v prevedenih besedilih neposredne ustreznice izvirnih nominalizacij, pri analizi upoštevamo tudi tiste primere, ki se pojavljajo, ko v izvirnih besedilih ni uporabljeno to izrazno sredstvo. Namen je torej preveriti, kakšna je splošna pogostnost nominalizacije v korpusu, kako pogosto se pojavlja kot prevod izvirnih nominalizacij in kolikokrat se pojavi kot ustreznica drugih izvirnih struktur. Poleg tega želimo tudi preveriti, katere strukture se nahajajo v izvirnih besedilih, ko nominalizacija v prevodu ni neposredni prevod enake strukture. Rezultati nakazujejo, da se nominalizacija dejansko v slovenskih literarnih besedilih nasploh in v prevodih specifično pojavlja redkeje kot v drugih besedilnih tipih, pa tudi redkeje kot v italijanščini. V prispevku so predstavljene tudi alternativne ubeseditve, ki se pojavljajo namesto izvirnih italijanskih nominalizacij.

Ključne besede: nominalizacija, literarna besedila, korpusna analiza, italijanščina, slovenščina.

1 INTRODUCTION

Following systemic functional linguistics (e.g. Halliday 1994), when we want to express a process, we can choose to do so in a congruent way, with a verb, or we can choose to realize that process metaphorically with a noun, i.e. a nominalization. The choice involves a different rearrangement of the participants in the process and a consequent change in the information structure and lexical density of the clause (see next section). Not all languages react to such rearrangements equally well, some being seemingly more verb-oriented (e.g. Hopi, Chinese, Turkish¹) and others appearing to be more prone to use nouns in comparison (e.g. English, French, German²). Indeed, nominalization is a phenomenon present in a number of languages – Koptjevskaja-Tamm's (1993) study includes as many as 70 languages – and has been the subject of a great amount of research from various points of view in recent years. Often, the analyses centre on discourse and text types where nominalization is an important characteristic of how meanings are construed, such as scientific discourse (e.g. Halliday and Martin 1993, Fang 2005, Banks 2008), legal discourse (e.g. Williams 2004, Felici 2013, Orts Llopis 2009), the language of bureaucracy (Whittaker and Martín Rojo 1999, Fortis 2005) and so on, though it has been suggested³ that in several languages nominalization has spread with varying frequency to all aspects of adult language (cf. Halliday and Martin 1993: 16-17). In Italian, several studies have been devoted to nominalization on the level of morphology and syntax, notably by Thornton (1997), Gaeta (2002, 2004), Gaeta and Ricca (2003, 2006). The number of studies centring on nominalization in Slovene (in contrast with other languages) have also recently increased, although it is still a much under-researched topic (cf. for instance Klinar 1996, Žele 1996, 1997, Plemenitaš 2007, Košak 2007, Mikolič Južnič 2007, 2011, Kuster 2014, Elikan 2014). What these and other studies seem to suggest is that while Italian is believed to be a strongly noun-oriented language (cf. also Bruni et al. 1997, Cortelazzo and Pellegrino 2003, Cassese 1993), Slovene seems to be somewhat more verb-oriented (cf. for instance Klinar 1996, but also Plemenitaš 2007, who claims the opposite for the genres she studied in comparison with English). As for other languages, in the studies mentioned, nominalization is usually observed in those genres where its frequency is expected to be high and where it is known to have an important impact on the way meanings are construed.

In this article, however, the aim is to observe a genre which is not usually associated with a high frequency of nominalization, i.e. literary texts, and to verify

¹ Cf., for instance, Whorf (1950) for a comparison of Hopi and English, Halliday and Martin (1993) for a comparison between Chinese and English, Altinkamiş, Kern and Sofu (2014) for a comparison between French and Turkish.

² Cf., for instance, Roald and Whittaker (2010) for a contrastive study of French and Norwegian, Azpiazu Torres (2005), for a comparison of German, English and Spanish.

³ Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 1999) state that grammatical metaphor developed first in scientific texts and from there, it spread to the discourse of education, bureaucracy, law and other discourses with various degrees of frequency.

to what extent its presence impacts the texts in comparison with other genres, seeing that its lower or higher frequency may influence the lexical density and readability of the text (cf. below). Furthermore, the main objective of the contribution is to see what the relationship is between the presence of this feature in Italian source texts and in their Slovene translations, as well as to verify if there is any difference in the occurrence of nominalization in original Slovene literary texts and in translated ones. The question arises from the presupposition, confirmed in previous research (cf., for instance, Mikolič Južnič 2007, 2012a), that nominalization is more present in some languages (in this case Italian) than in others (Slovene) and that this might give rise to problems when translating from one language into the other. Such problems have been repeatedly noticed in the translations handed in by translation students, therefore the implications of the research could have a positive impact on the teaching of translation.

After a definition of nominalization, a brief introduction to the framework of systemic functional linguistics is presented, as well as some repercussions of the rearrangement of the elements of sentence structure caused by nominalization. Subsequently, an analysis of a corpus of original Slovene literary texts and a two-way analysis of a parallel Italian-Slovene corpus are presented, in which the focus is on the structures found in one language where in the other there are nominalizations. The levels of nominalization in Slovene translated literary works are compared with those of Slovene original literary works in order to assess the impact of translation constraints on the frequency of nominalizations. These results are followed by some concluding remarks on the implications from a contrastive and translational point of view.

2 NOMINALIZATION AS A GRAMMATICAL METAPHOR AND GENRE VARIATION

In the framework of systemic functional linguistics, the meaning potential is a key concept: among the selections of elements which can carry meaning, a speaker can choose which meaning potential to use when communicating. The realizations of a meaning potential are not random: some of them are viewed as congruent, i.e. they feel natural and characteristic of the language. As Halliday (1994: 343) says,

there are what speakers recognize as typical patterns of wording, and it is these that we are calling ‘congruent’ forms. Since construing experience in the form of language is already inherently a metaphorical process, it is no surprise to find a further dimension of metaphor, present within language itself. So as well as recognizing what is congruent, we also recognize that there are other possibilities, where the typical pattern has not been used and the speaker or writer has chosen to say things differently.

Therefore, along with the congruent realizations, other means of expression have evolved that are called grammatical metaphors. In these, the links between meaning and grammar are rearranged into new mappings. Ravelli (2003: 38) states that “(t)he verbal to nominal transfer is the most prototypical form of grammatical metaphor”. Nominalization is thus defined as a type of ideational⁴ grammatical metaphor whereby a process, which would congruently be realized by a verb, is metaphorically realized by a noun (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 636).

For instance, instead of using a congruent mode of expression, as in a. below, we can realize the process with the nominalization *arrivo* /arrival/ and thus have a sentence as in b. In this example, a process, “to arrive”, is realized as a noun which has the role of participant in another process, i.e. “to surprise”.

- a. *Luca è arrivato improvvisamente.* /Luca has arrived suddenly/
- b. *L'improvviso arrivo di Luca mi ha sorpreso.* /Luca's sudden arrival surprised me/

As we can see, the realization of the process with a grammatical metaphor involves changes in other participants and circumstances of the original process: the actor (*Luca*) of the process in a. becomes an attribute of the actor of the process in b. (*Luca's*), while the circumstance of the first process (*suddenly*) becomes another attribute (*sudden*). Such rearrangements usually result in utterances that are lexically dense, i.e. a higher number of lexical items are included in each clause (ibid.: 654). Lexical density is defined as “a measure of the density of information in any passage of text, according to how tightly the lexical items (content words) have been packed into the grammatical structure” (Halliday and Martin 1993: 83). It seems that not all languages cope with high lexical density equally well. Žele (1996) and Klinar (1996) argue that Slovene is relatively averse to such wordings, as they tend to make comprehension more difficult and they leave more space for ambiguity, since participants such as the actor, which are obligatory when a process is construed as a verb, can be omitted (e.g. *The arrival was scheduled for 2 pm.*). Following these premises, it might be expected that translators working from a language prone to high lexical density, such as Italian (cf. Giannosa 2012), into a language that does not show the same inclination, such as Slovene, would tend to employ strategies that could help them avoid overusing a feature that heightens lexical density, as nominalization indeed does.

Furthermore, considering the genre which is the object of the present research, i.e. literary texts, where nominalization is expected to have lower frequency rates

⁴ According to systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 1994: xiv), language is a system of meanings realized by certain forms; these meanings are encompassed in an utterance on three levels and can be described with the interpersonal, textual and ideational metafunctions (cf. also Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 1999). Nominalization is primarily linked to the ideational metafunction, but its occurrence also involves changes on the other two planes (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 239) for changes on the textual level and ibid. (241-242) for the interpersonal level).

than in other text types,⁵ it is hypothesized that the frequency of nominalizations in the analysed target texts is lower than in the source texts and that other means of expression are also used to construe the meanings encoded by nominalizations in the source texts, such as the unpacking of the grammatical metaphor in the more explicit form of a verb. Yet since it has been shown (Mikolič Južnič 2010) that nominalizations in the target texts are not always direct translations of nominalizations in the source texts, but can be the equivalents of various non-finite verbal structures (as well as other elements) of the source language, it is also expected that a portion of the target text nominalizations analyzed will be equivalents mostly of Italian infinitives and/or gerunds.

3 CORPUS AND METHOD

3.1 Corpus

The corpus used for the purposes of this research is the Spook corpus, the first Slovene translational corpus which was compiled between 2009 and 2011 (cf. Vintar 2013). It includes 95 modern literary works written (and translated) between 1992 and 2006, 23 of which are original Slovene novels and short stories while the rest are divided among four parallel subcorpora with English, French, German, and Italian originals and their Slovene translations. All the original Slovene works, as well as all the translations, were written by native speakers of Slovene. The corpus is lemmatized and tagged, and the parallel subcorpora are aligned at sentence level. Table 1 shows the number of tokens for those subcorpora that were used in this analysis, i.e. the subcorpus of original Slovene literary texts and the Italian-Slovene parallel subcorpus.

Table 1: Number of tokens for three subcorpora of the Spook corpus

Subcorpus	Number of tokens
Italian originals	486,843
Slovene translations	478,591
Slovene originals	1,644,067

The corpus is analysable through NoSketch Engine, an online concordancer and corpus analysis tool available at the Natural Language Server of the Department

⁵ Cf. Mikolič Južnič (2011) for a comparison of frequency levels of nominalizations in different genres in Slovene (cf. also section 4.1.). It should also be pointed out that in literary texts, one of the reasons for the low frequency of nominalization in general is probably linked to the inherent tendency of literature to focus on narration, on mimicking natural dialogues, etc., which in itself seems to point towards a verbal form of expression rather than a nominal one.

of Knowledge Technologies at the Jožef Stefan institute in Ljubljana.⁶ All parts of the corpus can be searched separately and, in the case of parallel subcorpora, the results can also be viewed as aligned concordances.

3.2 Method

The analysis consisted of three main stages: the automatic extraction of instances of nominalization in the three subcorpora of the Spook corpus, the elimination of noise and a manual analysis of the equivalents of nominalizations in the two languages, which was also divided in three separate phases.

As nominalizations do not carry a special tag in the annotation system of the corpus, the only viable option for extracting their occurrences was to look for specific deverbal derivational morphemes for each language observed. This means that the study does not encompass all instances of nominalization present in the corpus, but focuses on the most productive derivational morphemes in the two languages. These are listed in Table 2 and they account for approximately 90%⁷ of all the nominalizations present in two of the most authoritative dictionaries for Italian and Slovene (cf. Mikolič Južnič 2007: 132-135).⁸ It is evident from Table 2 that while in Slovene a very small number of derivational morphemes accounts for the vast majority of nominalizations in the language, in Italian the variety of derivational patterns is much greater. It must be noted, however, that the morphemes *-mento*, *-zione*, *-ura* and *-ata* alone account for 75% of all the instances in the Italian dictionary.

After the automatic extraction of all the occurrences of the said morphemes in the three subcorpora analysed (original Slovene texts, Slovene translations and original Italian texts), the results were manually checked in order to eliminate noise, such as random nouns ending with the same characters (e.g. *momento* /moment/) and instances where the nominalization does not refer to a process but to another kind of concept, e.g. an institution, as in *Organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite* /United Nations organization/.

⁶ <http://nl.ijs.si/noske/index-en.html>.

⁷ It should be stressed that the percentages reflect the presence of individual nominalizations in the dictionaries, i.e. all the forms accounted for in the dictionaries, and does not say anything about their frequency in the language or in any corpora. The criterion was chosen in order to catch the greatest number of nominalizations possible, although of course it is impossible to predict precisely the portion of those left out of the analysis.

⁸ For Italian, Zingarelli (2002) was used: the dictionary comprises 135,000 words and is one of the most renowned dictionaries for this language; for Slovene, Bajec et al. (1994) was used, which is the only comprehensive dictionary of the language and which includes 93,000 words.

Table 2: Most productive Italian and Slovene deverbal nominal derivational morphemes

Italian	Slovene
-mento	-anje
-zione	-enje
-ura	-tev
-ata	-cija
-io	-tje
-sione	
-ato	
-enza	
-ore	
-ita	
-aggio	
-ere	
-eggio	
-tà	

The occurrences of nominalization in the subcorpus of original Slovene texts were extracted, cleaned up and counted, and then the frequency per 100,000 tokens was calculated in order to simplify the comparison with the other data, as the sizes of the three subcorpora vary. Starting from the Italian-Slovene parallel subcorpus, two separate analyses were performed: first, all the instances of Italian nominalizations formed with the above morphemes were extracted and analysed in terms of translation equivalents in the parallel Slovene examples. Then all the instances of Slovene nominalizations with the morphemes listed in Table 2 were extracted together with the original Italian sentences and the Italian elements corresponding to the Slovene nominalizations were analysed. In both cases, the focus was on the part of speech of the element corresponding to the nominalization in the other language (see Table 3 for the categories analysed). The results were then cross-compared and are presented in the following section. As the manual analysis was carried out in three distinct phases, the results are divided into three subsections, while some comparisons are drawn in the last section of the paper.

Table 3: Categories of analyses for the parallel corpus

Categories of elements	
Slovene translations of Italian nominalizations	Italian source elements of Slovene nominalizations
Nominalization	Nominalization
Other noun	Other noun
Finite verb	Nominalized infinitive
Non-Finite verb	Infinitive
Adverb	Gerund
Adjective	Finite verb
Pronoun	Adverb
Preposition	Adjective
Nothing	Pronoun
	Nothing

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Frequency of nominalization in Slovene and Italian original texts and in Slovene translations

After eliminating noise, the search for the selected morphemes in the original Slovene literary texts subcorpus produced 9,630 occurrences of nominalizations, which means that the frequency of the analysed nominalizations is 586 instances per 100,000 words. The numbers for each morpheme are given in table 4.

Table 4: Absolute number of nominalizations in the Original Slovene Literary Texts subcorpus

Morpheme	Absolute number
-anje	5,947
-enje	1,642
-cija	770
-tev	820
-tje	451
Total	9,630

Table 5 shows the number of occurrences in the subcorpus of Slovene translations from Italian, which amount to 2,186, i.e. 457 instances per 100,000 words. Considering that in original Slovene texts there were 586 instances per 100,000 words, the frequency in translations is 22% lower than in the former.

Table 5: Absolute number of nominalizations in the Translated Slovene Literary Texts subcorpus

Morpheme	Absolute number
-anje	1,420
-enje	438
-cija	44
-tev	183
-tje	101
Total	2,186

In the analysed subcorpus of Italian original texts, the overall number of occurrences of nominalization is 2,408, i.e. 495 instances per 100,000 words, as is shown in Table 6. The frequency is lower than in Slovene original texts by 15%, while the Slovene translations contain 8% less nominalizations than the originals.

Table 6: Absolute number of nominalizations in the Original Italian Literary Texts subcorpus

Morpheme	Absolute number
-zione	666
-io	422
-mento	303
-aggio	220
-sione	179
-enza	151
-ura	108
-ore	83
-ere	77
-ita	63
-ata	60
-ato	35
-tà	32
-eggio	9

Contrary to previous studies of other genres, the results of some of which are shown in table 7,⁹ where nominalization in Slovene was found to be less frequent than in Italian (cf. Mikolič Južnič 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b) it seems that nominalization is slightly more frequent in original Slovene literary texts than in Italian ones.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Slovene translations display a lower frequency both compared to their Italian originals and to Slovene original texts. Possibly, a tendency to hypercorrectness is at the basis of the translators' behaviour, as the idea that Slovene is more verb-oriented is well established in the linguistic community. In the following sections, we will look at the relationship between nominalizations in original and translated texts in order to gain more insight in this aspect.

Table 7: Frequency of nominalization in different genres per 100,000 words¹¹

	Text types					
	Literary	General ¹²	Popular science	Law	Scientific articles	Spoken texts
Slovene	586/457 ¹³	1,890	3,190 ¹⁴	3,884	3,085	532
Italian	495		3,715			

Comparing the frequencies given in Table 7 we notice that the relative frequency of nominalization in literary texts appears to be quite low both in Italian and in Slovene: only spoken texts have comparable frequency, while the other analysed genres tend to have a frequency at least three times higher. This is also true for the corpus of general Slovene, which includes a number of non-literary works, where the frequency of nominalization is apparently higher than in the corpus analysed here.

⁹ The data are taken from Mikolič Južnič (2007, 2011 and 2012b). The studies mentioned employ similar methods to analyse the frequency of nominalization in several genres. The data for Italian popular science are taken from Mikolič Južnič (2007), where some additional (but very rarely used) morphemes are included, so the number is slightly higher than it would be without these.

¹⁰ This is confirmed in Mikolič Južnič (2011: 325), where an analysis of a different, if smaller, literary corpus yielded very similar results for literary texts: the frequency in that corpus was 511 instances per 100,000 words.

¹¹ Data in columns 3-7 are adapted from Mikolič Južnič (2007, 2011, 2012b).

¹² The term is used to refer to a corpus of different genres that should reflect the general usage of everyday written Slovene. The corpus used in the study (Mikolič Južnič 2011) is the JOS100K corpus (<http://nl.ijs.si/jos/jos100k-en.html>).

¹³ The first number refers to the frequency in the subcorpus of original Slovene literary texts, the second one to that in the subcorpus of Slovene translations from Italian.

¹⁴ The number refers to the frequency of nominalizations in Slovene translations from Italian (cf. Mikolič Južnič 2007).

4.2 Nominalizations in Italian source texts and their equivalents in Slovene target texts

In the second part of the analysis, the Italian-Slovene parallel subcorpus was used to verify what translation equivalents are found for Italian nominalizations. Table 8 shows a detailed picture of the results of this analysis.

Table 8: Absolute numbers of Slovene translation equivalents (TE) of Italian nominalizations

	Nominalization	Other noun	Finite verb	Non-finite verb	Nothing	Adverb	Adjective	Pronoun	Preposition	Total for single morpheme
-mento	155	25	65	1	44	2	8	3	0	303
-zione	415	60	86	2	74	7	20	2	0	666
-ura	43	10	31	1	11	8	4	0	0	108
-ata	28	5	18	0	6	0	2	1	0	60
-io	279	20	79	2	25	4	7	5	1	422
-sione	80	31	40	0	14	6	4	4	0	179
-ato	22	4	1	0	6	0	2	0	0	35
-enza	84	10	21	0	19	11	3	3	0	151
-ore	42	9	9	0	13	4	4	2	0	83
-ita	38	4	11	1	8	0	1	0	0	63
-aggio	130	28	25	4	22	2	8	1	0	220
-ere	45	13	7	0	11	0	0	1	0	77
-eggio	6	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
-tà	5	24	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	32
Total for single TE	1,372	243	396	12	255	44	63	22	1	2,408

Figure 1 gives the proportions of the translation equivalents. The most frequent translation equivalent by far is a noun (67.07%), mostly a nominalization (56.98%; example 1) or another noun (10.09%; example 2). The second most frequent is the verb (16.95%), either in finite (16.45%; example 3) or, very rarely, in non-finite form (0.50%; example 4).

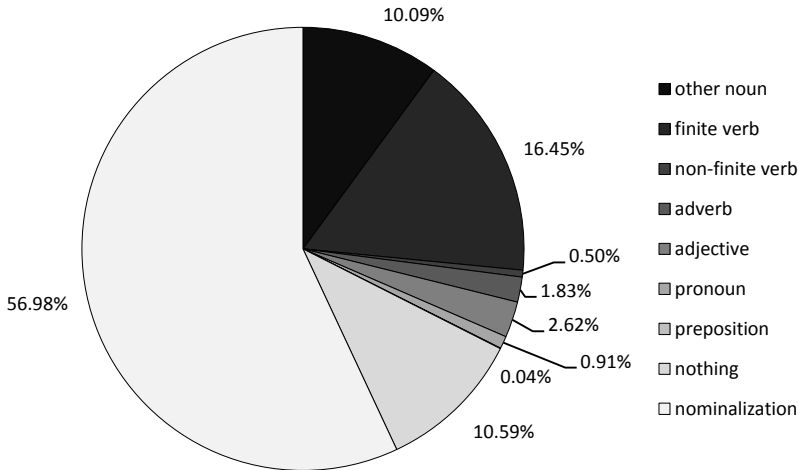


Figure 1: Proportions of translation equivalents in the Slovene Translated Texts subcorpus

- (1) a. *Beatrice lo aveva guardato con ammirazione* /Beatrice had looked at him with **admiration**¹⁵
 b. *Beatrix pa ga je pogledala z občudovanjem* /Beatrix looked at him with **admiration**/
- (2) a. *come la ferita di quella mala azione* /as the wound of that bad **action**/
 b. *spomini na tisto napako* /memories of that **mistake**/
- (3) a. *Sentì una preoccupante accelerazione del battito cardiaco* /he felt a disturbing **acceleration** of his heartbeat/
 b. *Srce mu je začelo nemirno biti* /his heart **started beating** restlessly/
- (4) a. *egli pretendeva la distruzione di Alessandria* /he wanted the **destruction** of Alessandria/
 b. *se je namenil razrušiti Aleksandrijo* /he intended **to destroy** Alessandria/

Surprisingly, there is quite a number of instances where the Italian nominalization is omitted in translation (10.59%). Such omissions are of two types: either there is no real loss in meaning, as the same concept is expressed by other means (example 5), or the translator for some reason failed to convey the whole meaning of the source text sentence (example 6).¹⁶

¹⁵ The English translations of the examples are intentionally as literal as possible.

¹⁶ The question of meaning loss in examples 5 and 6 is strictly limited to the underlined nominalizations; there may well be

- (5) a. *Era sola, si annoiava e traeva consolazione da quel dondolio* /she was alone, bored and she found **consolation** in that rocking/
 b. *Bila je osamljena in je dolgčas preganjala z dolgotrajnim strmenjem* / she was lonely and she chased away the boredom by staring for a long time/
- (6) a. *Poi bastava un niente per dare il via a una sequenza di ricordi, di pacati ragionamenti.* /Then anything was enough to start a sequence of memories, of calm **reasoning**/
 b. *Potem je zadostovala zgolj beseda in spet sta se potopila v spomine.* /Then a word was enough and they sank into memories/

Adverbs (1.83%) and adjectives (2.62%) occur as translations of nominalizations when there are special conditions in the sentence. 36 of 44 occurrences of adverbs as translation equivalents of nominalizations are instances where the original nominalization is part of a prepositional phrase with an adverbial meaning (example 7), while the rest are instances where the two languages con-
 strue meanings with different grammatical structures (example 8). Adjectives (example 9) are usually the translation equivalent of a structure in the original sentence where the nominalization is in a genitive relationship with another noun (example 9).

- (7) a. *soffiava in continuazione* /it was blowing **constantly**/
 b. *Neprestano je pihal* /it was blowing **constantly**/
- (8) a. *hai preso la giusta decisione* /you have made the right **decision**/
 b. *Ti pa si s svojim odhodom naredila čisto prav* /you behaved **correctly** with your leaving/
- (9) a. *Il bravo sciapode corse al suo posto di combattimento* /the good skiapod ran to his place of **combat**/
 b. *Pogumni senconožec je stekel na svoj bojni položaj* /the brave skiapod ran to his **fighting** place/

In a few instances (0.91%), the nominalization was translated with the context-appropriate pronoun (example 10). Finally, there was one instance (0.04%) where a nominalization, part of a prepositional phrase (*in cambio*) was translated with a preposition (example 11).¹⁷

other changes in meaning and omissions/additions in these and other similar examples which influence the meaning of the whole sentence, but that is beyond the scope of this characterization.

¹⁷ There were 8 instances with this Italian prepositional phrase, but in all other cases they were translated with other structures, e.g. a nominalization in the example *Perché tu in cambio gli dai il diritto di poterlo dire* /Because you in exchange give them the right to say it/, which is translated with *Ker jim boš dal ti v zameno pravico, da bodo lahko to izjavili* /Because you will give them in exchange the right to say that/.

- (10) a. *Da molti anni rimandava una decisione* /For years she postponed a **decision**/
 b. *Dolga leta je odlašala s tem* /For long years she procrastinated with **this**/
- (11) a. *non me la imposi certo in cambio di soldi*. /I didn't impose it on myself **in exchange for** money/
 b. *se zagotovo nisem podala zaradi njega*. /I certainly didn't do that **for** it/

4.3 Nominalizations in Slovene target texts and their source structures

The last part of the analysis centred on the nominalizations occurring in Slovene translated texts and their source structures. This means that the perspective is the opposite to the previous section. As Table 9 and Figure 2 clearly show, not all Slovene nominalizations are direct translations of Italian ones.

Table 9: Absolute numbers of Italian source elements (SE) translated as Slovene nominalizations

	Nominalization	Other noun	Nominalized infinitive	Infinitive	Gerund	Finite verb	Pronoun	Adjective	Adverb	Nothing	Total for single morpheme
-anje	741	113	34	236	90	88	10	40	1	67	1,420
-enje	219	84	13	57	10	29	9	7	0	10	438
-cija	31	4	0	4	0	3	0	2	0	0	44
-tev	134	6	0	24	2	9	1	3	0	4	183
-tje	48	12	2	18	8	6	1	6	0	0	101
Total for single SE	1,173	219	49	339	110	135	21	58	1	81	2,186

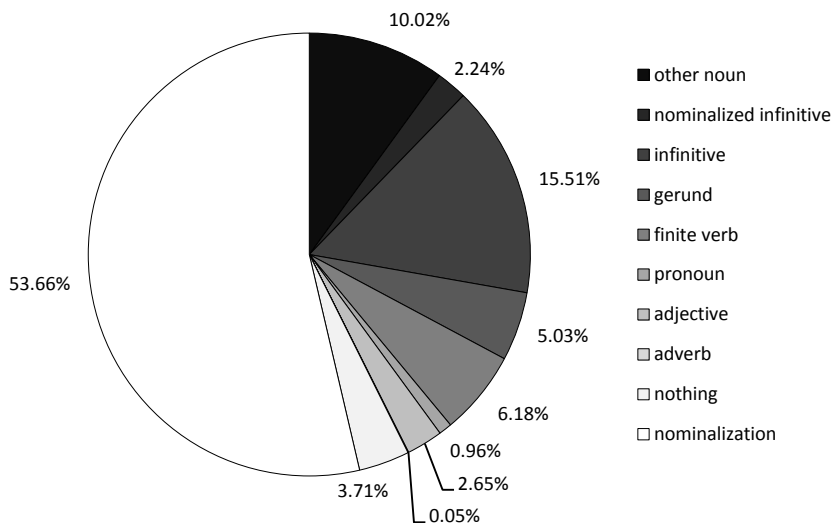


Figure 2: Proportions of source elements in the Italian Original Texts subcorpus

The greatest number (63.68%) are in fact translations of either nominalizations (example 12) or other nouns (example 13); if we add to those the nominalized infinitives (example 14), which are a kind of nominalization in themselves,¹⁸ we get 65.92% of nominal elements that were the source structures of Slovene nominalizations.

- (12) a. *globoke glasove, ki so bili podobni levjemu rjuvenju* /deep noises that were similar to a lion's **roar**/
 b. *dei versi bassi e profondi che assomigliavano al ruggito di un leone* /deep noises that resembled the **roar** of a lion/
- (13) a. *kadar se v nekaj zapičimo, odločitve ne spreminjamo* /when we make up our mind, we don't change our **decision**/
 b. *quando ci mettiamo qualcosa dentro non c'è verso di farci cambiare idea* /when we make up our mind, there is no way to make us change our **idea**/
- (14) a. *dobička neke korporacije, specializirane za rušenje* /the revenue of a corporation specialized in **demolitions**/
 b. *dai guadagni d'una Corporation specializzata nel demolire* /by the revenues of a Corporation specialized in **the demolishing**/

¹⁸ Nominalized infinitives have been singled out because they often display a more 'verbal' nature than derived nominalizations and are therefore a middle step between non-finite verb forms and derived nominalizations (cf. example 14b). They also do not have a structural counterpart in Slovene and thus have to be translated using some alternative realization (cf. Mikolič Južnič 2013).

This implies that in more than one third of the instances, there was not a nominalization, but rather some other kind of original element that resulted in a nominalization. In the great majority of these, the original elements are verbs, most frequently infinitives (15.51%; example 15), but also gerunds (5.03%; example 16) and finite verb forms (6.18%; example 17). What apparently happened in the translations of finite verb forms is that congruent expressions of the original text were packed into grammatical metaphors: the processes were expressed as nouns and the roles of the participants were rearranged. With non-finite forms translated as nominalizations, we still have a similar situation where a process is being realized by a verb in one language and by a noun in the other, although there are probably other factors involved in the choice of translation equivalent. Slovene is not very fond of non-finite verbal forms (cf., for instance, Kocijančič Pokorn and Šuštaršič 2001) and such structures from other languages often do not have a standard acceptable counterpart in Slovene, so the translators are obliged to find other means of expression. Nominalizations, being in fact metaphorical expressions of processes, seem to be a frequent solution.¹⁹

- (15) a. *vendar pa mi včasih pomaga pri petju* /but it sometimes helps me with the **singing**/
 b. *ma talora mi serve per cantare* /but sometimes it helps me **to sing**/
- (16) a. *za njimi pa so med zvončkljanjem stopala bitja* /after them beings walked while **ringing**/
 b. *mentre precedevano scampanellando una brigata di esseri* /while a brigade of beings walked **ringing**/
- (17) a. *Med zlaganjem stvari v kovček* /while putting the stuff in the suitcase/
 b. *mentre riempivo il baule* /while I was filling up the suitcase/

Pronouns are quite rare as source elements for nominalizations (0.96%); it appears that they are translated with a nominalization when the translator feels a need to use repetition or employ a synonym of the term to which the pronoun in the original text refers to for clarity's sake (example 18).

- (18) a. *pisanja tako pri dnevmi svetlobi kot pri brljenju sveče* /write both in the daylight and in the **glimmering** of a candle/
 b. *scrivere che faceva sia alla luce del sole che a quella di una candela* /writing he did both in the light of the sun and in **that** of a candle/

Adjectives are also infrequent as source elements for Slovene nominalizations (2.65%) and are usually found only when certain conditions are met, such as the lack of a suitable adjective in Slovene (example 19) or when the Slovene

¹⁹ Another usual way of translating non-finite forms is of course by using finite forms in dependent clauses, but this is beyond the scope of the present article.

nominalization is part of a phrase with the structure “adjective + noun” that is the translation of an Italian adjective (example 20, where the order in Slovene is inverted: *občudovanja vredna*).

- (19) a. *a tako v nasprotju s pravili umetnosti vojskovanja, da* /but so contrary to the rules of the art of **warfare**/
 b. *e in modo così disordinatamente contrario alle regole dell'arte bellica, che* /and in a way so inordinately against the rules of the **warfare** art/
- (20) a. *Tolikšna je tvoja milina, tako občudovanja vredna tvoja stanovitnost* /So great is your grace, so worthy of **admiration** your perseverance/
 b. *Tanta è la tua dolcezza, così mirabile la tua costanza* /So great is your kindness, so **admirable** your constancy/

There is only one example of an adverb being translated with a nominalization (example 21), in which the nominalization is part of a prepositional phrase (*brez obotavljanja*) with an adverbial meaning (without hesitation), which is a fairly close translation of *subito* (immediately), used to avoid repetition.

- (21) a. *je takoj prihitel na kraj nesreče in brez obotavljanja vstopil v drugi nebotičnik* /immediately rushed to the scene of the accident and entered the second skyscraper **without hesitation**/
 b. *Essendo corso subito e subito entrato nel secondo grattacielo* /Running immediately and **immediately** entering the second skyscraper/

Finally, in 3.71% of the instances analysed, the Slovene nominalization was added in the translation to render more explicit a meaning that in the original text was not expressed with any single element but was present in the context (example 22).

- (22) a. *Rahewin je izjemen učitelj v pogledu učenja branja, pisanja* /Rahewinus is an outstanding teacher from the perspective of **teaching** how to read, write/
 b. *Rahewino è un bravo maestro per quanto riguarda leggere, scrivere* /Rahewinus is a good teacher with regard to reading, writing/

To sum up, the most important finding of this analysis seems to be that although the majority of Slovene nominalizations (65.92%) are indeed translations of Italian nominalizations or other nominal elements, there is a considerable proportion that translate Italian verbal elements, such as infinitives, gerunds and finite verb forms (26.72%). In these instances, translators apparently reword processes as grammatical metaphors, either to avoid overcomplicating a sentence with too many dependent clauses or to realize meanings that are expressed with elements that do not have parallel structures in Slovene (such as the nominalized infinitive), or the structures exist but their use is limited or stylistically marked (e.g.

the infinitive). Other instances, where we find adjectives, adverbs or pronouns as original counterparts to Slovene nominalizations, are quite rare (3.66% in total) and depend on special circumstances in the sentences. The same seems to apply to those cases where nominalizations are added in translations: they are difficult to predict and the decision whether to explicitly state a meaning present implicitly in the original is basically left to the discretion of the translator.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the collected data in the previous sections. One of the most surprising, considering previous research, is that nominalizations are more frequent in Slovene original literary texts than in Italian ones. The difference is not very pronounced (especially if we compare the frequencies with other genres, as seen in section 4.1.) and may partly depend on the writing styles of the authors included in both subcorpora. Furthermore, the data confirm previous research, in that the frequency of nominalization in literary texts is considerably lower than in other genres, such as scientific texts, legal documents etc. It seems that the main reasons for the extensive use of nominalization in scientific and similar texts do not apply to literary texts. In scientific discourse the aim is to construe “reality as a balanced tension between things and processes” (Halliday and Martin 1993: 17) so that it can be “kept under observation and experimented with; and in so doing, [it can be interpreted] not as changing with time (as the grammar of clauses interprets it) but as persisting – or rather, persistence – through time, which is the mode of being a noun” (ibid.). This is not so in literary genres, where the very narrative nature of the text requires a mode of expression that highlights changes in time more directly and facilitates the progression of the narration. In light of this, it is not surprising that literary texts are the one genre that resists the invasion of nominalization most strongly.

As far as translated Slovene texts are concerned, it is confirmed that they contain fewer nominalizations than their original Italian counterparts, although again, the difference is not overwhelming. Nominalization is apparently not frequent enough in literary texts to influence the lexical density of the texts in any substantial way and so the translators might not feel compelled to avoid it in order to keep their text understandable to the target readers. However, nominalizations are still less frequent in translated Slovene texts than in original Slovene texts and this confirms findings in other genres. Taking into account that over 30% of the Italian nominalizations were not translated with Slovene ones, and that in more than half of these, verbal structures were used instead, it seems likely that the translators resorted to explicitation (cf. Klaudy and Karoly 2005) and unpacked

the grammatical metaphor, thus making the participants and circumstances of the processes more clear.

But since the number of nominalizations in Slovene translated texts is still relatively high, and considering that only 65% of the Italian ones are translated directly, it is evident that other elements are also translated with nominalizations. Indeed, in section 4.3, we saw that among such elements, verbal forms prevail: Italian non-finite verb forms usually do not have grammatically and/or stylistically acceptable counterparts in Slovene and nominalizations, as metaphorical realizations of processes, seem to be the preferred option (apart from explicitation into a dependent clause with a finite verb form).

To account for the presence of nominalizations in Slovene translated literary texts, another factor that often plays a role in translation should be taken into account, and that is interference (Toury 1995: 275): structures used in the source text are likely to influence the choice in the target text and so some of the Slovene nominalizations might simply be the result of a direct transfer of meaning and structure to the closest counterpart. But since translators themselves are likely to be aware of this tendency, they might subconsciously resort to hypercorrectness in avoiding too many nominalizations and end up with texts that display a lower frequency of nominalization than original Slovene literary texts, as we have seen above. The tension between these opposing tendencies is perhaps the reason for the relatively small difference in frequency between all three subcorpora.

As we have seen, the relationship between Italian and Slovene nominalizations is complex and asymmetrical: not all Italian nominalizations are translated with Slovene ones and, vice versa, not all Slovene nominalizations are the translations of Italian ones. Translators have the possibility of packing and unpacking grammatical metaphors, and thus realizing processes either with verbs or with nominalizations. Other, contextually bound options are also available, such as pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. Sometimes the nominalizations may even be omitted in translation without any substantial loss of meaning. In the opposite direction, nominalizations can be added in translations to render more explicit a meaning of the original that remains implicit. They are often used as an equivalent of non-finite Italian structures such as infinitives and gerunds, as these structures do not have ready counterparts in the Slovene verbal system.

Some of the implications discussed might be useful in translation training, as nominalizations have proven to be a tough nut to crack for some students, especially in that they tend to overuse them in registers and genres where they are stylistically less acceptable, such as literary texts. By discussing the problem and showing them other translation options, it is possible to raise their awareness of

the problem and thus guide them towards more natural sounding translations (cf. also Mikolič Južnič 2012c).

The findings of the last part of the study (cf. section 4.3.) suggest that there might be similar problems when translating from Slovene into Italian, as Slovene nominalizations are not always the result of Italian ones. Naturally, this should be further explored in future research with a corpus of Slovene-to-Italian translations, but it would seem that the possibility of substituting a congruent wording with a grammatical metaphor and vice versa is quite readily available to translators, although they seem to tend to preserve the original author's choice more often than not.

In order to confirm the higher frequency of nominalization in original Slovene literary texts in comparison with Italian ones, an analysis of a bigger corpus would be needed, where the influence of single authors' idiosyncrasies would be reduced. Another aspect worth exploring is the diachronic development of nominalization in Italian and Slovene literary texts. Classics of both literatures are often translated from one language to the other, and the study of such translations might give some insight both into the prevailing norms and conventions,²⁰ either self-imposed or imposed by the community, and into the diffusion of nominalization in this genre through time.

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²⁰ Nominalization was viewed as a foreignizing feature in the beginning of the 20th century and frowned upon by some, while supported by others (cf. Vodušek 1933).

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Ordre des mots en français et en slovène : entre la position grammaticale fixe et structure informationnelle

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Povzetek

Besedni red je pomembna komponenta v prevajanju, zato v članku analiziramo njegove zakonitosti v francoščini in slovenščini. Analizo zaključujemo s korpusno raziskavo. Primerjalna raziskava je narajena na dveh korpusih, enem primerljivem iz 40 časopisnih člankov (20 francoskih in 20 slovenskih primerljive dolžine), drugem paralelnem korpusu *Le Monde*, ki je dostopen na spletu. V analizi člankov v primerljivih korpusih smo ugotovili, da se v francoskih člankih pomembna informacija pojavlja v začetku izrekov, predvsem v obliki prislovnega določila časa in kraja, in da je ta pojav pogostejši kot v slovenskih besedilih, čeprav jih najdemo na prvi poziciji tudi tam. Nasprotno pa so v paralelnem korpusu, kjer gre za prevode francoskih člankov, krajevna in časovna prislovna določila na istem mestu kot v francoskih člankih. Analiza izvornih slovenskih člankov nakazuje, da bi bilo lahko tudi drugače.

Ključne besede: besedni red, slovenščina, francoščina, stalna stava, členitev po aktualnosti, zaznamovanost.

0 INTRODUCTION

L'ordre des mots présente une spécificité structurelle, textuelle ou discursive et stylistique dont il faut tenir compte, entre autres, dans le cadre de la traduction. Dans un grand nombre des cas, l'ordre des mots peut donner les indications importantes à propos de la structure informationnelle du message. Il est aussi probable que, lors du passage d'une langue à l'autre, précisément de la langue-source à la langue-cible, l'ordre des mots sera différent en fonction du constituant grammatical ou de la structure informationnelle. Comme les traducteurs et les étudiants en traduction n'osent pas toujours agir au niveau du changement des constituants, entraînant parfois des changements notables dans la structure phrastique et énonciative du discours en question, nous exposerons, dans la communication ci-présente, quelques faits de langue concernant l'ordre des mots grammatical et l'ordre des mots dépendant de la structure informationnelle dans le français standard et le slovène littéraire¹ à l'écrit. Nous traiterons la situation de l'oral à une autre occasion.

Le schéma de notre analyse est le suivant : dans la partie théorique, nous analyserons d'abord de l'ordre des mots fixe dans les deux langues, en exposant les points de détermination grammaticale, puis nous traiterons la distribution textuelle et finalement aborderons les effets pragmatiques et stylistiques du changement dans l'ordre des mots. Dans la partie analytique, nous nous plongerons dans l'étude de deux corpus, un comparable et l'autre parallèle. Le corpus comparable comporte 40 articles des journaux, 20 du côté français (dont 14 du journal *Le Monde*, et 1 respectivement de la *Libération*, le *Figaro*, *France Soir*, *Nouvel Observateur*, *Le Parisien* et *Ouest-France*, et 20 du côté slovène dont 13 de *Delo* et 7 de *Dnevnik*)²

¹ C'est la traduction du terme « knjižna slovensčina », qui signifie dire le langage des livres, donc la langue écrite, c'est l'équivalent du « français standard ».

² La liste des articles de presse slovènes: Univerza v Ljubljani nad visoke honorarje profesorjev (Dnevnik, 18. 9. 2015), Občine so pri podjemnih in avtorskih pogodbah izplačale 130 milijonov honorarjev (Dnevnik 31. 3. 2015), Tudi Petek priskočil na pomoč Janši (Dnevnik, 18. 9. 2015), Papež gre čez Atlantik (Dnevnik, 18. 9. 2015), Centralna banka išče izginate bankovce (Dnevnik 18. 9. 2015), ProstoVOLJCI pripravljani na prihod beguncev (Dnevnik 11.11.2015), Vojska na meji postavila za okoli kilometer in pol ograje (Dnevnik 30. 10. 2015), Ostri protipriseljenski ukrepi so doma okrepili priljubljenost madžarskega premiera (Delo 11. 5. 2015), Po 6 letih v Sarajevu znova o nasledstvu po nekdanji SFRJ (Delo 11. 11. 2015), Rešilna bilka iz Turčije (Delo 13. 11. 2015), Kim-il –Sung (Delo 2006), Nova nujna medicinska pomoč po starem, spremembe čez čas (Delo 13. 11. 2015), Krka usmerjena v prihodnost (Delo 13. 11. 2015), Na dan porabimo 45 kilogramov naravnih virov (Delo 13. 11. 2015), Ugodnosti za električno mobilnost se širijo (Delo 13. 11. 2015), Po napovedi bodo nebe prekrili oblaki (Delo 13. 11. 2015), Na južni meji napeto (Delo 12. 11. 2015), Velika planina dobiva svojo kopijo v Godiču (Delo 12. 11. 2015), Za reke bo skrbel Hidrotehnik (Delo 12. 11. 2015), Nekdanji direktor odpuščen nezakonito (Delo 12. 11. 2015) et la liste des articles français Crise des migrants et des réfugiés: qui fait quoi pour les recueillir? (Le Monde, 24. 9. 2015) La difficile taxation des transactions financières intrajournalières (Le Monde, 12. 10. 2015), L'UE s'accorde pour suspendre les sanctions contre la Biélorussie (Le Monde 12. 10. 2015), En Biélorussie, un scrutin pour renouer avec l'Union européenne (Le Monde 10. 10. 2015), Grotte Chauvet : le directeur remercié six mois après l'ouverture, malgré le succès (Le Monde, 10. 10. 2015), Une Nobel de littérature contre les mythes soviétiques (Le Monde, 9. 10. 2015), Le prix Nobel de littérature attribué à la Biélorusse Svetlana Alexievitch (Le Monde, 8. 10. 2015), Nationalité, sexe, langue : portrait-robot des prix Nobel de littérature (Le Monde, 9. 10. 2015), A Paris, une promenade Dora-Bruder en mémoire des victimes du nazisme (Le Monde, 1. 6. 2015), L'œuvre hybride d'Isabelle Monnin et Alex Beaupain (Le Monde, 18. 9. 2015), Desnos reste (Le Monde, 4. 6. 2015), Six vies de Michel Houellebecq : un objet de collection Le Monde Festival (Le Monde, 22. 8. 2015), Frustrée, la jeunesse

ainsi qu du corpus parallèle composé des articles du journal français le *Monde diplomatique* et de ses traductions vers le slovène (*FraSloK* (Mezeg 2010, accessible sur la page <http://nl.ijs.si/noske/>)).

1 PRELIMINAIRES THEORIQUES

L'ordre des mots se définit à plusieurs niveaux de l'analyse linguistique. Dans la langue, il dépend d'abord de la structure et du système linguistique, deuxièmement de la structure informatique et troisièmement des facteurs pragmatiques concernant le type de texte et les règles stylistiques.

L'idée de l'exploration de la structure informationnelle n'est pas nouvelle. Dans les années 60 du siècle dernier, Daneš et Firbas (Daneš 1966 : 227) distinguent trois niveaux de grammaire : le niveau de la structure de la phrase, de la sémantique de la phrase et de l'organisation de la phrase. C'est aussi le cas de la syntaxe fonctionnelle de S. C. Dik (1989) qui distingue les fonctions syntaxiques, sémantiques et pragmatiques, ces dernières se situant au niveau de l'énoncé. Les significations extra-grammaticales comme le rythme, l'intonation et les caractéristiques stylistiques sont ajoutées à ce niveau.

Partant de ces préliminaires, nous distinguerons entre l'ordre des mots grammatical, qui est dépendant du langage, et l'ordre des mots pragmatique, qui est lié à la transmission de l'information et au contexte. Le premier concerne les règles linguistiques de composition des syntagmes et de l'ordre des clitiques à l'intérieur de la phrase, tandis que le second prend en compte le texte et le développement de l'information à travers le texte, notamment les éléments anaphoriques et déictiques.

1.1 L'ordre des mots, le marquage et la structure informationnelle

Dans le cadre des recherches sur la structure informationnelle, il faut définir la notion de marquage. Déjà introduite par Trubezkoy (1939) et Jakobson (1936) dans le cadre du cercle linguistique pragois, cette notion désignait les oppositions phono- ou morphologiques (voir Dik 1989 à ce sujet). Dans un cadre plus récent, ce terme est utilisé dans l'indication des constructions-types marquées ou non-marquées.

française rêve d'en découdre (Le Monde, 25. 2. 2014) Etrangers triés sur le volet (Libération, 1. 4. 2006)), Remaniement : une justification pour camoufler un double échec (Nouvel Observateur, 28.02. 2011), L'affaire Renault ne devrait pas nuire aux relations franco-chinoises (Ouest-France, 15. 3. 2011), Guerre absurde entre les cités d'Asnières et de Gennevilliers (Le Figaro 18. 3. 2011), Marine Le Pen continue d'engranger (France Soir 7. 3. 2011), Les obsèques de Samy sous haute surveillance (Le Parisien 19. 3. 2011)

L'ordre non-marqué des constituants immédiats de la phrase, dans les langues indoeuropéennes, plus particulièrement celles qui ont évolué vers le système analytique dans leur déclinaison (Lambrecht 1994 : 4-5), correspond à celui de sujet-verbe-objet, ce dernier étant direct ou indirect (S-V-O). Si l'on admet la relation entre l'accent et le focus de la phrase – le sujet initial de la phrase aura la valeur du thème – topic et l'objet final du rhème – focus (Lambrecht *ibid.*).

En revanche, il est plus difficile de définir la position non-marquée des compléments circonstanciels, surtout des compléments de temps et de lieu, mais aussi de cause, opposition, condition, qui ne dépendent pas directement du verbe, mais déterminent toute la phrase (cf. aussi Riegel et al. 1994, Dik 1989), car ces compléments ne dépendent pas du prédicat. Nous y reviendrons par la suite.

1.1.1 Structure informationnelle

Comme nous venons de le mentionner ci-dessus, la notion de la structure informationnelle était déjà présente au sein de l'école linguistique pragoise³ (ou cercle pragois) et sa perspective fonctionnelle avec Daneš, Mathesius et Firbas, dans les années 60 du siècle dernier (cités dans Lambrecht 1994).

Pour le monde anglo-saxon, ce sont surtout les travaux de Halliday (1985, voir aussi Limon dans ce volume), Chafe (1974), de Vallduví (Engdal et Vallduví 1994) et ceux de Lambrecht qui sont importants pour la notion de structure informationnelle (cf. Lambrecht 1994).

Comment expliquer la structure informationnelle ? Selon Lambrecht (1994 : 5), elle est définie comme la composante de la grammaire de phrase où les propositions, en tant que représentations de l'état de choses, sont accompagnées des structures lexico-grammaticales en accord avec les états mentaux des locuteurs qui utilisent et interprètent ces informations en tant qu'unités d'information dans un contexte donné. « On postule un niveau d'organisation grammatical, qu'on appelle *structure informationnelle* pour rendre compte du fait que plusieurs énoncés qui ont le même contenu sémantique présentent une forme distincte, soit en termes de réalisation prosodique, d'ordre des mots, de type de construction ou de marquage des constituants. Lambrecht (1994) parle d'allophrases (*allo-sentences*) » (Marandin, <http://www.semantique-gdr.net>).

La structure informationnelle est l'expression formelle de la structuration pragmatique d'une proposition dans le discours (Lambrecht, 1994 : 6), la proposition qui a subi la structuration pragmatique sera marquée par la prosodie ou les

³ En tchèque, Pražský lingvistický kroužek

marqueurs grammaticaux spéciaux, dans la forme syntaxique des constituants – la structure informationnelle qui intervient à tous les niveaux grammaticaux porteurs de sens (Lambrecht, *ibid.*).

Pour ce qui est des recherches en linguistique slovène et française, il n'existe pas de lien direct avec la grammaire formelle traitant de la structure informationnelle, mais on peut établir des liens au niveau des idées qui y apparaissent.

Ces spéculations se manifestent aussi dans la linguistique slovène, où Breznik, déjà en 1908, dans son article *Besedni red v govoru*, publié dans le journal *Dom in svet* (voir Breznik 1982), émet le doute que la phrase puisse être la limite ultime pour la détermination de l'ordre des mots. Il analyse le conte *Loiseau de paradis*⁴ à l'aide duquel il démontre la liaison entre les constituants et la progression thématique. Cela pourrait signifier qu'il établit l'ordre des mots selon la structure informationnelle (le thème et le rhème). Sur ces bases, Toporišič (1982) développe la notion de l'actualisation de la proposition⁵ des constituants à l'instar de l'école pragoise. Dans le cadre de la linguistique française, ce point a été débattu dans les cercles de la linguistique formelle (Korzen 1992, Cornish 2001, Muller 2007) ou bien textuelle (Combettes 1996). Combettes, en se penchant sur les facteurs textuels et sémantiques de l'ordre des mots, traite davantage de l'importance du dynamisme communicatif concernant les constructions détachées qui bouleversent l'ordre habituel formel de la phrase française, mais respectent l'ordre établi thème – rhème.

Nous nous pencherons, dans la suite de notre article, sur l'analyse pratique au niveau pragmatique, tout en tenant compte aussi bien de la structure informationnelle que de la stylistique.

1.2 L'ordre des mots en français et en slovène entre position fixe et structure informationnelle

L'ordre des mots peut être décrit selon les critères formels, fonctionnels et typologiques valables dans les études de la grammaire et du discours. Les bases en sont données en pragmatique historique et pour le développement de la langue.

La structure informationnelle d'une langue prévoit la distinction discursive entre le thème, ce qui est connu, et le rhème, ce qui est nouveau (cf. Halliday (1967), Lambrecht (1994), Riegel et al. (1994)). Selon Halliday (1967), le thème est le troisième des champs les plus importants dans le domaine de la phrase, les deux

⁴ En slovène *Rajska ptica*

⁵ ČPA - členitev po aktualnosti

autres étant la transitivité (la valence) et le mode : « Le thème est concerné par la structure informationnelle de la phrase ; c'est le statut des éléments en tant que les composants du message et non pas des constituants des processus extralinguistiques qui entrent en relation ; en relation avec ce qui est dit et ce qui s'est passé dans le discours et est organisé en acte de communication. Si la phrase représente le domaine du discours, la transitivité est la grammaire de l'expérience, le mode la grammaire de la fonction de parole et le thème la grammaire du discours. »⁶

Tout ordre des mots n'est pourtant pas soumis à la structure informationnelle ou le passage du thème vers le rhème et vice-versa. Dans le cadre de la morphosyntaxe, l'ordre des mots est régi par l'expression de surface de chaque langue (cf. Dik 1989) et de leurs contraintes ; il peut être fixe ou variable ce que nous examinerons par la suite.

1.2.1 *Ordre des mots fixe au niveau des syntagmes*

Dans le cadre de la morphosyntaxe, nous pouvons distinguer l'ordre des mots fixe et l'ordre des mots libre ou variable que nous présenterons au niveau des différents constituants immédiats de la phrase. Le but ici n'est pas de donner une explication exhaustive de ce phénomène mais de démontrer juste quelques exemples typiques.

Comme nous venons de le souligner, l'ordre des mots dans une langue est régi par différents facteurs. Jusqu'à un certain degré, c'est l'affaire de la morphosyntaxe et ses règles, mais dans ce cadre-là, on parle de l'ordre des mots fixe qui est en même temps non-marqué.

La distribution des mots à l'intérieur du syntagme nominal prévoit l'ordre des mots fixe. Par exemple, le syntagme nominal en français ou en slovène prévoit un ordre des mots fixe où le déterminant est placé au début et le nom suit, l'adjectif pouvant être placé, en slovène, directement avant le nom (et le plus souvent en absence du déterminant), tandis qu'en français, par contre, la place non-marquée de l'adjectif est la postposition, l'antéposition étant possible pour des raisons sémantiques, stylistiques et rythmiques

- 1) *Un grand désespoir / veliko razočaranje*
Un désespoir grand et amer / veliko grenko razočaranje

⁶ «Theme is concerned with the information structure of the clause; with the status of the elements not as participants in extralinguistic process but as components of message; with relation of what is being said to what has gone before in the discourse, and its internal organization into an act of communication... given the clause as domain, transitivity is the grammar of experience, mood is the grammar of the speech function, and theme is the grammar of discourse.»

L'ordre de l'adjectif en syntagme nominal peut varier pour des raisons stylistiques. Dans la suite, la postposition de l'adjectif, en slovène, est stylistiquement marquée par des raisons poétiques (exemple 2). On la rencontre aussi dans les exclamations (le sens emphatique, sentimental, comme dans l'exemple 3) :

- 2) *O Vrba, srečna, draga vas domača ...* (Prešeren)
O, village de Vrba, mon cher village natal (traduction libre)
- 3) *Butelj zagamani !*
Espèce de con !

Ces changements sont d'ordre strictement stylistique et n'influencent pas la structure informationnelle.

De plus, on parle de l'ordre fixe à l'intérieur du groupe verbal. En dehors des syntagmes particuliers, on connaît l'ordre des mots atones, les clitiques, qui doivent suivre un ordre particulier aussi bien en français qu'en slovène

- 4) *Il me l'a dit – il le lui a dit...*
Rekel mu je – to mi je rekel ...

Dans ces contextes, l'ordre des mots ne peut pas changer ; l'expression linguistique est supérieure aux indices informatifs.

1.2.2 *Ordre des mots au niveau de la phrase et du texte*

En français, l'ordre des mots dans la phrase est moins libre qu'en slovène – cela signifie que la structure S-V-O présente la contrainte structurelle due au système analytique du traitement du nom en français qui provient de l'absence des cas grammaticaux. La structure S-V-O définit l'ordre des mots canonique (cf. Riegel et al. 1994, Muller 2007) et prévoit aussi les positions spéciales de l'inversion du sujet par la suite des contraintes formelles grammaticales ou stylistiques (voir dans la suite), qui peuvent être pronominales ou nominales (comme ci-dessous, dans l'exemple 5) où le sujet est postposé au verbe et après les verbes de mouvement ou encore l'exemple 6) lorsqu'il s'agit de l'allègement stylistique avec des sujets volumineux).

- 5) *Entre la reine. Suit un jour de trêve...*
- 6) *Sont admis à l'oral...*

Muller (2007 : 251), dans son article sur le développement de l'ordre des mots en français, mentionne que l'ordre fonctionnel moderne du français impose l'ordre S-V-O qui est non-marqué : comme Hawkins (1994) l'a montré, l'ordre réel est soumis à des écarts entre ordre optimal et ordre produit. Muller s'intéresse, dans

son article, surtout à ce qui est grammaticalisé et en quelque sorte prototypique en admettant que le locuteur adopte un ordre marqué tout en le considérant comme tel et qu'il a en tête l'ordre habituel, non-marqué (Muller *ibid.*). Selon l'auteur (2007 : 252), « le français a gardé un type qui existe depuis toujours : au début de l'énoncé, peut figurer un topique qui est le plus souvent un adverbe de localisation spatio-temporelle. Il peut en découler une construction à l'inversion du sujet qui suit alors non le mot verbal, mais l'ensemble du groupe verbal intransitif (de préférence). »

7) *Dans l'armoire étaient rangées les chaussures.*

Cette structure dérive de la valence verbale et de la cohésion des trois éléments de base : le sujet en tant qu'agent ou patient, le prédicat et les compléments qui constituent le groupe verbal avec la possibilité de l'inversion comme ordre des mots marqué.

Le placement des circonstants est plus libre, nous citerons dans la suite Riegel et al. (1994 : 140-144) :

« Troisième constituant majeur de la phrase de base, le complément circonstanciel (ou circonstant), se distingue des deux autres constituants immédiats de la phrase, le GN sujet et le GV ou (groupe prédicatif) par trois propriétés formelles : il est facultatif, il se démultiplie librement et est mobile dans les limites de la phrase entière (...) La mobilité est la propriété vraiment caractéristique du complément circonstanciel qui peut être antéposé au groupe nominal sujet et postposé au groupe verbal, mais peut aussi s'intercaler entre ces deux constituants et même entre le verbe et son complément : cette mobilité s'explique par son statut périphérique : comme le constituant immédiat de la phrase, il ne dépend pas d'un autre syntagme et en particulier n'est pas régi par le verbe. »

Les compléments circonstanciels, à leur tour, ne dépendent pas du verbe mais localisent ou mettent toute la phrase dans les circonstances temporelles, causales ou consécutives ou bien présentent plus d'informations sur l'énonciation (cf. le commentaire énonciatif). Nous nous y intéresserons dans la suite.

Quant au slovène, c'est une langue à cas comme la plupart des autres langues slaves (mis à part le macédonien et le bulgare) où le système synthétique de l'inflexion nominale est de règle (à comparer à Dik 1989). Par conséquent, l'ordre des mots est moins contraint qu'en français où la structure S-V-O est généralement respectée. Aussi, les circonstants peuvent-ils occuper différentes positions en dépendance de la structure informationnelle de l'énoncé. Pour le slovène, les structures des exemples 5') et 7') ci-dessus ne présentent ainsi aucun problème de positionnement :

- 5') *Vstopi kraljica. Sledi nekaj dni premirja.*
- 7') *V omari so bili zloženi čevlji.*

Selon Toporišič (1982), l'ordre des mots en slovène est défini par ce qui est posé, le thème, suivent la transition et le rhème. Cet ordre peut changer selon la structure de l'information : c'est l'ordre non-marqué dans la phrase déclarative. Heritty (2000) considère l'ordre des mots strictement dans le sens informationnel : le thème vient au début et suit le rhème. Il postule l'ordre thème – rhème sous la forme S-V-O dans la phrase déclarative, qui est la forme la plus naturelle, non-marquée dans la phrase canonique. Bien sûr, les actualisations des constituants les mettent à la fin de la phrase (de l'énoncé) ou du segment. Tout de même, l'ordre des constituants autre que S-V-O, peut paraître marqué. Si nous comparons les deux phrases suivantes (Exemples 8) et 9) ci-dessous) où l'ordre des mots change :

8) *Otrok dela domačo nalogo.*

9) *Domačo nalogo dela otrok.*

nous notons que la 1e phrase n'est pas marquée, contrairement à la 2e. La traduction serait la suivante :

8') *L'enfant fait son devoir.*

9') *C'est l'enfant qui fait son devoir.*

Dans l'exemple 9'), l'ordre des mots choisi est possible, mais marqué, mettant en valeur le fait que c'est l'enfant (et non son père) qui fait le devoir. C'est la valeur d'emphase tandis que l'ordre des mots neutre est, comme en français, le S-V-O. Si les contraintes sémantiques sont liées à la force illocutoire de la phrase, ici, c'est le phénomène d'emphase qui est touché. Il est lié au discours, surtout à l'oral, mais aussi à l'écrit en liaison avec certains moyens permettant la mise en évidence. En français, à part l'extraction, on note aussi le déplacement d'un constituant ; en slovène, il s'agit du changement dans l'ordre des mots et l'emploi des particules de mise en évidence⁷ (cf. Riegel et al. 1994, Toporišič 1982, 2000).

Comme ces remarques sont pertinentes pour la traduction, nous leur consacrerons une étude sur corpus. Nous cantonnerons notre recherche à l'analyse des constituants qui introduisent les phrases dans les articles de presse français et slovènes.

⁷ En slovène, poudarni členki.

2 ANALYSE DU PHENOMENE DANS LE CORPUS

2.1 Description du corpus

Comme nous l'avons mentionné au début, notre analyse se déroulera en deux parties : la 1^{ère} sera consacrée à un corpus comparable compilé des articles de presse slovènes et français tirés des journaux *Le Monde*, *L'Express*, *Libération*, *France soir*, *Le Parisien* du côté français, et *Dnevnik* et *Delo* du côté slovène. Notre corpus est composé de 20 articles de presse du côté français et 20 du côté slovène, d'une longueur approximative variant de 2 à 15 paragraphes. La position de la phrase initiale de chaque paragraphe est, à part l'ordre canonique respecté ou l'ordre marqué dans une phrase française et slovène, pertinente pour notre analyse. Logiquement, chaque paragraphe, en tant qu'unité de pensée prise au sens classique, devrait apporter une information nouvelle. Ainsi, l'ordre des mots est moins influencé par les phénomènes de l'anaphore et de la connexité intertextuelle (cf. Adam 1992, Morel et Danon-Boileau 1996). Pour le reste, si l'ordre des mots est marqué en dehors de ces paramètres, nous en analysons les causes.

En ce qui concerne les consignes stylistiques pour les journalistes, celles-ci sont plutôt générales, comme aller directement au sujet, utiliser des phrases courtes sans que l'ordre des mots particulier soit mentionné (Martin-Lagar-dette 2003: 55-58).

2.2 Analyse du corpus comparable

Du point de vue quantitatif, l'analyse des 40 articles de presse a donné les résultats suivants : dans les 20 articles de presse slovènes, sur 121 paragraphes, 55 commencent par l'antéposition des compléments circonstanciels ou des subordinées circonstancielles, à savoir 49% dans le journal *Dnevnik* et 41% dans le journal *Delo*. Les compléments circonstanciels ou les subordinées antéposées étaient, dans 20 exemples, le complément circonstanciel de lieu (36%), dans 16 exemples le complément circonstanciel de temps (29%), 9 commentaires énonciatifs (expressions comme *selon*, *compte tenu de*, en slovène *glede na*, à savoir 13%), 3 de cause (5%), 3 de concession-opposition, 2 de manière, 1 de condition et 1 exemple d'addition.

Selon les journaux, nous notons quelques différences entre les quotidiens *Delo* et *Dnevnik* : dans le premier, les paragraphes étaient plus longs, tandis que dans le deuxième, on compte plus d'antépositions ; le pourcentage varie donc de 8% sur le corpus étudié.

Dans le journal *Delo*, plusieurs paragraphes commencent avec l'ordre des mots changés à l'intérieur du syntagme de base S-V-O et le COD précède le sujet, comme dans l'exemple 10):

- 10) *Za poseben sklad za Turčijo bi evropska komisija namenila 250 milijonov evrov na leto.*⁸

L'explication d'une telle possibilité vient du paragraphe précédent – comme aucune phrase n'est isolée du contexte, c'est le flux normal de la progression à thème constant (thème – rhème). Dans notre étude, 4 paragraphes commencent de cette manière.

Dans les journaux français, le bilan est le suivant : nous avons analysé au total 106 paragraphes, dont 48 commencent par un détachement ou antéposition, ce qui présente 48% d'antépositions. Parmi celles-ci, on compte 21% de compléments circonstanciels ou de subordinées temporelles (à savoir 44%), 9 exemples ou 19% de compléments absolus en position détachée, 6 exemples ou 12% de compléments circonstanciels de lieu et 5 exemples de compléments circonstanciels ou subordinées circonstanciels de cause (10%). Suivaient deux compléments de condition ou d'opposition, 2 commentaires énonciatifs (*selon XY*) et un complément de manière. Dans deux exemples, le temps et le lieu sont exprimés en antéposition simultanément, comme indiqué ci-dessous :

- 11) *Rosny-sous-Bois, cité de la Boissière, jeudi.*

Apparemment, il s'agit de la désignation du temps et du lieu typique pour le journal *Le Parisien*, car une telle présentation n'apparaît pas ailleurs.

Il est intéressant de voir les pourcentages des antépositions parmi les 5 éléments essentiels pour les articles de presse, à part les réponses à qui et *quoi*, le lieu paraît plus important dans les articles slovènes tandis que le temps prédomine dans les articles français. Ici, l'expression de la cause est aussi plus souvent mise en antéposition que dans les journaux slovènes.

Le détachement absolu était très fréquent dans les articles analysés en français (avec 9 exemples ou 19%). Ce type de détachement n'existe pas en slovène (voir Mezeg dans ce volume).

La 2^e analyse, qualitative, nous permet d'observer quels sont les effets de l'antéposition et du déplacement dans les articles analysés. Un ordre des mots typique, non-marqué pour le slovène, serait la progression à thème constant et l'ordre S-V-O où on pose d'abord l'existence des phénomènes. On en parle dans la suite, comme dans l'exemple 12) ci-dessous :

⁸ Traduction française : La Commission européenne versera 250 millions d'euros à un fonds spécial pour la Turquie.

12)

Šest vrhunskih kardiologov (S) iz berlinskega inštituta za srce je odpotoval v Pjongjang in opravilo (V) transarterijsko angioplastiko (O), Kim (S) pa je bil (V) že naslednji dan spet na 'delovnem mestu'. Neimenovani japonski vir (S), ki je skrivnost zaupal tujim tiskovnim agencijam, trdi, da so bili nemški zdravniki povabljeni, naj temeljito pregledajo ljubljenega vodjo in ga po potrebi operirajo na srcu. Ugotovili so (S-V), da je Kim doživel mikrokardni infarkt, da pa večji kirurški poseg ni potreben (O). Z angioplastiko ...⁹

(Delo 2006)

Aussi, les exemples des articles français présentent-ils les mêmes structures comme l'indique l'exemple 13) ci-dessous :

13)

La Commission des finances de l'Assemblée nationale a adopté, mercredi 7 octobre, un amendement visant à étendre la taxe sur les transactions financières (TTF) aux transactions intrajournalières. La TTF, en vigueur en France depuis août 2012, ne porte en effet que sur les transferts de propriété, ce qui exclut de fait les opérations dénouées au cours d'une seule et même journée.

(Le Monde, 12. 10. 2015)

Mais, tous les articles français ne sont pas composés de la même manière : en français comme en slovène, divers constituants changent de place. Dans l'exemple 14), nous pouvons voir, en antéposition, une apposition participiale absolue, un connecteur et un complément circonstanciel de temps (soulignés dans l'exemple suivant) :

14)

Interrogés sur leur devenir personnel, les jeunes répondants sont près des deux tiers à se déclarer plutôt ou très optimistes. En revanche, le regard qu'ils portent sur le destin de leur génération est extrêmement sombre. Vingt ans n'est pas le plus bel âge de la vie, pensent-ils majoritairement (à 51 %).

(Le Monde, 25. 4. 2014)

⁹ La traduction : Six cardiologues de pointe de l'institut berlinois pour le coeur se sont rendus à Pyongyang pour effectuer l'angioplastie transartérielle, et Kim, dès le lendemain, c'est rendu à son lieu du travail. Une source d'information japonaise non identifiée, qui a confié le secret aux agences de presse étrangères, affirme que les médecins allemands ont été invités pour examiner entièrement le dirigeant aimé et l'opérer au coeur selon le besoin. Ils ont découvert que Kim vient de subir l'infarctus du myocarde et qu'une opération importante n'est pas nécessaire. L'angioplastie ...

Ci-dessous (Exemple 15) est le détachement temporel, un des cas les plus fréquents d'antéposition dans les exemples analysés :

15)

Moins de six mois après son ouverture, le directeur de la réplique de la Grotte Chauvet, en Ardèche, a été licencié, a confirmé samedi le député PS Pascal Terrasse président du Syndicat mixte en charge de la réalisation de l'espace de restitution de la grotte Chauvet-Pont d'Arc (SMERGC).

(Le Monde, 10. 10. 2015)

Pourtant, les exemples du détachement ne couvrent pas seulement les compléments circonstanciels de lieu et de temps, mais aussi les appositions comme on peut le voir dans l'exemple suivant où les inversions de tout genre sont particulièrement fréquentes. L'exemple 16) ci-dessous présente cet exercice stylistique (les antépositions sont soulignées) :

16)

Pour la première fois, un texte de loi va donner une traduction concrète au concept d'immigration choisie. Cheval de bataille de Nicolas Sarkozy, cette idée, depuis reprise par Dominique de Villepin, figure en effet dans le projet de réforme gouvernementale du code de l'entrée et du séjour des étrangers et du droit d'asile. Pour le gouvernement, il existe ainsi deux types d'immigration. L'une, subie, qu'il faut limiter de façon draconienne, l'autre, choisie, qu'il faut donc encourager. Bannies, les masses fuyant la misère des pays pauvres, même si elles pallient la répugnance des Français à occuper certains métiers trop pénibles ou mal payés. Bienvenus, les étrangers diplômés.

http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2006/01/04/etrangers-tries-sur-le-volet_25349

En slovène aussi, on peut retrouver les cas où les constituants circonstanciels se trouvent au début de la phrase, même au début du paragraphe. Ces constituants sont locatifs (a) et temporels (b), (c) :

17)

V Slovenski filantropiji (a) so prostovoljcem na terenu že sporočili, da so na poti proti Sloveniji večje skupine migrantov. V prihodnjih dneh (b) bodo tako ekipe prostovoljcev še okrepili. Na terenu je trenutno sicer nekaj več kot 100 njihovih prostovoljcev, tudi zato, ker so se v zadnjih dneh

nekoliko zmanjšale potrebe na Šentilju. V prihodnjih dneh pa načrtujejo (c), da jih bo skupno več kot 130.¹⁰

(*Dnevnik*, 11. 11. 2015, Prostovoljci pripravljani na prihod beguncev)

De tels exemples sont, selon notre analyse, aussi fréquents qu'en français, mais ne présentent pourtant pas un type de phrases stylistiquement marqué.

Notre bilan total est le suivant : le détachement en slovène et en français diffère surtout en qualité, mais non en quantité. Nous en concluons que notamment le détachement en position absolue est typiquement français et qu'on ne le retrouve pas en slovène, tandis que pour les expressions de temps, de lieu, de cause, de condition et opposition, les chiffres ne diffèrent pas beaucoup. Par conséquent, l'ordre des mots non-marqué dans les articles de presse prévoit l'inversion, surtout temporelle et spatiale, aussi bien en français qu'en slovène. Mais, comme en français le détachement syntaxique, en général signalé à l'écrit par une marque de ponctuation, correspond à une forme d'extériorité par rapport à la phrase (Laurent 2001), il est beaucoup plus saillant qu'en slovène.

2.3 Étude sur le corpus parallèle FraSloK

La deuxième analyse a été effectuée à partir d'un corpus parallèle tiré du *Monde diplomatique* accessible en ligne (<http://nl.ijs.si/noske/index-en.html>). Les inconvénients de cette analyse sont que le corpus n'est pas adapté à une analyse phrastique. Nous avons seulement pu avoir accès à des bribes de phrases et n'avons pas pu prendre en compte la position de la phrase en question, à savoir si elle apparaît au début du paragraphe ou non. Nous avons ainsi isolé les compléments circonstanciels temporels ou spatiaux introduits par *dans* figurant au début de l'énoncé.

Dans le corpus *Le Monde diplomatique* (<http://nl.ijs.si/noske/>) établi à partir du journal *Le Monde diplomatique* et ses traductions vers le slovène comme partie intégrante du corpus FraSloK, compilé par Adriana Mezeg (Mezeg 2010) comme sous-partie du corpus Spook (Vintar 2013), nous avons vérifié juste une petite partie du détachement et de la dislocation spatio-temporelle introduite par la préposition *dans* et leurs traductions respectives.

¹⁰ Traduction: Dans l'organisation humanitaire la Philanthropie slovène, les volontaires ont été avertis que sur la route vers la Slovénie, se dirigent de grands groupes des migrants. Il y a entre autre sur le terrain plus de 100 de leurs volontaires, aussi du fait que les conditions à Šentilj ne demandent plus leur présence. Dans les jours suivants, ils font des projets que en total il seront plus que 130.

Les concordances de notre recherche *dans / v* ont donné 4396 occurrences sur 220 pages. Nous avons manuellement trié 44 pages ou 20% du matériel accessible pour les débuts des phrases comprenant la majuscule *Dans / V* (le concordancier ne distingue pas entre majuscules et minuscules). Nous avons trouvé 73 exemples sur 44 pages ou 1,6 occurrence par page, ce qui donne 8% de phrases contenant un complément circonstanciel en position initiale. Les exemples des concordances sont présentés ci-dessous :

18) Extrait du corpus parallèle

dans lequel elle s'est institutionnalisée. **Dans** les années 1980, la gauche au pouvoir se

do konteksta, v katerem se je uveljavila. **V** 80. letih 20. stoletja se je levica na **Kako je družbeno vprašanj...** (2007)

6 novembre 2007 (netx. u-paris10. fr/). **Dans** la tourmente de la mondialisation néolibérale

do 6. novembra 2007 (netx.u-paris10.fr/). **V** viharju neoliberalne globalizacije je levica **Drugačen marksizem za dru...** (2007)

Dans le “ compromis social-démocrate ” prévalant

razredni boj – je igra v troje, ne več v dvoje. **V** tem »socialno-demokratskem kompromisu«, **Drugačen marksizem za dru...** (2007)

Dans ces courants historiques, s'affirme une

tudi v osrčju »socializma v kapitalizmu«. **V** teh zgodovinskih tokovih se uveljavlja **Drugačen marksizem za dru...** (2007)

cachez les plaies de l'Amérique latine. **Dans** ce processus, les cadres-et-compétents

čudež je prikril nadloge Latinske Amerike. **V** tem procesu so kadre-in-kompetentne spet **Drugačen marksizem za dru...** (2007)

qui gouverne la scène politique ? **Dans** le schéma démocratique de gouvernement

/desna), ki vlada v političnem prostoru? **V** demokratični shemi vlade večine je levica **Drugačen marksizem**

ancipation qui lui est propre. **Dans** une telle situation, le lien naturel entre

kadre-in-kompetentne v sebi lastno emancipacijsko dinamiko. **V** takšnih okoliščinah se naravna vez med **Drugačen marksizem za dru...** (2007)

A partir de ces exemples, nous pouvons constater que quasiment toutes les traductions gardent l'ordre des mots de l'original. Un seul exemple où l'ordre des mots n'est pas directement reproduit à partir de l'original :

19)

ent ébranlait son autorité. **Dans** leur livre Lord of the Land, Idith Zertal ...

avtoriteto. Idith Zertal in Akiva Eldar sta **v** svoji knjigi Lord of the Land dokazovala

Na predvečer novega Osla... (2007)

Il est intéressant de constater que le traducteur a essayé ici d'établir l'ordre des mots neutre S-V-O, mais aussi il s'agit du seul exemple où le traducteur a choisi de changer l'ordre des mots en slovène.

Cette analyse montre que la stratégie des traducteurs du journal *Le Monde diplomatique* vers le slovène est de ne pas changer l'ordre des mots, contrairement aux articles de presse slovènes. Cette tendance de commencer la phrase par une circonstancielle est peut-être le choix délibéré de ne pas bouleverser le flux textuel thème-rhème. D'ailleurs, comme le montre l'analyse précédente sur le corpus comparable, on n'a pas tort.

3 CONCLUSION

Les grammaires formelles expliquent l'ordre des mots surtout au niveau de la phrase. Quand il faut dépasser les frontières phrastiques et établir les règles au niveau discursif, en prenant en compte les liens d'anaphore et de progression textuelle, les concepts du thème et du rhème, du connu et du nouveau, ne suffisent pas. Les études textuelles donnent une meilleure entrevue de ce qui se passe entre la structure informationnelle et la progression textuelle.

La comparaison entre les corpus comparables et les corpus parallèles a démontré que, dans le cadre des articles de presse, l'ordre des mots en français et en slovène

ne diffère pas beaucoup, malgré les différences formelles entre les deux langues. Dans le cadre de l'analyse de 40 articles du journal, 20 en slovène et 20 en français, on a pu voir que l'inversion temporelle est plus fréquente en français qu'en slovène, tandis qu'en slovène l'inversion locative prédomine. La spécialité française, la structure détachée en position absolue, n'a pas d'équivalent en slovène.

Les structures détachées qui ne se trouvent pas au début du paragraphe devront encore être examinées – selon Combettes (1996), elles présentent un intermédiaire entre le texte précédent et le rhème. Ce phénomène, très intéressant, dépasse pourtant les limites de cet article.

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Les constructions détachées nominales en français et en slovène

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Povzetek

Članek v ospredje postavlja samostalniške polstavke, ki v francoščini zajemajo dva tipa, in sicer t. i. «constructions absolues», katerih jedro je mogoče razvezati z glagolom 'avoir' oz. 'imeti', in t. i. 'appositions nominales', ki jih razvezujemo z glagolom 'être' oz. 'biti'. Glavne značilnosti tovrstnih struktur, katerih raba je precej pogosta v pisni francoščini, so stavčna mobilnost, ločenost od odnosnice z vejico, sekundarna predikacija in koreferenca z osebkom glavnega stavka. Čeprav polstavke najdemo v slovenščini, se njihova raba zdi zelo redka, zato domnevamo, da jih pri prevajanju iz francoščine v slovenščino nadomeščamo z drugimi strukturami, ki vsebujejo osebno glagolsko obliko. Na osnovi tega postavljamo hipotezo o eksplicitaciji skladijsko-semantičnih prvin v slovenskih prevodih francoskih polstavkov. Hipotezo bomo preverili na primerih iz francosko-slovenskega korpusa FraSloK, ki vsebuje literarna besedila in časopisne članke. Analiza bo po eni strani pokazala pogostnost rabe tovrstnih stavkov v izbranem korpusu, po drugi pa omogočila klasificirati slovenske prevode, ugotoviti prevajalske strategije in jih ponuditi kot model reševanja te problematike.

Ključne besede: samostalniški polstavki, construction absolue, apposition nominale, vzporedni korpus, prevod

1 INTRODUCTION

Dans le contexte pédagogique, nous remarquons chez toutes les générations des étudiants slovènes de français qu'ils ont assez de difficultés à comprendre, à interpréter et à rendre en slovène les structures françaises que nous appelons les constructions détachées (d'après Combettes 1998), surtout quand elles figurent au tout début d'une phrase, avant la proposition principale contenant le sujet et le prédicat. Bien que de telles structures se trouvent aussi en slovène, leur emploi semble être beaucoup plus rare qu'en français car dans la langue slovène contemporaine elles paraissent archaïques (Breznik 1967, Jesenšek 1998).

En français de même qu'en slovène il existe plusieurs types de constructions détachées que nous distinguons selon leur noyau (adjectival, nominal, participial). Le présent article se propose d'aborder les structures ayant comme noyau un nom. Jusqu'à présent, peu d'attention a été portée à ce phénomène grammatical, surtout du point de vue contrastif franco-slovène. Les exemples extraits du corpus parallèle français-slovène FraSloK (Mezeg 2011b), contenant, d'un côté, des romans et, de l'autre, des articles de presse, nous permettront d'examiner comment les traducteurs slovènes affrontent ces structures tant du niveau syntaxique que sémantique et d'en tirer des stratégies facilitant à les décoder dans le cadre pédagogique, voire dans le domaine de la médiation interlinguistique entre le français et le slovène.

2 CONSTRUCTIONS DÉTACHÉES NOMINALES : ASPECTS THÉORIQUES

D'après Combettes (1998 : 10-13), les principales caractéristiques des constructions détachées en français sont : la liberté de position dans la phrase, la séparation du reste de la phrase par une virgule, la prédication seconde et la relation de coréférence avec le sujet de la phrase. Dépourvues de sujet et de forme verbale personnelle et n'étant pas reliées par un connecteur logique à la proposition principale dans la structure de surface, ces structures grammaticales sont difficiles à décoder pour un locuteur non-francophone, surtout lorsqu'elles figurent au tout début d'une phrase, ce qui est souvent le cas dans les textes écrits français.

Dans le présent article, l'attention sera portée aux constructions détachées nominales figurant au tout début d'une phrase, avant la proposition principale. Étant centrées sur un nom, elles comprennent deux sous-types : les *constructions absolues* et les *appositions nominales* (Combettes 1998 : 19-28).

2.1 Les constructions absolues

Une construction absolue est constituée de deux termes qui apparaissent dans une relation prédicative, c'est-à-dire d'un groupe nominal (constitué d'un nom précédé ou non d'un déterminant) suivi d'un adjectif (par ex. la *bouche ouverte*), d'un participe (par ex. le *cœur battant*, les *bras croisés*) ou d'un groupe prépositionnel (par ex. les *mains dans les poches*) : l'apport prédicatif est assuré par ce deuxième groupe (Combettes 1998 : 19-20). D'habitude, le groupe nominal établit une relation de partie à tout avec un autre élément nominal de la phrase (c'est souvent une partie corporelle ou une particularité psychologique ou comportementale d'un tout animé) : *Pierre se promène les mains dans les poches*. (Riegel, Pellat et Rioul 1999 : 192) Ces structures sont les plus fréquentes en position détachée « où leur valeur descriptive est souvent mise au service du portrait » (ibid) ; elles « ne qualifient pas directement le référent, mais un de ses aspects ou une réalité qui se trouve en relation avec lui » (Combettes 1998 : 21) : *Blême, les cheveux noirs et marquée de petite vérole, elle s'appuyait sur le bras du militaire*. (Flaubert, dans Riegel, Pellat et Rioul 1999 : 192)

Le noyau de ce type de construction détachée sous-entend le verbe *avoir* ou, autrement dit, peut être explicité à l'aide du verbe *avoir* qui marque la possession, l'appartenance (par ex. *elle avait les cheveux noirs*). Une construction absolue pourrait donc être expliquée comme une réduction d'un énoncé de type X + *avoir* + objet (Combettes 1998 : 20-21). En effet, elle contient uniquement un syntagme nominal tandis que le prédicat et le sujet ne sont pas exprimés dans la structure de surface.

Dernièrement, surtout dans la presse, le groupe nominal n'est composé que d'un nom, sans être suivi de ce « deuxième terme qui introduirait la prédication seconde » (Combettes 1998 : 21, par ex. : *Elwood Blues n'a pas changé : costard, lunettes, chapeau, cravate, tout ça en noir – juste un peu empaté, peut-être*). (Télérama, dans Combettes 1998 : 22)

Considérant les exemples mentionnés, il serait difficile de rendre ces structures en slovène par une construction détachée (exemple (1) ci-dessous), c'est pourquoi il sera d'autant plus intéressant à voir ce que révélera l'analyse contrastive :

- (1) *Yeux baissés, il demeurerait impassible et muet. (Il avait les yeux baissés ; il demeurerait impassible et muet.)* (Shan Sa, *Impératrice*)

[**Spušcene oči/Spuščenih oči, je ostal hladnokrven in molčeč.*]

2.2 Les appositions nominales

La principale caractéristique des appositions nominales est un groupe nominal qui n'est jamais précédé d'un déterminant (exemple (2)), en ce qu'elles se distinguent des constructions liées (Combettes 1998 : 24) qui ne remplissent pas le critère de position libre dans la phrase (exemple (3)) :

- (2) Étudiant de première année, Luc attend ses résultats. – Luc, étudiant de première année, attend ses résultats. (d'après Combettes 1998 : 24)
- (3) Luc, **ton cousin**, vient de téléphoner. – ***Ton cousin**, Luc vient de téléphoner. (Forsgren 2000 : 37)

Les appositions nominales établissent avec le sujet de la proposition principale une relation avec verbe être, c'est pourquoi il est possible de les paraphraser par une proposition subordonnée relative :

- (4) **Porte-parole du président**, Hubert Védrine expose la stratégie présidentielle. (Hubert Védrine, qui est **le porte-parole du président**, expose...) (d'après Picabia 2000 : 71)

À part leur valeur explicative, ces structures peuvent établir avec la proposition principale une valeur temporelle (exemple (5)) ou même causale. Dans l'exemple (6) cela est possible si la construction détachée exprime un état permanent valable au moment de l'énonciation (Havu 2002 : 5) :

- (5) **Enfant**, je ne concevais pas une vie possible sans l'appui de la littérature. (Le Figaro, dans Havu 2002 : 5)
- (6) **Professeur de littérature**, je ne conçois pas une vie possible sans l'appui de la littérature. (ibid.)

Il serait difficile de garder une construction détachée nominale en traduisant ces exemples en slovène, alors il faudrait exprimer leur contenu en utilisant une structure différente.

2.3 Les constructions détachées nominales en slovène

Dans la grammaire slovène, les constructions détachées semblent être une catégorie marginale car seul Toporišič leur consacre quelques mots. Il reconnaît les constructions détachées nominales, disant qu'il s'agit des structures ayant comme noyau un nom ou un groupe nominal (Toporišič 1992 : 265 ; 2004 : 632), par exemple :

- (7) *Ivan je, **glavo pokonci**, zrl nasprotniku v oči.* (Toporišič 2004 : 633)¹
 [*Ivan a, **la tête levée**, regardé l'adversaire droit dans les yeux.*]

D'après nos recherches, il n'existe pas d'études sur la fréquence de l'emploi des constructions détachées nominales en slovène contemporain. Selon Breznik (1967 : 93), il s'agit d'une structure typiquement romane qui a été transmise en slovène par la traduction d'œuvres littéraires françaises ; par la suite, certains écrivains slovènes, comme Ivan Cankar, ont commencé à l'utiliser. Selon Breznik, ce ne sont pas de structures typiquement slovènes. Il a donc condamné leur emploi car en slovène, il doit y avoir une sorte de relation entre les propositions d'une phrase complexe, ce qui n'est pas le cas en français. Par conséquent, on doit les éviter et employer au lieu d'elles les phrases verbales (ibid. : 92). Dans la partie centrale de cet article il sera alors intéressant de vérifier combien de constructions détachées nominales ont été retenues dans les traductions slovènes et par quels autres moyens ont elles été rendues en slovène.

3 CORPUS DE TRAVAIL ET HYPOTHÈSE

La connaissance de la langue slovène et les constatations de Breznik (1967) nous conduisent à supposer que dans la langue slovène écrite contemporaine, l'emploi des constructions détachées nominales est très restreint, voire inexistant. Cette hypothèse sera étudiée sur les exemples extraits du corpus parallèle français-slovène FraSloK (Mezeg 2011a ; Mezeg 2011b ; Mezeg 2013 : 99-101). Celui-ci contient des articles de presse et des ouvrages littéraires publiés entre 1997 et 2008. Les deux sous-corpus sont annotés morphosyntaxiquement et équilibrés au niveau de la taille, contenant ensemble un peu moins de 2,5 millions de mots. Les exemples de constructions détachées nominales initiales seront extraits du corpus français-slovène par le logiciel *Paraconc* (Barlow 1995) à l'aide de patrons syntaxiques, composés d'étiquettes morphosyntaxiques et d'expressions régulières.

4 ANALYSE

Dans ce chapitre nous allons d'abord présenter les résultats du repérage automatique des constructions détachées nominales françaises et de leurs traductions slovènes dans le corpus FraSloK. La seconde partie portera sur l'analyse syntaxique et sémantique des traductions slovènes des constructions absolues et des appositions nominales.

¹ Toporišič ne mentionne pas l'auteur de cet exemple mais indique, entre parenthèses, qu'il s'agit de la langue courante (en slovène 'nezborno').

4.1 Résultats du repérage automatique

Les exemples de constructions détachées nominales initiales françaises ont été extraits du corpus parallèle français-slovène par le logiciel Paraconc à l'aide de patrons syntaxiques, composés d'étiquettes morphosyntaxiques et d'expressions régulières. Les patrons se sont révélés productifs mais le processus de repérage a apporté un nombre non négligeable d'exemples qui ne correspondaient pas aux constructions détachées. En effet, dans la langue française, le groupe nominal qui figure au début d'une phrase et constitue le noyau d'une construction détachée nominale, fonctionne très souvent comme un sujet (exemple (8)). Faute d'un corpus étiqueté au niveau de fonctions syntaxiques de mots ou de groupes de mots, le grand nombre d'occurrences erronées n'était pas surprenant.

- (8) **Les personnes arrêtées – de six mille à sept mille – sont poussées à la hâte vers l'hippodrome par les soldats qui y commettent de nouveaux assassinats.*
(LMD003-FRA)²

Après le tri manuel, il nous est resté 448 exemples de constructions détachées nominales, comme le montrent le tableau 1 et la figure 1 ci-dessous :

Tableau 1 : Fréquence de constructions détachées nominales dans FraSloK.

	Corpus littéraire (LIT)	Corpus journalistique (LMD)
Constructions absolues	143	5
Appositions nominales	122	178
Total par sous-corpus (%)	265 (59 %)	183 (41 %)
Total corpus	448	

Les constructions absolues dominent dans le corpus littéraire (143 exemples) tandis que dans le corpus journalistique nous n'en avons trouvé que 5. Quant aux appositions nominales, elles sont un peu plus fréquentes dans le corpus journalistique (178 occurrences contre 122 dans le corpus littéraire). Au total, les constructions détachées nominales sont plus présentes dans le corpus littéraire (59 %) que dans le journalistique (41 %). Des deux types, les appositions nominales sont beaucoup plus fréquentes que les constructions absolues, comme c'est évident d'après la figure 1.

Les résultats montrent que les constructions absolues n'apparaissent presque pas dans les articles de presse tandis qu'elles sont plus fréquentes des appositions no-

² Le code entre crochets apporte l'information d'où est pris un certain exemple. LMD003-FRA correspond à l'article français numéro 3 de l'hebdomadaire *Le Monde diplomatique* (voir Mezeg 2011b, Annexe 1).

minales dans les romans français de notre corpus. Les appositions nominales sont plus utilisées dans les articles de presse, apportant l'information sur la position et le statut social du référent de la proposition principale. Elles sont souvent plus longues de la proposition principale :

- (9) *Directrice de recherches à l'Institut national de la santé et de la recherche médicale (Inserm), l'auteure présente ici de nombreuses enquêtes.* (LMD038-FRA)

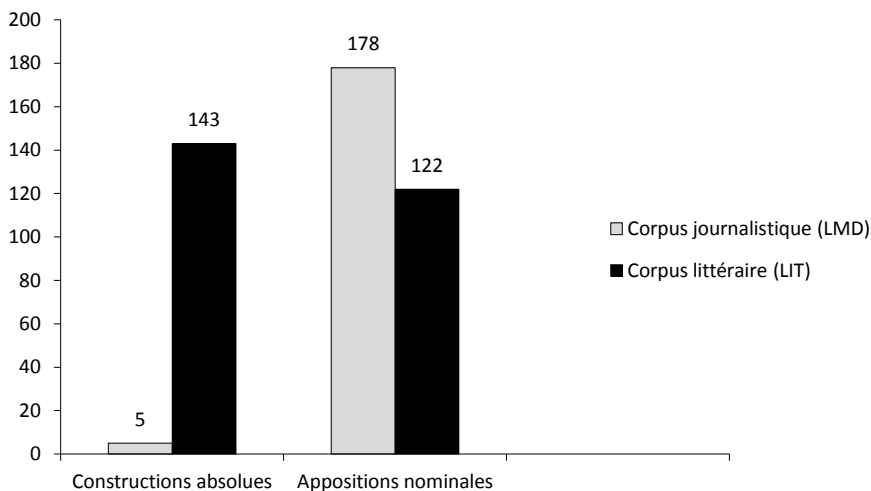


Figure 1 : Représentation graphique de la fréquence des deux types de constructions détachées nominales dans FraSloK.

Il est important de mentionner que l'emploi de différents types n'est pas équilibré dans les textes. Quant aux constructions absolues, plus de la moitié des exemples figurent dans un seul roman (*Impératrice* de Shan Sa) tandis que dans les autres nous n'en trouvons que quelques-uns, ou même pas (c'est le cas dans 2 romans entre 12). Les appositions nominales sont surtout fréquentes dans 3 romans (*Impératrice* de Shan Sa, *Le ventre de l'Atlantique* de Diome Fatou et *L'Amour du prochain* de Pascal Bruckner), représentant 83 % de tous les exemples extraits. Dans les autres œuvres, elles sont rares ou non présentes (4 romans).

Dans le corpus journalistique, les constructions absolues sont quasi inexistantes (5 occurrences au total). Les appositions nominales, quant à elles, sont au total le plus représentées dans le corpus journalistique, mais si nous regardons la répartition dans les 300 articles, nous voyons que 64 % des articles ne contiennent aucune apposition nominale tandis que dans les autres articles nous en trouvons

entre 1 (dans 65 articles) et 5 (dans 2 articles) par article. L'exemple (10) contient 4 appositions nominales, ce qui fait la partie détachée beaucoup plus longue de la proposition principale :

- (10) *Conseiller à l'ambassade de France à Londres pendant la guerre, collaborateur du Monde et du Midi libre en 1945, ancien secrétaire général du Parti radical, délégué français aux assemblées générales des Nations Unies et de l'Unesco, Jacques Kayser n'est pas précisément un agitateur.* (LMD094-FRA)

4.2 Analyse syntactico-sémantique des traductions slovènes des constructions détachées nominales françaises

En raison de particularités syntaxiques et sémantiques différentes des constructions absolues et des appositions nominales, les résultats de l'analyse seront présentés séparément. D'une part, nous allons examiner par quelles parties du discours les traducteurs ont rendu en slovène les structures françaises et quelles relations syntaxiques elles établissent avec la proposition principale par rapport aux textes sources. D'autre part, nous souhaitons vérifier si le rapport logique entre la structure par laquelle a été exprimée en slovène une construction détachée et la proposition principale reste implicite comme dans les textes sources ou s'il est explicité par un connecteur ou un autre moyen.

4.2.1 Traductions slovènes des constructions absolues

L'extraction semi-automatique a apporté 143 exemples de constructions absolues dans le corpus littéraire et uniquement 5 dans le corpus journalistique. Syntactiquement, dans le corpus journalistique l'explicitation s'élève à 100 % et dans le corpus littéraire à 99,3 % en raison d'une omission (voir la figure 2 ci-dessous).

L'analyse syntaxique des traductions slovènes des constructions absolues françaises montre que dans 66 % des traductions du corpus littéraire et dans deux de cinq exemples du corpus journalistique le groupe nominal français est exprimé en slovène par un groupe nominal prépositionnel ayant le plus souvent la fonction d'un attribut de l'objet ((11)) et moins fréquemment d'un complément circonstanciel et d'une épithète.

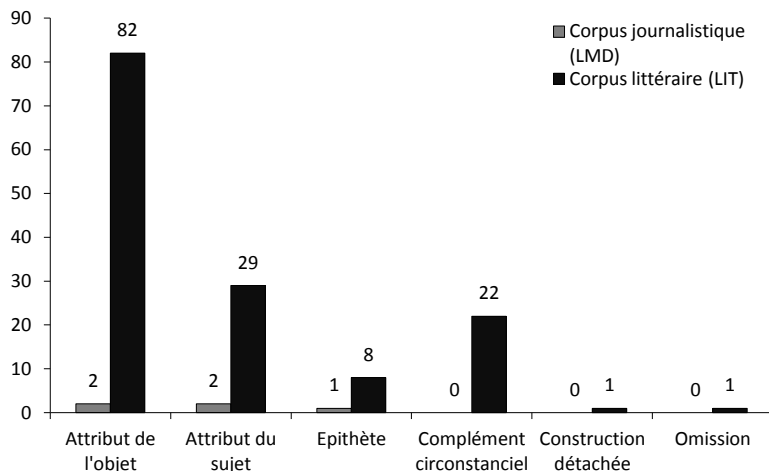


Figure 2 : Répartition d'équivalents syntaxiques slovènes des constructions absolues françaises.

Comme le montre l'exemple (11), l'attribut de l'objet est dans la majorité des traductions retenu au début de la phrase / proposition, avant le sujet et le prédicat :

- (11) *Un vieil Allemand était attablé à ma gauche devant une Carlsberg : **ventre imposant, barbe blanche, lunettes**, il ressemblait assez à un professeur d'université à la retraite.* (LIT009-FRA)

- (11a) *Na moji levi je pred kozarcem Carlsberga za mizo sedel neki stari Nemec: **z veličastnim trebuhom, belo brado, očali** je bil podoben upokojenemu univerzitetnemu profesorju.* (LIT009-SLV) [... : **avec le ventre imposant, barbe blanche, lunettes** il ressemblait...]

La fonction de l'attribut de l'objet a été attribuée aux groupes nominaux prépositionnels qui apportent l'information sur l'un des aspects du référent ou sur une réalité qui se trouve en relation avec lui (Combettes 1998 : 21) ; d'habitude, il est expliqué la position du corps ou des parties du corps ou bien apporté l'information sur l'aspect physique du référent, ses vêtements, accessoires, etc. Sur ces informations nous pouvons nous demander en utilisant le mot interrogatif *comment* (*comment* est / était le référent au moment de l'action de la proposition principale (par ex. *il a / avait un ventre imposant, une barbe blanche et des lunettes* (12a))). Ces constructions absolues apportent donc des informations supplémentaires sur le référent et n'influencent pas sur le déroulement de l'action verbale principale.

Il est important de distinguer de tels exemples des groupes nominaux prépositionnels qui apportent des informations supplémentaires sur l'événement ver-

bal principal et influent en même temps sur le déroulement de l'action verbale principale ; ceux-ci ont la fonction du complément circonstanciel (d'habitude de manière, par ex. dans (12) *comment* il a fait ce qu'exprime le prédicat) :

(12) ***Le corps vif et le regard aigu***, *il poussait avec vigueur la barque en bois.* (LIT006-FRA)

(12a) ***Z živahnimi gibi in ostrim pogledom*** *je z vso močjo potiskal svojo leseno barko.* (LIT006-SLV) [***Avec des mouvements vifs et un regard aigu*** *il poussait...*]

À part le groupe nominal prépositionnel, peuvent assurer la fonction d'un attribut de l'objet un groupe nominal ou adjectival ((13a) non-prépositionnel) :

(13) ***Le visage rouge de honte***, *je me retournai vers lui, après avoir fait quelques pas, et m'entendis lui dire : - Je vous propose un marché : [...].* (LIT004-FRA)

(13a) ***Ves rdeč v obraz od sramu*** *sem že naredil nekaj korakov, potem pa sem se obrnil in rekel: "Tole vam predlagam: [...].* (LIT004-SLV) [***Tout rouge dans le visage de honte*** *j'ai déjà fait quelques pas...*]

En général, les constructions absolues, exprimées en slovène par un attribut de l'objet, ont une valeur descriptive bien que dans certains exemples il se révèle aussi la valeur causale qui n'est pas explicitée (par ex. dans (11)-(11a) *Pourquoi / Comment qu'il ressemblait au professeur d'université à la retraite ? Parce qu'il avait un ventre imposant, une barbe blanche et des lunettes...*).

La deuxième stratégie la plus fréquente dans le corpus littéraire est le maintien d'un groupe nominal qui prend la fonction d'un attribut du sujet (20 % des exemples dans LIT et deux dans LMD), plus rarement d'un attribut de l'objet, d'un complément circonstanciel et d'une épithète.

a) L'attribut du sujet

Dans la majorité des exemples le lien avec le contenu de la construction détachée française est représenté par l'auxiliaire *avoir* explicité qui exprime la possession ((14)-(14a)) ; d'autres auxiliaires peuvent être introduits dans les traductions slovènes à partir d'un complément du noyau nominal, d'un participe présent ou passé fonctionnant comme une épithète ou bien dérivés selon le sens à partir du contenu de la construction détachée (si le noyau exprime des vêtements (ex. (15)), nous pouvons introduire le verbe *nositi* (*porter* (15a)) ; le traducteur l'avait peut-être employé afin d'éviter la répétition du verbe *imeti* (*avoir*) :

- (14) ***Les mains libres***, *M. Palacio purge l'aile « nationaliste-forajida » de son gouvernement, passe un pacte avec le patronat, joue la réconciliation avec Bogotá, normalise les relations avec les organismes financiers multilatéraux et négocie un traité de libre commerce (TLC) avec les Etats-Unis.* (LMD201-FRA)
- (14a) *Palacios **je imel zdaj proste roke in** je počistil »nacionalistično forajida« krilo svoje vlade, podpisal pakt z delodajalci, se spravil z Bogoto, normaliziral odnose z večstranskimi finančnimi organizacijami in izposloval sporazum o prosti trgovini (SPT) z ZDA.* (LMD201-SLV) [*Palacios **avait maintenant les mains libres** et a purgé...*]
- (15) *Coiffée d'un haut chignon, **le col entrebâillé**, elle avait la démarche noble et des seins d'une blancheur éblouissante.* (LIT011-FRA)
- (15a) *Lase je imela spete v visoko figo, **nosila je priprt ovratnik**, imela je plemenito držo in bleščéče bele prsi.* (LIT011-SLV) [*Elle avait les cheveux coiffés d'un haut chignon, **portait le col entrebâillé**, avait la démarche noble...*]

Dans notre corpus, les attributs du sujet englobant le contenu d'une construction absolue ont la valeur descriptive, exprimant une particularité sur le référent de la phrase principale (position du corps, aspect physique...). Dans 59 % des exemples le lien entre le contenu de la construction détachée et la proposition principale n'est pas exprimé par un connecteur logique ((15a)) tandis que dans un bon tiers des exemples du corpus littéraire et les deux exemples du corpus journalistique la valeur descriptive est établie par une coordination copulative ((14a)), rarement une subordination.

b) L'épithète

Dans 6 % d'exemples du corpus littéraire et dans un exemple du corpus journalistique le contenu de la construction détachée française fonctionne comme une épithète qui est presque toujours placée à droite du nom ; cet emploi est possible lorsque le référent est exprimé par un nom (par ex. *pleureuses professionnelles* ou *poklicne žalovalke* dans (16a)) et non pas par un pronom. Comme l'épithète qualifie le nom, il a une valeur descriptive.

- (16) ***Cheveux épars, visages ensanglantés***, *les pleureuses professionnelles déchiraient leurs vêtements et psalmodiaient les lamentations.* (LIT011-FRA)
- (16a) *Poklicne žalovalke **redkih las in okrvavljenih obrazov** so si trgale oblačila s teles in prepevale enolične žalostinke.* (LIT011-SLV) [*Les pleureuses professionnelles (des) **cheveux épars et visages ensanglantés** déchiraient...*]

c) Le complément circonstanciel

Présent uniquement dans le corpus littéraire, dans 15 % des traductions le contenu d'une construction absolue est exprimé par un groupe nominal prépositionnel fonctionnant comme un complément circonstanciel, celui-ci exprimant presque toujours la manière. Rarement, le groupe nominal d'une construction absolue est exprimé par un adverbe ou un participe ((17a)) fonctionnant comme un complément circonstanciel de manière :

(17) ***Débranchements lents**, têtes baissées, quatre jeunes filles longèrent une galerie, montèrent les marches et franchirent le seuil avec savon, serviettes, verres, jarres, récipients.* (LIT011-FRA)

(17a) ***Počasi zibajoč boke** in spuščениh pogledov so vzdolž galerije prišla štiri mlada dekleta, se vzpela po stopnicah in čez prag prinesla milo, brisače, kozarce, vrče, posode.* (LIT011-SLV) [***Lentement balançant les hanches** et les regards baissés quatre jeunes filles...*]

D'après la figure 2 il est évident qu'uniquement une construction détachée est retenue dans la traduction slovène, et ce dans le corpus littéraire :

(18) *Tapi dans un coin de cette cuisine encombrée, **L'épaule contre l'étagère sur laquelle trônait le téléviseur**, je les écoutais avidement en essayant de me rendre invisible.* (LIT010-FRA)

(18a) *Potuhnil sem se v tej natrpni kuhinji, **naslonjen z ramo na polico, kjer je kraljeval televizor**, lakomno sem poslušal in se skušal narediti nevidnega.* (LIT010-SLV) [*Je me suis tapi dans un coin de cette cuisine encombrée, **appuyé avec l'épaule contre l'étagère**...*]

Cette construction détachée diffère de celle du texte source : elle se trouve après la proposition principale et est de type participial (le participe *naslonjen* ou *appuyé* est introduit à partir du syntagme *l'épaule contre*). La forme du groupe nominal français ne peut pas être retenue en slovène telle quelle (ex. **Potuhnjen v enem od kotov te natrpne kuhinje, **rama/ramo na/ob/proti polici**, na kateri je kraljeval televizor, sem jih lakomno poslušal ...* (traduction littérale)), c'est pourquoi l'explicitation syntaxique est obligatoire. La valeur sémantique reste implicite comme dans le texte source.

4.2.2 Traductions slovènes des appositions nominales

L'analyse montre qu'en français, les appositions nominales sont d'un emploi plus fréquent dans le corpus journalistique (178 exemples) que dans le corpus littéraire (122 exemples). En français, une telle structure contient toujours un groupe nominal sans déterminant :

(19) ***Représentant des producteurs de maïs mexicains***, *M. Carlos Salazar explique* : « *Nous cultivons vingt-sept millions d'hectares ; [...]*. (LMD139-FRA)

(19a) ***Predstavnik mehiških pridelovalcev koruze***, *Carlos Salazar, razlaga*: »*Mi obdelujemo sedemindvajset milijonov hektarov*. (LMD139-SLV) [***Représentant des producteurs de maïs mexicains***, *M. Carlos Salazar, explique...*]

En slovène, ce syntagme ne peut pas faire partie d'une construction détachée car il ne remplit pas le critère de la liberté de position dans la phrase ((19b)-(19d)) ; il peut être placé uniquement après le référent en tant qu'une apposition ou bien prendre une autre fonction syntaxique (par ex. du sujet comme dans (19a)) :

(19b)****Predstavnik mehiških pridelovalcev koruze***, *Carlos Salazar razlaga*: ... [***Représentant des producteurs de maïs mexicains***, *M. Carlos Salazar explique...*]

(19c) *Carlos Salazar, predstavnik mehiških pridelovalcev koruze, razlaga*: ... [*Carlos Salazar, représentant des producteurs de maïs mexicains, explique...*]

(19d)**Carlos Salazar razlaga, predstavnik mehiških pridelovalcev koruze*: ... [**Carlos Salazar explique, représentant des producteurs de maïs mexicains...*]

Le maintien d'une apposition nominale initiale n'est donc pas possible en slovène, ce que montrent aussi les résultats de l'analyse. L'explicitation syntaxique s'élèverait à 100 % si un exemple d'apposition nominale n'était pas omis dans les deux corpus.

L'analyse des équivalents syntaxiques des appositions nominales françaises montre une répartition assez différente dans les deux corpus, notamment dans les trois catégories le mieux représentées (apposition, attribut de l'objet et du sujet), comme en témoigne la figure 3 :

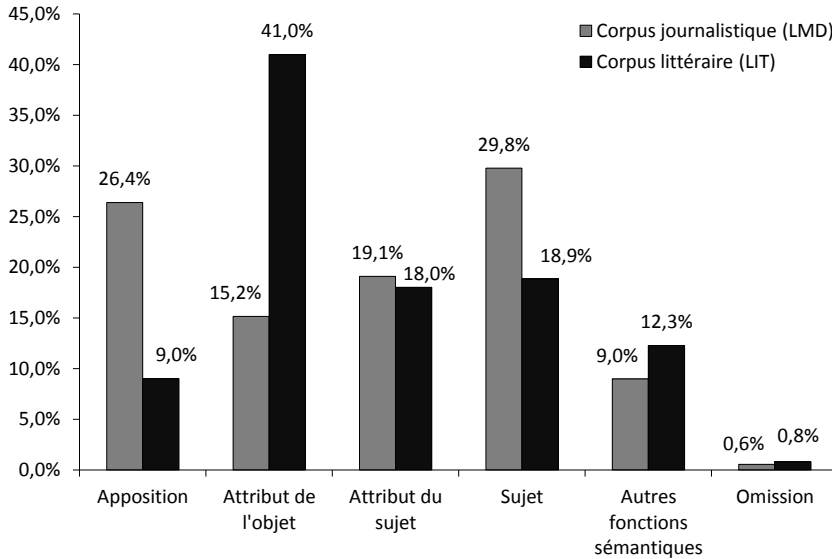


Figure 3 : Répartition d'équivalents syntaxiques slovènes des appositions nominales françaises.

Dans le corpus journalistique, les catégories « apposition » et « sujet » couvrent plus de la moitié de toutes les traductions. Quand le groupe nominal est retenu au début de la phrase slovène, il fonctionne comme un sujet. En français, l'apposition nominale apporte une information sur la profession, fonction, etc. du référent de la proposition principale et est ainsi secondaire par rapport à lui en ce qui concerne le sens. En slovène, par contre, ils peuvent être équivalents lorsque le groupe nominal a la fonction du sujet (cela est possible quand le référent français est pronominalisé, comme dans (20a)) ou bien le référent du texte source devient secondaire quand il se trouve dans une apposition (21a) :

(20) ***Président du Comité civique pro-Santa Cruz**, il est également à la tête d'une grande entreprise nationale de production d'huile – un produit de première nécessité qui a augmenté de plus de 20 % en décembre 2007.* (LMD125-FRA)

(20a) ***Predsednik državljanskega sveta Pro Santa Cruz** je tudi na čelu velikega državnega podjetja za proizvodnjo olja – osnovnega izdelka, ki se je decembra 2007 podražil za več kot 20 %. (LMD125-SLV) [**Le président du Comité civique pro-Santa Cruz** est également...]*

(21) ***Plante sacrée des Andes**, la « mama coca » a en effet subi, au XX^e siècle, les contrecoups du succès de ses nombreuses vertus.* (LMD157-FRA)

- (21a) *Sveta rastlina Andov*, »mama koka«, je bila v 20. stoletju deležna precej pozitivnih odzivov zaradi svojih številnih blagodejnih učinkov. (LMD157-SLV) [*La plante sacrée des Andes*, la « *mama coca* », a en effet subi...]

Quand le référent de la phrase française n'est pas un pronom, le syntagme nominal de la construction détachée française et le référent peuvent se joindre en slovène en un sujet ou bien le référent français est placé en slovène après le contenu de la construction détachée et devient une apposition ((21a)). L'analyse n'a montré aucune différence quant au choix de l'une ou de l'autre stratégie, c'est pourquoi nous pouvons conclure que cela dépend en effet du choix du traducteur.

Sémantiquement, il ne peut pas y avoir de lien logique entre le sujet slovène qui porte le contenu de la construction détachée française et le reste de la phrase. Dans le corpus littéraire, la fonction sujet est attestée dans 20 % de tous les exemples, l'analyse apportant les mêmes conclusions que dans les exemples du corpus journalistique.

En ce qui concerne l'apposition, elle correspond (à part la liberté de position dans la phrase) syntaxiquement et sémantiquement à la structure française : même forme, désignation secondaire du référent, même valeur explicative sans lien logique exprimé ((22)-(22a)). L'apposition est attestée dans un quart d'exemples du corpus journalistique et une dizaine du corpus littéraire.

- (22) *En voici un exemple, parmi d'autres. Fils de sidérurgiste*, *Gaetano* rêve de suivre les pas de son père. (LMD038-FRA)

- (22a) *To ponazarja denimo z naslednjim primerom: Gaetano, sin železarja, sanja, da bo stopal po poti svojega očeta.* (LMD038-SLV)

Comme en témoigne la figure 3, la stratégie la plus sortante (41 % d'exemples) dans le corpus littéraire est l'attribut de l'objet par lequel est exprimé le contenu du syntagme source ; dans le corpus journalistique, c'est la quatrième stratégie la plus fréquente couvrant 15 % d'exemples. En slovène, le groupe nominal est toujours précédé de la conjonction *kot* (*en tant que / comme*) et est normalement retenu au début de la phrase. La valeur de l'attribut de l'objet est descriptive, voire explicative :

- (23) *Chef du gouvernement provisoire de la République française*, il a signé à Moscou, le 10 décembre 1944, un « traité d'alliance et d'assistance mutuelle », qu'il qualifie de « belle et bonne alliance ». (LMD143-FRA)

- (23a) *Kot predsednik začasne vlade Republike Francije* je 10. decembra leta 1944 v Moskvi podpisal »pogodbo o zavezništvu in vzajemni pomoči«, ki jo je označil za »lepo in dobro zavezništvo«. (LMD143-SLV) [*En tant que chef du gouvernement provisoire de la République française* (il) a signé...]

L'emploi de l'attribut du sujet qui introduit en slovène l'auxiliaire *être* est la troisième stratégie la plus fréquente dans les deux corpus (LMD 19,1 %, LIT 18,0 %) ; dans plus de la moitié des exemples de deux corpus, il est exprimé dans une proposition subordonnée ((24a)), rarement dans une proposition principale (dans tel cas la proposition principale est toujours devant une proposition relative (25a)) :

(24) ***Colonne vertébrale économique du pays***, *Grupo Carso est devenu intouchable.* (LMD149-FRA)

(24a) *Družba Grupo Carso, **ki je skelet državnega gospodarstva**, je postala nedotakljiva.* (LMD149-SLV) [*Grupo Carso, **qui est la colonne vertébrale économique du pays**, est devenu...*]

(25) ***Alchimistes***, *elles savent vaincre l'insolence de l'oignon, la témérité de l'ail et l'agressivité du piment pour restituer un peu de caractère à un espadon dompté par une huile ardente.* (LIT008-FRA)

(25a) ***To so alkimistke***, *ki se znajo spopasti s predrznostjo čebule, z neustrašnostjo česna in z bojevitostjo popra, da bi vrnile značaj mečarici, ukročeni v vrelem olju.* (LIT008-SLV) [***Ce sont alchimistes qui savent vaincre...***]

Dans le corpus journalistique sort l'emploi de la proposition relative ((24a) et (25a)) qui a la valeur descriptive ; le temps et la cause ((26a)) sont exprimés dans un exemple chacun. Dans le corpus littéraire le temps ((27a)) et la concession ((28a)) sont exprimés dans quatre exemples chacun tandis que la subordonnée causale et relative sont rares.

(26) ***Intérimaire***, *son accident ne figure pas au bilan social de la filiale.* (LMD038-FRA)

(26a) ***Ker je začasni delavec***, *se njegova nesreča ne pojavi v socialni bilanci podjetnice.* (LMD038-SLV) [***Comme il est intérimaire***, *son accident...*]

(27) ***Encore écolière***, *elle a souffert de ne pouvoir briller : en dehors du dessin, seules ses aptitudes physiques ont été remarquées.* (LIT002-FRA)

(27a) ***Ko je bila še šolarica***, *je trpela, ker ni mogla blesteti: razen njenih risb so učitelji opazili samo še njene telesne sposobnosti.* (LIT002-SLV) [***Quand elle était encore écolière***, *elle...*]

(28) ***Fils unique***, *j'ai longtemps eu un frère.* (LIT002-FRA)

(28a) ***Čeprav sem edinec***, *sem dolgo imel brata.* (LIT002-SLV) [***Bien que je sois fils unique***, *j'ai longtemps...*]

Dans peu d'exemples l'attribut du sujet est employé dans une phrase coordonnée, dans le corpus littéraire toujours copulative tandis que dans le corpus journalistique nous trouvons aussi deux exemples d'opposition ((29a)) :

(29) ***Entreprise jusque-là publique***, *Dagris est aujourd'hui en cours de privatisation (voir l'enquête d'Olivier Piot, pages 18 et 19).* (LMD049-FRA)

(29a) ***Doslej je bila družba Dagris javno podjetje***, *danes pa je v procesu privatizacije (preberite članek Oliviera Piota, str. 18 in 19).* (LMD049-SLV) [***Jusque-là Dagris*** était ***une entreprise publique***, *mais aujourd'hui elle est...*

Dans une dizaine de traductions slovènes les appositions nominales françaises prennent d'autres fonctions syntaxiques : dans le corpus littéraire sortent le complément circonstanciel (ayant le plus souvent la valeur temporelle, comme en témoigne l'exemple (31a)) et le prédicat (signifiant que le groupe nominal est verbalisé, par ex. comme dans (32a)), et dans le corpus journalistique uniquement le prédicat. La fonction de l'objet est rare dans les deux corpus : celle-ci se révèle quand le complément d'agent de la proposition principale française passive est exprimé en slovène par le sujet dans une phrase active et l'apposition nominale française par un objet que demande du point de vue de la valence le verbe actif choisi, comme le montre l'exemple (33)-(33a).

(31) ***Enfant***, *elle a connu la misère et s'est traînée dans les rues de la capitale de l'Est.* (LIT011-FRA)

(31a) ***Kot otrok*** *je živela bedno in se je vlačila po ulicah vzhodne prestolnice.* (LIT011-SLV) [***Comme enfant*** (*Quand elle était enfant*), *elle a connu...*]

(32) ***Fondateur de Marazul***, *agence organisatrice de vols vers Cuba, Francisco Aruca, de son côté, anime une émission, « Radio Progreso », sur WOCN – en espagnol, Unión Radio.* (LMD148-FRA)

(32a) *Aruca, ***ki je osnoval letalsko agencijo Marazul*** za organizirane lete na Kubo, vodi radijsko oddajo Radio Progreso na WCN – v španščini je to Union Radio.* (LMD148-SLV) [*Aruca, ***qui a fondé*** l'agence...*]

(33) ***Ex-soldats***, *souvent indigènes, recrutés de force pour la guerre contre l'Equateur (1995) ou le Sentier lumineux, ils ont été abandonnés à leur triste sort par l'Etat.* (LMD228-FRA)

(33a) ***Nekdanje vojake***, *pogosto domačijce, ki so jih za vojno proti Ekvadorju ali za Svetlečo pot rekrutirali s silo, je država prepustila njihovi usodi.* (LMD228-SLV) [*Les ***ex-soldats***, souvent indigènes, recrutés de force pour la guerre contre l'Equateur (1995) ou le Sentier lumineux, ***l'Etat a abandonné*** à leur triste sort.]*

5 CONCLUSION

La présente étude nous amène à quelques observations importantes. Tout d'abord, l'emploi des constructions absolues et des appositions nominales n'est pas équivalent dans les deux corpus : les constructions absolues dominent dans le corpus littéraire tandis qu'elles sont presque inexistantes dans le corpus journaliste. Quant aux appositions nominales, elles sont nettement plus présentes dans le corpus journalistique bien qu'elles soient bien représentées aussi dans le corpus littéraire. Au total, le corpus littéraire contient plus de constructions détachées nominales (265 contre 183 trouvées dans le corpus journalistique).

Ensuite, de 148 constructions absolues et 300 appositions nominales seule une construction détachée a été retenue en slovène, celle-ci n'étant pas nominale, mais participiale. Cela confirme notre hypothèse sur l'emploi très rare des constructions détachées nominales en slovène car, d'après l'analyse, il est très difficile, voire souvent impossible de garder une telle structure en slovène. Comme le montrent les exemples, le contenu de ces structures doit, en slovène, être lié (par ex. avec une préposition) au reste de la phrase.

Pour terminer, l'analyse montre différentes stratégies dans la traduction des deux types de constructions nominales. Les constructions absolues sont le plus souvent rendues en slovène par un attribut de l'objet, suivent l'attribut du sujet et le complément circonstanciel, très rarement l'épithète. Dans les deux corpus prédomine la valeur descriptive (LMD 100 %, LIT 70 %), suit la valeur circonstancielle (surtout de manière ; LIT au total 17 %) tandis que dans 13 % d'exemples la relation entre le contenu de la structure nominale du texte source et la proposition principale reste implicite comme en français.

Quant aux appositions nominales, la répartition des stratégies traductionnelles est assez hétérogène : dans le corpus littéraire l'attribut de l'objet l'emporte sur le sujet, l'attribut du sujet, d'autres fonctions syntaxiques (complément circonstanciel, prédicat et objet) et l'apposition. Dans le corpus journalistique prédominent le sujet et l'apposition, suivent l'attribut du sujet, l'attribut de l'objet et d'autres fonctions syntaxiques. L'attribut de l'objet est nettement moins présent que dans le corpus littéraire tandis que l'apposition est retenue dans presque un tiers d'exemples (dans le corpus littéraire dans moins de 10 %).

En ce qui concerne le rapport phrastique, la subordination (LMD 19 %, LIT 11 %) l'emporte contre d'autres rapports phrastiques (LMD 4 %, LIT 7 %) et la coordination (LMD 3 %, LIT 2 %). Contrairement aux constructions absolues, l'explicitation sémantique n'est pas si élevée : elle est confirmée dans 39 % d'exemples du corpus journalistique et dans 62 % d'exemples du corpus littéraire,

signifiant que dans ce type de structures la relation implicite du texte source est souvent gardée dans la traduction. Quant à l'explicitation, la valeur descriptive l'emporte contre la valeur circonstancielle dans les deux corpus.

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Addressing web users: a case study of Slovene and English promotional websites

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Povzetek

Prvi stik s spletno stranjo podjetja je ključnega pomena, saj pomembno vpliva na odločitev spletnega uporabnika o tem, ali se bo na spletišču zadržal ali pa ga zapustil. Prvi stik spletnega uporabnika s spletno vsebino podjetja najpogosteje predstavlja domača spletna stran. Jezik, ki se tam uporablja, ima skupaj z nebesedilnimi vsebinami pri sprejemanju te odločitve ključno vlogo. Namen prispevka je osvetliti vprašanje strategij naslavljanja, ki v preteklosti niso bile pogosto predmet raziskav, in sicer na primerljivem korpusu slovenskih in angleških spletišč term. Analiza oblik naslavljanja na trženjskih spletnih straneh se osredotoča na naslednje kategorije: velelniške oblike, raba zaimkov, posredne oblike naslavljanja, retorična vprašanja in druge oblike. Rezultati pričujoče pilotne študije tridesetih domačih spletnih strani – izvirnih slovenskih, prevedenih iz slovenščine v angleščino in izvirnih angleških – kažejo, da je na izvirnih angleških spletnih straneh raba različnih oblik naslavljanja precej pogostejša, prav tako pa prihaja do razlik v strategijah prevajanja. Prispevek obravnava tudi z naslavljanjem povezano temo, ki je specifična za slovenščino, in sicer vprašanje rabe vikanja in tikanja v velelnem naklonu.

Ključne besede: oblike naslavljanja, slovenska in angleška trženjska besedila, domače spletne strani, vikanje in tikanje

"How we say something is at least as important as what we say; in fact, the content and the form are quite inseparable, being but two facets of the same object."

Ronald Wardhaugh

1 INTRODUCTION

In the highly competitive world of online marketing, where the decision whether to stay on the website or not is made in the first ten seconds (Nielsen 2011) and where a website is visited less often if it is slower than a close competitor by more than 250 milliseconds (Lohr 2012), it is clear that every detail that can keep the web user on the website and every feature that appeals to him/her has to be considered. The relationship a website creates with web users is crucial for retaining them on the website and in the case of promotional websites potentially turning them into customers. The language of the website is of key importance in establishing rapport and one of the more prominent features facilitating it is the way in which web users are addressed.

Exploring the issue of address terms in intercultural communication, Clyne et al. (2004) make the observation that "address rules are rarely adequately described in textbooks or grammars, and the existence of similar deictic dichotomies across languages, even closely related ones, offers no basis to assume a similar set of functions." Similarly, Wardhaugh (2006) warns of "possible dangers in cross-cultural communication when different relationships are expressed through what appears, superficially at least, to be the same address system." He goes on to note that "the use of a person's first name in North America does not necessarily indicate friendship or respect." When a web user creates an account on a Slovene online store, logs in and is greeted by *Živjo Janez, kaj te pa danes zanima? – Hi John, what are you interested in today?* (the account user's first name and the *T*-form personal pronoun are used), one wonders whether the informality of the website in addressing its user is due to a conscious attempt to achieve a cordial, friendly relationship, or the influence of a foreign website (and/or cultural) template. Clyne et al. (2009) note that British English address practices now "include an increasingly widespread use of first names in work contexts and service encounters" and they speculate on the possible influence of American English patterns. Issues such as these play an important role in contributing towards a persuasive company website and as research of intercultural differences in address forms is lacking, the aim of the present article is to try to bridge this research gap at least for the pair of Slovene and English.

In the field of intercultural differences, two researchers share a pioneering role – Geert Hofstede and Edward Hall independently developed cultural frameworks

that would facilitate a more systematic exploration of various cultures and the identification of similarities and differences between them. Searching for universal categories of culture, Hofstede (1980) devised a typology consisting of five (later more) categories: Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism/Collectivism, Masculinity/Femininity and Long-Term Orientation. Hall (1976) developed the concept of context, where cultures can be placed on a scale ranging from low-context to high-context. In the former, the objective communication message is seen as being of primary importance, whereas the context plays a secondary role. According to Singh and Pereira (2005: 55), "low-context cultures are logical, linear, action-oriented, and the mass of information is explicit and formalized. Communication is expected to proceed in a rational, verbal, and explicit way". In high-context cultures, where close-knit communities are prevalent, primary importance is attributed to everything surrounding a message and the message itself is of secondary importance. As a consequence, there is a lot of "reading between the lines".

In order to analyze culturally specific rhetoric on websites, Singh and Pereira (2005) developed the Cultural Values Framework (CVF), which is based on the above mentioned Hofstede's and Hall's cultural dimensions and consists of a set of operational website features associated with each cultural dimension. The use of the CVF for the analysis of Slovene and English websites has proved that culturally specific rhetorical differences do exist (Grad 2014). As Slovenia's scores or rank for all categories of the CVF are on the opposite end of the spectrum compared with Anglo-American countries (the UK, the USA, and Australia) (Hofstede et al. 2010), we can hypothesize that address forms on Slovene websites will differ accordingly, i.e. English websites will make use of more address forms, resulting in a more engaged, aggressive sales approach, and will use more explicit and direct means of addressing web users.

1.1 Forms of address

Braun (1988:7) defines address as "a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s)." Forms of address are thus defined as "words and phrases used for addressing," and as they refer to the collocutor, they contain a strong element of person deixis. In most languages, forms of address can be expressed nominally (names, titles, kinship terms, abstract nouns), pronominally (pronouns), or verbally (inflectional suffixes).

It should be noted that both Slovene and English also allow for an avoidance strategy where the speaker does not have to use any address term, or may at least temporarily postpone it. In English, for instance, a website may address its website users

by a simple "Welcome to /... /", likewise in Slovene (*Dobrodošli v /... /*). Other languages, however, do not have the option of employing an avoidance strategy, as Wardhaugh (2006) observes, the French, for instance, cannot say "Bonjour, Au revoir, Merci, or Pardon without attaching an address term." However, even without employing any address terms, in Slovene the verbal suffix reveals whether the verb is in singular or plural form, which can indicate the level of formality depending on one's interpretation. Namely, the plural verb suffix is ambiguous, as it may be a proper plural form used for addressing multiple website users, or it could be a polite *V*-form address.

Also, Reindl (2007) observes that Slovene has a unique system of address, as it differs from the basic binary address system of many European languages grammatically distinguishing four levels of formality: informal, semiformal (*polvikanje*), formal, and ultra-formal (*onikanje*). The formal (*V* form) and the informal (*T* form) are commonly used, although apart from the conventions of a particular situation governing the choice of one or the other, the choice of *T* or *V* forms also somewhat depends on personal preference. The non-standard semiformal address, a hybrid combining the formal plural pronoun and verb forms and the informal singular form of accompanying adjectives or participles, which are marked for gender (e.g. *Gospod/Gospa, vi ste pa res iznajdljiv/ iznajdljiva* vs. the formal *iznajdljivi; Sir/Madam, you truly are ingenious.*), is mostly limited to certain regions and semiformal or relaxed business communication (Toporišič 2000). The semiformal address is an attempt to simultaneously show respect by using plural pronoun and verb forms, which create distance, but at the same time also express a friendly attitude typical of a reciprocal informal relation. The ultra-formal address makes use of the 3rd person plural form of the verb to show even greater distance, and consequently reverence, but is nowadays obsolete and only used for its comic effect or other special purpose.

1.2 Types of address: nominal and pronominal

The seminal article by Brown and Gilman (1960), "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", is widely considered one of the most influential studies on the issue of address forms. It identified two principles determining the usage of *T/V*¹ forms in English, French, Italian, Spanish and German. The first principle is that of power and the second is that of solidarity. The former is a non-reciprocal, asymmetrical relation, whereas the latter is inherently reciprocal or symmetrical. According to Brown and Gilman (1960:256), in medieval times the nobility used *V* forms to address one another to show mutual respect and politeness, whereas

¹ They propose the use of *T* and *V*, derived from Latin singular pronouns of address *tu* and *vos*, as generic designators for a familiar (*T*) and a polite (*V*) pronoun in any language (1960: 254).

the common people used *T* forms with one another. However, the upper classes addressed the common people using *T* forms, but expected and received *V* forms in return. This non-reciprocal nature of the *T/V* form usage started to symbolize a power relationship. Through time, mutual *V* form usage became the norm for expressing politeness, whereas mutual *T* form became a marker of solidarity.

Brown and Gilman (1960:260) make an interesting observation on the principles of the loosening of relations in modern times:

There is an interesting residual of the power relation in the contemporary notion that the right to initiate the reciprocal *T* belongs to the member of the dyad having the better power-based claim to say *T* without reciprocation. The suggestion that solidarity be recognized comes more gracefully from the elder than from the younger, from the richer than from the poorer, from the employer than from the employee, from the noble than from the commoner, from the female than from the male.

Therefore, being addressed informally by an entity such as a website that you normally expect to make use of *V* form address terms may come as a surprise. Depending on one's background, age, education, personal preferences etc., a *T* form address strategy may be considered appropriate and even favored over more formal address options. On the other hand, a website employing such an approach may be perceived as crude, offensive and unprofessional, as the web user or online customer may deem him/herself the superior in the relationship and, therefore, as Brown and Gilman (*ibid.*) suggest, the one in position to initiate the change, or simply be of the opinion that a mutual *V* form address is appropriate for the communication between a business entity and a consumer.

Compared with Slovene, the English pronominal system of address is very straightforward and limited. Modern Standard English only has one pronoun of address, namely *you*, which itself has no *T/V* distinction, nor does it influence the corresponding verb form. Clyne et al. (2009) note that the pronoun *thou* is nowadays only used in certain dialects or particular communities. As English lacks the pronominal means for creating social distinction, this is achieved by nominal forms of address such as Sir/Madam or the use of proper names.

1.3 Online forms of address – a lack of guidelines

With the *T/V* distinction being an integral part of the Slovene language and a substantial quantity of original as well as translated or localized websites, one would expect to find guidelines for the appropriate use of the forms of address on the web. Unfortunately, there is an unexpected lack of documentation provid-

ing such guidelines. In most cases, the topic is briefly covered on websites giving rather vague advice to enterprises on how to conduct business in the form of the "dos and don'ts" of online communication, but the issue is not covered from the linguistic point of view. The issue is most comprehensively presented by LUGOS, the Linux User Group of Slovenia, who defines rules for translating KDE² programs into Slovene. They define the relation between the computer and the user, and state that the computer should use the *V* form in addressing its user, whereas the user should make use of the less formal *T* form.³ Accordingly, user command options directed at the computer to initiate an action are in the *T* form imperative, e.g. *Odpri*, *Shrani*, *Zbriši*, *Izreži*, *Zapri*, etc. (their *V* form equivalents would be: *Odprite*, *Shranite*, *Zbrišite*, *Izrežite*, *Zapríte*; Open, Save, Delete, Cut, Close), but the computer prompts should be in the more formal *V* form imperative, e.g. *Izberite*, *Vnesite*, etc. (vs. *Izberi*, *Vnesi*; Choose, Insert). The latter is sometimes fairly ambiguous, as in the context of marketing websites the computer is merely the digital means through which the company communicates with its target audience, and as a result there is a borderline between the user giving commands to the computer and the company prompting its user to perform a certain action. The following example illustrates a fairly common ambiguity of reference, as it is not clear whether *V* or *T* forms are actually used: *Preberi več* (*Read more*) – rather than this literally being a command by the user to the computer to read something to him/her, it can be considered a command by the user for the computer to open the document to be read by the user. Alternatively, it could, of course, also be perceived as a prompt on the part of the website/company to the user to do so. In this case, however, the *T* form address could be viewed as (too) informal and thus problematic. The analysis yielded several similar examples, which are presented in the results section.

2 CORPUS AND METHOD

2.1 Corpus

The present case study is based on a corpus that consists of three sets of spa website home pages: Slovene home pages in Slovene (SL-SL), the same set of Slovene home pages translated into English (SL-EN), and English home pages written in English (EN). Each set comprises ten web pages for a total of thirty. The corpus is fairly limited in size with an overall length of 7,969 words: SL-SL 2,834, SL-EN 2,393, and EN 2,742 words. As has already been mentioned in the introductory paragraphs, one of the primary goals of a website's home page is to persuade the

² KDE, K Desktop Environment, a desktop environment for UNIX workstations.

³ <https://wiki.lugos.si/slovenjenjepravila>

web user to stay on the website and the language that is used certainly plays an important role in this.

The following criteria were used for the selection of the Slovene websites: the websites of the Slovene companies needed to have an English version and in cases of spa chains (Sava hoteli, Krka) only one representative was chosen to avoid the possibility of common authorship that would influence the language used on the websites. The English spas were chosen based on the information from a specialized guide (<http://goodspaguide.co.uk/>) to form a comparable corpus. Similarly, one of the criteria was diverse ownership, which ensured varied website authorship. Additionally, none of the companies could be part of an international spa chain (even if based in Britain), as that could mean that the website was based on an internationalized foreign language template, or was itself such a template to be localized into other languages.

2.2 Method

The corpus was analyzed manually and annotated for the following categories: imperative forms, pronouns, indirect address forms, rhetorical questions, and miscellaneous address forms. It is worth noting that in Slovene the *T/V* form distinction can be made for most of these categories and this has some very important implications that are discussed in the following sections of the article. As the overall length of individual home pages is very limited and thus not necessarily representative, the results for individual categories are not presented empirically, as a single additional instance of a certain form of address could alter the results significantly even if they were normalized to a 10,000 word sample. The numerical results are only used to emphasize unexpected differences in preferences for a certain address form on an individual home page, or between the Slovene website and its English translation.

Imperative verb forms appear on hyperlinks, in the description of what the spa offers, and elsewhere, e.g. in requests for the web user's email address. As mentioned above, the *T/V* distinction, which has the potential to significantly alter the tone and consequently the level of formality, is also expressed in Slovene imperative forms. Sometimes this distinction is made inadvertently, as can be observed from the inconsistencies on the same web page. In some instances, however, the use of *T/V* forms is ambiguous, as the direction of communication is not entirely clear, i.e. whether the website is addressing the web user, or whether the imperative form is used on behalf of the web user giving commands to the computer to execute a certain operation, e.g. *Spremeni/odpovej rezervacijo*; *Change/cancel reservation*. The former ranges from real imperatives, e.g. *Enjoy your stay*,

to directives, e.g. *Enter your email*. These issues are presented and discussed in the following section.

Pronouns present a similar problem, as the *T/V* distinction can also be observed here. In addition to the inadvertently mixed usage mentioned above, Slovene pronouns also blur the difference between the polite singular (*za vas* – for you (single person)) and the neutral, potentially informal plural reference (*za vas* – for you (two or more)).

The category of indirect address refers to all instances where the addressee is referred to by a specific description which is neither an imperative verb form nor a pronoun. In Slovene the same nominal indirect address distinguishes two possible verb forms, the choice of which can alter the level of directness, e.g. *šudenti imajo dodaten popust* vs. *šudenti imate dodaten popust* – the first one merely states that (all) students have additional discount (3rd person plural), whereas the second one directly addresses the demographic group of students (2nd person plural). This ambiguity is lost on English websites. One of them, for instance, claims that *!...! guests can indulge in !...!*, which would only pose a dilemma if it were translated, as the translator would have to decide on the level of directness.

Rhetorical questions, e.g. *Want to be informed?*, address the web user directly and engage him/her into a virtual dialogue where the web user is expected to "answer" by performing some sort of a task, e.g. clicking on a hyperlink, filling out a form, etc.

The group of miscellaneous address forms comprises all instances of address, mostly indirect, ranging from references to larger groups, e.g. family; spa treatment names which consist of first person pronouns, entire sentences written in the first person singular (cookie use notification statement), etc.

3 RESULTS

As the scope of the home page of a website is restricted to a single web page, the website designers and the company's marketing strategists need to strike a balance between the amount of verbal and non-verbal information. The amount, the impact, and the interaction between them should be as persuasive as possible, but as there is a lack of consensus on what that constitutes, the length of the text of the analyzed home pages differs significantly, ranging from a textually minimalist 111 words for the Slovene to an even more succinct 99 words for the shortest English home page; on the other end of the spectrum, the longest Slovene home page is 449 words long and the English is 373 words in length.

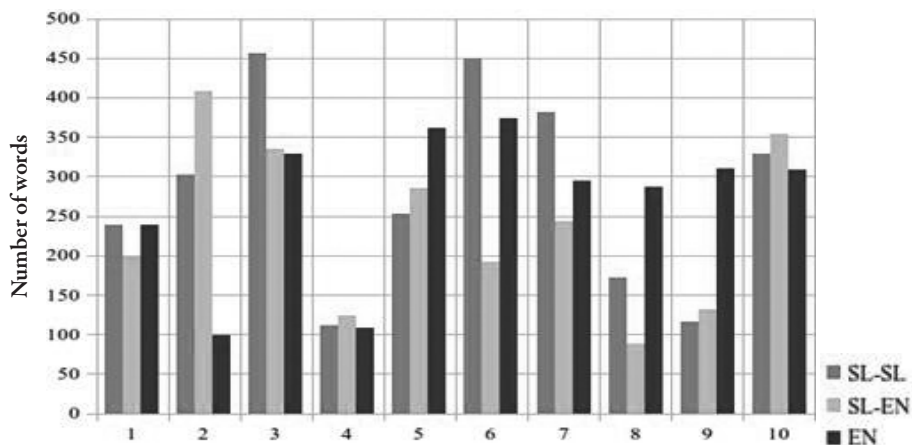


Chart 1: Length of home pages

Significant differences can be observed in the scope and consequently the length of the translated Slovene home pages compared with their source, which reveals the underlying differences in the purpose and consequently the strategy of the translation. Some companies opt for a fairly faithful translation strategy, resulting in a comparable home page text length (6/10 Slovene home pages fall in the +/- 20% range), others minimize the scope and consequently the cost of the translation, retaining merely the necessary information (5/10 English versions represent a downscaling of the content, 2 of which falling in the 20% range mentioned above), but there are also instances of home pages having more textual content in the translated versions where the companies wanted to add content specific to the foreign customers (5/10 home pages were longer in their translated versions, but 4 of these fall in the 20% range). Another possible reason for the latter scenario could also be that the translated websites have a simpler general structure, which would mean that more information would have to be provided on fewer web pages including the home page. The average length of Slovene home pages (280.4 words) is very similar compared with the English (270.7 words), but the Slovene translated home pages exhibit an average reduction of 18.8% compared with their source texts for an average length of 236 words.

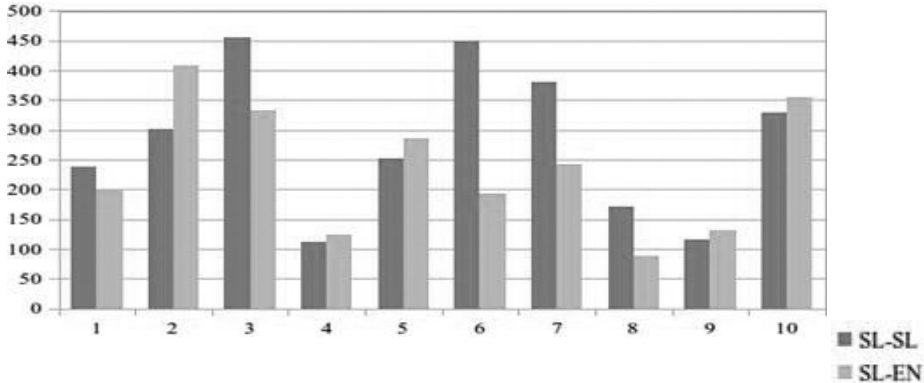


Chart 2: Differences in length (Slovene home pages and their translations into English)

Bearing in mind the limited scope of the material, quantitative analysis only seems relevant for the combined length of each of the three parts of the corpus and the combined results of all categories of address. It can thus be suggested that overall English home pages seem to exhibit more address forms, as the combined number for all categories that were analyzed is 115 per 2,742 words (419 per 10,000 words). The respective result for the Slovene home pages is 58 per 2,834 words (204 per 10,000 words), which is 51.3% less than in the English home pages. It is interesting to observe that the Slovene home pages translated into English exhibit a combined number of address forms of 63 per 2,834 words (222 per 10,000 words), which presents a slight increase of 8.8% over the source web pages.

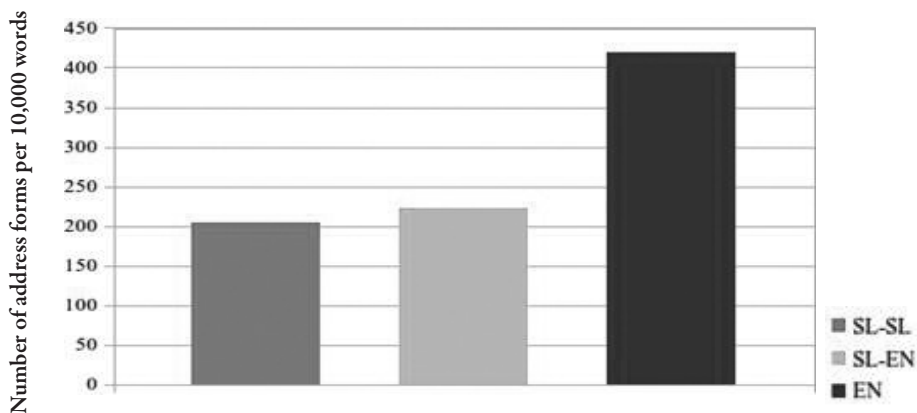


Chart 3: Combined number of address forms per 10,000 words

The analysis of address forms yielded some very interesting results. Even though the limited scope of the corpus only justifies frequency results for entire sets of home pages, there are certain deviations that are worth highlighting. In the sub-corpus of English home pages, which range from 99 to 373 words in length, in 9 out of 10 the combined number of address forms ranges from 5 to 13. The home page of one English spa, however, contains a total of 28 address forms on 294 words, which is more than twice as many as any other English home page. Out of the 28, there are 18 imperatives. In comparison, 8 imperative verb forms or fewer could be found on other home pages.

A marked difference can also be observed in the number of address forms between Slovene home pages and their English translations. On a particular home page, which has a translated version of similar length (within 20%), the home page contains 16, whereas the English translation contains a total of only 9 address forms. Another example of a Slovene home page with an English translation of comparable length, however, yields the opposite result, i.e. the number of address forms on the original home page of 3 is a significantly smaller than that of its English translation, which has 7; the notification on the use of cookies, which was not part of the analysis, contains an additional 4 for a total of 11.

Two Slovene websites stand out due to their very low number of address forms. Even though both are fairly short with a length of 111 and 116 words, respectively, the first one contains one (imperative) and the other two (one pronoun and one indirect address) address forms. Their English translations with lengths of 123 and 132 words exhibit two (pronouns) and zero address forms, respectively.

There is also one Slovene spa home page that exhibits a significant increase in the number of address forms in its English translation. Surprisingly, the source home page contains no address forms of any type, whereas the English version has 11 (three imperatives and 8 pronouns).

4 DISCUSSION

Bearing in mind the observations made by using the CVF (Singh and Pereira 2005, Grad 2014), one would expect to find a more direct and explicit sales approach on the English websites resulting in a greater number of address forms and the use of more direct forms. Generally this can be confirmed even though idiosyncratic preferences can be observed in both original subcorpora. If the Slovene website designers and translators were aware of these general differences, they could implement these changes when translating the Slovene websites into English to more closely reflect English conventions. This would give the websites

a more authentic feel and consequently reduce the cognitive load required to process them, which has been suggested to make online texts more persuasive (Whitenton 2013). On certain translated websites this seems to be the case, as they exhibit an increase in the number of address forms compared with their source texts. Whether the observed difference is the result of a conscious decision and awareness on account of the translator is unclear. However, two other scenarios have also been observed, i.e. either the number of address forms is more or less the same as that of the source text, or, even more surprisingly, that the opposite occurs – the translated web pages actually contain fewer address forms than the source text, making them even less direct. This indicates that address forms are either not recognized by translators as an intercultural issue where differences between the two languages/cultures occur, or this is only the case for some translators.

Alternatively, the difference between the expected and actual results in the number of address forms could also be attributed to changes in the content. Foreign language versions of some Slovene websites have a very limited scope of content compared with their source text counterparts, which suggests that they are re-designed rather than merely translated. But even if the content is changed, the rhetorical impact the website aims to achieve should be the same, which in turn would call for a more direct sales approach and consequently a greater number of address forms, albeit in a different context.

In Slovene the distinction between *T/V* forms in the imperative mood is very striking when they appear juxtaposed on the limited space of a single web page. The formal *V* form imperative in the function of encouraging the web user to choose a certain spa treatment, e.g. *Doživite Wellness pravljico (Experience a wellness fairytale)*, or directing the web user to perform a certain action, e.g. *Preverite ekskluzivno ponudbo! (Check out our exclusive offer!)*, can be seen as conforming to conventions of respectfully addressing an unknown, heterogeneous population. Likewise, the informal *T* form imperative is used according to conventions when it appears in commands made by the web user to the computer to initiate a certain action, e.g. hyperlinks such as *Rezerviraj (Make a reservation/Book now)* or *Potrdi rezervacijo (Confirm reservation)*. However, some websites also make use of the informal *T* form imperative on hyperlinks in a different function as the latter and thus do not comply with general conventions, e.g. *Priporoči prijatelju (Recommend to a friend)* or *Preberi več (Read more)*. It is reasonable to assume that such inconsistencies certainly influence the overall tone and consequently the persuasiveness of the website.

In addition to these clear inconsistencies, there are also borderline cases where it is unclear whether the web page is addressing the web user in an inappropriately

informal *T* form way, or the *T* form address is meant as a command of the web user to the computer, e.g. *Spremeni/odpovej rezervacijo* (*Change/cancel reservation*) – is the web user giving a command to the computer, or is the company providing the web user with this option?

Some websites, however, completely avoid the issue of Slovene *T/V* forms in the imperative by using a gerund instead, e.g. *Subscribe to benefits and novelties* is the English rendering of the source phrase *Prijava na E-novice* (instead of the ambiguity of *Prijavi se* vs. *Prijavite se*).

5 CONCLUSION

The results clearly indicate that the number of address forms on English website home pages is significantly higher (205,4%) than that of comparable Slovene home pages, which confirms the hypothesis based on the observations of intercultural differences between Slovene and English (Hofstede 1980, 2010). An overall increase in the frequency of address forms of 8.8% was also observed in English translations of Slovene websites, but due to large discrepancies between individual home pages and the limited scope of the analyzed material, it cannot be claimed with any degree of certainty that this increase is the result of a conscious effort to reflect the English conventions.

The present case study is an exploration of an interesting, relevant, and largely under-researched culturally specific issue, which should certainly be studied further, preferably on a larger scale, including other types of web pages, websites, or even genres. In addition to increasing the size of the corpus, the typology of address forms could also be expanded, as the increase in the scope of the analyzed material would also facilitate a contrastive analysis of less frequently occurring address forms.

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Referential explicitation in intermodal corpus

Simona Šumrada

Povzetek

V članku raziskujemo značilne vzorce v prevodih in tolmačenih govorih, kot so razvidni iz primerjave z izhodiščnimi govori in z drugimi primerljivimi govori. Postavljene so bile štiri hipoteze, ki se nanašajo na 1) navezovalno eksplicitnost (večja eksplicitnost je pričakovana v francoščini, v prevodih in pri govorih, nastalih v okviru predsedovanja Evropski uniji), 2) navezovalne eksplicitacije (več eksplicitacij je pričakovanih v francoskih prevodih), 3) semantično strukturo kazalnih samostalniških sintagem (pričakovane so razlike v semantičnih razredih samostalniških jeder leksikalnega kazalnega navezovanja in predvidena je večja leksikalna variabilnost in evaluativnost v francoskih izhodiščnih govorih), 4) kompleksnost kazalnega navezovanja (največ konceptualnih anafor kot kognitivno najbolj kompleksnih vezi je pričakovanih v francoskih podkorpusih).

Pri vsaki hipotezi preverjamo vpliv štirih spremenljivk (jezik, način in smer prenosa ter situacijski kontekst), kar omogoča dvojezični obojesmerni vzporedni in primerljivi korpus KorToP (korpus tolmačenih govorov in prevodov), ki zajema dva situacijska konteksta, in sicer kontekst Evropskega parlamenta (izhodiščni govori slovenskih in francoskih poslancev iz obdobja od 2008 do 2011) ter kontekst predsedovanja Slovenije in Francije Svetu Evropske skupnosti v letu 2008. Korpus s 460 707 pojavnicami sestavljajo izhodiščni govori, ki so z orodjem ParaConc poravnani s prevodi in s tolmačenimi govori. Korpusna metodologija ponuja možnost metodološke rešitve za povezavo dveh sorodnih področij, pisnega prevajanja in tolmačenja, ki sta sicer redko povezana s skupnim raziskovalnim vprašanjem. Empirično raziskavo zastavljamo kot korpusno podprto diskurzivno analizo, za katero je značilno iskanje manj očitnega pomena, kombinacija kvantitativnih in kvalitativnih metod, umeščenost v situacijski kontekst in poskus povezave zunajbesedilnih informacij o korpusu z jezikovnimi podatki, pridobljenimi v korpusu.

Ključne besede: eksplicitnost, eksplicitacija, kazalno navezovanje, anaforični samostalniki, abstraktna (konceptualna) anafora, korpusna raziskava.

1 AIMS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The article investigates typical patterns in translated and interpreted language as compared to source speeches and other comparable speeches. The grammatical pattern of demonstrative noun phrases (demNP) was extracted from the corpus and compared across subcorpora, thus revealing differences in language systems (Slovene and French), modes (original, translated and interpreted speech) and contexts (EU Parliament and EU Presidency of 2008). A contrastive pilot research comparing Slovene speeches made in the context of the Slovene Presidency of the EU in 2008 to their aligned French translations revealed extensive lengthening (exceeding 30%) of texts in translation, which drew attention to the high frequency of explicitations, in particular to increased cohesiveness through referential explicitness. The research was then narrowed down to demonstrative reference in the form of proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns (considered as less explicit reference) and demonstrative determiners (explicit reference).

A lot of research has already been carried out on referential procedures (deictics, anaphora and discourse deictics, demonstratives and anaphoric nouns often associated with demonstrative noun phrases). Demonstrative noun phrases (demNP) are of interest to philosophers of language and semanticists because they shed light on the role of the context in natural language semantics. Recently they have been a frequent subject of corpus analysis (Lindström 2000, Petch-Tyson 2000, Krein-Kühle 2002, Vieira, Salmon-Alt in Gasperin 2002, Manuélian 2003, Whittaker 2004, Swales 2005, Goethals 2007, 2010, 2013, Lundquist 2007, Vanderbauwhede 2012, among others). Anaphoric nouns came into prominence after Francis drew attention to a class of abstract nouns that can be used metadiscursively to talk about ongoing discourse and function as cohesive devices, which makes them extremely useful from a communicative point of view (Francis 1994, Partington 1998, Schmid 2000, Flowerdew 2003, Mahlberg 2005).

The topic of explicitation has been a focus of Translation Studies ever since the explicitation hypothesis was put forward, claiming that “explicitation is a universal strategy inherent in the process of language mediation” (Blum-Kulka 1986: 21). In fact, the issue was a prominent one long before, though the concept was not couched in the same terms. The concept of addition, for example, fuelling controversies in the past, is related to explicitation in that it is linked to fidelity in translation (see for example Luther’s Open Letter On Translating of 1530 presenting Luther’s defence for adding a word “alone” in his Bible translation). Still another related concept is that of adaptability which, according to Verschueren (2000: 61, 93), constitutes a key property of language enabling people to make negotiable linguistic choices from a variable range of possibilities differing in terms of explicitness in order to satisfy communicative needs.

The objective of the article is to deepen the understanding of such concepts as explicitness/implicitness, explicitation/implication and referential cohesion, not in order to corroborate or to disprove any hypotheses related to translation universals, but rather to find out how different variables affect the degree and the nature of referential explicitness / explicitation (see also Šumrada 2014). Indeed, as observed by Krüger (2014: 150), “/e/xplicitation has often been reduced to its alleged universality alone, while other interesting dimensions of this concept (for example, its function as a potential indicator of text-context interaction or the translational motivation for performing explicitation shifts) have receded into the background”. The corpus structure allowed us to vary the parameters of language, mode and context. In addition to these primary parameters there are also some cognitive and paratextual ones, much more difficult to control, which refer to the speaker’s conceptualization of reality, direction of translation / interpreting, native or non-native status of the translator / interpreter, the influence of proofreading, translation brief etc.

Table 1: Primary parameters affecting the implicit / explicit ratio and the rate of explicitations in the translated / interpreted speech

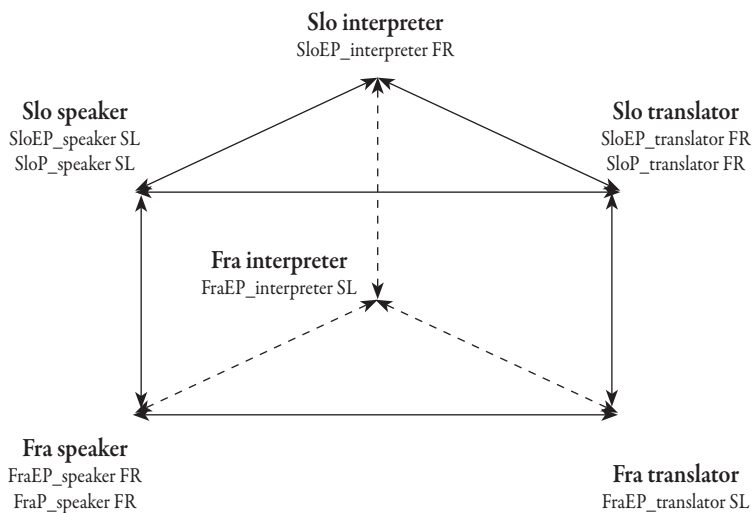
Primary parameters	Variables
Linguistic and semantic conventions	Slovene, French
Sociocultural specifics and textual conventions	Direction of translated / interpreted speech: SL → FR, FR → SL
Mode	Original speech, translation, interpreted speech
Communication situation	EU Presidency (SloP, FraP) EU Parliament (SloEP, FraEP)

2 METHODOLOGY AND CORPUS

The present contribution provides a contrastive analysis of the lexicogrammatical pattern of demonstrative referential expressions often involved in explicitating/implicating shifts. The analysis is corpus based and connects two fields of Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies. There have been frequent calls for studies uniting both fields (Gile 2004: 30, Shlesinger 2009: 238), which has so far been unheeded to a large extent, undoubtedly on account of methodological difficulties. The empirical research also adopts the techniques of corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis, which aims at uncovering non-obvious meanings and is characterized by quantitative and qualitative approaches, a compilation of ad hoc specialized corpora and an attempt at relating the linguistic features under examination to the situational context.

The hypotheses were investigated in a bilingual intermodal parallel and comparable corpus named KorToP¹ (Corpus of interpreted and translated speeches, see Shlesinger 1989), which comprises speeches made by Slovene and French MPs in the European Parliament (from 2008 to 2011) and the speeches produced within the contexts of the Slovene and French Presidencies of the EU Council in 2008. The corpus of 460,707 tokens consists of source speeches aligned to their translations and simultaneous interpretations by means of the ParaConc software. Annotation was carried out only on relevant examples extracted from the corpus and saved in separate files (standoff annotation).

Figure 1: Outline of subcorpora (EU – European Parliament, P – Presidency of the EU):²



¹ KorTop is an acronym of the Slovene **K**orpus **t**olmačenih in **p**revedenih govorov, denoting a corpus of interpreted and translated speeches. It is bilingual (French, Slovene), parallel (source speeches aligned to their translations), bimodal (translated and interpreted speech) and comparable (source speeches of two comparable contexts: the EU Parliament and the EU Presidency).

² **SloP_speech SL** (original Slovene speeches made within the context of the Slovene EU Presidency in 2008), **SloP_translator FR** (French translations of the Slovene speeches made within the context of the Slovene EU Presidency), **FraP_speech FR** (original French speeches made within the context of the French EU Presidency in 2008), **FraEP_speech FR** (original French speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament), **FraEP_translator SL** (Slovene translations of the French speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament), **FraEP_interpreter SL** (Slovene interpreted versions of the French speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament), **SloEP_speech SL** (original Slovene speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament), **SloEP_translator FR** (French translations of the Slovene speeches made within the context of EU Parliament), **SloEP_interpreter FR** (French interpreted versions of the Slovene speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament).

The hypotheses were arrived at on the basis of the statistical data obtained through the WordSmith Tools as presented in Table 2, as well as some preliminary analyses carried out in KorToP and studies done by other researchers, notably Whittaker (2004), Zinsmeister, Dipper and Seiss (2012) and Goethals (2007). The first observation was a tendency towards a great increase of tokens in French translations and even in French interpreted speech, which, unlike the tendency in the Slovene speech of both modes, indicates that the explicitation issues might be related to the parameter of the language system. On the other hand, it could also be true that this increase in length is not necessarily linked to the phenomenon of explicitation. Another finding of great interest for the study is the number of sentences, since their increase coupled with a reduction of words per sentence implies the need for a greater use of referential procedures to ensure cohesion.

Table 2: Statistical data of the KorToP corpus, retrieved by Wordsmith Tools

Subcorpora	Token	Type	Stand. TTR ³	Sentences	Stand. sentences	Sentence length in words
SloP_speech SL	91118	13 078	56,65	4549	49,92	20
SloP_translator FR	120966	8900	43,09	4690	38,77	26
FraP_speech FR	108162	9111	43,31	4641	42,90	23
FraEP_speech FR	27147	4305	43,44	1018	37,49	26
FraEP_translator SL	22113	5600	55,85	1021	46,17	21
FraEP_interpreter SL	18041	4276	51,95	/	/	/
SloEP_speech SL	21202	5687	56,07	1026	48,39	21
SloEP_translator FR	28893	4514	45,36	1133	39,21	26
SloEP_interpreter FR	23065	3468	41,74	/	/	/
Total	460707					

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The questions underlying the research were: to what extent can we trace the speaker's, translator's and interpreter's effort towards optimizing cohesion and coherence? Are shifts in referential explicitation tied to structural referential explicitness or are there other language system-independent factors involved? How do the quantitative and qualitative patterns of demonstrative explicitness/explicitations differ through a variation in language (Slovene, French), mode (original, translation or interpreting) and social context (parliamentary debates, speeches

³ Standardised Type/Token Ratio (standardised to 1000).

within the context of the EU Presidency)? How do these variables affect the frequencies and semantic structure of demonstratives?

Four hypotheses were adopted referring to referential explicitness (higher explicitness was expected to be linked to French, to translations and to the context of the EU Presidency), secondly to referential explicitations (a higher frequency of explicitations expected in French translations), thirdly to the semantic structure of demNP (the majority of nouns expected in demonstrative noun phrases are the so-called anaphoric nouns, possibly with a higher degree of variability and evaluativeness in French), and finally to the complexity of referential links (the frequency of conceptual anaphora as the most complex link is expected to be the highest in French subcorpora).

The next step was a contrastive analysis of French and Slovene demonstratives which were revealed to be remarkably frequent in all the subcorpora. The forms investigated in the corpus are presented in Table 3 below, excluding the demonstrative adverbs which were not analysed. On the KorTop word frequency lists demonstrative pronouns/determiners range from second to 23rd place, which means that in some subcorpora their frequencies surpass even those of the most common connective (Slovene *in*, French *et*, English *and*). Further research revealed that similar frequencies of demonstrative pronouns in both languages are not necessarily related to the same function. French features more non-phoric use than Slovene, and consequently there are less potential candidates for explicitation in the French-Slovene translation direction. Non-phoric use means that the demonstrative pronoun is a structural element with no proper denotation, employed, for example, for topicalization procedures. The finding correlates with the distinction between non-pro-drop (or non-null subject) languages like Slovene, which are topic prominent and use less phoric elements, and pro-drop (or null subject) languages like English and French, which are topic prominent and make more use of phoric elements (Rehbein, Hohenstein, Pietsch, 2007: 7). In our Slovene subcorpora the non-phoric use of demonstrative pronouns ranges from 6 % to 11 %, which is clearly less than in the French subcorpora with a rate of 19 % to 36 %.

Table 3: Demonstratives in three language systems (English, Slovene, French)⁴
(see Diessel 1999: 37)

ENGLISH	demonstrative pronouns		demonstrative determiners		demonstrative adverbs	
	proximal	distal	proximal	distal	proximal	distal
sg.	this	that	this	that	here	there
pl.	these	those	these	those	now	then
SLOVENE	samostalniški kazalni zaimki		pridevniški kazalni zaimki		kazalni prislovi	
	proximal	distal	proximal	distal	proximal	distal
sg. m.	ta	tisti, oni	ta	tisti, oni	tu, tukaj	tam,(ondi)
sg. f.	ta	tista, ona	ta	tista, ona	sedaj	tedaj
sg. n.	to	tisto, ono	to	tisto, ono		
pl. m.	ti	tisti, oni	ti	tisti, oni		
pl. f.	te	tiste, one	te	tiste, one		
pl. n.	ta	tista, ona	ta	tista, ona		
FRENCH	pronoms démonstratifs		adjectifs démonstratifs		adverbes démonstratifs	
	proximal	distal	proximal	distal	proximal	distal
sg. m.	celui(-ci)	celui(-là)	ce livre(-ci)	ce livre(-là)	-ci	-là
sg. f.	celle(-ci)	celle(-là)	cet enfant(-ci) cette fille(-ci)	cet enfant(-là) cette fille (-là)		
pl. m.	ceux(-ci)	ceux(-là)	ces livres(-ci)	ces livres(-là)		
pl. f.	celles(-ci)	celles(-là)	ces filles (-ci)	ces filles (-là)		
n.	ce, c'		/	/		
n.	ceci	cela, ça	/	/		

⁴ Abbreviations: sg (singular), pl (plural), m (masculine gender), f (feminine gender), n (neuter).

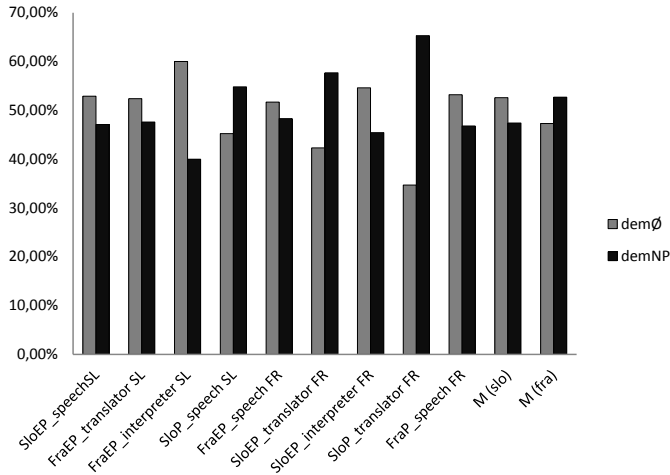


Figure 2: Ratio of non-explicit (demØ) and explicit (demNP) referential ties in KorToP subcorpora⁵

For the purposes of investigating the first two hypotheses, referential explicitness was operationalized as the ratio between the non-explicit and explicit⁶ demonstrative form (demØ/demNP) in a subcorpus and referential explicitation as a shift from a non-explicit to an explicit demonstrative (either a demonstrative pronoun is translated/interpreted as a demonstrative noun phrase, demØ>demNP, or a less explicit demonstrative noun phrase is translated/interpreted into a more explicit one, demNP₁>demNP₂). Explicitation is viewed as a translational phenomenon, while explicitness is “monotextual” and does not assume a source-to-target-text movement. “While explicitation and implicitation refer to a specific intertextual relation between source text and target text, explicitness and implicitness refer to general features of language and discourse that can be present to different degrees. If, at a certain level, a given source text exhibits a lower explicitness/higher implicitness than the corresponding target text, this would be treated as potential evidence of explicitation and vice versa” (Krüger 2014: 168).

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 279) provide an example (1) featuring different degrees of referential explicitness, ranging from the non-explicit demonstrative pronoun (*it*), a general noun (*the thing*), a superordinate (*the task*), a synonym (*the climb*), to a highly explicit repetition (*the ascent*):

⁵ M = average frequencies

⁶ A non-explicit demonstrative form or “unattended demonstrative” (or unattended this) is not necessarily a less suitable choice despite the general bias towards more explicit forms in academic writing. Indeed “there is a tacit sense of the tradeoff between economy and clarity which probably only comes with considerable writing experience” (Swales 2005: 14).

(1)

I turned to the ascent of the peak. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{The ascent} \\ \textit{The climb} \\ \textit{The task} \\ \textit{The thing} \\ \textit{It} \end{array} \right\}$ is perfectly easy.

The shifts affect the three metafunctions (of systemic functional grammar): ideational (shifts in the degree of informativeness), interpersonal (shifts in evaluativeness) and textual (differences in cohesion), as is even more obvious in the corpus example (2) below, where the non-explicit Slovene demonstrative pronoun *to* (*Eng. this*) is explicitated as a French demNP premodified by an adjective coding procedural information (*Fr. cette dure réalité, Eng. this harsh reality*). The meaning is modified through added evaluation and thus interpersonal function, unobvious in the original, is highlighted:

(2) *Preprečevanje in zgodnje odkrivanje raka sta brez dvoma področji, ki jima moramo na vseh ravneh nameniti več pozornosti in sredstev. Vsak evro, vložen v preventivo, je dolgoročno najboljša naložba. **To** moramo upoštevati vsakič ob sprejemanju težkih odločitev o prednostnih nalogah v zdravstvu.* (SloP_speaker SL)

*La prévention et le dépistage précoce du cancer sont sans aucun doute des domaines pour lesquels il est nécessaire de porter une attention toute particulière et d'investir plus de moyens. Chaque euro attribué à la prévention est un investissement à long terme. **Cette dure réalité** doit être présente dans nos esprits lors des prises de décision importantes dans le domaine de la santé.* (SloP_translator FR)

To find out how referential procedures differ across corpora not only in quantity but also in terms of quality, other features in the demonstrative referential patterns were tested: the variability of anaphoric nouns in demNP, the evaluativeness of demNP and the cognitive complexity of referential procedures. DemNP were classified into three major semantic categories: concrete nouns,⁷ deictic nouns, referring to place and time, and anaphoric nouns (A-nouns), based on Schmid's (2000: 85, 86) shell noun categorization.

⁷ In some cases the abstract / concrete distinction is difficult to establish. Lyons introduced a more precise three-order classification (1977: 442-445, 1979: 93-95).

Table 4: Semantic classes of nouns in demNP

Noun types in demNP	Examples
Concrete nouns (K)	<i>coal, car ...</i>
Deictic nouns (D)	<i>time, space ...</i>
Anaphoric nouns (A-noun)	
Factive (F)	<i>fact, thing, problem ...</i>
Eventive (E)	<i>event, measure, success...</i>
Circumstantial (C)	<i>situation, area, level ...</i>
Metalinguistic (ML)	<i>discussion, statement, question ...</i>
Metalinguistic - textual (MT)	<i>report, directive, article ...</i>
Mental (M)	<i>idea, thought, conviction ...</i>
Grammaticalized (GAS)	<i>(in this) direction, (from this) point of view, (in this) way</i>
Varia (VAR)	<i>degree, certainty ...</i>

Variability was tested as a type/token relationship of A-nouns in a subcorpus, evaluativeness was operationalized as the frequency of inherently evaluative nouns or evaluative premodifiers in demNP, and cognitive complexity was operationalized as the frequency of conceptual anaphora, commonly called abstract anaphora⁸ in NLP.

From the point of view of explicitness conceptual anaphora (KA) is of special interest since it allows speakers to encapsulate a highly complex chunk of information. Such a complex antecedent, expressed in verbs, clauses, extended stretches of text or even pieces of information to be inferred from the context, is thus encapsulated and reduced to a nominal concept, which serves the dual function of characterizing and linking. It helps resolve referential ambiguity. It is a cognitively complex yet a highly economical referential procedure of referring to antecedents. In example (3) the KA *ce succès* (Eng. *this success*) in bold type encapsulates the underlined clause antecedent *nous avons avancés ces derniers mois* (Eng. *we have made some progress in the last few months*), while concurrently performing the function of characterizing the antecedent through an inherently evaluative noun *succès* (Eng. *success*).

(3) Conceptual (or abstract) anaphora in bold type referring to an underlined complex clause antecedent in (a) original French speech and (b) Slovene translation.

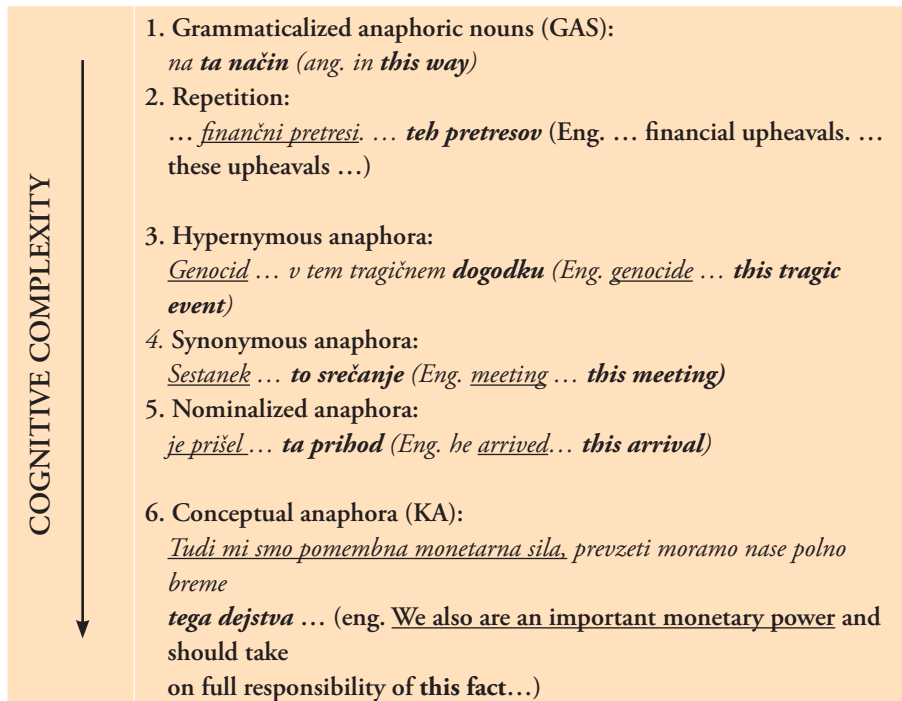
⁸ Schwarz-Friesel et al. (2007) lists other English names referring to this complex anaphora type: abstract object anaphora, labelling, reference to fact, sentence-related reference, proposition-related anaphora, situational anaphora, discourse deixis, complex anaphora, or in French: anaphore résomptive conceptuelle, anaphores prédictives démonstratives.

In the Slovene interpreted version (c) the meaning is modified through loss of the original referential procedure.

- a) *Messieurs les présidents, chers collègues, comment ne pas constater en ces temps de turbulences la nécessité pour l'Europe de plus de stabilité politique et d'efficacité dans ses décisions? Oui, nous avons avancé ces derniers mois en dépit de l'unanimité, mais rien ne nous dit que nous pourrions facilement rééditer **ce succès**.* (FraEP_speaker FR)
- b) *V teh burnih časih ne moremo spregledati, da Evropa potrebuje več politične stabilnosti in učinkovitosti pri svojih odločitvah. Res je, da smo v zadnjih mesecih napredovali kljub potrebi po soglasju, vendar pa nič ne kaže, da bomo **ta uspeh** zlahka ponovili.* (FraEP_translator FR)
- c) *gospod predsednik / v teh težkih časih ste še zlasti izpostavili potrebo te naše Evrope po stabilnosti in v teh zadnjih mesecih smo uspeli doseči soglasje o težkih zadevah // vendar nič nam ne zagotavlja **da bomo vedno tako uspešni*** (FraEP_interpreter FR)

The presupposition was that the cognitive complexity of referential procedure, stemming from the cognitive effort performed by a speaker, translator or interpreter, is the lowest in cases of grammaticalized anaphoric nouns (GAS), used (almost) automatically. The effort is similarly small in cases of repetition; greater when the anaphora and the antecedent enter into semantic relations such as synonymy, hyponymy and hyperonymy; and the greatest in cases of conceptual anaphora, as shown in the Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Degree of cognitive complexity in referential procedures



4 DATA ANALYSIS

In examining the first hypothesis, demonstrative reference was revealed to be the least explicit in interpreted speeches (in both languages), as expected, and most explicit in translations. A less expected finding concerns demonstrative reference in French source speeches, which was not shown to be consistently and significantly more explicit than that in Slovene source speeches. This does not corroborate some claims about the reference in French being more explicit (Eloy 1995: 333). In this analysis higher referential explicitness was detected within the context of parliamentary speeches in French but not within the context of the French EU Presidency.

Table 5: Referential explicitness⁹ in subcorpora

9. FraEP_interpreter SL (1.50)	min.
8. SloEP_interpreter FR (1.20)	explicitness
7. FraP_speaker FR (1.14)	
6. SloEP_speaker SL (1.11)	
5. FraEP_translator SL (1.07)	
4. FraEP_speaker FR (1.06)	
3. SloP_speaker SL (0.83)	
2. SloEP_translator FR (0.73)	max.
1. SloP_speaker FR (0.53)	explicitness

The second hypothesis referring to the examination of demonstrative explicitation was corroborated entirely: explicitations in the translation direction Slovene-French largely outnumber those in the direction French-Slovene in both modes (see Figure 5). However, on account of similarities in quantity we should not overlook some differences in quality. As further analyses show, the two subcorpora with the highest number of explicitations differ in cognitive complexity of referential procedures.

Referential explicitations come in two major types, labelled as E1 and E2, as shown in the example (4) and (5) below.

(4) Explicitation of the type E₁ (demØ > demNP) where the inexplicit demonstrative pronoun *to* (Eng. *this*) used in the Slovene EU Presidency speech is explicitated into an explicit French demNP *cette devise* (Eng. *this motto*).

Spoštovani gospe in gospodje, geslo slovenskega predsedovanja je SI.NERGIJA za Evropo. To naj bo tudi vodilo našim skupnim prizadevanjem za obvladovanje raka. (SloP_speaker SL)

Mesdames et Messieurs, La devise de la présidence slovène est la SI.NERGIE pour l'Europe. Cette devise peut nous servir d'objectif pour guider nos efforts dans la maîtrise du cancer. (SloP_translator FR).

(5) Explicitation of the type E₂ (demNP₁ > demNP₂): a less explicit demNP₁ *ta postopek* (Eng. *this process*) used in the Slovene EU Presidency speech is explici-

⁹ The ratio between the inexplicit and explicit demonstrative form (demØ/demNS)

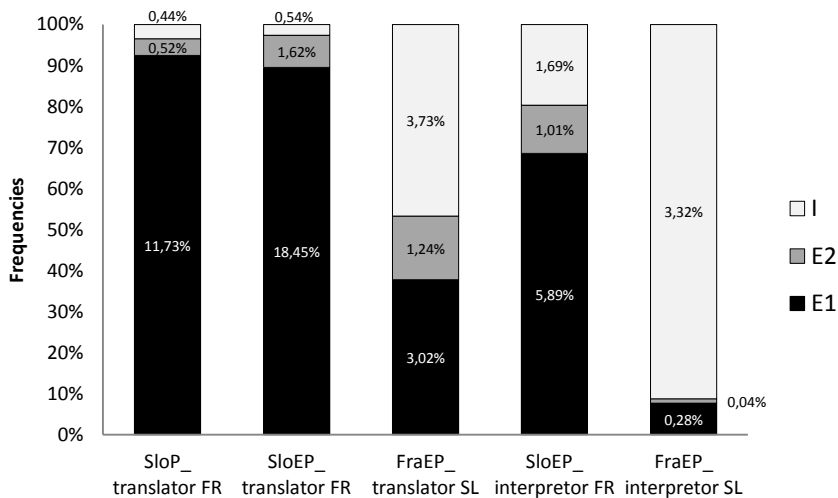
tated into a more explicit French demNP₂ *ce processus de ratification* (Eng. this process of ratification):

*Naj poudarim, da je ratifikacija izključna pristojnost - in odgovornost - vsake države članice. Pri tem bi želel posebej čestitati Madžarski, ki je **ta postopek** že opravila.* (SloP_speaker SL)

*Je souligne que la ratification est de la compétence - et de la responsabilité - exclusive de chaque Etat membre. A cet égard, je désire féliciter tout particulièrement la Hongrie qui vient d'achever **ce processus de ratification**.* (SloP_translator FR)

The frequency of overall explicitations¹⁰ (E₁ and E₂) in translated French subcorpora varies from 8.48 % (SloP_translator FR) to 16.38 % (SloEP_translator FR) while in the Slovene translations the frequencies are much lower: 3.88% (FraEP_translator SL). Comparable explicitation differences linked to translation directions were attested also by Dipper et al. (2012), who found 9.4 % of explicitation cases (demØ>demNP) in German-English translations and 7.3 % in the other direction. Explicitation tendencies in translated subcorpora parallel those in the interpreted speeches: interpreting in French is characterized by higher degrees of explicitation (6.06 % in SloEP_interpreter FR) than interpreting into Slovene (0.32 % in FraEP_interpreter SL).

Figure 4: Rate of explicitation E₁ and E₂ and implicitation I



¹⁰ The percentages do not take into account the explicitations of demØ into demNP with grammaticalized anaphoric noun (eg. this > in this case).

As figure 4 shows the explicitation frequencies ($E_1 + E_2$) largely exceed the frequency of implicitations (I). However, one subcorpus stands out – Slovene interpreted speech. Another obvious outcome is that the cases of E_1 explicitation surpass the cases of E_2 explicitation in both modes in all subcorpora, which implies that translators and interpreters are less hesitant in explicating the less explicit grammatical items than the lexicalized forms.

The higher incidence of explicitation in the French subcorpora (translated and interpreted) could presumably be attributed to the common perception of the French language as being explicit, thus encouraging the tendency among Slovene translators to perform more explicating shifts; however, the previous steps in the analysis showed firstly that referential explicitness in the French originals was not fully attested, thus disproving the conjecture of French explicitness, and secondly, that the influence of systemic differences between the two languages is undeniable since the frequency of demonstrative units prone to explicating shifts are language-bound. Based on the results of the first two hypotheses one could safely confirm Klaudy's hypothesis of linguistic asymmetry (Klaudy 2001): translators tend to use explicating rather than implicating operations and the explicitations in one translation direction are not matched by implicitations in the other translation direction.

The lower frequency of explicitation cases in interpreted speeches compared to those in translations is unsurprising due to cognitive and time limitations in interpreting. In example (6)¹¹ below, the interpreted speech is less precise in both the topic (underlined) and the comment (**in bold type**). The topic *Náša skupina* (Eng. *our group*) replaces the original explicit name of the political party (Fr. *Le groupe PPE-DE*), and the comment *je vedno delala v to smer* (ang. *has always been working in this direction*) is a substitute for the source phrase *travaille d'arrache-pied sur le paquet „Énergie-climat“* (ang. *has been actively working on the Energy-Climate package*).

(6)

Le groupe PPE-DE **travaille d'arrache-pied sur le paquet «Énergie-climat»**, ... (FraEP_speech FR)

Skupina Evropske ljudske stranke (Krščanskih Demokratov) in Evropskih demokratov nepretrogoma preučuje **energetski in podnebni sveženj**,... (FraEP_translator SL)

Náša skupina je **vedno delala v to smer** / (FraEP_interpreter SL)

¹¹ In our explicitation analysis the example (6) was not taken into account as a case of referential implicitation since we counted only demNP₂ > demNP₁ examples and demNP > demØ examples.

The topic in the interpreted version might have also been reduced on account of the fact that the target audience is set in the communicative situation. In terms of relevance theory, greater precision would not entail a greater cognitive effect. The degree of referential explicitation is therefore understandably lower in interpreted versions. However, the interpreted speech in both languages is characterized by the frequent use of demonstratives, not only the inexplicit demØ but also the explicit demNP, which shows that interpreters have a certain preference for demonstratives, also conveniently used as fillers and placeholders (Setton 1999: 271).

A further outcome of the research is a contrastive analysis carried out on the qualitative aspect of demNP. Their classification into semantic categories allowed us to search for some recurring patterns, similarities and differences across the subcorpora. The assumption was that the relationship between the demonstrative anaphora in the structure demNP encodes common perceptions of the world and allows us to understand how experience is processed into linguistic entities (Francis 1994: 100). In this respect the French simultaneous translations were all shown to be more specific (increase in the reference involving concrete nouns as compared to speeches produced originally and the speeches translated). Other features tested in the demonstrative referential patterns were variability, evaluativeness and cognitive complexity.

As for variability, originally produced French A-nouns demNP were not found to have a much higher type/token relationship (TTR) than originally produced Slovene A-nouns, which would indicate variety is not significantly higher in French, contrary to my third hypothesis. On the other hand, evaluativeness and cognitive complexity were consistently and significantly more common in the French source speeches as shown in Figure 6 and 7 below.

Figure 5: Type/token ratio of A-nouns

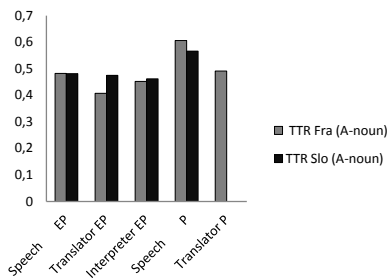


Figure 6: Evaluativeness of demNP

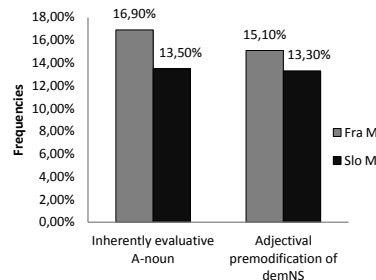
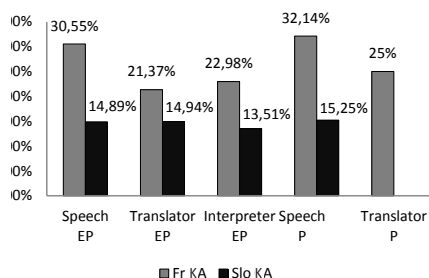


Figure 7: Frequencies of conceptual anaphora**Table 6: Comparison of conceptual anaphora in French and Slovene subcorpora**

1. FraP_speaker FR	Min rate ↓ Min rate
2. FraEP_speaker FR	
3. SloP_translator FR	
4. SloEP_interpreter FR	
5. SloEP_translator FR	
6. SloP_speaker SL	
7. FraEP_translator SL	
8. SloEP_speaker SL	
9. FraEP_interpreter SL	

The average frequency (M) of KA occurrence in French subcorpora is 26.4%, compared to a much lower M of Slovene KA, amounting to 14.6%. It is obvious that the variable of language plays a major role. Differences between Slovene and French are most pronounced in source speeches: the occurrence of French KA doubles the occurrence of Slovene KA. The lowest rates were found in Slovene interpreted speeches. KA was specifically checked in the cases of explicitations found in a previous step. The results consistently show that KA in explicitation cases is also more frequently found in French than in Slovene translated / interpreted speech. The highest occurrence was traced in French translations within the context of the Slovene Presidency, where the overall rate of explicitation was not the highest, which shows that quantitative data (frequency of explicitations) do not necessarily match the qualitative aspect of explicitation (semantic types and cognitive complexity of explicitations). Explicitations with KA are cognitively more complex than those involving other types of anaphora, testifying to a translator's / interpreter's high proficiency in handling referential procedures.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Two of the four hypotheses were entirely corroborated: the second, confirming a higher occurrence of explicitation in French, and the fourth, upholding the claim that most cases of complex referential ties will be found in French subcorpora. The first hypothesis concerning referential explicitness was confirmed only partially, since greater explicitness was indeed found in the context of the Slovene EU Presidency but not in that of the French EU Presidency as expected and furthermore was not clearly linked to French in comparison to Slovene. The third hypothesis was also partially confirmed: higher demNS variability was not

shown to be linked to French, as expected, while the increased evaluativeness of demNS undeniably was.

Referential explicitation is thus not language independent, either in terms of its quantity or in terms of its qualitative aspect since more complex explicitation examples involving conceptual anaphora were found to be linked to language structure. An implication of the finding under the fourth hypothesis is that training in the use of conceptual anaphora would be highly advisable for Slovene students pursuing translation and/or interpreting studies since this anaphora type seems to be generally more common in French. It would also be useful to draw attention to the class of A-nouns, exhibiting a high explicating and implicating potential as well as a high cohesive potential which affects not only the textual metafunction but also the ideational and the interpersonal.

While the parameters of language system and mode clearly have a significant impact on referential explicitness/explicitation, the findings related to the parameter of situational context seem to be inconclusive. Speeches of external political communication type (Schäffner 1997: 127), in which politicians are addressing the public (the context of EU Presidency in our KorToP), were expected to be more explicit than speeches of internal communication type (speeches in the context of EP in our KorToP), in which politicians speak to politicians. However, this was not corroborated by our corpus data.

Another clear conclusion was that explicitation is a prototype concept, consisting of typical examples and others which are marginal. Similarly, the same rate of occurrence does not imply the same cause or the same qualitative characteristics. Although the overall number of demonstratives in the French subcorpora is similar to those in the Slovene subcorpora, they differ in types and cognitive complexity (explicit demNP, inexplicit demØ, phoric demØ, cognitively more or less complex demNP). Furthermore, the frequencies of demonstratives increase in the process of translation and interpreting, but the underlying causes are not the same: in translations an increase in demonstrative use was more likely due to explicitations while in interpreting more commonly detected causes are the excessive and redundant use of demonstrative modifiers (increase in demNP) and a tendency to split sentences, thus triggering more referential procedures as well as lesser information density (increase in demØ).

It is hoped that the present study has identified some of the contrastive differences between the Slovene and French demonstrative referential systems, has contributed to our understanding of differences in translated and interpreted language, paved the way to connecting Translation Studies with Interpreting Studies, and exemplified how combining evidence from quantitative and qualitative corpus-

linguistic methods can provide a much more comprehensive picture of linguistic phenomena than either method could achieve alone. And hopefully, the research highlights the fact that explicitation needs to be studied beyond its quantitative aspect since a given content can be communicated explicitly with different degrees of explicitness.

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Contrastive stylistics of toponymic representation in translation: Comments and recommendations

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Povzetek

Raba zemljepisnih imen se pogosto močno razlikuje glede na jezik, obdobje in posameznega prevajalca. V članku avtor primerja rabo slovenskih zemljepisnih imen v angleških in nemških besedilih ter rabo angleških in nemških zemljepisnih imen v slovenskih besedilih. Analiza je pokazala, da kljub nekaterim skupnim vzorcem slogovne značilnosti posamezne vrste besedil (na primer s področja naravoslovja, humanizma in turizma) in posamezne teme (na primer razprave o narodnostnih manjšinah, zgodovini ipd.) zahtevajo različen slog tudi pri rabi zemljepisnih imen. Na odločitve posameznih prevajalcev vplivajo različni teoretični pogledi na rabo zemljepisnih imen, zaradi česar prihaja do velikih razlik med prevodi. Pogosto je težava tudi jezikovni nacionalizem. Čeprav lahko določeno rabo zemljepisnih imen preprosto označimo za napačno, saj več kot očitno krši pravopisna, slovnična ali semantična pravila ciljnega jezika, ne moremo določiti ene same najboljše rešitve. Sklenemo lahko, da je različna raba zemljepisnih imen slogovno bolj ali manj primerna, na kar vplivajo različni dejavniki.

Ključne besede: prevajanje, stilistika, zemljepisna imena, nacionalizem, diahronija

1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most frequently contentious areas in translation practice is how to represent toponyms¹ in a translated text (sometimes known as “names conversion”; Kadmon 2006: 101). Alongside other important issues, such as use of exonyms or orthographic adaptation, the issue most often at hand is whether to translate them. Rather than recommendations that place transparency at the fore, translators sometimes encounter blanket statements such as “do not translate names of places . . . do not translate the names of streets either” (Yaa 1975: 54) or “[d]o not translate place names into English unless an English-language equivalent is found in a standard source” (Baca 2006: 317).² Moreover, blanket statements conveying exactly the opposite are also found: “place names . . . should be translated in accordance with related regulations stipulated by the National Toponymy Committee” (BBC 1987) or “geographical names should be translated” (Kerzhner & Nartshuk 1992: 75).

More nuanced approaches do not debate whether or not to translate foreign toponyms in translation; instead, they consider how to deal with them most effectively. If toponym translation is a solution, these approaches often distinguish between generic and specific elements of toponyms, treating them differently in the translation process. For example, “the *Edwards Limestone* may be called *Caliza Edwards*, and *Formación La Casita* may be called the *La Casita Formation*; or *Redkinskaja Svita* may be called [the] *Redkino Formation* (but no *Redkinskaya Formation*)” (Salvador 1994: 20).

It is apparent that translators may face fundamental disagreements on how to handle toponyms in translated texts. Representative comments include: “Translators . . . have faced the problem of whether these are place names or descriptive terms that should be translated” (Cole 2000: 355) and “The question of whether traditional place names should be translated or not has caused controversy and disorientation” (Paikkala 2000: 135).

The scope of this article does not permit a detailed discussion of translation strategy involving generic versus specific elements, which has been discussed in detail elsewhere (e.g., Reindl 2007, 2010a). Some comments on exonyms and orthographic adaptation are made below, but the focus of the discussion is on stylistic factors affecting how toponyms are dealt with in translated texts.

¹ I use the term *toponym* in its broadest sense in this paper, referring not only to settled places, but to any place or geographical feature, including water names (hydronyms), mountain names (oronyms), and so on.

² This particular recommendation suggests a catch-22 situation: a place name must not be anglicized until it has been anglicized.

2 TEXT TYPE AS A STYLISTIC FACTOR

The division between fiction and nonfiction is a major stylistic dividing line. Like fictional personal names, fictional place names are often translated in order to convey their meaning to a reader: “if the name is fictitious . . . it is translated. Thus *Yaopapaquinitzin* becomes *Glad-in-Battle*. Names that play, or pun, on proper names are also translated. Place names are treated in the same manner” (Bierhorst 1985: 129). A good example is Susan Brownsberger’s translation of Saltykov-Shchedrin’s work *The History of a Town*, in which село Недоедово becomes the *village of Underfedovo*, пригород Полоумнов becomes the *suburb of Halfwittov*, and so on, clearly conveying the author’s humorous intent (Kalashnikov 2006). In a work of pure fiction—such as the above, or a children’s story set in no particular real location and where the intent is simply to entertain—there is no need for place names to even correspond between the source and target languages.

However, in nonfiction one must be more cautious because this involves real places, with real names, on real maps. Thus there is often a need to ensure that the places mentioned in a particular text can actually be located on a map or on the ground. This need does not obviate the utility of anglicizing place names, although it makes recoverability of an anglicized name important. That is, even readers with a solid knowledge of Russian will likely fail to reconvert *Halfwittov* into *Полоумнов*, but this is unimportant for the stylistics of fiction. In contrast, for nonfiction, it is vital that *Lake Bled* be understood as *Blejsko jezero* to Slovenian readers (and it almost surely will)—and, if *Salt Mud Slide* is not automatically understood as *Slano blato* (and it may well not), some cue should be provided to resolve any doubt.³

For the hard sciences, it is vital for readers to understand what a particular feature is, be it as mundane as a hill or valley, or as technically precise as a rock shelter, cirque, or peneplain. Even if this level of precision is less vital in the humanities (e.g., it is generally not necessary that a reader understand that a particular cave is, say, a fracture cave or an anastomotic cave, etc.), the need for basic clarity remains: simply referring to a feature as *Potočka Zijalka* in an English text will not be as clear as calling it *Potok Cave*.

The stylistics of tourism imposes a special burden because the purpose of tourism texts is, frankly, to sell a location. If a potential sight is presented in an opaque or uninspiring way, it will not attract visitors and will not generate income. An English-speaking tourist would probably be more motivated to visit the omi-

³ Generally, a parenthetical is a sufficient cue when recoverability is required; for example: “the Salt Mud Slide (*Slano blato*) is”

nous-sounding *Devil's Bridge* than the completely opaque *Ajdovski Gradec Hill*⁴ (see Figure 1).

**NARAVNE IN KULTURNE ZNAMENITOSTI:
NATURAL AND CULTURAL SIGHTS:**

- 1 *slap Savica, WATERFALL SAVICA*
- 2 *korita Mostnice, CANYON MOSTNICA*
- 3 *Ajdovski gradec, HILL AJDOVSKI GRADEC*
- 4 *Hudičev most, DEVIL'S BRIDGE*

Figure 1. Tourism sign (detail), Bohinjska Bistrica.

Despite these different stylistic factors in fiction, the humanities, the sciences, tourism, and so on, I am unaware of any text type in which it would be an advantage for a translation to obscure or not convey a meaning that is clear in the source language.

3 TEXT CONTEXT AS A STYLISTIC FACTOR

In addition to the type of text a translator is working with, the context of that text may dictate certain choices when dealing with toponyms. This is especially true when dealing with areas that have mixed ethnicities or where the ethnic character (and thus the associated toponyms) have changed across history.

Generally speaking, in the absence of an established English exonym (e.g., such as *Vienna* for German *Wien*, or *Rome* for Italian *Roma*), authors will default to place names as used by the official (or dominant) language in the country where the place is located (e.g., as in Magocsi 1993: xi–xii).⁵ Thus, it would be typical in English to refer to Klagenfurt, Austria (and not *Celovec*, its Slovenian name), Bolzano, Italy (and not *Bozen*, its German name), and Košice, Slovakia (and not *Kassa*, its Hungarian name).

In English texts that involve enclaves of ethnic minorities, it may nonetheless often make a sense to present minority endonyms (at least in a secondary manner); for example:

⁴ *Pagan Fort Hill* would be an evocative way to label such a feature; in this case, the root *ajd* refers to the pre-Slavic settlers that built the hill fort rather than to giants, a secondary meaning of *ajd*.

⁵ In a thoughtful written introduction, Magocsi goes to considerable length to explain that, as in other reference works, he has used “the criterion of present-day political boundaries” to create consistency in how place names are presented in his atlas.

- (1) The Slovenian secondary school at Klagenfurt (Slovene: *Celovec*) had 424 pupils in 1970. (Stephens 1976: 10)

However, presenting minority endonyms as primary—or as the only option—is at best unclear because they typically cannot be found in any English reference work. At worst, the practice may be nationalist or chauvinist (cf. Section 4.5 below). For example:

- (2) Likewise *Völkzeitung*, a German nationalist paper published in Celovec (Klagenfurt) ... (Bevc 2008: 28)
- (3) There was fog in the Alps which made it impossible to land in Celovec or any other field of the Austrian Alps. (Cekota 1968: 350)

Historical contexts also demand special stylistic treatment of toponyms. For example, Magocsi's maps of the Roman and Byzantine empires (1993: xii, 6) use classical Latin or Greek names (thus *Vindobona*, *Emona*, *Singidunum*, etc. rather than *Vienna*, *Ljubljana*, *Belgrade*, etc.). Efforts to avoid anachronism need not go back as far as classical times; for example, a study on Jews in nineteenth-century Hungary deliberately uses the names *Pressburg* and *Ungvár* for today's *Bratislava* and *Uzhhorod* because the latter names were not created until the twentieth century (Lupovitzch 2007: xxvi). The existing body of historiography for a topic also determines choices. For example, even though the Slovenian name *Soča* appeared in print at least a century (and probably earlier) before the First World War,⁶ the site of the battles there is invariably known as the *Isonzo Front*. Likewise, the *Congress of Laibach* (held in Ljubljana in 1821) is rarely cited as the *Congress of Ljubljana*.⁷ Such stylistic concerns for place names apply to a wide range of historical issues, also including names of castles, estates, industrial sites, and more.

4 THEORETICAL ISSUES

Text type and context are informative for stylistic choices in individual situations, but stylistic cohesiveness requires some theoretical considerations. These perspectives—which should serve as overarching guidelines when choosing how to deal with place names—include seeking transparency and consistency, avoiding fossilization, discounting reciprocity, recognizing relativism, and being wary of nationalism.

⁶ Cf. Valentin Vodnik's 1809 poem "Brambovska dobrà volja": *Drava čigáva je / Soča čigáva je . . .* 'Whose is the Drava / Whose is the Soča . . . ' (Vodnik 1840: 85).

⁷ Statistics from Google Books search (23 April 2014): *Isonzo Front* vs. *Soča Front* = 326:32; *Congress of Laibach* vs. *Congress of Ljubljana* = 188:17.

4.1 *Transparency*

Transparency—or the clear conveyance of information from the source language to the target language—is generally one of the primary goals of any translation. An example from geography is eloquent testimony to this:

. . . a Russian-speaking person familiar with the Latin alphabet, or an English-speaking person knowing Russian, would immediately know that an expedition to *Chukotskiy Poluostrov* would not be an expedition to the moon, but for that matter neither would be dismayed if the original Cyrillic alphabet had been used. On the other hand, the reader who has not had the benefit of training in the Russian language is in no way enlightened by the word *Poluostrov*, nor has he any way of knowing that the jaw-breaking *Chukotskiy* is merely the Russian adjectival form of Chukchi, the name of the tribe inhabiting the region. (Sinclair & Topchy 1960: 244)

Regarding the failure to adapt toponyms to the target language, Sinclair and Topchy commented: “The reason . . . is not far to seek. It is the simplest way to avoid the problems of adaptation. . . By the same token it is also the crudest manner . . . It is a way of dodging an issue instead of facing it” (1960: 244–245) and “the consumer is being neglected for the convenience of the producer” (1961: 164–165).

4.2 *Consistency*

Consistency of solutions is also a desirable feature in any translation. For example, it is disturbing to read an unbalanced phrase such as “the Herkova jama and the Repolust cave” (Frischauf 2013: 13) when the elegant and simple solution “Herk Cave and Repolust Cave” is available.⁸ However, just as blanket rules cannot be applied, there is no need to insist on iron-clad consistency in anglicization if this would somehow damage the cohesiveness of the text. Even the best translators encounter problems with no neat solution, but will generally succeed in resolving in a manner that is natural for the reader and the target language. Translators may be reassured by Ralph Waldo Emerson’s observation that “A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds” (1841: 47).

In a rejoinder to Sinclair and Topchy’s article, Armstrong rightly pointed out that some non-anglicized names have become established in English usage. However, he then asked where it would lead, and complained that “[l]ogically, this should then be extended to all other place-names in languages with which English speakers are unfamiliar, so that in effect world cover of anglicized names is required.”

⁸ Or, alternatively, “Herk Cave (*Herkova jama*) and Repolust Cave (*Repolusthöhle*)” if there is a need to supply the reader with the endonyms. Herk Cave is named after the Herk farm 3.5 km northeast of Radlje ob Dravi.

Obviously, this is not a translator's concern; no text contains all the place names in the world, and very few contain so many that an effort at consistency would be a burden.

Inevitably, accepting some inconsistency is also part of the translation process. As Páll and Matthews point out, “translation of generic terms is often so widespread that it seems that this must be part of the standard rules. However . . . it becomes quickly obvious that the translation of generic terms cannot be fully standardized and applied to all names” (78).

4.3 *Institutional fossilization*

Translators—especially those working with small languages in which a small number of people have disproportionate influence on phraseological standards—should beware of the trap of applying certain stylistic solutions simply because “that’s the way it is done” or “that’s the way I learned to do it.” Under the worst circumstances, the result is adherence to rules that have been created, often by nonnative speakers, seemingly without adequate reference to target-language patterns or norms—for example, widespread Slovenian avoidance of established English names for regions of Slovenia such as *Carniola* (Reindl 2010b: *passim*). Violating these norms can lead to censure with moral overtones (e.g., accusations of disrespecting Slovenian nationhood or historical victimhood) within the very small community that such translators operate in. Such “institutional pressure” has been cited by David Limon (2010: 32 ff.) as a reason why some Slovenian translators fail to effectively serve as cultural mediators, choosing instead to conform to an “ethics of sameness” (cf. Venuti 1998: 82) to avoid criticism.

4.4 *Reciprocity and relativism*

Two concepts regarding relations between languages should be thoroughly considered by translators: linguistic “reciprocity” (which certainly does not exist) and linguistic “relativism” (which is certainly often overlooked).

Languages do not have diplomatic relations. Unlike countries, which adopt tax treaties on a bilateral basis, or expel diplomats in tit-for-tat exchanges, languages do not engage in reciprocity. It is a misconceived notion that, if Language A extensively adopts material from Language B, then the reverse should also be true. One encounters statements such as “Če se lahko mi Slovenci naučimo izgovoriti

New York, se lahko tudi Američani naučijo izgovoriti ... Gorenjska”⁹ (Marko 2014). In fact, relations between languages are governed by a complex interplay of power, status, and other sociolinguistic factors. The fact that German now uses, say, *New York* instead of archaic *Neuyork* (Brockhaus 1911: 264) has no bearing on whether English will (ever) use *München* instead of *Munich*.

Languages also differ in their mutual accessibility, which influences stylistic choices when dealing with toponyms. For example, languages like French, Spanish, German, and Italian are culturally familiar or accessible to English, at least at a rudimentary level, and it is thus unremarkable to read “trenches in the Bois de Melancourt” (“Operations” 1915)¹⁰ or “the large expanse of the Lago de Maracaibo” (Stephens 2013: 78)¹¹ in general texts. Such toponyms are generally accepted as part of the “comfort zone” that English readers can operate in. In contrast, it seems unlikely that *Hutan Wehea* (Indonesian) or *Liepājas ezers* (Latvian) would ever really catch on in English at the expense of the *Wehea Forest* or *Lake Liepaja*. As a dominant global language, English is in a position that puts it into the “comfort zone” of most other languages, often resulting in frequent direct use of English place names in other languages. However, this in no way constitutes evidence that English is equally comfortable with unadapted foreign place names.

4.5 Nationalism

It occasionally happens that some variety of nationalism overrides any considerations of text type or context, transparency, or consistency. A translator may forge ahead on the conviction that the dictionary or normative guide for his or her language prescribes a particular name, spelling, or other orthographic convention, and that this norm therefore also governs any other language when his or her culture is represented in it.

Such nationalism is reflected in maps of border areas, which almost without exception present bilingual names for the “other” side of the border and monolingual place names for their own side of the border.¹² This fosters the idea that one’s own country is ethnically pure, whereas the neighboring country is occupying

⁹ “If we Slovenians can learn to pronounce *New York*, Americans can also learn to pronounce *Gorenjska* [‘Upper Carniola].”

¹⁰ But cf. “holding the Germans back in the Melancourt woods” (“Naval” 1916).

¹¹ But cf. “the eastern shore of Lake Maracaibo” (Lucas De Grummond 1983: 202).

¹² An anonymous reviewer suggests that some sort of exceptionalism may apply in the Slovenian case due to ethnically mixed territory on one side of the border but not the other. In fact, ethnically mixed border areas are anything but exceptional in Europe. The fact that there is no longer, say, a German minority in Slovenia is the result of twentieth-century ethnic cleansing, compared to the more benign assimilation processes still taking place in Italy, Austria, and Hungary (where the Slovenian population has declined substantially, and where it is often difficult or even impossible to find Slovenian speakers in many places with bilingual labels on Slovenian maps). To suggest that this justifies the use of bilingual names in *English texts* for places outside Slovenia, but not inside Slovenia, is unwitting endorsement of cultural and linguistic genocide.

one's ethnic territory, representing some sort of revanchism. (Here I do not single out Slovenia vis-à-vis its neighbors. The phenomenon is surely global, but Slovenian maps are conveniently available to me.)

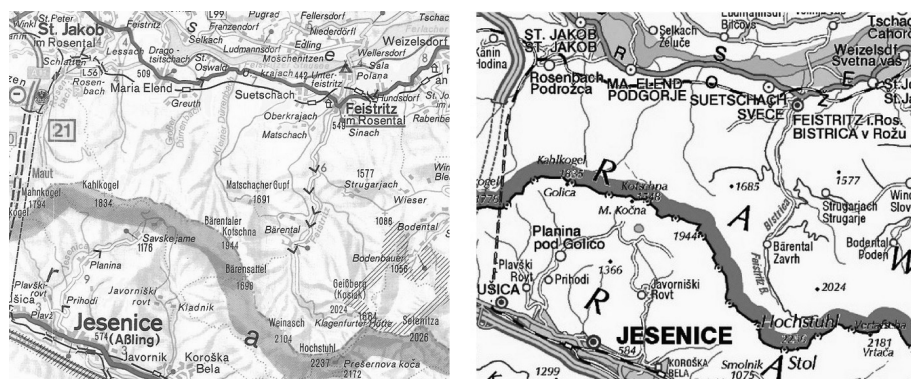


Figure 2. Austrian-Slovenian border, detail (Dürnsteiner 1994; Geopedia).

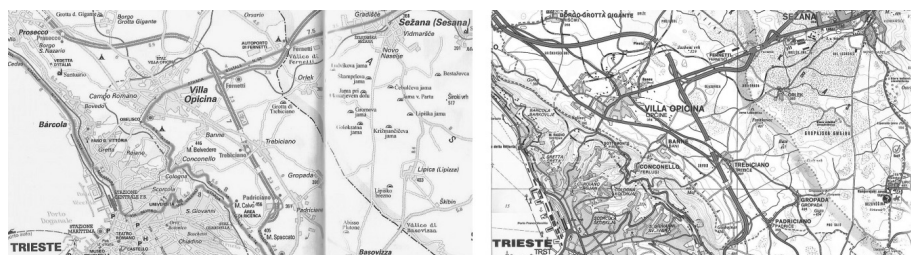


Figure 3. Italian-Slovenian border, detail (Touring Club Italiano 2004; Kos 2000).

For example, the Austrian map in Figure 2 shows Jesenice/Aßling in Slovenia but no Slovenian names in Austria, whereas its Slovenian counterpart shows Suetschach/Sveče, Fesitritz/Bistrica, and other settlements in Austria, but no German names in Slovenia. Similarly, the Italian map in Figure 3 shows Sežana/Sesana and Lipica/Lipizza in Slovenia but no Slovenian names in Italy, whereas its Slovenian counterpart shows Trieste/Trst, Villa Opicina / Opčine, and other settlements in Italy, but no Italian names in Slovenia.

In my own translation experience, I have encountered cases of colleagues failing to realize that certain towns and villages are, in fact, not in Slovenia and are not known in the English-speaking world by their Slovenian names. Ethnographic texts with statements like “On the mountain near Dobrla Vas” (Kropej 2012: 128) and

“a giant named *Robavs* lived in Borovlje” (Kropej 2012: 136) become much less meaningful when even well-educated readers cannot infer that they refer to places in Austria (specifically, to Eberndorf and Ferlach) and therefore cannot assign any sense of place to them.¹³

I have also encountered clients that have responded with surprise when I have used Italian names for settlements in Italy in English texts. When I once suggested that any insistence on bilingual pairs such as Trieste/Trst (in Italy) should be paralleled by pairs such as Sežana/Sesana (in Slovenia), the reaction was shock—accompanied by a lecture about the suppression of Slovenian culture by Fascist Italy in the 1930s.

5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Some recommendations for dealing with toponyms in translated texts seem self-evident, but should nonetheless be spelled out. Obviously, place names should conform to the orthography, grammar, lexicon, and semantics of the target language. As Sinclair and Topchy (1960: 245) put it, “wherever the aims of clear geographical identification will permit, established and linguistically correct anglicized names and derivatives in their shortest form should be preferred” (1960: 245).

To offer a few concrete Slovenian-English examples: orthographic adaptations such as *Novo Mesto* and *Vavta Vas* (cf. Slovenian *Novo mesto* and *Vavta vas*)¹⁴ are preferable because English conventionally capitalizes last words in headline style, which is used for place names (cf. *Chicago* 2003: 8.167). Grammatical conventions such as specific elements preceding generics should be followed: thus, *Lucija Primary School* and not *Primary School Lucija*¹⁵ (cf. the syntactically equivalent Slovenian *Osnovna šola Lucija*). Natural and proper lexical choices should be made, thus *Savica Falls* and *Ribnica Creek* (and not *Savica Waterfall* and *Ribnica Stream*).¹⁶ Finally, proper semantic choices should obviously be made; for example, the *Karst Rim* and not *Karst Edge* (cf. Slovenian *Kraški rob*).¹⁷ But these recommendations are simply “good English”; that is, patterns that any competent user of English ought to automatically follow.

¹³ According to the colophon, this particular work was written by a Slovenian, translated into English by two Slovenians, and copyedited by a Canadian; blame for the incorrectly represented toponyms would lie with the translators and copyeditor rather than the author of the Slovenian text.

¹⁴ As in Toporišič (2001: 206).

¹⁵ As in Pečar and Beškovnik (2002).

¹⁶ As in Fallon (2010: 137).

¹⁷ As in Bogataj (2007: 397).

Much more difficult to define are the stylistic choices involving when and how to anglicize or gloss toponyms, or to offer exonyms alongside endonyms. At best, these choices can only be informed by text type, text context, and theoretical guidelines, not dictated by them. Sinclair and Topchy comment that “it is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules that are applicable in all conceivable instances. . . . linguistic as well as geographical considerations, and wherever possible the convenience of readers, should govern the choice of an ‘approved’ form for any name in this area.” Failure to anglicize “should not be allowed to prevail merely because it represents the easy way out” (1960: 245).

Not taking the easy way out—that is, acting as a cultural mediator and serving the interests of the reader of the text—also demands extra responsibility from translators. Translators must apply caution to avoid pitfalls such as “false generics” (e.g., assuming that the village of Lake Placid, New York, is a lake; cf. Kadmon 2006: 105), false etymological meanings (e.g., assuming that *Otoška jama* ‘Otok Cave’, Slovenia, refers to an actual island¹⁸ rather than the village of Otok), or outright errors of ignorance (e.g., forgetting that the Slovenian adjective *cerkljanski* may refer to places named Cerklje or the town of Cerkno).¹⁹

All of this requires that, in addition to solid linguistic knowledge, competent translators be sensitive to the particular stylistic demands of a text, have cultural and historical competence, and possess the curiosity and skills to research names that they may be unfamiliar with.

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¹⁸ For example, “other caves such as Island Cave” (*E.U. online* 2009: 49).

¹⁹ For example, “the Idrija and Cerklje Hills” (Kmecl & Žnidaršič 1987: 262), “the Idrija and Cerklje Hills” (Longley 2007: 171) as a mistranslation of *Idrijsko-Cerkljansko brbovje* ‘the Idrija–Cerkno Hills’.

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Sur l'alternance des modes indicatif et subjonctif dans les relatives restrictives en français : analyse sémantique et équivalents macédoniens

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Povzetek

Članek govori o dveh francoskih naklonih, indikativu in subjunktivju. Indikativ, ki je dejstveni naklon, aktualizira glagolski proces tako, da ga postavlja v eno od treh dob trajanja (preteklost, sedanjost, prihodnost). Subjunktiv, naklon irealnega, izraža proces, ki se predvideva v mislih govorca, ta pa ga ne postavlja v realnost. Subjunktiv, ki je podedovan iz latinščine, je lasten vsem romanskim jezikom, hkrati pa popolnoma odsoten v tradicionalnih jezikoslovnih opisih slovanskih jezikov vključno z makedonščino.

Predstavljamo analizo makedonskih ekvivalentov subjunktiva, ki nam omogočajo odkrivati pomensko razliko, ki se pojavlja v kontekstih, kjer so oblike v indikativu in subjunktivu med seboj zamenljive. Ta analiza je del sodobnih raziskav makedonskih lingvistov, ki omenjajo prisotnost določenih struktur v makedonskem jeziku, predvsem podredne strukture z *da* (mak. *да-конструкция*), ki predstavljajo paralelizem oblikam s subjunktivom tako pri njihovi distribuciji v stavku kot na pomenski ravni.

Ukvarjamo se torej s primeri, ki ponazarjajo alternativno rabo indikativa in subjunktiva, predvsem kadar sta prvi in drugi rezultat izbire govorca in ne slovnična zahteva. Naš cilj je vzpostavitev makedonskih ustreznice, ki izražajo razlike v pomenu, do katerih pride pri izmenjujoči rabi subjunktiva in indikativa.

Ključne besede : indikativ, subjunktiv, francoščina, makedonščina, podredne strukture z *da*

0 INTRODUCTION

Dans la partie 1 de notre étude, nous nous penchons sur quelques considérations linguistiques qui mettent en lumière la correspondance formelle et sémantique entre ce qu'on appelle la construction-*da* dans la langue macédonienne et les formes du subjonctif d'autres langues ainsi que l'opposition entre l'indicatif et le subjonctif. La partie 2 sera consacrée à l'alternance des modes indicatif et subjonctif à partir de cas où elle est observée. Les sous-parties seront consacrées à l'étude des équivalents macédoniens de chacun de ces cas. Le but de notre travail sera de déterminer les équivalents sémantiques et formels macédoniens des exemples en français dans lesquels l'alternance entre l'indicatif et le subjonctif s'opère dans un même contexte. Nous souhaitons également examiner l'emploi de la construction-*da* comme équivalent du subjonctif lorsqu'il est employé dans une relative restrictive en français.

1 CONSIDÉRATIONS LINGUISTIQUES SUR LE SUBJONCTIF DANS LA LANGUE MACÉDONIENNE

Bien connus dans la terminologie linguistique des langues romanes, les termes de conjonctif et subjonctif ne sont évoqués dans les grammaires traditionnelles macédoniennes que de manière très restreinte. Le terme de conjonctif se relie à la construction macédonienne composée d'une forme verbale précédée de la particule *da* (appelée « construction-*da* ») qui en tant que forme analytique représente une forme qui au fil du temps se substitue à l'infinitif dans la langue macédonienne. Blaže Koneski dans son *Histoire de la langue macédonienne* signale que, suite à la tendance générale de substitution des formes synthétiques par des formes analytiques, provoquée par le contact entre le macédonien et les langues balkaniques non-slaves, «les constructions-*da*, qui se sont substituées à l'infinitif, trouvent leurs correspondants formels dans les constructions comportant la préposition équivalente et le conjonctif dans les autres langues balkaniques. Aucun substantif ne peut être introduit entre la préposition et le verbe. »¹ (Koneski 1986 :177)

La correspondance terminologique entre la construction-*da*, le conjonctif et le subjonctif est signalée également par Minova-Gjurkova qui remarque que « pour la construction-*da*, il existe plusieurs solutions terminologiques tels: l'optatif-subjonctif, le subjonctif, le conjonctif. » Elle ajoute que « ses emplois [de la construc-

¹ Citation en macédonien : „...конструкциите со *da*, со кои е заменет инфинитивот, стојат наспрема конструкциите со соодветниот предлог и конјунктив во балканските јазици. Во тие конструкции не може да се вметне именка меѓу предлогот и глаголот.“ (Конески, 1986 :177)

tion-*da*] sont très variés et elle peut s'employer comme nom d'action où comme équivalent de l'infinitif d'autres langues; employée d'une manière autonome, elle exprime le désir, la prière, l'ordre, mais aussi la malédiction ; »² (Minova-Gjurkova 1994:71)

La corrélation entre la construction-*da* et le subjonctif est signalée de manière très concrète par Z. Topolinjska qui, sous le terme de subjonctif, sous-entend « par définition, un mode de subordination qui dans le macédonien de nos jours se forme avec la particule *da* et apparaît sous forme de deux variantes temporelles, c'est-à-dire sous forme de *subjunctivus praesentis* (*da* + présent) où sous forme de *subjunctivus praeteriti* (*da* + le paradigme d'un des temps du passé) »³. (Topolinjska 2008:56) Selon Topolinjska, l'apparition du subjonctif- *da* dans les langues slaves balkaniques est dû à l'influence des langues balkaniques non-slaves. En ce qui concerne « la zone de son emploi, elle diffère d'une langue à l'autre, d'un dialecte à l'autre, mais partout il [le subjonctif-*da*] exerce les fonctions qui dans le slavon et dans le vieux slave ont été exercées par l'infinitif et /où par **by*-constructions ». (ibid.:56)⁴

Les recherches récentes menées par les linguistes macédoniens sur le subjonctif⁵ et sa relation avec la construction-*da* dans la langue macédonienne ont abouti à la conclusion générale que cette construction pouvait se traiter comme le représentant du subjonctif macédonien. L'analyse contrastive du subjonctif (présent) et de la construction-*da*, que nous avons réalisée dans le cadre de ces recherches, nous a permis de montrer le parallélisme sémantique et fonctionnel entre cette construction et le subjonctif lorsqu'ils sont employés en contexte verbal indépendant (proposition indépendante), aussi bien que le parallélisme sémantique entre le subjonctif (présent) et les constructions-*neka* employés dans ce même contexte. (Babamova 2014 : 9-21) Bien des valeurs sémantiques véhiculées par la construction-*da*, notamment le désir, la volonté, l'ordre, y sont considérées comme des

² Citation en macédonien : „за *da*-конструкцијата, во литературата постојат неколку термини: оптаив-субјунктив, субјунктив, конјунктив. Таа може да се јави со сегашно, со минато определено и со минато неопределено време, но најчесто - со сегашното. /.../ (таа) има широка употреба, пред сè како име на дејство, како еквивалент на инфинитивот во други јазици; самостојно употребена изразува: желба, молба, заповед, а се јавува и во клетви.“ (Минова-Ѓуркова, 1994: 71)

³ Citation en macédonien : „Под „субјунктив“ подразбирам еден по дефиниција врзан/потчинет начин кој во современиот македонски јазик се деривира со формантот (партикулата) *да*, а се појавува во две различно темпорално маркирани варијанти, т.е. како *subjunctivus praesentis* (*да* + *презент*) или како *subjunctivus praeteriti* (*да* + парадигма на едно од минатите времиња).“ (Тополинска, 2008:56)

⁴ Citation en macédonien: „*Да*- субјунктивот се појавил во балканските словенски јазици под влијание на нивното не-словенско окружение. Зоната на неговата употреба се разликува од јазик до јазик и од дијалект до дијалект, но насекаде тој ги врши функциите кои во прасловенскиот, а и во старословенскиот јазик ги вршел инфинитивот и/или **by*-конструкциите.“ (ibid.:56)

⁵ Les recherches portant sur le subjonctif et sur les constructions-*da* ont été menées dans le cadre du projet intitulé «The place of the Macedonian language in the Slavic and Balkan linguistic world. *Subjunctive* with special reference to the macedonian *da*-constructions » („Местото на македонскиот јазик во словенскиот и во балканскиот јазичен свет. Субјунктив, со посебен осврт на *да*-конструкциите“) au sein du Centre de Recherche en Linguistique Aréale, près l'Académie Macédonienne des Sciences et des Arts (MANU) à Skopje, 2014. <http://ical.manu.edu.mk/books/ZbornikSubjunktivICAL2014.pdf>

valeurs partagées avec ce mode grammatical, y compris la valeur fondamentale du subjonctif qui consiste à indiquer que le sujet de la phrase ne s'engage pas sur la réalité du fait.

1.1 Le subjonctif vs l'indicatif

Le non-engagement sur la réalité du fait, évoqué plus haut, range les actions exprimées par les formes du subjonctif dans la zone de l'irréel (Givón 1994). Autrement dit, le subjonctif en tant que mode de la subordination (vient de *subjungere* = 'mettre sous le joug') se réfère à la non-réalité, c'est-à-dire à ce qui n'a pas de réalité, à ce qui n'existe pas ou n'existe que dans l'imagination du sujet parlant. L'action relève de la zone de la non-factivité car elle est considérée comme souhaitée, envisagée ou potentiellement réalisable.

A la différence du subjonctif, l'indicatif se définit comme le mode du fait (Grevisse 1988 :1288). Il se réfère à la réalité qui existe indépendamment du sujet parlant (*indicatif* vient de *index* = 'indiquer'). Elle est authentique et n'est pas le produit de sa pensée. La réalité n'est pas mise en doute et l'on peut la percevoir, l'analyser, la commenter car elle se reflète dans l'environnement concret et matériel de l'homme. Les faits réalisés ou ceux qui sont en train de se réaliser, exprimés respectivement à l'aide des temps du passé et le présent de l'indicatif, sont considérés comme des faits réels, car leur réalisation est vérifiable, et par la suite confirmable. Ces faits relèvent donc de la zone de la factivité.

L'opposition entre le mode indicatif et le mode subjonctif se résume ainsi à l'opposition entre le monde objectif ou réel et le monde subjectif ou irréel. Selon Wilmet, « L'indicatif et le subjonctif diffèrent par leur capacité à isoler ou non les époques. Toute la problématique se résume à trier les contextes *actualisants* (indicatif) et les contextes *non actualisants* ou, si l'on préfère, *virtualisants* (subjonctif). » (Wilmet 2010 : 231) Tout en signalant que la concurrence entre le subjonctif et l'indicatif demeure un des filons inépuisables de la linguistique française, il rajoute qu'«il ne s'agit plus de *justifier* l'apparition d'un subjonctif ou d'un indicatif, mais de *décrire* l'idée [...] que les francophones se font de ce qui est actuel et de ce qui est virtuel. » (Wilmet 2010 : 231)

2 L'ALTERNANCE ENTRE L'INDICATIF ET LE SUBJONCTIF AU NIVEAU DE LA PROPOSITION RELATIVE RESTRICTIVE

Par alternance entre l'indicatif et le subjonctif, nous entendons les contextes linguistiques dans lesquels le sujet parlant semble placé devant un choix libre entre le mode subjonctif et le mode indicatif. Notre intérêt porte particulièrement sur l'alternance opérable au niveau de la proposition relative, plus particulièrement au niveau de la proposition relative restrictive ou déterminative. Cette alternance entraîne un changement de sens demandant différents équivalents formels en macédonien. Notre but est de dégager les équivalents sémantiques et formels qui, dans la langue macédonienne, permettent de signaler ce changement de sens.

L'alternance de ces deux modes est généralement observable :

- a) au niveau des propositions subordonnées complétives surtout dans les cas où la proposition principale est négative (Ex : *Il ne croit pas que cela est/soit possible*) ou interrogative (Ex: *Croit-il que cela soit/est possible ?*);
- b) au niveau des verbes qui sélectionnent le mode accompagnateur, selon le sens qu'on leur donne (Ex : *Je prétends*[+ affirmation] *qu'il est chez lui* / *Je prétends*[+ ordre] *qu'il soit chez lui* – cet emploi du subjonctif est peu usité aujourd'hui) ;
- c) au niveau des subordonnées relatives restrictives (ou relatives déterminatives) qui sont des propositions relatives avec antécédent, permettant d'identifier (partiellement ou totalement) le référent désigné par l'antécédent du pronom relatif introducteur. (Ex : *Je cherche une maison qui soit/est grande.*)

Notre intérêt porte plus particulièrement sur les propositions du type *c*, le but étant d'analyser le comportement de la langue macédonienne au niveau des équivalents sémantiques et fonctionnels du subjonctif/indicatif lorsque ces deux modes sont employés au sein d'une subordonnée relative restrictive.

Une étude approfondie sur l'opposition de ces deux modes au niveau des relatives restrictives a été réalisée par Kampers-Manhe dans le but de donner une description syntaxique détaillée de l'emploi du subjonctif dans ce type de propositions en examinant les possibilités de son remplacement par l'indicatif et d'expliquer en quoi consiste la différence sémantique entre les phrases qui acceptent les deux modes (Kampers-Manhe 1991). Cette étude lui permet de dégager trois catégories qui permettent l'alternance entre le subjonctif et l'indicatif :

1. Le verbe principal, qui relève de la catégorie des verbes volitifs (Ex : *Je veux une maison qui soit/est jolie*);
2. La tournure phrastique, c'est-à-dire les tournures négative, interrogative, hypothétique (Ex: *Je ne vois pas de voiture qui **soit/est** mal garée ; Vois-tu une voiture qui **soit/est** mal garée ?; S'il y a des ouvrages où Bergotte **ait/a** parlé de la Berma, je veux les voir.*)
3. Le superlatif relatif, sous condition d'un changement du temps verbal dans la principale (Ex : *Vous me vendez le plus beau livre que vous **ayez** / Vous m'avez vendu hier le plus beau livre que vous **aviez***) ou les expressions considérées comme équivalentes au superlatif (Ex : *C'est le seul travail que vous **puissiez** faire. / C'est le seul travail que vous **pouvez** faire.*)

Ces trois catégories nous serviront de point de départ dans notre analyse des équivalents macédoniens d'exemples de relatives restrictives où l'on observe l'emploi alternatif du subjonctif et de l'indicatif.

2.1 Les relatives restrictives dans les phrases à prédicat volitif

Ce qui est propre aux prédicats volitifs c'est qu'ils expriment la ferme intention, le souhait, le désir du locuteur de réaliser quelque chose. Il s'agit de prédicats de deuxième rang et à deux arguments dont le premier se réfère à l'homme et le deuxième possède un caractère propositionnel en se formalisant comme une phrase. Les prédicats de deuxième rang informent sur l'état mental, intellectuel ou émotif de l'homme. (Topolinjska 2009: 57) Au sein des phrases examinées plus bas, les relatives restrictives déterminent de manière plus précise le deuxième argument du prédicat volitif.

Le paradigme des prédicats volitifs est assez riche et comporte les verbes qui expriment la manifestation de la volonté (*vouloir, chercher, falloir, demander*), c'est-à-dire l'action pour acquérir/obtenir ce qui est déterminé par le deuxième argument, aussi bien que les locutions verbales à sens volitif du type *être à la recherche de, avoir besoin de*. Dans les exemples qui vont suivre (de 1 à 5), nous tenteront de déterminer les équivalents macédoniens de phrases à prédicat volitif dans la principale qui permettent l'alternance indicatif/subjonctif dans la relative restrictive :

- 1)
- 1a) fr. *Nous cherchons un marché qui **est** porteur.*
- 1a1) mac. *Barame pazar koj **nosi** profit.*
 chercher1PIPrés marché qui **porter3SgPrés.** profit.⁶
- 1b) fr. *Nous cherchons un marché qui **soit** porteur.*
- 1b1) mac. *Barame pazar koj **bi nosel** profit.*
 chercher1PIPrés marché qui **porter3SgCond** profit.
- 1b2) *Barame pazar koj **ke nosi** profit.*
 chercher1PIPrés marché qui **porter3SgFut** profit.
- 1b3) *?Barame pazar **da nosi** profit.*
 chercher1PIPrés marché **cons-da porter3SgPrésInd** profit.
- 1b4) **Barame pazar koj **da nosi** profit.*
 chercher1PIPrés marché qui **cons-da porter3SgPrés** profit.
- 2)
- 2a) fr. *J'ai besoin d'un job qui **est** bien payé.*
- 2a1) mac. *Mi treba rabota koja **e** dobro platena.*
 1SgDatCl falloir travail qui **être3SgPrésInd** bien payé.
- 2b) fr. *J'ai besoin d'un job qui **soit** bien payé.*
- 2b1) mac. *Mi treba rabota koja **bi bila** dobro platena.*
 1SgDatCl falloir travail qui **être3SgCond** bien payé.
- 2b2) *Mi treba rabota koja **ke bide** dobro platena.*
 1SgDatCl falloir travail qui **être3SgFut** bien payé.
- 2b3) *?Mi treba rabota **da e** dobro platena.*
 1SgDatCl falloir travail **cons-da3SgêtrePrés** bien payé.
- 2b4) **Mi treba rabota koja **da e** dobro platena.*
 1SgDatCl falloir travail **cons-da3SgêtrePrés** bien payé.
- 3)
- 3a) fr. *Je veux un ami qui **est** honnête.*
- 3a1) mac. *Sakam prijatel koj **e** česen.*
 vouloir1SgPrés ami qui **être3SgPrésInd** honnête.
- 3b) fr. *Je veux un ami qui **soit** honnête.*
- 3b1) mac. *Sakam prijatel koj **bi bil** česen.*
 Vouloir1SgPrés ami qui **être3SgCond** honnête.
- 3b2) *Sakam prijatel koj **ke bide** česen.*
 vouloir1SgPrés ami qui **être3SgFutInd** honnête.
- 3b3) *?Sakam prijatel **da e** česen.*
 vouloir1SgPrés ami **cons-da être3SgPrésInd** honnête.

⁶ Nous utilisons les abréviations suivantes : * = la phrase n'est pas correcte, ? = la phrase est d'une acceptabilité douteuse, 1, 2, 3 = 1^{ère}, 2^{ème}, 3^{ème} personne, Acc = accusatif, art = article, Cl = clitique, Cond = conditionnel, cons-*da* = construction-*da*, cons-*sum* = construction-*sum*, Dat = datif, Dem = démonstratif, Ind = indicatif, Fut = futur, part=particule, interrog=interrogatif, Nég=négation, Pl = pluriel, Prés = présent, pro = pronom, Sg = singulier.

- 3b4) **Sakam* *prijatel* *kaj* *da e* *česen.*
 vouloir1SgPrés ami qui **cons-da être3SgPrésInd** honnête.
- 4)
 4a) fr. *Il me faut un tournevis qui est spécial.*
 4a1) mac. *Mi* *treba* *šrafčiger* *kaj* *e* *specijalen.*
 1SgDatCl falloir tournevis qui **être3SgPrésInd** spécial.
- 4b) fr. *Il me faut un tournevis qui soit spécial.*
 4b1) mac. *Mi* *treba* *šrafčiger* *kaj* *bi bil* *specijalen.*
 1SgDatCl falloir tournevis qui **être3SgCond** spécial.
 4b2) *Mi* *treba* *šrafčiger* *kaj* *ke bide* *specijalen.*
 1SgDatCl falloir tournevis qui **être3SgPrés** spécial.
 4b3) *?Mi* *treba* *šrafčiger* *da* *e* *specijalen.*
 1SgDatCl falloir tournevis **cons-da être3SgPrés** spécial.
 4b4) **Mi* *treba* *šrafčiger* *kaj* *da e* *specijalen.*
 1SgDatCl falloir tournevis qui **cons-da être3SgPrés** spécial.
- 5)
 5a) fr. *Il demande une fleur qui plaît aux femmes.*
 5a1) mac. *Bara* *cvet* *kaj* *im* *se dopađa* *na ženite.*
 demander3SGPrésInd fleur qui 3PlDatCl **plaire3SgPrésInd** aux femmes.
- 5b) fr. *Il demande une fleur qui plaise aux femmes.*
 5b1) mac. *Bara* *cvet* *kaj* *bi im* *se dopadnal* *na ženite.*
 demander3SGPrésInd fleur qui **partCond+3PlDatCl+ plaire3Sg** aux femmes.
 5b2) *Bara* *cvet* *kaj* *ke im* *se dopadne* *na ženite.*
 demander3SGPrésInd fleur qui **partFut+3PlDatCl+ plaire3Sg** aux femmes.
 5b3) *?Bara* *cvet* *da im* *se dopađa* *na ženite.*
 demander3SGPrésInd fleur **cons-da+3PlDatCl+ plaire3SgPrés** aux femmes.
 5b4) **Bara* *cvet* *kaj* *da im* *se dopađa* *na ženite.*
 demander3SGPrésInd fleur qui **cons-da+3PlDatCl+ plaire3SgPrés** aux femmes.

L'emploi de l'indicatif ou du subjonctif au niveau des relatives restrictives implique une différence au niveau de l'interprétation sémantique. Le fait que le subjonctif concerne la zone de l'irréel, contrairement à l'indicatif qui concerne la zone du réel, se trouve confirmé par les relatives où ces deux modes sont employés. Le deuxième argument du prédicat volitif dans les exemples 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, (le 'marché qui est porteur', le 'job qui est bien payé', 'l'ami qui est honnête', le 'tournevis qui est spécial', la 'fleur qui plaît aux femmes') possède un référent que l'on peut identifier dans le monde réel. L'emploi de l'indicatif dans la relative restrictive suggère une interprétation sémantique de ce type. Au niveau des équivalents macédoniens, la relative comporte un verbe au présent qui permet de considérer le référent du deuxième argument comme réel. En revanche, les

exemples du type 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b, 5b présentent le deuxième argument du prédicat volitif comme non identifiable dans la réalité, car l'emploi du subjonctif implique que cet argument est souhaité par le locuteur. Ainsi, le 'marché qui soit porteur', le 'job qui soit bien payé', l'amî qui soit honnête', le 'tournevis qui soit spécial', la 'fleur qui plaise aux femmes' ne seront identifiables qu'à condition que ce souhait se réalise. Au niveau des équivalents macédoniens, la relative comporte un verbe au conditionnel, qui implique l'éventualité ou la possibilité de réalisation de l'action (ex. 1b1, 2b1, 3b1, 4b1, 5b1), et/ou le futur (ex. 1b2, 2b2, 3b2, 4b2, 5b2) qui désigne une projection dans un monde futur. Le conditionnel et le futur dans les exemples en macédonien placent l'action dans la zone de l'irréel, là où elle est placée par le subjonctif français. Autrement dit, le conditionnel et le futur sont les équivalents sémantiques et fonctionnels macédoniens du subjonctif lorsqu'il est employé dans une relative restrictive. En ce qui concerne la construction-*da*, son emploi comme équivalent du subjonctif au sein d'une relative restrictive (ex. 1b3, 2b3, 3b3, 4b3, 5b3) est douteux ou senti comme appartenant à la langue parlée, tout comme dans les exemples où elle est précédée du pronom relatif *koj* [qui] (ex. 1b4, 2b4, 3b4, 4b4, 5b4).

2.2 Les relatives restrictives dans une phrase à tournure phrastique : tournures négative, interrogative, hypothétique

Ces trois tournures, que Kampers-Manhe regroupe sous le dénominateur de « tournure phrastique » (Kampers-Manhe 1991 : 47), exercent une influence sur le choix du mode de la relative, notamment sur le choix du subjonctif dans la subordonnée relative restrictive.⁷ Néanmoins, elle observe que l'alternance indicatif/subjonctif dans les phrases à tournure phrastique dans la principale est possible. Selon Wilmet, « En [sous-phrase] pronominale déterminative⁸, le mode est conditionné par le caractère *actuel* (indicatif) ou *virtuel* (subjonctif) de l'antécédent. » (Wilmet 2010 : 234) Dans les exemples qui vont suivre, nous allons essayer de déterminer les équivalents macédoniens de phrases françaises à tournures phrastiques dans lesquelles l'alternance indicatif/subjonctif est opérable:

⁷ Les exemples avancés par Kampers-Manhe témoignent de la grammaticalité des phrases à tournure phrastique :

- « (67) (a) *Je vois une voiture qui soit mal garée.
 (b) Je ne vois pas de voiture qui soit mal garée.
 (c) Vois-tu une voiture qui soit mal garée ?
 (d) Si tu vois une voiture qui soit mal garée, préviens-moi. » (Kampers-Manhe, 1991 : 49)

⁸ Sous la dénomination de sous-phrases pronominales déterminatives, Wilmet range les relatives dont l'antécédent est un superlatif /n'a qu'une existence provisionnelle/est soumis à une négation ou à une interrogation qui refuse son existence ou la discute/ déclare une sortie par le haut ou par le bas de la norme statistique, par ex : *Pierre est le seul/le premier/le dernier/ qui AIT remis sa copie.* (Wilmet 2010 : 234-235)

- la relative restrictive dans une phrase à tournure négative :

6)

6a) fr. *Je ne cherche pas d'ami qui est malhonnête.*

6a1)	mac.	<i>Ne</i>	<i>baram</i>	<i>prijatel</i>	<i>koj</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>nečesen.</i>
		Nég	chercher1SgPrésInd	ami	qui	être3SgPrés	malhonnête.

6b) fr. *Je ne cherche pas d'ami qui soit malhonnête.*

6b1)	mac.	<i>Ne</i>	<i>baram</i>	<i>prijatel</i>	<i>koj</i>	<i>bi bil</i>	<i>nečesen.</i>
		Nég	chercher1SgPrésInd	ami	qui	être3SgCond	malhonnête.
6b2)		<i>Ne</i>	<i>baram</i>	<i>prijatel</i>	<i>koj</i>	<i>ke bide</i>	<i>nečesen.</i>
		Nég	chercher1SgPrésInd	ami	qui	être3SgFut	malhonnête.
6b3)		<i>?Ne</i>	<i>baram</i>	<i>prijatel</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>nečesen.</i>
		Nég	chercher1SgPrésInd	ami		cons-da être3Sg	malhonnête.
6b4)		<i>*Ne</i>	<i>baram</i>	<i>prijatel</i>	<i>koj</i>	<i>da e</i>	<i>nečesen.</i>
		Nég	chercher1SgPrésInd	ami	qui	cons-da être3Sg	malhonnête.

L'emploi de l'indicatif dans l'exemple 6a implique l'interprétation sémantique selon laquelle le référent du deuxième argument du prédicat volitif est identifiable. On pourrait donc interpréter cette phrase de la manière suivante : 'il existe des amis qui sont malhonnêtes, mais je ne cherche pas un tel ami' ou 'je ne cherche pas d'ami parmi les amis malhonnêtes'. Cette interprétation sémantique implique l'emploi du présent au niveau de l'équivalent macédonien 6a1. Contrairement à cela, l'interprétation sémantique de l'exemple 6b suggère que le référent n'est pas identifiable dans la réalité, mais qu'il est possible qu'un ami (qui soit) malhonnête existe. Cette possibilité implique l'emploi du conditionnel ou du futur au niveau de l'équivalent macédonien comme dans les exemples 6b1, 6b2. L'emploi de la construction-*da* est considéré comme propre à la langue parlée dans l'exemple 6b3 et comme agrammatical dans l'exemple 6b4 et ils ne peuvent pas être employés comme équivalents à la phrase 6b.

- la relative restrictive dans une phrase à tournure interrogative :

7)

7a) fr. *Vois-tu quelqu'un qui est à mon goût?*

7a1)	mac.	<i>Gledaš</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>nekoj</i>	<i>koj</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>po moj vkus?</i>
		voir2SgPrés	part.interrog.	pro.indéfini	qui	être3SgPrésIndà	mon goût?

7b) fr. *Vois-tu quelqu'un qui soit à mon goût?*

7b1)	mac.	<i>Gledaš</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>nekoj</i>	<i>koj</i>	<i>bi bil</i>	<i>po moj vkus?</i>
		voir2SgPrés	part.interrog.	pro.indéf.	qui	être3SgCond	à mon goût ?
7b2)		<i>Gledaš</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>nekoj</i>	<i>koj</i>	<i>ke bide</i>	<i>po moj vkus ?</i>
		voir2SgPrés	part.interrog.	pro.indéf.	qui	être3SgFut	à mon goût ?

7b3)	?Gledaš	li	nekoj	<i>da e</i>	<i>po moj vkus ?</i>
	voir2SgPrés	part.interrog.	pro.indéf.	cons-daêtre3Sg	à mon goût ?
7b4)	* Gledaš	li	nekoj koj	<i>da e</i>	<i>po moj vkus?</i>
	voir2SgPrés	part.interrog.	pro.indéf. qui	cons-daêtre3Sg	à mon goût ?

Dans ce type de phrases, l'opposition *actuel / virtuel* est bien évidente dans les contextes où le subjonctif (ex : 7b) se substitue à l'indicatif (ex: 7a). Le référent du deuxième argument du prédicat *voir* dans l'exemple 7a est identifiable, car l'emploi de l'indicatif dans la relative restrictive conduit à l'interprétation sémantique suivante : 'une personne qui est à mon goût se trouve parmi ces gens-là, la vois-tu?'. Cette personne existe au moment où cette phrase est prononcée et, selon la terminologie de Wilmet, possède « le caractère actuel ». En revanche, dans l'exemple 7b, cette personne est considérée comme souhaitée, donc comme virtuelle. Le souhait ou la possibilité qu'une telle personne existe sont suggérés par l'emploi du subjonctif qui, pour sa part, donne lieu à des équivalents macédoniens qui, par l'intermédiaire du conditionnel ou du futur (ex : 7b1 et 7b2 respectivement), traduisent cette même possibilité. L'emploi de la construction-*da* est considéré comme douteux, ou propre à la langue parlée, dans l'exemple 7b3 et agrammatical dans 7b4. Ces deux dernières phrases ne peuvent donc pas être employées comme équivalentes à la phrase 7b.

- la relative restrictive dans une phrase à tournure hypothétique:

8)					
8a)	fr.	<i>Si tu vois quelqu'un qui est à mon goût, dis-le-moi.</i>			
8a1)		<i>Ako gledaš</i>	<i>nekoj koj e</i>		<i>po moj vkus, kaži mi.</i>
		Si voir2SgPrés	proIndéf qui	être3SgPrésInd	à mon goût, dis-moi.
8b)	fr.	<i>Si tu vois quelqu'un qui soit à mon goût, dis-le-moi.</i>			
8b1)		<i>Ako gledaš</i>	<i>nekoj koj bi bil</i>		<i>po moj vkus, kaži mi.</i>
		Si voir2SgPrés	proIndéf qui	être3SgCond	à mon goût, dis-moi.
8b2)		<i>Ako gledaš</i>	<i>nekoj koj ke bide</i>		<i>po moj vkus, kaži mi.</i>
		Si voir2SgPrés	proIndéf qui	être3SgFut	à mon goût, dis-moi.
8b3)	?Ako	<i>gledaš</i>	<i>nekoj da e</i>		<i>po moj vkus, kaži mi.</i>
		Si voir2SgPrés	proIndéf	cons-daêtre3SgInd	à mon goût, dis-moi.
8b4)	*Ako	<i>gledaš</i>	<i>nekoj koj da e</i>		<i>po moj vkus, kaži mi.</i>
		Si voir2SgPrés	proIndéf qui	cons-daêtre3SgInd	à mon goût, dis-moi.

L'hypothèse exprimée par rapport au référent de « quelqu'un » dans l'exemple 8a concerne une personne identifiable et ce fait est soutenu par l'emploi de l'indicatif qui trouve son équivalent macédonien dans l'emploi du présent (indicatif) (ex : 8a1). Dans l'exemple 8b, l'hypothèse est exprimée par rapport à un référent que l'on ne peut pas identifier dans la réalité, mais qui est envisagé par le locuteur.

Cela justifie l'emploi du subjonctif ainsi que l'emploi du conditionnel (8b1) et du futur (8b2) dans les équivalents macédoniens. L'apparition de la construction-*da* dans les exemples 8b3 et 8b4 est considérée comme douteuse et agrammaticale.

- la relative restrictive dans une phrase à superlatif relatif :

L'alternance entre le subjonctif et l'indicatif dans ce type de phrases est plus rare. Cependant, elle est observable dans des phrases du type:

9)

9a) fr. *C'est le modèle le plus avancé **que nous ayons jamais conçu.***

9a1) mac. *Ova e najnapredniot model što **sme go sozdale** nekogaš.*

Dem être3SgPrés superlatif+art modèle que **cons-sum concevoir1Pl** jamais.

9a2) **Ova e najnapredniot model **da sme go sozdale** nekogaš.*

Dem être3SgPrés superlatif+art modèle que **cons-da concevoir1Pl** jamais.

9b) fr. *C'est le modèle le plus avancé que nous **avons conçu** l'année dernière.*

9b1) mac. *Ova e najnapredniot model što go **sozdadovme** lani.*

Dem être3SgPrés superlatif+art modèle que AccCl **concevoir1Pl** année dernière.

Une variante de l'exemple 9b du type: *Le modèle le plus avancé que nous avons conçu l'année dernière, c'est celui-là*, serait plus acceptable pour un locuteur francophone, car après un superlatif au niveau de la principale on s'attendrait à un subjonctif dans la relative restrictive, comme dans l'exemple 9a. Toutefois, l'exemple 9b est considéré comme correct. L'alternance entre le subjonctif et l'indicatif, dans ces deux exemples (9a, 9b), ne peut s'expliquer que du point de vue sémantique. Dans l'exemple 9a, *jamais* ne fait pas référence à une époque temporelle précise et induit l'interprétation sémantique selon laquelle 'le modèle le plus avancé fait exception à tous les modèles que nous avons conçus'. L'emploi du subjonctif souligne le caractère exceptionnel du référent du modèle en question. Contrairement à cela, l'emploi du passé composé (indicatif) dans la relative restrictive (9b) range l'événement dans une époque bien déterminée, c'est-à-dire dans la période de « l'année dernière » où a été conçu le meilleur de tous les modèles pour cette année. Il s'agit d'un fait que l'on peut vérifier très facilement, ce qui représente un excellent argument en faveur du caractère factif de l'événement. L'emploi de l'indicatif au niveau de la relative restrictive signale que le modèle en question occupe la première place parmi les modèles conçus. Autrement dit, l'indicatif signale le classement des « modèles conçus l'année dernière » et induit l'interprétation sémantique suivante : 'le meilleur modèle que nous avons conçu l'année dernière, c'est celui-là'. La différence sémantique entre « le caractère exceptionnel d'un modèle » (9a) et « le classement des modèles » (9b) est exprimée en macédonien par l'emploi du superlatif dans la principale et la construction-*sum* accompagnée de l'adverbe *jamais* dans la relative restrictive (9a1) et par le superlatif dans la principale et l'aoriste accompagné de l'adverbe « l'année

dernière » (9b1). Nous sommes d'avis que la construction–*sum* (9a1) et l'aoriste (9b1) traduisent bien les contextes non actualisant et actualisant signalés par le subjonctif (9a) et l'indicatif (9b) respectivement. L'emploi de la construction–*da* est considéré comme agrammatical (9a2).

Les exemples proposés plus haut (de 1 à 8) sont la preuve que le choix du mode, indicatif ou subjonctif, dans la proposition relative restrictive ne dépend pas d'une contrainte grammaticale, mais qu'il est opéré librement par le locuteur et en fonction de ce qu'il veut exprimer. Les exemples analysés nous montrent que, parmi les équivalents macédoniens des relatives restrictives au subjonctif, peuvent apparaître des relatives dont les prédicats sont au conditionnel (1b1, 2b1, 3b1, 4b1, 5b1, 6b1, 7b1, 8b1) et au futur (1b2, 2b2, 3b2, 4b2, 5b2, 6b2, 7b2, 8b2). Ces prédicats traduisent la possibilité ou l'éventualité de la réalisation de l'action exprimée par la forme du subjonctif dans les exemples français correspondants. En ce qui concerne la construction–*da*, son apparition comme équivalent de la forme du subjonctif employée au sein d'une relative restrictive est considérée comme douteux, acceptable (peut-être?) dans la langue macédonienne parlée (1b3, 2b3, 3b3, 4b3, 5b3, 6b3, 7b3, 8b3) ou comme agrammatical (1b4, 2b4, 3b4, 4b4, 5b4, 6b4, 7b4, 8b4). Bien qu'elle puisse apparaître comme équivalente à une forme du subjonctif employée dans un contexte verbal indépendant (fr. *Quelle vienne!*= mac. *Da dojde!*) (Babamova 2014), cette équivalence est restreinte, voire agrammaticale, dans le contexte des relatives restrictives en macédonien.

On pourrait donc conclure qu'aux prédicats à l'indicatif, qui sont employés au niveau des relatives restrictives en français, correspondent des prédicats au présent ou à l'aoriste (Indicatif) en macédonien signalant ainsi une action qui relève de la zone de la factivité. Quant aux prédicats au subjonctif, qui sont employés au niveau des relatives restrictives en français, ils trouvent leurs correspondants macédoniens parmi les prédicats au conditionnel et/ou au futur signalant que la réalisation des actions qu'ils désignent est envisagée dans une optique temporelle future ou dans une optique potentielle. Ces actions, événements ou opérations relèvent donc de l'irréel, c'est-à-dire de la zone de la non factivité, tout comme les actions désignées par les formes du subjonctif en français.

En ce qui concerne la construction–*da*, les recherches contrastives récentes ont confirmé la correspondance entre cette construction et le subjonctif français surtout dans un contexte verbal autonome. La possibilité que le subjonctif ait d'autres correspondants dans la langue macédonienne, notamment ceux évoqués plus haut, nous mène à conclure que la construction–*da* n'est pas l'unique équivalent macédonien du subjonctif français et que le contexte verbal de son emploi joue un grand rôle dans la sélection de ses équivalents macédoniens.

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Slovene and Swedish translation equivalents of the English passive in two discourse types

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Povzetek

Članek obravnava slovenske in švedske prevodne ustreznice angleškega trpnika v dveh besedilnih tipih (leposlovje in neleposlovje). Izdelan je bil dvodelni korpus primerov trpnika na podlagi Pogodbe iz Nice (2001) in romana *A Game of Thrones* (1996) avtorja Georgea R. R. Martina ter njunih slovenskih in švedskih prevodov. S pomočjo korpusnega gradiva je bila izvedena analiza prevodnih ustreznic s posebnim poudarkom na opazovanju trpnika, ohranjenega v prevodih, in vpliva, ki ga imata na izbiro prevodne ustreznice vršilec dejanja in živost trpniškega osebka. Zaradi sistemskih razlik med slovenščino in švedščino ter podobnosti med angleščino in švedščino se trpnik v prevodih iz angleščine pogosteje ohranja v švedščini. Razlike med jeziki so manj izrazite v neleposlovju, v leposlovju pa slovenski prevod z vidika rabe trpnika izrazito izstopa, saj je trpnika mnogo manj kot v angleškem izvorniku in švedskem prevodu.

Ključne besede: trpnik, prevodne ustreznice trpnika, vršilec dejanja, živost osebka

1 INTRODUCTION

Voice is a grammatical category that enables an action to be presented in different ways depending on the perspective of the participants involved – the *agent*, who carries out the action, and the *patient*, who in turn is influenced by it. In many language resources, such as grammars and style guides¹, the passive voice is often regarded as a needless complication compared to its active counterpart, and advised against, except in specific discourse types such as academic texts (cf. Toporišič 1984: 297 for Slovene, Biber et al. 2007: 476–480 and Leech et al. 2009: 144–154 for English, and Laanemets 2009: 145 for Swedish). However, these general stylistic guidelines often fail to mention that the passive voice, despite the fact that it involves the same participants and generally conveys the same message as its active equivalent, plays an important role in terms of cohesion, sentence-level information distribution, and emphasis (cf. Kovačič 1991, Teleman et al. 4 1999, Robinson 2000, Orešnik 2006, Biber et al. 2007, Leech et al. 2009).

Although it is true that passive sentences occur much more often in certain discourse types, such as academic texts, and that diachronic research into the ‘Brown family’ corpora shows an overall decrease in the use of the passive over the late 20th century (Leech et al. 2009),² the fact remains that they can be found – albeit to a lesser extent – in non-academic genres, and often with good reason. Over-generalized assumptions on the (non-)use of the passive voice and anti-passive guidelines are not of much use to authors and translators who encounter passive sentences in their work and would benefit from an in-depth understanding of both the functions of passive constructions and their translation equivalents. For that, extensive corpus research is required, and this paper provides some insight into the use of the passive in English, Slovene, and Swedish.

In the paper³, we first provide a theoretical overview of passive constructions in the three languages and outline the conditions of their use, with particular emphasis on systemic differences between the languages. We then explain the structure of our two-part corpus of passive sentences, and discuss the hypotheses and methodology of our research. We observe the different approaches to translating English passive constructions into Slovene and Swedish by analysing the corpus examples in terms of various factors that influence the choice of the translation

¹ See for instance the European Commission style guides for English, Slovene and Swedish, e.g. http://ec.europa.eu/translation/english/guidelines/documents/styleguide_english_dgt_en.pdf.

² Leech et al. (2009: 148–154) report a decline in the use of the passive voice in both British and American English, noticeably in academic prose, however the percentages there remain highest. On the other hand, the British data show a relative increase of agented passives in British English.

³ The paper is based on Jaka Čibej's MA thesis at the Department of Translation (Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana) under the supervision of Silvana Orel Kos, titled *Rečeno, storjeno: Prevajanje trpnika iz angleščine v slovenščino in švedščino v dveh diskurzivnih zvrsteh* (No sooner said than done: Translation of the passive from English to Slovene and Swedish in two discourse types).

equivalent, especially agented/agentless passives and subject animacy. In the end, we discuss the results of the analysis and provide a number of findings that may prove useful to translators when translating English passive constructions into Slovene or Swedish.

2 PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH, SLOVENE AND SWEDISH

Despite similar definitions of the passive voice which at first glance cover the same agent-patient sentence transformation principle, English, Slovene and Swedish passives differ in discourse functions. In addition, all three languages can form more than one type of passive construction, which makes the choice of a translation equivalent even more difficult, as each passive construction comes with semantic, grammatical and contextual restrictions. In this section, we provide a brief overview of passive constructions in the three languages and discuss the conditions of their use.

2.1 The English passive

The English passive is formed by the auxiliary verb *be* and the past participle of the semantic verb (Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 2007), as shown below in [1]. This form is considered «stylistically neutral».

- [1] Halliwell brutally murdered Joe Orton.
Joe Orton *was* brutally *murdered* by Halliwell.

In some cases, the auxiliary verb *get*, which emphasizes the event itself, may be used instead of *be* (as shown in [2]), which is used to describe a state originating from a previous action.

- [2] He *got* taught a lesson. (cf. *He was taught a lesson on the subjunctive.*)
How did that window *get* opened? (cf. *The window was opened manually.*)

However, a number of stylistic and semantic restrictions must be taken into account. First, the *get*-passive occurs rarely, and almost exclusively in informal, conversational contexts (Quirk et al. 1985: 160–162, Arce-Arenales et al. 1994: 19, Leech et al. 2009: 157–158). According to Biber et al. (2007: 476), the *get*-passive accounts for only 0.1% of verb forms in conversation (compared to 2% of

be-passives), and the Brown family corpora show that the *be*-passive is 400 times more frequent than the *get*-passive. However, the frequency of the *get*-passive in American English, especially in fiction writing, has doubled since the 1960s (Leech et al. 2009: 156).

Second, the *get*-passive usually denotes events that are adverse and detrimental to the subject (Givón & Yang 1994, Arce-Arenales et al. 1994, Leech et al. 2009: 156–157), as shown in [3] and [4]. According to Herold (1986), as many as 82% examples of the *get*-passive denote a negative event compared to 40% with *be*-passives, while according to Leech et al. (2009) the 1990s ratio is 66.3%/33.7% respectively⁴.

- [3] He *got run over* by a bus.
[4] James *got beaten* last night.

Third, the *get*-passive occurs almost exclusively with animate subjects⁵ (Lakoff 1971, Givón & Yang 1994). This can be attributed to an additional semantic undertone of the *get*-passive: it implies that the subject retains a certain amount of control or influence over the action despite its non-active role as the patient. As shown in [5] and [6], the difference between the *be*- and *get*-passives is the influence the subject (in this case *Mary*) has on the action itself. With the *get*-passive, Mary purposefully puts herself in a situation in which she is shot.

- [5] Mary **was** shot on purpose. (**Someone** purposely shot Mary.)
Mary **got** shot on purpose. (**She** purposely got herself shot.)
[6] Mary **was** shot on purpose, the bastards!
*Mary **got** shot on purpose, the bastards!

The examples in [7] show that an inanimate subject rarely occurs with the *get*-passive as it cannot influence the action denoted by the verb.

- [7] A house can **be** built of stone, brick or clay.
*A house can **get** built of stone, brick or clay.

However, odd examples can be found to support non-adversative use with an inanimate subject:

⁴ An additional dimension regarding the use of the *get*-passive involves the speaker's education. In Herold's (1986) research, the *get*-passive denoted detrimental events in approximately 90% of examples collected from working class speakers. With speakers with a higher level of education, the percentage of negative events amounted to only 60%. In addition, working class speakers used the *get*-passive much more often (49% *get*-passive vs. 51% *be*-passive) compared to speakers with higher education (17% *get*-passive vs. 83% *be*-passive).

⁵ In this paper, subjects denoting a group of animate individuals (e.g. commission, committee) are regarded as inanimate. A similar approach is implemented in research of the Swedish passive voice by Engdahl (2006) and Laanemets (2004, 2009 & 2012).

- [8] Did they know how wealth from over-large estates **gets** misused? (Leech et al. 2009: 157)

The final difference between the two passive forms involves the statal or eventive nature of the denoted action. The *be*-passive can denote both states and dynamic actions, while the *get*-passive only denotes events (Arce-Arenales et al. 1994: 15, Leech 2009: 155). The *get*-passive can sometimes be used to discriminate between a state and an event, as shown in [9], or between a recurring action and a point-in-time event, as shown in [10].

- [9] [...] and she **got** stationed in Germany where my dad **was** stationed [...]
 [10] [...] well the money (that) **was** sent back and forth **got** cashed in March [...]

2.2 The Slovene passive

In Slovene, the passive can be formed in two ways: by using the passive participle and the auxiliary verb *biti* (the participle passive) or by adding the morpheme *se* to the active form (the reflexive passive) (Toporišič 1984: 296, 2003: 278). Several examples are shown in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1: Examples of participle passive forms for the Slovene verb *poslati* ('to send').

TENSE	ACTIVE	PARTICIPLE PASSIVE
Present	<i>pošlje</i>	<i>je poslan/-a</i>
Past	<i>je poslal/-a</i>	<i>je bil/-a poslan/-a</i>
Future	<i>bo poslal/-a</i>	<i>bo poslan/-a</i>

Table 2: Examples of reflexive passive forms for the Slovene verb *razveljaviti* ('to cancel').

TENSE	ACTIVE	REFLEXIVE PASSIVE
Present	<i>razveljavi</i>	<i>se razveljavi</i>
Past	<i>je razveljavil/-a</i>	<i>se je razveljavil/-a</i>
Future	<i>bo razveljavil/-a</i>	<i>se bo razveljavil/-a</i>

Both forms are considered stylistically neutral, but the participle passive is more common (Orešnik 2007: 31). The reflexive passive is generally used only with inanimate subjects (to avoid confusion with the active reflexive form). In [11], the

patient is inanimate and cannot be interpreted as the agent of an active reflexive sentence (*'The contract cancels itself.'). The subject in [12] is animate and may allow for two interpretations: passive ('The boy is being hit.')

or active reflexive ('The boy is hitting himself.'). However, the passive interpretation is less likely in this case, as the natural impulse of a native speaker of Slovene is to assume the active reflexive one.

[11] Pogodba se razveljavi.

[12] Fant se tepe.

An additional restriction of the Slovene reflexive passive is that it can only occur in the third person singular, dual or plural (Toporišič 2003: 279, Orešnik 2007: 31). It could theoretically denote a passive action in the first/second person as well, but as with [12], the active reflexive interpretation is in that case more natural.

The Slovene reflexive passive can only denote dynamic actions, while the participle passive can convey both states and dynamic actions. Both passive forms are commonly agentless as the adverbial of agency (a prepositional phrase containing the preposition *od* and a nominal phrase) is generally avoided for stylistic reasons, although it can be included in the participle passive and, at least in theory, in the reflexive passive as well, as seen in example [13] provided by Toporišič (2003).

[13] Včeraj sem se na križišču skoraj povozil od avtomobila. (Yesterday, I almost got run over by a car at the intersection.)

2.3 The Swedish passive

In Swedish, there are two categories of the passive voice: the morphological passive, usually formed by adding the suffix *-s* to the active form, and the periphrastic passive, formed with an auxiliary verb and the passive participle (Teleman et al. 4 1999: 360). Several examples are shown in Tables 3 and 4 below.

Table 3: Examples of morphological passive forms for the Swedish verb *att tala* ('to speak').

TENSE	ACTIVE	S-PASSIVE
Present	<i>tala-r</i>	<i>tala-s</i>
Past	<i>tala-de</i>	<i>talade-s</i>
Future	<i>ska tala, kommer att tala</i>	<i>ska tala-s, kommer att tala-s</i>

Table 4: Examples of periphrastic passive forms for the Swedish verb *att tala* (‘to speak’).

TENSE	ACTIVE	BLI-PASSIVE
Present	<i>tala-r</i>	<i>bli-r talad/talat/talade</i>
Past	<i>tala-de</i>	<i>blev talad/talat/talade</i>
Future	<i>ska tala, kommer att tala</i>	<i>ska bli talad/talat/talade, kommer att bli talad/talat/talade</i>

The periphrastic passive is further divided into two subcategories according to the auxiliary verb used: the *bli*-passive, which uses the verb *bli* (‘to become’), and the *vara*-passive, which uses the verb *vara* (‘to be’)⁶. The morphological passive is considered the neutral form and is the most common (Engdahl 2001: 1–3, 2006: 21). The results of a study done by Laanemets (2004) showed that over 90% of passive forms in Swedish are morphological.

In certain cases, the correct choice of the passive form is clear. As pointed out by Engdahl (2006: 24), when it comes to examples denoting rules, general claims, recipes, etc., only the morphological passive is acceptable (see [14] and [15]).

[14] Det ***talas*** inte längre danska i Skåne. (Danish is no longer spoken in Skåne.)

[15] Mjölet ***tillsätts*** under omrörning. (The flour is added while mixing.)

In certain cases, the periphrastic and morphological varieties can be interchangeable, but the choice much more commonly depends on a number of semantic restrictions. For instance, the Swedish morphological passive can only denote dynamic actions, while the periphrastic passive can denote both dynamic actions and states.

Much like the English *get*-passive, the Swedish *bli*-passive tends to denote actions detrimental to the patient. In a corpus study by Engdahl (2006: 34), more than 50% of *bli*-passive examples contained verbs such as *döda* (‘to kill’), *förstöra* (‘to destroy’), and *mörda* (‘to murder’).

Similarly, the Swedish *bli*-passive occurs almost exclusively with animate subjects and implies that the subject retains some form of (indirect) control over the action (Engdahl 2001: 3, Laanemets 2009: 160), as seen in [16].

⁶ It should be noted that the two varieties of the periphrastic passive are not interchangeable, as the *vara*-passive is only used to denote states resulting from a prior dynamic action (Engdahl 2006: 23, Laanemets 2009:146).

- [16] Representanten försökte *bli omvald*. (The representative tried to be re-elected.)

In addition, the *bli*-passive is often used to add emphasis to a change of state (Engdahl 2006: 23) or to focus on the beginning of a state newly achieved by the patient (Teleman et al. 4 1999: 392), especially in combination with atelic verbs. This can be observed in [15] and [16], taken from Engdahl (2006):

- [17] Lisa *blev* på kort tid *uppskattad* av hela personalen. (Lisa quickly earned the respect of the entire staff.)

- [18] Boken *blev* på kort tid *läst* över hela jorden. (In short time, the book was widely read over the globe.)

Finally, the morphological passive tends to occur much more often in combination with modal verbs (Orešnik 2001: 31–33). A corpus study by Laanemets (2004: 88) showed that as many as 86% of passive infinitives occurred in combination with modal verbs, and 95% of these were morphological. The only exception is the modal verb *vilja* (‘to want, to wish’) (see [17] below), which almost never occurs with the morphological passive and is much more common with the *bli*-passive (Laanemets 2012: 175–176). This can be expected, as the verb implies the patient’s desire to influence the action in question – a semantic notion also expressed by the *bli*-passive.

- [19] Talade du för honom att jag inte ville *bli störd*? (Did you tell him that I did not want to be disturbed?)

2.4 Differences between the use of the passive in English, Slovene and Swedish

In this section, we provide a brief overview of systemic differences between English, Slovene and Swedish, as the three languages differ to some extent in certain grammatical and pragmatic features concerning the use of the passive voice.

First, the prepositional passive (Quirk et al. 1985: 1164, see [18]) is much more common in English compared to Swedish, whereas Slovene has no way of forming it (Kovačič 1991: 38).

- [20] This office *has been phoned from* so many times it was natural to assume that it was the source of the latest call.

However, the formation of the English prepositional passive is restricted by a number of factors. According to Quirk et al. (1985), it is more common for the patient of the prepositional passive construction to be abstract, as shown in [19] and [20].

[21] *The problem* was carefully gone **into** by the engineers.

[22] ?**The tunnel* was carefully gone **into** by the engineers.

In Swedish, the prepositional passive is regarded as ungrammatical (see [21]) or at best extremely marginal (Maling & Zaenen 1985: 161–162). However, Truswell (2009: 57) points out that the periphrastic passive is more likely to form acceptable prepositional passives compared to the morphological passive (see [22]).

[23] ?Hon *skrattades åt*. (She was laughed at.)

[24] Hon *blev skrattad åt*. (She was laughed at.)

English and Swedish also have two ways of forming the passive voice with ditransitive verbs: by promoting either the direct or indirect object to the subject (Quirk et al. 1985: 1381, Teleman et al. 3 1999: 308), as shown in [23]–[26]. In Slovene, the indirect object cannot be promoted to the subject of a passive clause.

[25] *Power* was given to the people by Mao. (passive, direct object promoted to subject)

[26] *The people* were given power by Mao. (passive, indirect object promoted to subject)

[27] *Ett stort pris* har tilldelats henne av Akademien. [A great prize was awarded her by the Academy.] (passive, direct object promoted to subject)

[28] *Hon* har tilldelats ett stort pris av Akademien. [She was awarded a great prize by the Academy.] (passive, indirect object promoted to subject)

In addition, both Slovene and Swedish can form impersonal passives, a construction which English lacks (see [27]–[29]).

[29] Vso noč *se je plesalo*.

[30] Det *dansades* hela natten.

- [31] *It was danced all night. (People danced all night. / There was dancing all night.)

In terms of function, the passive voice in the three languages can be used to focus on either the patient or the action by omitting the agent as unimportant, irrelevant or unknown. In Swedish and English, however, the agented passive can also be used to emphasize the agent, as the adverbial of agency is always in sentence-final position (see the above examples [25]–[26] for English and [27]–[28] for Swedish). Because of its case system and flexible word order, Slovene can place the agent in sentence-final position both in active and passive clauses (cf. Kovačič 1991: 48–49), as in [32]–[35].

- [32] **Policija** je pregledala avto. (The police searched the car.) [active, agent in sentence-initial position]
- [33] Avto je pregledala **policija**. (The car [object] searched the police [subject]) [active, agent in sentence-final position]
- [34] Avto je bil pregledan **od policije**. (The car was searched by the police.) [passive, agent in sentence-final position]
- [35] **Od policije** je bil pregledan avto. (?By the police was the car searched.) [passive, agent in sentence-initial position]

The active form is opted for in most cases as it is syntactically simpler and stylistically more elegant than the agented passive (cf. Orešnik 2006).

3 CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

A two-part corpus was made using the material collected from the *Treaty of Nice*, a treaty signed by EU member-states in 2001, and George R. R. Martin's fantasy novel *A Game of Thrones*, first published in 1996. 400 examples of passive constructions and their translation equivalents were collected from each text and its Slovene and Swedish translations⁷ for a total of 800 units in each language (2,400 units in total). The examples were then analysed in terms of the following parameters: (syntactic) structure, subject animacy, agent, and agent change. These categories are presented in further detail in the following section.

⁷ The Slovene translation of *A Game of Thrones* (*Igra prestolov*) was translated by Boštjan Gorenc (2007), while the Swedish version (*Kampen om järntronen*) was translated by Louise Thoulin (2005).

3.1 Syntactic structure

The first parameter concerns the structure of the collected examples, which were categorised according to the type of the construction used (e.g. agented or agentless passive form, active form, combination of the copula and adjective) and their syntactic position (e.g. main clause, dependent clause, relative clause). Because the languages in question differ in terms of available passive constructions, different (but similar) categorisations were used for each language. A sample of English structural categories is shown in Table 5 below, as the entire set of categories is too numerous to mention here⁸.

Table 5: Syntactic structure categories for the English part of the corpus.

Category ⁹	Definition	Example
DT	long passive, no referent	<i>He was shot by Fred.</i>
DTR+	long passive with referent and auxiliary verb	a decision <i>that was made by the Council</i>
DTR-	long passive with referent and no auxiliary verb	a decision <i>made by the Council</i>
DTD	long passive in participial clause	They had lived in the magister's house, <i>pampered by his servants.</i>
DTN	long passive in infinitival clause	Was I supposed to leave him <i>to be raised by women?</i>
DTH	long passive with <i>have</i>	I am not accustomed to <i>having my commands questioned by bastards.</i>
DTPV	long passive as complement	Jeyne Poole confessed herself <i>frightened by the look of Jalabhar Xbo.</i>
DTGET	long passive with <i>get</i>	He <i>got run over</i> by a bus.
KT	short passive in main sentence	<i>He was shot.</i>
KTR+	short passive with referent and auxiliary verb	transactions <i>which shall be published</i> in the Official Journal of the European Union
KTR-	short passive with referent and no auxiliary verb	measures <i>taken</i> under paragraph 3

⁸ For the detailed list of categories, see Čibej (2014).

⁹ The acronyms of all the categories were designed according to their Slovene names, as the thesis was written in Slovene.

KT-	short version of short passive	It seemed almost to vanish when <i>seen</i> edge-on.
KTG	short passive in gerundial clause	situation which led to their <i>being imposed</i>
KTN	short passive in infinitival clause	this Treaty requires them <i>to be adopted</i>
KTNR	short infinitival passive with referent	agreements <i>to be concluded</i> with the States
KTNP	short infinitival passive in adjectival phrase	unlucky enough <i>to be born</i> with no name of their own
KTPV	short passive as part of catenative verb construction	They set forth at daybreak to see a man <i>beheaded</i> .
KTGET	short passive with <i>get</i>	He <i>got run over</i> .

3.2 Subject animacy

As subject animacy influences the choice of the passive construction in both Slovene and Swedish, we also observed whether the subject (or referent) of the passive construction was animate, inanimate, or formal, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Categories of subject animacy.

Category ¹⁰	Definition	Example
Ž	animate subject	<i>The Deputy Secretary-General</i> shall be appointed by the Council.
NŽ	inanimate subject	<i>The lamps</i> were being lit along the streets as they set out.
IT	formal subject	<i>It</i> was said that the children of the forest had carved the faces in the trees.

3.3 Agent and agent change

In the English part of the corpus, the examples were analysed in terms of whether the agent of the passive construction was explicitly expressed or not, as shown in Table 7.

¹⁰ In a small number of cases, the subject was a combination of an animate and an inanimate subject. These cases were categorised as N+NŽ (in all three languages).

Table 7: Categories of agent.

Category	Definition	Example
NI	unexpressed agent	The following Articles shall be inserted:
I	expressed agent	Authorisation shall be granted <i>by the Council</i> .

The Slovene and Swedish translation equivalents were then analysed in terms of agent change, i. e. whether the agent from the English original underwent any changes, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Categories of agent change.

Category	Definition	Example
NNS	unexpressed agent, no change compared to the original	Svet preverja razloge, na podlagi katerih je bila takšna ugotovitev sprejeta [//].
INS	expressed agent, no change compared to the original	Predlog je bil sprejet <i>od Komisije</i> ¹¹ .
PTV	conversion into active – agent becomes subject, patient becomes object	Predlog je sprejela <i>Komisija</i> .
SUV	change of participant role – patient becomes subject of a different (intransitive) active verb	Odhodki <i>bremenijo</i> sodelujoče države članice. [Expenditure <i>shall be borne</i> by the participating Member States.]
PRE	inclusion of the agent in a different phrase	v skladu s predlogi <i>držav</i> članic [in accordance with the proposals made <i>by each Member State</i>]
PR	instrumental construction	Postopno oblikovanje skupne obrambne politike bo podprto <i>z medsebojnim sodelovanjem</i> [by cooperation between them]
PD	agent is expressed through adverbial	Ti sporazumi so zajeti <i>v teh odstavkih</i> . [by the following paragraphs]
VDK	agent is inferred from the context	<i>Vsi</i> se mu bodo izogibali. [He will be shunned.]

¹¹ This particular example was not found in the corpus, but is provided here as a counterpoint to the much more common PTV example.

VDV	agent is inferred from the content of the sentence (from another phrase, e.g. adverbial)	delež, kakor ga določa člen 205 [proportion as laid down <i>in Article 205</i>]
PG	reflexive verb	Brž ko <i>se je končalo</i> [had been completed] uradno pozdravljanje [...]
BO	active form with no subject	Ogromne kamnite klade <i>je iztrgalo</i> iz stražnih zidov. [Huge stone blocks <i>were ripped</i> from the parapets.]
NZ	indefinite pronoun	Lesena škatla, ki jo je <i>nekdo</i> pustil na mizi v mojem observatoriju. [A wooden box, <i>left</i> on a table in my observatory.]
ONI	generic agent <i>oni</i> ('they')	Ko so se odpravili, <i>so</i> vzdolž ulic <i>prižigali</i> svetilke. [The lamps <i>were being lit</i> along the streets as they set out.]
TI	generic agent <i>ti</i> ('you')	Skorajda je izginil, ko <i>si</i> ga <i>pogledal</i> s strani. [It seemed almost to vanish when seen edge-on.]

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, we present and discuss the most important results of the corpus analysis.

4.1 Translating the passive with passive constructions

The analysis of the English and Swedish parts of the corpus showed that roughly 75% of English passive constructions in both fiction and non-fiction were translated into Swedish with Swedish passive constructions. As for Slovene, the results were somewhat similar (63.1%) in non-fiction. In fiction, however, the passive translation equivalents are significantly less common, with only 22.3% of the English passive examples translated with Slovene passive constructions.

Table 9: Percentages of passive constructions in translation equivalents.

Passive construction	Slovene		Swedish	
	Pogodba iz Nice	Igra prestolov	Nicefördraget	Kampen om järntronen
Passive – YES	63.1%	22.3%	74.5%	75.2%
Passive – NO	36.9%	77.7%	25.5%	24.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The results confirm the similarity between English and Swedish in terms of the frequency and use of the passive voice. In Slovene, the passive is much more common in non-fiction (legal texts), in which the passive voice more commonly involves demoting the agent to contribute to a generic, impersonal writing style. In fiction, the passive (especially agented) in English and Swedish is used for cohesion and sentence-level information distribution. Slovene, with its flexible word order, can achieve the same effect by using active forms, which are regarded as stylistically more elegant and syntactically simpler. See for instance [36]–[38] below, in which Swedish and English employ the passive voice to position the agent in the sentence-final position, whereas in Slovene, the same effect is achieved through the active voice:

[36] Dragonbone bows **are** greatly **prized** by the Dothraki, [...] (passive)

[37] Loke iz zmajevine še posebej častijo Dothraki, [...] (active)

[38] Pilbågar av drakben **skattas** högt av dothrakierna, [...] (passive)

4.2 Predominant types of passive

In Swedish, the morphological passive is the predominant passive construction in both fiction (55.4%) and non-fiction (97.3%). The periphrastic passive is almost completely absent in non-fiction, whereas in fiction, both the *bli*- and *vara*-passives are used to a considerably large extent (19.4% and 24.4%, respectively). There are several factors that contribute to this distribution. First, the *bli*-passive tends to occur with animate subjects, which are more common in fiction. Second, the *vara*-passive can only denote states, which are again more characteristic of fiction. Third, the morphological passive is the only possible option when denoting generic rule-like statements, a trait common in legal texts that form our non-fiction corpus.

In Slovene, the percentages of both passive constructions are almost equal in non-fiction (46.6% of participle passive and 53.4% of reflexive passive), whereas in fiction, the participle passive is the predominant form (78.7%). As is the case with the Swedish corpus, the differences between Slovene fiction and non-fiction corpora can be attributed to the greater number of statal passives in fiction, as well as the reflexive passive's tendency not to occur with first and second person verb forms, which are more common in fiction. In addition, generic rules in the Slovene present tense are commonly expressed through the reflexive passive, as a participle passive construction in the present tense denotes a state.

It is also interesting to note that the English *get*-passive only occurs in two examples in fiction, while no such examples were recorded in the non-fiction corpus. This is in line with the tendency of the *get*-passive to appear in conversational contexts. It can thus be surmised that register also contributes to the sparsity of the *get*-passive in the analysed texts.

4.3 Translation of the agented passive

The English agented passive (or long passive) is generally translated into Swedish using the Swedish agented passive (78.6% in fiction and 65.7% in non-fiction), while the corresponding Slovene equivalents are predominantly non-passive (74.7% in non-fiction and 92.9% in fiction), most commonly active.

The similarity between the English and Swedish agent adverbials is apparent – in both languages, agented passives often serve to emphasise the importance of the agent in accordance with the topic-information sentence distribution. In Slovene, this same distribution can be achieved without the use of the passive voice, as the flexible word order allows the agent to take the sentence-final position with no syntactic changes.

4.4 The role of subject animacy

In terms of subject animacy, the results of the non-fiction part were similar in all three languages: roughly 86% of the subjects were inanimate, with animate subjects taking up approximately 12%. The rest were either impersonal passives or passives with dummy subjects. In fiction, the difference between Slovene and the other two languages is much more notable. The ratio of animate and inanimate subjects in English and Swedish was roughly 50:50, while the results of the Slovene part show that

the Slovene passive occurs more often with inanimate subjects (approximately 70%). This is further confirmed by the analysis of the verbs used in the examples included in the corpus. It appears that in all three languages, the passive occurs more often with verbs that tend to take inanimate objects (e.g. *delete*, *establish*, *structure*, *express*, *allocate* in English; *izrezljati* (to carve out), *načrtovati* (to plan), *skovati* (to forge) in Slovene; *kasta* (to throw), *dölja* (to hide), *polera* (to polish) in Swedish). In non-fiction, the percentages of verbs with predominantly inanimate objects were the following: 82.8% in English, 85.4% in Swedish, and 89.2% in Slovene. In fiction, the results were the following: 60% in English, 65.4% in Swedish, and 86.1% in Slovene.

5 CONCLUSION

The assumption that English passive constructions are generally translated using the passive voice in Swedish has turned out to be true, with roughly 75% of English examples translated into Swedish with passive constructions, both in fiction and non-fiction. In Slovene, the passive is much more common in non-fiction (63%).

Similarly, the agented passive construction in English were much more commonly translated into Swedish using similar agented passive constructions, both in fiction and non-fiction. Slovene translations, on the other hand, demonstrated a tendency to use the active form instead.

The *bli*-passive was absent in non-fiction and more common in fiction (roughly 20% of the examples), which can be attributed to a greater percentage of animate subjects in fiction as well as other factors, such as the distribution of telic/atelic actions in fiction, the emphasis on the initial phase of a state newly achieved by the subject, and stylistic preferences.

An interesting finding concerns the verbs used in passive constructions. The analysis has shown that in all three languages in non-fiction, the passive voice was used with verbs more commonly associated with animate objects. In fiction, however, there was a marked difference in the Slovene examples. While English and Swedish passive constructions were used with verbs associated with both animate and inanimate objects in a quite balanced ratio, the Slovene translations demonstrated a tendency to use the passive voice with verbs more commonly associated with inanimate objects. This finding warrants further research.

In this paper, we strove to provide a thorough analysis of the use of the passive voice in English, Slovene and Swedish, both in fiction and non-fiction. As the

collected examples were limited both in terms of quantity and genre, the results of the analysis can hardly be generalised to fiction and non-fiction or novels and legal texts, but they provide some insight into the tendencies of different passive constructions as well as the factors that contribute to their use.

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Reported speech in English and Slovene news items

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Povzetek

Članek analizira predstavitev govora, še posebej odvisnega govora, v angleškem in slovenskem časopisnem poročanju. Poročevalski slog zaznamujejo posebne zgradbe, še posebej glagoli, s katerimi označimo način, kako avtoritativni govorniki, inštitucije, organizacije, strokovnjaki ali predstavniki splošne javnosti upovedujejo svoje izjave. Odvisno od avtoritete vira informacij se v angleščini lahko uporabi sosledica glagolskih časov pri glagolih rekanja v glagolskem času za preteklost *Past tense*. Ker v slovenščini načeloma ne uporabljamo sosledice glagolskih časov, se prevajalci slovenskih novic v angleščino težje odločijo glede rabe te slovnične funkcije. Na osnovi angleško-slovenskega korpusa, ki ga v obsegu 300,000 besed sestavljajo članki poročevalskih agencij, kakovostnih in popularnih časopisov, se posvečamo slovničnim in slogovnim vidikom časovnega umeščanja informacij v strukturo časopisnega članka, pri čemer smo še posebej pozorni na sosledico glagolskih časov v angleščini. Izpostavimo tudi nekaj težav z izbiro leksike pri prevajanju slovenskih časopisnih prispevkov v angleščino.

Ključne besede: poročevalstvo, angleščina, slovenščina, informacijski vir, sosledica glagolskih časov, poročevalske zgradbe

1 INTRODUCTION

News reporting is a type of discourse in which the reporter functions as a mediator between the original or earlier source of information and the target reader. The reporter's job is to report other people's statements. The source consists of two types of information: the original speaker or earlier (written) source, and the message. The reporter communicates the message to the reader in such a way that the reported statement can be ascribed a degree of factual probability, while the presence of the original author in the report accounts for the reliability and traceability of the information source.

The reporter's authorial involvement consists in choosing relevant means of processing the original message, which involves both the selection and packaging of information. Information selection consists of (a) textual inclusion or exclusion, and (b) textual chunking with highlighted passages, statements or phrases, embedded in the reporter's own text. Information packaging shows the reporter's involvement in processing the surface linguistic realisation of the original text, i.e. by paraphrase or adaptation. By applying these two general textual processes, the reporter weaves the original statements into a new *text-ure*. The reporter is believed to be a 'careful craftsman', a weaver of stories, and an objective and invisible mediator, as indicated by Biber et al. (1999: 9) in their presentation of journalistic style:

Newspaper stories are written, and the language used is carefully edited and revised. They have a relatively focused purpose: to convey and evaluate information about recent events and newsworthy people. They claim a relatively objective presentation of information, often adopting an institutional voice. These situational characteristics typically result in carefully crafted texts with little overt evidence of personal opinions.

Despite the overall tendency towards objectivity, the surface texture may bear evidence of authorial presence, for instance in the journalist's choice of reporting verbs or his/her personal or institutional interpretation of the reported statements. The diversity of voices becomes evident when several reports are compared. The following three excerpts show different interpretations of David Cameron's utterance regarding the UK's involvement in the 2015 refugee crisis, from a seemingly committed statement to a less favourable one:

David Cameron said today that «as a father I felt deeply moved» by the pictures of Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi lying dead on a Turkish beach **and promised that Britain would fulfil its «moral responsibilities»**.¹

¹ <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/petition-demanding-uk-accept-more-6372214> (Access: 5 September 2015.)

David Cameron has said he felt “deeply moved” by pictures of the dead Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi washed up on a Turkish beach, **but he gave no details** of any new UK plans to take in more refugees.²

With the story all over the front pages and critics urging a step change in the number of Syrians being offered sanctuary, Cameron said he was “deeply moved” by the harrowing image **but defended the government’s record and stuck to his position.**³

Sometimes, different reporting verbs are the only contributions to the passages or articles that are either attributed to an earlier information source or plagiarized. The Slovene news outlets *Delo* and the MMC RTV Slovenija attribute the article below to the STA press agency in the by-line. The MMC RTV Slovenija uses a more expressive reporting verb *opozoriti* (literally: ‘point out’, ‘warn’) for the neutral verb *povedati* (‘tell’, ‘say’). *Delo* further mentions the original source in the reporting clause, while the *Večer* article uses no links to the STA:

Kot je takrat povedal za STA, bi nadaljnje raziskave lahko pomembno osvetlile pozno obdobje majevske civilizacije.⁴

Kot je takrat opozoril, bi nadaljnje raziskave lahko pomembno osvetlile pozno obdobje majevske civilizacije. (MMC RTV SLO/STA)⁵

Kot je povedal, bi nadaljnje raziskave lahko pomembno osvetlile pozno obdobje majevske civilizacije.⁶

This study focuses on speech presentation in written (on-line) news items that process information sources usually provided orally, either in spontaneous situations or at arranged and organized meetings such as press conferences. It concentrates on intralingual and interlingual points of contrastive relevance which should help students of translation gain greater awareness of the relevance of indirect discourse in the analysis and translation of news items and press releases.

² <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/aylan-kurdi-david-cameron-says-he-felt-deeply-moved-by-images-of-dead-syrian-boy-but-gives-no-10484641.html> (Access: 5 September 2015.)

³ <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/09/03/uk-europe-migrants-cameron-idUKKCN0R31J320150903> (Access: 5 September 2015.)

⁴ <http://www.delo.si/kultura/razno/unesco-na-seznam-dodal-obmocje-kjer-je-sprajc-odkril-majevsko-mesto.html> (Access: 30 August 2015.)

⁵ <http://www.rtvlo.si/kultura/drugo/sprajcevo-odkritje-na-unesovem-seznamu-dediscine/344014> (Access: 30 August 2015.)

⁶ <http://www.vecer.com/clanek2014081306051401> (Access: 30 August 2015.)

2 METHODOLOGY

The article presents a detailed discussion of news reporting as outlined in Orel Kos (2014), which provides the general parameters of reported speech in different types of discourse. The findings presented in this article are based on a 300,000 word English-Slovene corpus of recent news articles provided on-line by press agencies, quality and popular newspapers. The corpus consists of four subcorpora. The Slovene subcorpus includes news articles from *Delo*, STA, MMC RTV Slovenija (MMC RTV SLO), *Slovenske novice* and *Demokracija*. The subcorpus with items translated into English is based on the STA and MMC RTV SLO sources. The British subcorpus relies on articles published by the BBC, Reuters UK, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Daily Mail*, while the US subcorpus includes news items by the AP, Reuters US, *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *The New York Post*, and *The New York Daily News*. Most articles were published in 2015 or in the previous two years. For reasons of supplementary comparison, there are references to a separate subcorpus consisting of news items by the fake news outlet *The Onion* and press releases by the White House as well to some illustrative passages from newspapers not included in any corpora.

3 TEMPORAL STRUCTURE IN NEWS ARTICLES

One of the most prominent grammatical or stylistic features of news items in both English and Slovene is the absence of the first-person singular and the second person with verbs forms outside direct discourse, which means that the reporter is formally excluded from the news narrative, whereas the absence of the second-person implies that the news item is a report rather than an interview or an announcement to the readers (be it in the syntactic roles of the Subject or the Object). The story is usually written in the 'narrative' Past tense, but other temporal settings are not excluded. Both the person and the tenses are included in the analysis of indirect speech and English tense backshift is a contrastively relevant topic. A statement is usually furnished with a (short) linguistic context or reporting structure that expresses the type of the speech act which connects the source with their statement. The reporting structures are chosen by the reporter and present a textual niche where the reporter's interpretation might be felt. The reporting structures do not overlap completely in the languages studied, which contributes to another contrastively relevant topic.

3.1 Internal textual structure

The structure of a news article consists of the following sub-structures: headline, subheading, by-line, highlights, lead, the main body (divided into paragraphs), section headings, highlighted quotes and photo captions. News reading is marked by the need for speedy information processing, which is warranted by recurrent patterns such as particular placement in the textual area, typography and lexicogrammatical features.

The reported news in English articles tends to be structured in terms of time-related understanding of relevance, which is reflected in the psychological character of the tenses: the Present tense is used with news items that are presented as having either current or general (atemporal) relevance. The Present Perfect suggests the recentness of the ‘breaking news’, while the neutral Past tense narrates the events in their past temporal setting.

Headlines, subheadings and section headings present past events and references to sources in the Present Simple Tense to highlight the immediate impact of the news. The Present Simple verb form and verbless structures also reduce the number of certain grammatical features to present the news in a space-saving, expressive and condensed way.

From the structural point of view, the Present Perfect bridges the temporal cline from the present time sphere in the headline or subheadline to the past time sphere in the main body. The standard narrative tense of the events presented in the main body is the Past tense. Yet depending on the general, current or future relevance of the described events, other tenses are used in the main body. The highlighted reporting verb forms in the passage below show the temporal progression in indirect statements from the Present tense *says* and the rudimentary headline information, via the Present Perfect *has said* and more developed headline content, whereas the main body Past tense forms *told* (*the BBC/the BBC Jim Muir*) and *said* provide a detailed account of the ideas outlined in both the headline and the lead:

Iraqi-Kurdish leader says Paris attacks a ‘wake-up call’

The head of intelligence and security in Iraqi Kurdistan has said he hopes last Friday’s attacks in Paris will act as a wake-up call to Western powers.

Masrour Barzani **told the BBC that** the Islamic State group (IS) could be defeated within months if the world community became fully engaged.

He was speaking after Kurdish forces drove IS out of the strategic Iraqi town of Sinjar.

IS still controls large areas of Syria and Iraq.

Speaking at a command headquarters near the Sinjar front, Mr Barzani **told the BBC's Jim Muir that** despite setbacks, IS had not been significantly weakened.

And he **said** he hoped that the attacks in Paris, in which 129 people died, would be a game changer, spurring Western powers to become more involved in fighting the militants.

“It’s very difficult to say that Isis (IS) has weakened. They might be losing some ground here and there, but to terrorise of course they are using different methods,” he **said**.

“I think this is probably a change of tactics. They might try to do more of this if they are not stopped and they are not kept under pressure.”⁷

The statements by an authoritative political source are presented in the Past tense with the sequence of tenses observed. The authoritarian voice of the political figure is further on complemented by that of a correspondent. The statement of the press agency’s institutional voice is presented in the Present tense, since the comment is not tied to a particular social event in the past: ***Our correspondent says the US-led coalition, which has been bombing IS in Syria and Iraq for more than a year, has had problems finding reliable ground forces to partner with.***

The news article reflects the tendency in on-line news items to present the content in short paragraphs, mostly consisting of single sentences. The paragraphs can be identified by their type of speech presentation: indirect speech, reporter’s representation of speech, direct speech, free direct speech. Since there are no lexical or grammatical source indications, the single sentence paragraph *IS still controls large areas of Syria and Iraq* appears to be the reporter’s ‘own’ narration or a presentation of a fact. The discursual placement of the statement, however, indicates that the information source might be the authority connected with the message in the adjacent paragraphs.

⁷ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34853377> (Access: 18 November 2015.)

3.2 The authority of the information source

Carter and McCarthy (2006: 811) provide the following definition of English tense-backshift, also known as the sequence of tenses: “When the indirect report is perceived as referring to the past, the tense in the reported clause usually changes to a past form of the tense of the original speech. This process is known as tense backshift.” As outlined in Orel Kos (2014: 345-346), tense-backshift in indirect news statements indicates that the reporter adopts a distanced attitude towards the original source of information. This device may be used subjectively, yet the majority of our subcorpora show that tense-backshift in such cases closely follows both narrative and ideological stylistic rules. In the reported statements of past events, tense-backshift is found with political figures or authorities as well as with other individualized institutional voices if these appear to have been present at the event from which statements have been sourced. In addition, the statements of authoritative sources are often presented in direct speech or with (increasingly popular) partial quotes embedded in indirect statements. Collective institutional voices and unofficial individual sources tend to be used with no sequence of tenses. Their statements are often not linked to a particular past event, so the reporting verbs tend to appear in the Present tense, which gives the message an even more general import. There is a noticeable difference in backshift observation with regard to the content: political statements made at specific relevant recent events generally observe the sequence of tenses, while scientific statements, for example, made by experts tend to be treated as generally valid, so tense-backshift might suggest a certain degree of doubt or caution.

Statements by political figures are frequently presented as individually highlighted items of information and possibly independently of the actual temporal progress. However, news articles, especially in popular newspapers, love featuring riveting *stories*. For this reason, the original speakers, be it identified or unidentified persons or institutional voices, are often presented in final sentence position as formal source tags, especially in the US newspapers. This tendency is illustrated by a passage from a crime report in the *New York Daily News*. Each one-sentence paragraph is furnished with its information source:

The son of former Virginia state Sen. R. Edward Houck shot and killed his estranged wife’s boyfriend at a motel before taking his own life Tuesday morning, **police said**.

The ex-senator had previously said his son, Todd, had a criminal history and suffered from mental illness.

Todd, 36, confronted his wife and her boyfriend at the Relax Inn at Bowling Green around 8 a.m., **the Richmond Times-Dispatch reported**.

He fatally shot the boyfriend — Jeremy Gift, 36 — then abducted the woman and fled north on Interstate 95, **police said**.⁸

Unlike collective institutional voices such *police*, identified officials and witnesses appear in either final or initial sentence positions. This is illustrated by the following excerpts from an account of a shooting incident, published by the British BBC:

When a French passenger tried to enter a toilet on the train, he encountered the gunman, tried to overpower him and the gun was then fired, **Mr Cazeneuve said**.

A French-American passenger was injured by the bullet, and the American passengers intervened shortly afterward, **he said**.

/.../

In an interview with Paris Match magazine, **Mr Anglade said** train staff entered a private cabin and locked it when they heard gunshots, leaving the passengers alone.⁹

While the above examples feature non-backshifted indirect statements in a story in the easy-to-read narrative Past tense, there are contexts in which no sequence of tenses occurs with authoritative voices. In such cases, the statements are no longer perceived to be tied to the time and event of enunciation, but rather contribute to the understanding of currently developing situations. Both the news institution and the general public appear to be personally or emotionally involved in the developing situation, such as a terrorist drama. Another context in which tense backshift is not normally observed is sentences or excerpts taken from delivered speeches. In this way, the news article appears to focus on the speech as a source text. The following example taken from an STA article in English presents the jury's (written or spoken) statement on the work of an award-winning poetess:

The jury said that Kušar's poetry collection *Vrt* (Garden) is a sentential collage of lyrical intuition, dream-like images, and reflections on the soul mixed with flashes of people, the condition of today's world, her nation, and poetry in general.¹⁰

The subcorpus of articles translated by the STA and MMC RTV SLO shows that the STA is largely aware of the above preferences regarding the sequence of tenses,

⁸ <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/son-va-ex-sen-edd-houck-kills-murder-chase-article-1.2369935> (Access: 29 September 2015.)

⁹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34023361> (Access: 30 August 2015.)

¹⁰ <http://www.sloveniatimes.com/meta-kusar-wins-veronika-poetry-prize> (Access: 30 August 2015.)

while the MMC RTV SLO translations greatly disregard tense-backshift, which is especially noticeable with statements made by authoritative public figures.

Grammatical discussions that treat tense backshift without a particular focus on its functions in different types of discourse, such as news reporting, are not helpful in developing the translator's competence. The STA translations show a very high awareness of the reporting style, in terms of news rewriting and the use of appropriate reporting verbs and the sequence of tenses. There are, however, news articles that include examples which feature different tense backshift principles. This appears to give different weight to the speakers, which may result in a specific ideological interpretation. The following paragraphs are taken from an article that presents statements regarding the resignation of Slovenia's border-dispute arbiter after leaked tapped phone calls. In a series of reported statements by Slovene and Croatian key political figures, the sequence of tenses is regularly observed except in the case of Croatia's president. All statements observe the same pattern of indirect speech statements with the source given in initial position and most reported statements follow the reporting structure *said that*:

The resignations came after PM Miro Cerar **said** earlier today **that** the alleged contacts between the pair had been inappropriate and that he expected them to accept responsibility.

Both Cerar and President Borut Pahor, who was prime minister in 2009 when the border arbitration agreement with Croatia was signed, **said that** they wanted the tribunal to complete its work.

Similarly, Danilo Türk, who served as Slovenia's president in 2007-2012, when the arbitration tribunal was formed, **said** the issue did not affect the validity of the arbitration agreement.

President Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović **said** during a visit to Israel **that** the incident questions the objectivity of the procedure, while Foreign Minister Vesna Pusić **confirmed that** the possibility of a withdrawal from the agreement was being discussed.¹¹

Grabar-Kitarović's statement is presented in the non-backshifted Present tense and thus appears to be given most general validity. Note that it would be appropriate to mention that Grabar-Kitarović is *Croatia's* president, since the news was written by the Slovene press agency, which might help English readers to identify her role in the context involving several political figures representing the two countries.

¹¹ <http://www.sloveniatimes.com/scandal-sweeps-away-slovenia-border-arbiter-croatia-thinking-of-pulling-away>
(Access: 30 August 2015.)

4 REPORTING STRUCTURES

While the STA mostly uses the speech act verb *say*, which is the most frequently used verb in English newspaper reporting, the MMC RTV SLO translators have a tendency to stick closely to both the news content and the lexico-grammatical structures characteristic of Slovene news reporting. The differences between the two Slovene news outlets are confirmed by our corpus for the Past tense *said*, where STA along with other press agencies ranks among the highest users of the neutral verb, whereas MMC RTV SLO comes at the lowest end, followed only by, surprisingly, *The Independent*, the fake news outlet *The Onion* and the press releases by White House with only 5 occurrences of *said*:

Table 1

<i>said</i> per 12,500 words	140-130	129-120	119-110	109-100	89-80	79-70	69-60	9-1
	AP	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>NY Daily News</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>	The UK Govt	MMC RTV SLO	<i>The Independent</i>	The White House
	Reuters US	BBC	Reuters UK STA	<i>The NY Times</i> <i>The Telegraph</i>	<i>The Daily Mail</i> <i>The NY Post</i>		<i>The Onion</i>	

In a 304-word MMC RTV SLO news article, there are ten instances of communication verbs used with direct and indirect statements (*said* (2x), *stressed* (2x) *assured*, *maintaining*, *believes*) as well as with the reporter's speech report (*promises*, *welcomed*, *praised*), as illustrated by the first paragraph in the main body:

Cerar **assured** Stoltenberg **that** Slovenia would gradually increase its defence budget, which saw a drop in the past few years after the economic crisis began to bite. Following his meeting with Stoltenberg, Cerar **stressed** at a press conference **that** Slovenia's defence spending would not decrease in 2015.¹²

Although the leading paragraph introduces the topic and mentions both politicians, it sounds abrupt since the first sentence in the main body begins with an assurance, which is further fortified by the statement introduced by *stressed*. The majority of the verbs used in the article are direct translations of the Slovene reporting verbs. Illocutionary expressives such as *stress*, *assure*, *promise*, *welcome*, and *praise* are found in brief press releases issued by the White House or the Slovene government (the governmental corpora are not included in the present discus-

¹² <http://www.rtv slo.si/news-in-english/cerar-promises-to-bump-up-slovenia-s-defence-budget/369635> (Access: 20 September 2015.)

sion). These expressive verbs, used primarily in the condensed speech reports rather than fully reported statements, contain an emotional diplomatic slant, thus showing a particular ideological attitude, which is not used in mainstream English news reporting. In comparison with this article, a comparably long portion of the above-mentioned STA news contains four different verbs in eight occurrences of reported statements (*said* (5x), *agreed*) or condensed speech reports (*is thinking*, *expected*), showing a clear preference for the ideologically neutral verb *say*:

Table 2

<i>say(s)/ saying</i> per 12,500 words	34-30	29-25	24-20	19-15	14-10	9-5	4-1	0
News- paper	BBC The Daily Mail	<i>The Guardian</i> The Inde- pendent	<i>The Telegraph</i>	<i>The NY Post</i>	<i>NY Daily News</i> <i>USA- Today</i> <i>The NY Times</i> Reuters UK Reuters US	AP STA	MMC RTV SLO	<i>The Onion</i> The White House The UK Govt

The structure *according to* (+ source) is used to point out the news source, while the focus remains on the message, so the verb forms show no tense backshift. No tense-backshift rule can also be attributed to the inanimate, institutional or generalized sources. In the US subcorpus, *according to* is followed by indication of written sources such as *texts, records, court papers, documents, research*, newspapers, press agencies, institutions and organisations. Animate sources tend to be the general public (*people, witnesses*), spokespersons, and in some cases references are made to field experts, either through their surnames or functions. The British subcorpus contains only half as many references with *according to*, and these mostly point out some research, newspapers, agencies, institutions, organisations, spokesmen, while named persons occur in only few instances. In comparison, the occurrences of the phrase in the Slovene-English subcorpus exceed those in the US and British subcorpora by two or three times respectively, with the most frequent references being made to high-ranking political figures or individual authorities, not attested by our English news texts. The high percentage and the references to individual authorities most likely result from the frequently used structures in Slovene *po besedah/mnenju* (+ animate subject), or *po poročanju/podatkih/navedbah* (+ e.g. agency, newspaper, institution); note the additional

reference to the mode of delivery in Slovene *besede, mnenje, poročanje* etc. The *according to* structure may refer to direct or partial direct quote, as well as indirect speech.

In Slovene news style, the reporting clause, which indicates the news source and introduces the indirect *da*-statement, is often replaced by a *kot*-dependent clause, eg. *Kot je dejal/pojasnil/povedal* (+ animate subject), or *Kot piše/poroča* (+ press agency), literally ‘As he said/explained/told’ or ‘As written/reported’.

While in Slovene indirect statements the conjunction *da* cannot be omitted, the English subcorpora support the overall observation that there is an increasing tendency to omit the conjunction *that*. For example, the Past tense *said* is followed by *that* in only 4% of the *said* occurrences in the US corpus and 7% in the British corpus, while in English translations by the MMC RTVO SLO and the STA the percentage is as high as 16%, which may be interpreted either as a formal observance of the prototypical English pattern or Slovene syntax influence.

5 TENSES IN SLOVENE NEWS REPORTING

Toporišič (1991: 529-531) discusses features marking discoursal and syntactic shifts from direct discourse to indirect discourse in Slovene, such as the use of reporting clauses and modal particles (*baje, bojda, češ*), changes in the mood, temporal and person deixis, and changes and omissions in vocabulary (notably concerning interjections). With reference to tense usage, Toporišič (ibid.: 529) observes that tenses used with speech act and mental verbs in reporting clauses depend on the time of reporting, where the *preteklik* (i.e. the most frequently used past tense in Slovene) indicates an anterior point of reporting, the *sedanjik* (i.e. the Slovene present tense) simultaneity, whereas the *prihodnjik* (i.e. the most frequently used future tense in Slovene) and the *pogojnik* (i.e. the Slovene conditional tense) are used to express posterior points of reporting. For the purpose of illustrating the Slovene tense system with reporting verbs, a random sentence is given:

Rekla je, da bo prišla. (*preteklik* – anteriority)
(Translation: She said that she will(/would) come.)

Reče/Pravi, da bo prišla. (*sedanjik* – simultaneity)
(Translation: She says that she will come.)

Rekla bo/Rekla bi, da bo prišla. (*prihodnjik, pogojnik* – posteriority)
(Translation: She will/would say that she will come.)

There is a corresponding system of tense usage with communication verbs in English. For pragmatic reasons, someone's original statement is naturally reported after it has been made, so both Slovene and English use mostly those tense forms with communication verbs that indicate the anteriority of the indirect event to the time of reporting.

Unlike English, indirect discourse in Slovene observes no backshift of tenses, so Toporišič (1991) does not discuss this grammatical process. However, in his discussion of the Slovene tenses in the indicative mood, Toporišič mentions the relative temporal relations of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority. The *sedanjik* in "subordinate clauses" expresses either simultaneity or posteriority in relation with the "action in the superordinate clause" (ibid.: 326, 330). His examples *Rekel je, da stanuje v študentskem domu* (translation: He said that he is/was living in a student hall of residence) and *Pravi, da pride jutri* (translation: He says that he will come (literally: 'comes' tomorrow) show that the superordinate and the subordinate clause refer to the relation between the reporting and the reported clause. In the section about the functions of the *preteklik* and *prihodnjik*, Toporišič makes a more direct reference between the notions of anteriority and posteriority and verbs expressing speech acts or mental activities (ibid.: 334). His example illustrating the notion of anteriority *Pravi (Pravil je, Pravil bo), da je imel delo* (translation: He says (+ He said, He will say) that he (had) had work) and his example illustrating the notion of posteriority *Pravi (Pravil je, Pravil bo), da bo imel delo* (translation: He says (+ He said, He will say) that he will (would) have work) feature different tenses in the reporting verbs and the same tense with the indicative finite verb forms in the reported clauses, i.e. *da je imel delo* and *da bo imel delo*. In the section on the *pogojnik*, Toporišič mentions the notion of uncertainty. His illustrative sentences include two examples with mental verbs in the reporting clause: *Ne veš, kako bi rekel?* (translation: You don't know what to say?) and *Ugibal je venomer, kaj bi.* (translation: He kept wondering what to do).

Further, Toporišič (ibid.: 526-527) illustrates different reporting modes by transposing a literary paragraph in free direct speech into indirect speech with communication verbs in the *preteklik*. The finite verb forms in reported sentences show that, except for the changes in the imperative mood and the person, the original tenses are not affected by the narrative shift:

a) *Free direct speech*

- K frizerju bom morala.
- Le pojdi, le, Barbara.
- Ti, Marjeta, nikar me ne priganjaj! Saj grem sama. /.../

b) *Reported speech*

Lepega dne **je** Barbara **rekla** sama sebi, da bo morala k frizerju. Marjeta jo **je** slišala in jo **spodbudila**, naj le gre. Skoraj malo jezna jo **je** Barbara **zavrnila**, naj je ne priganja, ker gre vendar sama.

Toporišič's examples and corpus data show that tenses in the Slovene reporting verbs do not affect the use of the finite verb form(s) in the reported message, which supports the linguistic fact that the sequence of tenses is alien to the Slovene language system. Since the sequence of tenses, in principle, is not observed in Slovene, reporters use modal adjuncts or particles (slov. *členek*) to indicate their disbelief or distanced attitude to the credibility of the information. By far the most frequently used, sometimes as a mere discourse marker, is the conditional structure *naj bi*. The distanced attitude is also indicated through the modal adjuncts *domnevno*, *menda*, *predvidoma* and the *da*-modalized subordinate conjunctions, notably *češ da*, *saj da*, *ker da*, *ki da*. The English corpora do not return high frequencies of corresponding modal structures, *allegedly* shows a rather even tendency throughout the subcorpora. Almost all the hits of *alleged* were found in *The New York Daily News*, while the majority of the adjunct *reportedly* appear in *The Independent* or the British newspapers, and in the English editions of Slovene news outlets.

On the basis of several years of analytical observation of Slovene texts found in the news media and the internet I have, however, noticed a syntactic pattern which can be said to use the sequence of tenses. The pattern occasionally appears in indirect discourse with the past tense of the sense perception verb *videti* ('see') in the *preteklik*, followed by the nominal clause introduced by the adverb *kako* ('how'). The adverb *kako* can be regarded as the more expressive substitute for the conjunction *da* ('that') in the nominal clauses after verbs of sense perception such as *videti*, *slišati*, *čutiti*. In the following example taken from the Gigafida subcorpus "Newspapers", the reported proposition is introduced by the conjunction *da*. The factual *da*-conjunction could be substituted by the adverb *kako*, which would result in a more descriptive or expressive interpretation:

Seveda je takoj dobil gradbeno inšpekcijo na vrata, saj ga je prijavila soseda iz bloka, ko **je videla, da** nekaj dela na strehi.¹³

Translation: /.../ was reported by his neighbour who saw him working on the roof. /'who saw that he is working on the roof'.

Or:

/.../ saj ga je prijavila soseda iz bloka, ko **je videla, kako** nekaj dela na strehi.

Translation: /.../ 'who saw how he is working on the roof'.

¹³ <http://www.gigafida.net/Concordance/Search?q=%22je+videla%2c+da%22&ft=6>

In reported *kako*-statements that function as nominal clauses to the *preteklik* of the verb *videti*, the Imperfective *sedanjik* expresses an action simultaneous with that in the main clause, eg.:

V nedeljo naj bi iz Rösszkeja odpeljali najmanj trije takšni vlaki z najmanj 2000 migranti, predstavniki UNHCR pa **so** tudi ponoči **videli, kako** policisti budijo ljudi v zbirnem centru v Rösszkeju ob madžarsko-srbski meji in jih nekam vozijo.¹⁴

(Translation: /.../ the UNHCR representatives **saw** **how** police officers wake up people in the Rösszke refugee centre next to the Hungarian-Serb border and transport them to a different location.)

However, the following examples from the *Gigafida* corpus show that reported statements in which imperfective actions simultaneous with the verb of sense perception are expressed in the *preteklik*. This indicates a grammatical feature that might be termed the sequence of tenses:

Prav tako v Cairnu **je** neka druga ženska videla, kako **je** piton že požiral glavo njenega psa, mladička bulteriera. (Newspapers)¹⁵

(Translation: /.../ a woman **saw how** a python was devouring the head of her dog.)

Z dragim imava zadovoljivo spolno življenje, zato me je zadnjič močno presenetilo in prizadelo, ko **sem** ga slučajno **videla, kako se je samozadovoljeval**. Kaj neki je narobe? (Magazines)¹⁶

(Translation: /.../ when I **happened to see how** he was masturbating.)

In such contexts the overall impression is that the narrator would like to distance him- or herself from the reported statement since the content may be too sensitive for direct presentation. The *sedanjik* may enhance the vividness of presentation, as in eg. *ko sem ga slučajno videla, kako se samozadovoljuje*.

The distanced connotation, however, may not be always due to the narrator's emotional response; in some contexts the *preteklik* seems to indicate that the simultaneously viewed action refers to a temporally distanced situation, as is the case in the following example:

Logarski Jurče se je nekoč peljal iz Logarske doline proti Solčavi. V tesni soteski pri Žibovčem je videl, kako **je** skobec lovil vodnega kosa. Ustavil je konja in opazoval to, za kosa nevarno tekmo. (Gigafida, Newspapers)¹⁷

¹⁴ <http://www.delo.si/svet/sosescina/tudi-avstrija-in-slovaska-krepita-nadzor-na-mejah.html> (Access: 15 September 2015.)

¹⁵ <http://www.gigafida.net/Concordance/Search?q=%22videla%2C+kako%22>

¹⁶ <http://www.gigafida.net/Concordance/Search?q=%22videla%2C+kako%22>

¹⁷ <http://www.gigafida.net/Concordance/Search?p=2&q=%22je%20videl,%20kako%22&ftt=6>

(Translation: /.../ In the narrow ravine at Žibovče he **saw** ‘**how** a sparrowhawk was chasing a dipper.’ He stopped his horse and observed this game so dangerous for the dipper.)

The use of the ‘backshifted’ *preteklik* in the reported message may also be interpreted as a grammatical device to circumvent the action of sense perception in the main clause: *V tesni soteski pri Žibovčem je videl, kako je skobec lovil vodnega kosa.*

While the verb of sense perception with the reported message in the *sedanjik* enables the Slovene reader to observe the happening directly, the *preteklik* presents the action as anterior directly to the point of the writer’s report.

Many of the Slovene ‘tense-backshift’ examples found in newspapers and magazines may not have been crafted by professional writers, yet they hint at a linguistic development in Slovene.

6 CONCLUSION

Some parameters governing speech presentation in news reporting have been discussed. The corpora show that, unlike in Slovene, English news reporting tends towards the presentation of short paragraphs with individual statements presented as indirect reports, although there are numerous instances of direct speech and partial direct quotes, especially if made by authoritative individuals.

Since the primary pedagogical aim here was to heighten the awareness of Slovene students of translation to grammatical and stylistic parameters in news translation, the focus was on the use of tenses in English reporting and reported clauses with regard to the overall textual structure of a newspaper article and with regard to the sequence of tenses. Tense-backshift appears to closely observe the authority of the original source of information, while the collective institutional voices or the general public may not trigger the sequence of tenses. With regard to content, political statements are more frequently subject to tense-backshift than scientific, financial or health topics, which seem to be presented in terms of their current relevance. In Slovene, the reporter’s distanced attitude is indicated by modal structures such as *naj bi*, *domnevno*, *menda*, *češ da*, *saj da*, but we noticed that the pattern with the *preteklik* of the verb of sense perception *videti* and the conjunction *kako* may present statements as temporally backshifted.

The subcorpus of English translations by two Slovene news providers show that the MMC RTV Slovenija translations too closely follow the original texts both in

terms of content and style, which results in awkwardly crafted news items with reporting verbs that are used in Slovene news reporting and US governmental press releases, but not in the general press. Their translations show a low awareness of the tense-backshift parameters in news reporting.

Due to the limited space, the article focuses on the temporal and tense relations in news reporting, while a detailed analysis of reporting structures, especially verbs in English and Slovene, will be treated in a separate publication.

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Translation studies
and interpreting
/ Translatologie
und Dolmetschen
/ Traductologie et
interprétation

De l'écrit ou du parlé? Analyse contrastive des discours oraux français et slovènes

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Povzetek

Jezikoslovne raziskave so se tradicionalno osredotočale na pisni jezik, vendar se v zadnjem času vse bolj uveljavlja tudi raziskovanje ustnega jezika in vseh njegovih različic. Pričujoči prispevek se osredotoča na monološki govorni diskurz, kot ga srečamo pri konferenčnem tolmačenju oz. simultanjem tolmačenju, z analizo pa želimo pokazati nekatere posebnosti tovrstnega diskurza, zlasti z vidika organizacije besedila in rabe povezovalcev, ki vzpostavljajo odnose med deli povedi in deli celotnega diskurza.

Gradivo tvorijo izvirni govori v slovenščini in francoščini ter govori, ki so bili simultano pretolmačeni iz francoščine v slovenščino, analiza pa bo opravljena s pomočjo korpusne metodologije (primerljivi korpus izvirnih govorov in vzporedni dvojezični korpus izvirnih in ciljnih govorov). Govori predstavljajo avtentično gradivo, ki se uporablja pri praktičnih vajah simultane tolmačenja v okviru usposabljanja tolmačev. Prispevek želi prikazati rezultate preliminarne raziskave, ki je potrdila, da tovrstni diskurz zaznamujejo določene posebnosti, ki ga uvrščajo v vmesno polje med spontan diskurzom in pisnim diskurzom, kar vpliva tudi na rezultat simultane tolmačenja iz francoščine v slovenščino.

Ključne besede: govorni diskurz, pripravljen monološki govor, simultano tolmačenje, diskurzni označevalci

0 INTRODUCTION

Le choix du canal de transmission comme élément principal de distinction entre la langue écrite et orale, affecte aussi d'autres dimensions du discours (Gadet 1997). Dans le cas des discours monologiques, il faut particulièrement souligner l'exclusion des interventions du public, sauf à la fin du discours où le public est donné la possibilité de poser des questions, ainsi que le choix du registre qui dépend du contexte de l'énonciation. Généralement, les discours monologiques surviennent dans les situations formelles où un locuteur s'adresse à un public plus large et varié en terme d'éducation, de provenance ou de statut social (Toporišič 2004 : 230), ce qui contraint le locuteur à utiliser une variété linguistique neutre et compréhensible pour tous, qui est la langue standard. Celle-ci représente une variété parmi les autres, plus particulièrement situationnelle et sociale (Riegel et al. 1994 : 10, 11), mais comme elle bénéficie du statut de langue officielle, elle se trouve strictement normée et contrôlée par le biais de codification dans divers manuels linguistiques et didactiques.

La notion de la langue standard est facile à comprendre mais plus difficile à définir, tant en slovène (cf. Pogorelec 2008) qu'en français (cf. Rebourcet 2008), et on le définit souvent par « ce qu'il n'est pas, tant au niveau sociolinguistique que stylistique » (Rebourcet 2008 : 108), p.ex. il n'est pas la langue régionale, ni la langue populaire. Ainsi, « il prétend à la neutralité devant les genres discursifs » (Gadet 2003 : 135). Rebourcet (2008) souligne que le français standard ne correspond pas à la domaine d'oral, tandis que pour le slovène, les linguistes traditionnels soutenaient que la place de prévalence de la langue standard est l'écrit, mais il concédaient aussi à son usage dans la communication orale publique, surtout s'il s'agit des situations solennelles et officielles ou des débats scientifiques lors des présentations ou conférences (Urbančič 1978 : 105 ; Toporišič 2001, 126). La langue standard prend une force prescriptive avec la notion de la norme qui représente un cadre linguistique « qui codifie et qui règle la langue standard » (Rebourcet 2008 : 110). Parmi les caractéristiques de la langue standard on trouve généralement un vocabulaire de référence classé dans les dictionnaires, une grammaire prescriptive et une institution prescriptive qui recommande certains usages et déconseille les autres, une prononciation cultivée, normalement dépourvue de marqueurs régionaux, statut légal et usage dans les medias etc.

1 DISCOURS ORAUX DANS L'INTERPRÉTATION SIMULTANÉE

Bien que ces textes soient préparés d'avance, ils sont prononcés, c'est-à-dire produits au fur et à mesure de l'acte d'énonciation comme dans d'autres types de

discours oraux, ce qui laisse certaines traces de la production (Blanche-Benveniste 1991 : 17), notamment sous la forme d'hésitations et corrections. Ainsi, les discours oraux préparés comportent aussi bien des traits de la langue écrite que de la langue parlée. Le présent article se tache à en explorer quelques uns du point de vue contrastif franco-slovène et du point de vue pratique en ce qui concerne l'interprétation du français vers le slovène.

1.1 Analyse des discours oraux préparés

A cause du caractère éphémère des discours oraux, la compréhension du message doit s'effectuer dans l'instant même d'énonciation¹, surtout dans le cas des discours monologiques où, contrairement aux dialogues, le public ne peut pas intervenir à tout moment en cas de difficultés de compréhension. Par conséquent, le texte doit posséder une logique claire qui est reflétée dans un discours bien structuré au niveau des phrases ainsi qu'au niveau textuel. Surtout s'il s'agit des discours ou adresses politiques et des présentations de conférence, où l'accent est mis sur le sujet et le message à transmettre, la structure joue un rôle très important car elle soutient le message et aide à sa compréhension.

Par conséquent, le locuteur d'un discours monologique doit préparer son discours d'avance, soit en points principaux soit comme texte complet qu'il présente ensuite d'une manière plus ou moins libre, selon ses capacités d'orateur. Pendant la préparation, le locuteur choisit l'intention communicative et le sujet du discours, ensuite il détermine l'ordre des informations et enfin, la verbalisation actuelle du matériel selon les constructions textuelles types ou genres (Vogel 2004a). Le respect des règles du genre spécifique facilite la compréhension du texte auprès du public, car il peut mieux anticiper le message et l'enchaînement des idées. D'autre part, cela signifie aussi que les textes préparés en avance se rapprochent plus des textes écrits (et d'ailleurs ils le sont d'origine, le plus souvent) qu'aux textes oraux spontanés, surtout en ce qui concerne les éléments suivants : un registre généralement plus élevé, conformité aux règles de grammaire et aux normes linguistiques, fluidité de l'énonciation et une densité d'information plus élevée.

Si le registre et la grammaire des discours oraux préparés relèvent de l'écrit et par conséquent de la norme qui est bien codifiée dans les dictionnaires et les grammaires, il en reste néanmoins des caractéristiques linguistiques qui relèvent de l'oral. Il s'agit des phénomènes particuliers qui tiennent à la situation de production, notamment l'emploi des phatèmes, l'usage des procédés de mise en relief,

¹ La compréhension orale fait partie des compétences linguistiques orales, mais comme il s'agit des processus cognitifs qui sont difficiles à observer, il y a eu assez peu d'intérêt pour explorer ce domaine, tant dans le champs du slovène (cf. Ferbežar 2012, Vogel 2004b) que dans le champ du français.

l'importance des déictiques et répétitions de termes et de structures (Riegel et al. 1994 : 36, 37).

Un autre domaine intéressant à observer du point de vue du continuum écrit-oral, sont les marqueurs discursifs qui « peuvent servir de l'indicateur de l'oralité », d'après une étude menée par Schlamberger Brezar (2011) où elle a comparé la fréquence et la variété des marqueurs discursifs dans un corpus de débats télévisés et de discours officiels. Lors d'une étude suivante (2012), l'analyse a été élargie avec un corpus de textes littéraires pour vérifier si la fréquence des marqueurs discursifs varie selon le degré de spontanéité. D'après les résultats, « plus le discours est proche de l'oral, plus de marqueurs discursifs il présente » (2012 : 234). En ce qui concerne les discours officiels, il s'est avéré que les connecteurs y sont peu nombreux et que ceux que l'on retrouve sont plus proches de l'écrit. Comme les discours de ce type sont préparés d'avance, ils « ne permettent aucun glissement vers l'oralité » et « présentent un bon exemple de littératie » (ibid.).

La suite de l'article présente certains exemples textuels à partir des phénomènes envisagés ci-dessus, dans la perspective contrastive franco-slovène à la base d'un corpus comparable comprenant des discours oraux originaux français et slovènes ainsi qu'un corpus parallèle de discours oraux français et de leurs interprétations vers le slovène. Les discours font partie du matériel utilisé dans les classes pratiques au cours de la formation des interprètes de conférence, comportant des discours imitant les caractéristiques des discours formels, ou bien des discours politiques authentiques, prononcés par les locuteurs natifs. Les six discours analysés d'une durée totale d'environ 70 minutes (de 10 à 12 minutes par discours) varient selon le degré de préparation des discours plus spontanés avec beaucoup de marqueurs d'oralité jusqu'au discours bien préparés avec plus de marqueurs de l'écrit ; les thèmes abordés sont très variés aussi : la notion du bonheur national brut, le multilinguisme, l'évolution technologique, les suppléments nutritifs, la Francophonie et les relations entre la Suisse et l'UE.

1.1.1 *L'emploi des phatèmes*

Dans les discours monologiques, comme dans toutes les échanges communicatives, le locuteur « fait régulièrement appel à son interlocuteur au moyen de la fonction phatique » (Riegel et al. 1994 : 36). Il s'agit principalement des termes dont la fonction est d'attirer ou de maintenir l'attention et le contact des interlocuteurs. Dans ces discours, les expressions phatiques peuvent se répartir dans deux groupes : les appellatives et les formes verbales. Les appellatives s'utilisent au début du discours, pour établir le contact avec le public (ex. 1), mais aussi

au cours de la prestation, pour vérifier si le contact y est encore présent ou pour signaler l'importance des informations qui suivent (ex. 2 et 3).

Dans les discours originaux français et slovènes, les moyens appellatifs sont utilisées de la même manière et paraissent être influencées surtout par le contexte imminent, notamment le niveau de la situation et le degré de formalité. Les deux discours analysés sont prononcés par le président de la république : dans l'exemple français, il s'agit d'une adresse lors de la rencontre des présidents des pays francophones et l'accent semble être mis sur l'égalité et l'amitié entre les participants, lorsque dans l'exemple slovène, il s'agit du discours présidentiel lors de la réunion du corps diplomatique de nouvel an où les appellatifs mettent en évidence le degré de formalité et le respect.

Exemple 1 :

*FR OR : **Mesdames et messieurs, chers amis.** Mes premiers mots sont pour vous remercier, Madame la Présidente, de nous accueillir aujourd'hui dans votre magnifique pays...*

*SL INT 1 : **Dame in gospodje, spoštovani prijatelji,** najprej mi dovolite, da se zahvalim vam, gospa predsednica, da ste nas sprejeli danes v tej čudoviti državi.*

*SL INT 2 : **Gospe in gospodje, dragi prijatelji.** Prve besede bom namenil vam, gospa predsednica, da se vam zahvalim za to, da ste nas sprejeli v vaši čudoviti državi*

*SL OR : **Spoštovani gospod doyen diplomatskega zbora, ekscelence, spoštovani visoki gostje, spoštovane dame in gospodje, dragi prijatelji,** v veliko veselje mi je, da vas lahko danes prisrčno pozdravim na tem zdaj že našem tradicionalnem novoletnem srečanju.*

Exemple 2 :

*FR OR : **Mes chers amis,** il y a deux ans, lors du sommet de Québec, nos débats ont été dominés par la crise financière.*

*SL INT 1 : **Dragi prijatelji,** pred dvema letoma na vrhu v Quebecu je v razpravi prevladovalo vprašanje finančne krize.*

*SL INT 2 : **Spoštovani kolegi,** pred dvema letoma med vrhom v Quebecu smo se pogovarjali predvsem v okviru globalne finančne krize.*

Exemple 3:

*SL OR: V teh težkih časih bomo, **ekscelence,** dobro in ustvarjalno diplomacijo potrebovali bolj kot kdaj koli prej.*

*Seveda pa ne pozabljamo na velike naloge, pred katerimi je celotna mednarodna skupnost. Vse države, ki jih, **gospe in gospodje, dragi prijatelji,** zastopate vi, kot veleposlaniki, in s katerimi so soočene vse ustanove mednarodnega sistema.*

***Ekscelexce, gospe in gospodje**, svetovna gospodarska kriza zahteva, da so v ospredju naših razmišljanj globalna vprašanja in globalne reforme.*

*Leto dva tisoč devet, **spoštovane dame in gospodje**, bo zahtevalo uporabo naših najboljših moči.*

***Gospe in gospodje**, ob začetku leta je prav, da si zaželimo miru, prijateljstva, sreče in zdravja.*

Dans les discours analysés, les originaux slovènes comportent plus de variété dans les expressions phatiques appellatives utilisées et la plupart soulignent le respect envers les locuteurs adressés issus de leur rang diplomatique (p.ex. *ekscelexce, spoštovane dame in gospodje, gospe in gospodje*), tandis que dans les originaux français, les appellatives ne présentent pas une telle variation et soulignent plutôt l'amitié et l'apparente égalité (p. ex. *mesdames et messieurs, mes chers amis, chers amis*). Bien que l'échantillon analysé soit limité et sans tendances de représentativité, il se montre ici un domaine intéressant avec du potentiel pour recherche ultérieure, soit en élargissant le corpus avec plus de discours pour corroborer ou réfuter la thèse des différences systémiques dans les deux langues dans le champs des appellatives, soit en explorant les différentes voies qu'empruntent les interprètes (ex. 3) lorsqu'il doivent faire face aux appellatives : est-ce qu'ils maintiennent les formules employées dans la langue source ou est-ce qu'il optent pour l'adaptation selon les coutumes dans la langue cible (par exemple en ajoutant en slovène des termes exprimant un haut degré de respect, comme dans l'exemple 3).

Le deuxième groupe des moyens avec une forte fonction phatique sont des formes verbales, avec lesquelles l'orateur insiste sur les parties du message qui sont personnelles et subjectives (ex. 4, 5 et 6) ou sur les faits collectifs, avec lesquels il fait référence au public et lui même ensemble, le « nous » (ex. 7, 8, 9), avec lequel il veut se rapprocher au public. Ces parties discursives sont très importantes en vue de réaliser l'intention du discours et obtenir le but désiré en attirant le public de côté de l'orateur, et de ce fait motivent aussi le choix des mots et phrases employées.

Exemple 4:

*FR OR: Notre organisation a su se mobiliser. Et **je voudrais rendre hommage** ici à son action humanitaire, comme **je veux saluer** son engagement croissant dans le règlement des crises politiques et l'observation des élections.*

Exemple 5

*SL OR: Spoštovane poslanke, spoštovani poslanci, **zagotavljam vam**, da predsedujoča Slovenija v pripravo vrhunskega srečanja vplaga veliko energije, **zato sem prepričan**, da bomo vrh V Sloveniji lahko označili kot uspešno srečanje.*

Exemple 6:

SL OR: Veseli me, da lahko povem, da dogodek pričakujemo primerno pripravljeni.

Exemple 7:

FR OR: Aujourd'hui, avec soixante-dix états membres ou observateurs de notre organisation, nous représentons plus du tiers des membres des Nations Unies.

Exemple 8 :

FR OR : Nous nous en sortirons tous ensemble ou nous allons échouer tous ensemble.

Exemple 9:

SL OR: Vsi vemo, da je pred nami težko leto. Resne naloge nas čakajo na vseh področjih. Premagati bomo morali velike gospodarske težave, v katerih smo se znašli in kakršnih po mnenju mnogih svet ni izkusil že dolga desetletja. Poiskati bomo morali pravične rešitve za socialne težave, ki jih je najbrž tudi treba pričakovati.

1.1.2 L'usage des procédés de mise en relief

La mise en relief dans le discours oral se caractérise par l'usage de structures emphatiques, notamment de compléments circonstanciels en antéposition, ou la modification de l'ordre des mots pour donner plus d'expressivité au discours (Riegel et al. 1994 : 36). La distinction thème-propos commande davantage la structuration du discours oral que l'organisation syntaxique canonique sujet-verbe-complément, préférant l'usage des phrases nominales et constructions binaires du type thème-propos (ex. 10, 11, 12 ; 13) qui pourrait signaler surtout une force rhétorique particulière.

Exemple 10 :

FR OR : Comme le président de la Commission européenne l'a dit récemment, d'ailleurs ici, en Suisse (CC), si la Suisse veut bénéficier de tout le pot- tout le potentiel du marché intérieur (thème), ce modèle est pratiquement épuisé (propos).

Exemple 11 :

FR OR : La langue française est un instrument d'incarnation (propos 1), elle est un instrument de transmission de valeurs (propos 2).

Exemple 12 :

FR OR : Depuis la première réunion des pères fondateurs de notre organisation, il y a quarante ans (CC), la Francophonie n'a cessé d'éteindre le champ de son action.

Exemple 13 :

SL OR : V sedanjih razmerah (CC) mora vsaka država (thème) najprej preveriti, kaj lahko stori sama (propos 1) in če se le da poiskati zadovoljive rešitve (propos 2).

1.1.3 L'importance des déictiques

Comme la communication orale se réalise en situation d'énonciation, l'emploi des déictiques y est très fréquent (Riegel et al. 1994 : 36). En effet, une étude à l'Université Paris V de 1975 a prouvé une fréquence bien plus élevée des présentatifs (*c'est, il y a*) à l'oral qu'à l'écrit: une phrase sur quatre à l'oral contre une phrase sur vingt à l'écrit (cité dans Riegel et al. 1994 : 36). Dans le langage oral spontanée, on observe un usage plus fréquent de *ça* avec valeur déictique ou dans une structure emphatique qui est traditionnellement une variante familière de *cela*, mais il semble que son emploi dépasse le seul registre oral familier, même si dans les discours analysés la présence de *ça* était observé seulement dans les discours non-formels qui étaient préparés d'une manière moins précise et plus spontanée (ex. 14). Dans l'interprétation vers le slovène (SL INT), le présentatif *ça* était soit préservé, soit transformé par rapport aux autres éléments dans la phrase (ex. 15).

Exemple 14 :

FR OR : Dans une démocratie, **c'est** impossible, *ça* ne peut pas fonctionner.

SL INT : V demokraciji **to** ne more delovati, **to** je nemogoče.

Exemple 15 :

FR OR : **C'est** pour *ça* qu'il faut développer les connaissances linguistiques, tout d'abord au niveau régional.

SL INT: In **zato** moramo razvijati znanje na področju jezikov. V prvi vrsti na regionalni ravni.

Une autre caractéristique de la langue orale d'après Riegel et al. (1994) est le remplacement de *nous* par *on*, marqué comme familier et stigmatisé par la norme à l'écrit. Comme pour le démonstratif *ça* déictique, on observe, dans les discours analysés, une présence plus élevée dans les discours moins formels, tandis que dans les discours politique *on* figure seulement dans deux cas où il marque l'opposition de nous, une tierce partie qui n'est pas spécifié (ex. 16).

Exemple 16 :

FR OR : *Combien faut-il d'émeutes, de guerres, de drames, pour que nous comprenions que nous ne pouvons pas laisser faire cela? On vient me dire : « Mais ce sont les lois du marché ! » Non, justement, ce ne sont pas les lois du marché. Ce sont les lois de la spéculation, ce sont les lois du refus de la transparence...*

SL INT : *Koliko spopadov, vojn in dram bo potrebnih, zato da bomo razumeli, da tega ne bi smeli dopustiti? Nekateri govorijo, da so to zgolj tržna pravila, ampak ne! To niso tržni predpisi. To so zakoni špekulacij, zakoni izogibanja preglednosti ...*

Dans d'autres discours avec un registre moins élevé, *on* était utilisé pour remplacer le *nous* général et non-spécifié, peut-être à cause de la brièveté et parce que le texte avait une forte fonction référentielle, tandis que la fonction appellative et expressive n'y étaient pas exprimées, le point de vue étant plutôt neutre avec très peu de points subjectifs et personnels (ex. 17). Dans l'exemple 16, la distinction entre *nous* et *on* était conservée aussi dans l'interprétation par l'utilisation des moyens différents, notamment avec le verbe en première personne pluriel et le pronom indéfini *nekateri* (*certain*). Par contre, dans l'exemple 17, l'interprète s'est éloigné des mots du discours original, optant pour une distinction selon le sens pragmatique du discours (*nous aujourd'hui, on peut observer que, dans le passé, l'introduction des tracteurs est survenue*).

Exemple 17 :

FR OR : *On peut également observer une relation tripartite entre l'homme, le travail et la machine. Au début du vingtième siècle, l'agriculture s'est transformée d'un façon considérable. On a introduit, par exemple, ee le tracteur agricole au tournant du siècle.*

SL INT : *Prav tako vidimo nekakšno tripartitno povezavo med človekom, delom in stroji. Na začetku 20. stoletja se je kmetijstvo pomembno spremenilo. Prišlo je na primer do uvedbe kmetijskih traktorjev na prelomu stoletja.*

1.1.4 Simplification de l'oral

Généralement, le discours oral se distingue de l'écrit par un souci d'économie qui favorise l'omission de *ne* négatif et l'usage de la parataxe contre la subordination, aussi évitant l'inversion du sujet et préférant pour l'interrogation la seule intonation ou la marque *est-ce que*. Toutefois, les simplifications ne sont pas constantes à l'oral et dépendent largement du registre de langue (Riegel et al. 1994 : 36, 37). Dans les discours analysés, le *ne* négatif était toujours présent, la thèse concernant la parataxe s'est également vérifiée comme partiellement correcte car on a pu

trouver aussi des parataxes que des subordinations ; tandis que la thèse sur des interrogations simples et marquées surtout par l'intonation s'est avérée correcte (ex.18). On peut observer une simplification de l'interrogation en slovène et le glissement vers un registre plus familier (ex. 19).

Exemple 18 :

*FR OR : **Est-ce que** les choses n'ont pas changé depuis 1945 ?*

*SL INT: **Ali** se stvari niso spremenile od leta 1945?*

Exemple 19 :

*FR OR : **Est-ce que** nous avons déjà oublié les émeutes de la faim qui ont eu lieu à Haïti ou en Afrique, quand les prix de certains produits alimentaires ont brutalement explosé en 2008 ? **Est-ce que** nous avons déjà oublié cela ?*

*SL INT : **Smo že pozabili** na upor na Haitiju in v Afriki, ko so cene določnih cen živil eksplodirale leta 2008? **A smo že pozabili** na vse to?*

1.1.5 Répétitions de termes et de structures

La répétition est très fréquente dans tout discours oral non préparé (Blanche Benveniste 2000), mais survient à cause de différentes raisons. Les répétitions se manifestent sous forme d'hésitations, ratés, reprises, ou procédés stylistiques et rhétoriques. Dans les discours analysés, une nette différence est visible de nouveau entre les discours politiques et les autres discours qui n'étaient pas écrits d'avance d'une manière très claire et précise. Les hésitations, ratés et reprises sont bien plus fréquents dans les discours moins préparés, tandis que les répétitions rhétoriques étaient, elles, plus fréquentes dans les discours bien préparés et écrits d'avance. Quant à l'interprétation, les hésitations dues à la construction imminente et spontanée du discours n'étaient pas reprises dans la langue cible (même si certaines hésitations ne sont parvenues que dans l'interprétation), par contre, les répétitions rhétoriques étaient généralement reprises aussi dans la langue cible, même si cela exige plus du temps qui est précieux pour les interprètes. Mais, ce type de répétitions semble être si important du point de vue du message, que les interprètes veulent et doivent s'y efforcer (ex. 20), même sous pression temporelle et cognitive.

Exemple 20 :

*FR OR : **Que serait notre monde, s'il n'était fait que d'une seule langue, que d'une seule culture ? Que serait notre monde, si la diversité n'y avait plus le droit d'exister?***

*SL INT: **Kakšen bi bil naš svet, če bi v njem imeli samo en jezik, samo eno kulturo? Kakšen bi bil naš svet, če raznolikosti več tu ne bi bilo.***

1.1.6 Marqueurs discursifs

La littérature n'est trop unifiée concernant la définition des marqueurs discursifs², même le terme varie selon les auteurs et leurs approches respectifs (v. Chanet 2003 ou Schlamberger Brezar 2009). D'après Schiffrin (2006), les marqueurs discursifs recouvrent les marqueurs phatiques (*tu sais, tu vois, bien ou ben*), marqueurs temporels (*maintenant, après*) et connecteurs (*mais, alors, néanmoins, toutefois*). Dans la présente analyse, on se concentre sur les connecteurs qui à différence des conjonctions qui relient des mots, groupes de mots ou propositions, établissent les relations entre les parties du discours et appartiennent alors à la macro-syntaxe du texte. Généralement, la notion des marqueurs discursifs est associée surtout à l'oral, où « ils contribuent à rendre efficaces les échanges conversationnels, /.../ décodent la façon dont le locuteur conçoit le sens purement propositionnel exprimé et se positionne par rapport à celui-ci » (Dostie et Pusch 2007 : 8). En effet, en explorant la fréquence des connecteurs *mais* et *alors* Schlamberger Brezar a démontré que « plus le discours est proche de l'oral spontané, plus nombreux sont les marqueurs discursifs, et vice-versa : plus le discours est officiel, moins de marqueurs discursifs il présente » (2012 : 236). Pour analyser nos discours choisis, on a décidé d'utiliser le même procédé, en se concentrant dans un premier plan sur *mais* et *alors* (table 1).

Table 1: Fréquence (F) de marqueurs MAIS et ALORS dans les discours originaux français.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mots (total)	1047	1297	1232	1380	2037	1970
F MAIS	2	8	1	4	8	4
F ALORS	1	1	0	1	9	7

Les discours officiels politiques (3 et 4) présentent en effet moins de marqueurs discursifs *mais* et *alors*, tandis que leur nombre est plus grand dans les discours 1, 2, 5 et 6 qui se caractérisent par une plus grande spontanéité et plus de marqueurs de l'oral (répétitions, hésitations, ratés). Les discours 1 et 2 se situent entre les deux pôles, avec moins de marqueurs discursifs et marques de l'oral, mais aussi moins de répétitions rhétoriques. Une explication possible pour cette déviation pourrait être le fait que les discours sont relativement courts et qu'ils étaient prononcés par un interprète dans un stage précoce de formation. Donc on suppose qu'il a adapté l'exercice à un stade précoce de compétences.

² Le sujet des marqueurs discursifs, qui relève du domaine de la pragmatique et l'analyse du discours, a été exploré en détail par plusieurs auteurs, notamment Schiffrin et Blackmore pour l'anglais, Pisanski Peterlin, Smolej et Verdonik pour le slovène, et Schlamberger Brezar dans une perspective contrastive franco-slovène.

La plupart des marqueurs *alors* prenaient la valeur du marqueur de structure, normalement en début de phrase, il n'y a pas eu des valeurs du connecteur temporel ou de conséquence. Du point de vue contrastif, l'équivalent slovène utilisé était le plus souvent *torej* (ex. 21) ce qui correspond à la liste des équivalents présenté dans Schlamberger Brezar (2009 : 175).

Exemple 21 :

FR OR : **Alors**, est-ce que le progrès technologique peut-être considéré comme ee un sauveur en quelque sorte de la société qui, pourquoi pas, portera un certain nombre de solutions ee aux problèmes actuels...

SL INT : **Torej**, ali lahko tehnološki napredek obravnavamo kot (vdih) nek reševalni element za našo družbo? Kot nekaj, kar bo prineslo celo vrsto rešitev za trenutne probleme?

Exemple 22 :

FR OR : **Alors**, qui osera dire que le sujet est trop difficile /.../

SL INT : **Torej**, kdo si upa reči, da je to pretežko?

Pour *mais*, le sens pragmatique varie beaucoup selon le contexte imminent, du connecteur argumentatif, contre-argumentatif ou concessionnel à l'expression de degré ou de la fonction phatique etc. (Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 192-214). Comme connecteur, le *mais* retient toujours le sens argumentatif ; cependant il peut aussi être utilisé dépourvu de cette charge (contre-)argumentative par rapport à la proposition et se réfère plutôt au contexte extra-textuel. Dans les discours analysés, la plupart des *mais* sont utilisés comme connecteurs argumentatifs et les équivalents slovènes étaient le plus souvent *ampak*, *vendar* et *pa* (ex. 23), le choix entre les possibilités semblait dépendre du style de l'interprète, mais cette hypothèse n'était pas (encore) explorée en détail.

Exemple 23 :

FR OR : Oui, c'est vrai, la carence des nutriments essentiels qui peut être le résultat d'un régime nes- restrictif ou d'un vote de vie d'un mode de vie malsain, peut nuire à notre santé, à notre bien-être général. **Mais** de l'autre côté, leur surconsommation est tout aussi dangereuse pour notre santé.

SL INT: Ja, to je res, ee prav tako pomanjkanje določenih snovi zaradi nezdravega življenjskega sloga, zaradi posebnega prehranbenega režima, ki potem vodi v pomanjkanje teh snovi. **Ampak** seveda je tudi prekomeren vnos teh snovi lahko ee škodljiv za zdravje.

En ce qui concerne les discours slovènes originaux, on a vérifié la fréquence des équivalents les plus utilisés : *torej* pour *alors* (accent sur la conséquence), *ampak* et *vendar* pour *mais*.

Table 2: Fréquence (F) des marqueurs *TOREJ*, *AMPAK* et *VENDAR* dans les discours originaux slovènes.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mots (total)	1229	532	875	852	1067	1273
F <i>torej</i>	3	0	1	0	9	1
F <i>ampak</i>	2	1	0	0	2	4
F <i>vendar</i>	0	0	3	2	0	1

La table 2 nous montre que même dans les discours originaux slovènes, les connecteurs choisis ne sont pas si fréquents ni dans les discours formels (3 et 4), ni dans les discours plus spontanés et plus oralisés (1, 2, 5 et 6). Par contre, il est intéressant d'observer que les discours politiques formels (3 et 4) présentent une fréquence plus visible de *vendar*. Cela nous mène à la conclusion que la partie slovène devrait être analysée aussi du point de vue d'autres connecteurs pour obtenir une image plus claire et plus complète sur l'usage des connecteurs dans le sens du *alors* et *mais*.

2 CONCLUSIONS

Le présent article cherchait à proposer une voie possible d'analyse des discours oraux monologiques, tout en partant des caractéristiques du discours oral spontané et en cherchant à établir le rapport entre les traits de l'oralité et les éléments de l'écrit. L'étude préliminaire contrastive des discours originaux français et slovènes ainsi que des originaux français et leur interprétations vers le slovène a clairement démontré que ce domaine se voit intéressant pour la recherche, aussi bien du point de vue linguistique que dans la perspective de l'interprétation simultanée qui présente un type d'échange interlinguistique et interculturel spécifique.

Bien que l'échantillon analysé soit limité et sans tendances de représentativité, ce domaine s'est révélé intéressant pour une recherche ultérieure, comparative ou pragmatique. Les questions particulièrement pertinentes étaient celle des appellatives et des moyens phatiques, la mise en évidence et le privilège donné aux constructions binaires, ainsi que les répétitions et l'usage des connecteurs. Ces catégories semblent être assez indicatifs du degré de formalité du discours expliquant aussi le choix des structures discursives relevant soit de l'écrit soit de l'oral. Pour cette raison, elles nous serviront de base pour une analyse de corpus plus approfondie qui, nous l'espérons, pourra davantage éclaircir ce type de discours oral particulier, et la langue de l'interprétation en général.

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*Er streckte ihr die Zunge
raus und sie drehte
ihm eine lange Nase –*
Zur Übersetzung von
Kinegrammen in der
Jugendliteratur

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Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava poseben tip frazeoloških stalnih besednih zvez, t. i. kinegrame v otroškem literarnem delu *Dicke Didi, fetter Felix* avstrijske pisateljice Christine Nöstlinger v nemškem jeziku in slovenskem prevodu. Glavni namen članka je prikazati, kako so kinegrami umeščeni v besedilno okolje, njihov vpliv na sobesedilo v izhodiščnem jeziku in njihovo ubeseditiv v ciljnem jeziku glede na prevodno metodo in sobesedilo. Poleg temeljitega poznavanje jezika in kulture tako izhodiščnega kot tudi ciljnega jezika mora prevajalec prepoznati vlogo vseh jezikovnih enot v besedilu, tudi stalnih besednih zvez.

Ključne besede: frazeologija, kinegrami, otroška literatura, prevod, prevodne metode

0 EINLEITUNG

Das Hauptanliegen meines Beitrags ist die Untersuchung von Kinegrammen im Roman *Dicke Didi, fetter Felix* von Christine Nöstlinger und ihre Wiedergabe ins Slowenische. Kinegramme werden in narrativen Texten zur Charakterisierung von Figuren verwendet. Im Beitrag wird auf bestimmte Aspekte der Übersetzung eingegangen, wobei das Augenmerk ganz besonders auf die übersetzerischen Leistungen beim Entschlüsseln der verbalen Kodierung der Kinegramme im Originaltext und beim Wiedergeben dieser lexikalisierten Wortverbindungen in der Zielsprache gelenkt wird.

1 KINEGRAMME IN DER PHRASEOLOGIE

In der sprachlichen Kommunikation wird der verbale Teil des Kommunikationsprozesses oft vom nonverbalen Teil begleitet. Die sogenannte Körpersprache nimmt hierbei eine wichtige Stellung ein, denn es geht um in Körperhaltung, Bewegung, Gestik oder Mimik sich ausdrückende Gestimmtheit.¹ Das Zusammenspiel von Körper und Sprache wird von vielen Wissenschaftszweigen, wie Theater-, Kommunikations- und Sprachwissenschaft, Rhetorik, Psycholinguistik usw. bearbeitet. Auch in der Phraseologie stellt dieses Zusammenspiel als sprachliche Repräsentation außersprachlicher Sachverhalte ein beliebtes Objekt der Forschung dar. Die erste systematische Beschreibung konventionalisierten nonverbalen Verhaltens in der germanistischen Phraseologieforschung schuf Burger 1976 mit seinem Aufsatz *«Die Achseln zucken»: zur sprachlichen Kodierung nicht-sprachlicher Kommunikation*. Mit dem aus der Kinestik gewählten Begriff „Kinegramme“ benannte er sprachliche Repräsentationen außersprachlicher kommunikativer Sachverhalte. Die Entstehung dieser Phrasemklasse wird im Handbuch der Phraseologie erläutert: „[= Klasse der Kinegramme] konstituiert sich durch die Einheitlichkeit des von ihr erfaßten außersprachlichen Denotats“ (Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 56). Von allen anderen Phrasemklassen unterscheiden sich Kinegramme durch besondere semantische, pragmatische und stilistische Eigenschaften. Meistens geht es um verbale Syntagmen, da sie Handlungen durch Bewegungen ausdrücken.² Hinsichtlich der Motivation bezeichnen z. B. Kinegramme wie *die Achseln zucken*, *mit der Faust auf den Tisch schlagen* und *den Kopfschütteln* auf der sprachlichen Ebene eine regelmäßige Kombination der Komponenten, die symbolisch kodiert wird und oft sogar Polysemie aufweist. Die Bedeutung des Kinegramms *die Achseln zucken* ist die synchrone Realisie-

¹ Zur Körpersprache zählt Lapinskas (2004: 1) „[...] die Sprache der Arme und Hände (Gestik), die des Gesichts (Mimik), die des Oberkörpers (Gebärden) und des gesamten Körpers (Proxemik Raumverhalten).“

² Eine besondere Gruppe in der Phraseologie stellen die sogenannten „Somatismen“ dar, mit denen jedes Phrasem bezeichnet wird, das einen Körperteil als eine der lexikalischen Komponenten enthält. Somatismen zählen zu einer der zahlreichsten Kategorien von Phrasemen.

rung der Körperbewegung und der symbolischen Kodierung von ‘Unwissenheit’, ‘Unentschlossenheit’, ‘Gleichgültigkeit’, ‘Desinteresse’ oder ‘Ratlosigkeit’. Nach Grzybek (2007: 195 f.) kommt es bei Kinegrammen darauf an, dass

/.../ durch die synchrone Realisierung eines sprachlichen und eines nicht-sprachlichen Verhaltensstereotyps in Form einer semiotischen Kontiguität heterogener Komponenten ein komplexes phraseogestisches Zeichen generiert wird.

Einerseits sind verbale Verhaltensformen, die de facto ausgeführt werden, produktiv lebendig und andererseits sind sie rezeptiv lebendig, wenn sie in ihrer Funktion verstanden werden (vgl. Burger 1976: 315). Laut Burger et al. (1982: 58) liegt beim kinetischen Vorgang *mit der Faust auf den Tisch schlagen* „eine differenzierte Aktionsbeschreibung vor, mit Angabe des Agens, des Instruments, der Richtung, des affizierten Objekts, mit punktueller Aktionsart und implizit mitverständener Geschwindigkeit der Aktion.“ Gleichzeitig zum körperlichen Vorgang wird aber auf der zweiten Bedeutungsebene der Ablauf von Emotionen, Einstellungen und Befindlichkeiten ausgelöst, die die Bedeutung ‘in Wut sein’ repräsentieren.

Burger klassifiziert Kinegramme auf formaler und semantischer Ebene. Auf formaler Ebene unterscheidet er: (1) monolexematische Kinegramme im mimischen Bereich (*anstarren*), im gestischen Bereich (*nicken, zusammenzucken*) und im paralinguistischen Bereich (*grunzen, brummen*), (2) polylexematische Kinegramme (*den Kopfschütteln*) und (3) Kinegramme, die mehr oder weniger lexikalisch nicht (mehr) gebundene Verbalisierungen von nonverbalem Verhalten sind (z. B. eine Bühnenanweisung). Auf semantischer Ebene differenziert Burger zwischen mehreren Arten von Kinegrammen. Bei einschichtigen Kinegrammen verweist deren Bedeutung auf konkrete physische Vorgänge (*die Stirn runzeln*) oder ganze kinetische Bilder (*mit ausgestreckten Händen*). Bei zweischichtigen oder auch „echten“ Kinegrammen werden möglicherweise zwei Lesarten gleichzeitig realisiert und beide semantischen Bedingungen gegeben. Zusammen mit dem kinetischen Prozess wird auch der kommunikative Wert bzw. die soziokulturelle und psychische Bedeutung mitkodiert. Das Kinegramm *die Stirn runzeln* hat folgende Lesarten: 1. die Stirn in Falten legen; 2. Ausdruck von Verständnislosigkeit/ Ratlosigkeit/ Verärgerung (vgl. Burger 1976: 318 ff.). Als unechte oder Pseudo-Kinegramme werden die am stärksten konventionalisierten Kinegramme bezeichnet, die nur bildlich verstanden werden und nur eine Bedeutung der zweiten Ebene aufweisen (*jmdm./jmdn. ins Herz schneiden*). Das in ihnen beschriebene Verhalten ist womöglich noch vorstellbar, aber in Wirklichkeit nicht ausführbar. In der letzten Gruppe werden Kinegramme zusammengefasst, die Metaphern aus dem Bereich des tierischen Verhaltens darstellen.

Elemente des nonverbalen Verhaltens gehören zum phraseologischen Wortschatz einer Sprache und sind als sprachliche Zeichen stabil bzw. fest und lexikalisiert, damit sie vom Kommunikationspartner auch richtig dekodiert werden können. Der menschliche Körper als Bestandteil der phraseologischen Wortverbindungen wirft interessante Forschungsfragen auf. Synchron gesehen sind Kinegramme sprachlich kodifiziert und im Sprachbewusstsein der Mitglieder einer Gesellschaft bildhaft verankert. Für Wotjak (1992: 39 f.) sind Kinegramme

/.../ Versprachlichungen von innerhalb einer bestimmten Kommunikationsgemeinschaft konventionalisiertem nonverbalen Verhalten im Sinne physiologischer und wahrnehmungspsychologischer Tatsachen, d.h. im Sinne gestischer, mimischer und anderer körpersprachlicher Zeichen und Mitteilungsmuster.

In unserer Untersuchung werden polylexematische Kinegramme als Versprachlichung des nonverbalen Verhaltens analysiert, mit denen die wörtliche Bedeutung mit der symbolischen Bedeutung, der ein kommunikativer Wert beigemessen wird, verknüpft wird.

2 KINEGRAMME AUS ÜBERSETZUNGSBEZOGENER PERSPEKTIVE

Der interlinguale bilaterale oder multilaterale Vergleich von Phrasemen wird entweder als eine rein kontrastive Gegenüberstellung der denotativ-strukturellen Aspekte oder als eine Beschreibung von Übersetzungslösungen der textuellen Realisierungen betrieben. Phraseme heben sich in ihren kategorialen Eigenschaften von einfachen Lexemen ab. Sehr deutlich treten diese Differenzen beim Übersetzen auf, was die Suche nach äquivalenten bzw. gleichwertigen Ausdrücken in mindestens zwei Sprachen erschwert. Im Gegensatz zu den kontrastiven Analysen auf der Ebene der *langue*, berücksichtigen die übersetzungsbezogenen phraseologischen Untersuchungen auch „/.../ die Komponenten textueller/intertextueller und pragmatischer, zum Teil auch konnotativer Art“ (Koller 2007: 605; vgl. Valenčič Arh 2014: 91), denn in Texten entfalten Phraseme ihr Bedeutungspotential, den pragmatischen Mehrwert und/oder die Phraseoaktivität (vgl. Gréciano 1994: 209).

In der Phraseologieforschung gibt es keine einheitliche Aufstellung von Übersetzungsverfahren beim Übersetzen von Phrasemen. Oft werden Übersetzungsverfahren unter übersetzungskritischem Aspekt dem jeweiligen Werk oder der einzelnen Textsorte angepasst und auch terminologisch unterschiedlich benannt. Nach Hallsteinsdóttir, Farø (2010: 146) ergibt die Suche nach der translatorischen Äquivalenz en gros folgende fünf Prozeduren:

- (1) Phrasem – Phrasem
- (2) Phrasem – Wort (Wortbildung oder Simplex)
- (3) Phrasem – freie Wortverbindung (paraphrasieren bzw. weglassen)
- (4) freie Wortverbindung – Phrasem
- (5) Wort – Phrasem

Die Übersetzer bedienen sich meistens mehrerer Übersetzungsprozeduren, jedoch konnte festgestellt werden, dass am häufigsten die erste Prozedur, nach der das adäquate zielsprachliche Phrasem gesucht wird, in den meisten Fällen dominiert (vgl. ebd.).

3 **UNTERSUCHUNGSGRUNDLAGE UND METHODE**

Beim Vergleich von Kinegrammen in zwei oder mehreren Sprachen werden unter anderem die unterschiedlichen Weltbilder gegenübergestellt bzw. deutlich (vgl. Kržišnik 2009: 151). Das Ziel dieses Artikels besteht darin, zu zeigen, wie das sprachlich kodifizierte nonverbale Verhalten, das in Erzähltexten als subtiles Stilmittel zur Versprachlichung von psychischen Befindlichkeiten dient, im Original und in der Übersetzung verwendet wurde. Die Gegenüberstellung von Ausgangstext (AT) und Zieltext (ZT) erlaubt uns zugleich, auf bestimmte translato-logische Aspekte einzugehen.

Die Belege stammen aus dem Buch *Dicke Didi, fetter Felix* (DDFF) der österreichischen Schriftstellerin Christine Nöstlinger, das für LeserInnen ab elf Jahren empfohlen wird und aus der Übersetzung *Debela Nela in zavaljeni Jani* (DNZJ). Christine Nöstlinger schreibt über reale Themen in realen Welten, mit denen Kinder konfrontiert werden. Sie will Kinder dazu bringen, dass sie ihre eigene Meinung bilden, ihren eigenen Ausweg finden und vielleicht sogar die Gesellschaft verändern. Im untersuchten Roman sind die Hauptprotagonisten dicke Didi und fetter Felix - im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes - zu dicken Freunden geworden. Beide leiden unter ihrem Gewicht, auch weil sie deswegen von anderen Kindern verspottet werden. Ihr Gewichtsproblem kümmert sie eigentlich nicht, im Gegenteil, solidarisch gehen sie gemeinsam durch dick und dünn. Aber als Felix durch eine schwere Erkrankung sein Gewicht verliert und in der Schule immer beliebter wird, sucht er sich auch andere Freunde und geht Didi aus dem Weg. Sie ist zuerst verzweifelt, aber dann entdeckt sie, was man mit Wut im Bauch statt mit Tränen in den Augen alles erreichen kann (vgl. Valenčič Arh 2014).

In ihrer Erzählweise gebraucht Nöstlinger eine real gesprochene Umgangssprache, die sie zum wesentlichen intentionalen Gestaltungselement entwickelte.

Auch die Sprache der Figuren orientiert sich am Sprechverhalten der vorgesehenen Lesergruppe. Metaphorische Bilder und phraseologische feste Wortverbindungen gebraucht sie zur Verdeutlichung bestimmter Sachverhalte.

In unserer Untersuchung konnten fünf verschiedene Übersetzungsverfahren festgestellt werden, die im interlingualen Vergleich eingesetzt wurden. Für unsere Analyse war immer die Position der Phraseme in der Ausgangssprache (AS) im ausgangssprachlichen Kontext ausschlaggebend. Die Textstellen, in denen umgekehrt zu einer freien Wortverbindung in der AS ein Phrasem in der Zielsprache (ZS) gefunden wurde, wurden aus der Analyse ausgeschlossen. Wird im Ausgangstext ein Kinegramm als lexikalisierte feste Wortverbindung entdeckt, versucht man im Übersetzungsprozess ein Äquivalent in der Zielsprache zu finden, das in der Struktur, Bedeutung, Stilzuordnung und im konnotativen (pragmatischen) Mehrwert dem AS-Kinegramm gleichwertig ist (vgl. Valenčič Arh 2014: 125). Im Idealfall gibt es in beiden Sprachen Volläquivalenz, so dass beim Übersetzungsverfahren der **Substitution I** ein volläquivalentes ZS-Kinegramm eingesetzt wird. Falls es in der Zielsprache ein semantisch ähnliches Kinegramm gibt, das aber Differenzen in der Struktur bzw. im Komponentenbestand aufweist, wird das Übersetzungsverfahren **Substitution II** verwendet. Mit dem Übersetzungsverfahren **Neutralisation I** ist gemeint, dass sich der Übersetzer für eine neutrale Übersetzung des gegebenen AS-Kinegramms entschied und anstelle des AS-Kinegramms in der Zielsprache ein Lexem oder aber eine freie Wortverbindung beim Übersetzungsverfahren **Neutralisation II** verwendete. Als letztes Übersetzungsverfahren wurde in unserer Analyse **Erweiterung** festgestellt, bei der das AS-Kinegramm in der ZS quantitativ erweitert wurde, so dass es in der ZS mit zwei Kinegrammen wiedergegeben wurde.

4 FALLBEISPIELE

Im Folgenden wird eine Auswahl von analysierten Textstellen präsentiert, die sowohl auf die interessantesten Übersetzungslösungen als auch auf die einzelnen Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten hinweisen.

Die Schule, die Felix und Didi besuchten, veranstaltet einen Wandertag, an dem beide teilnehmen. Beim Wandern in der freien Natur ist es wie immer: die anderen gehen vorne, Didi und Felix hinten. Beide sind sehr traurig, weil sie wieder allein zu zweit sind und sie fangen zu streiten an.

- (1)
dt. Dann versuchten beide, ganz schnell zu laufen, damit sie voneinander wegkämen. Sie *bissen die Zähne zusammen* - wegen der Blasen und

spreizten die Beine - wegen der wunden Innenseiten - und rannten und keuchten und holten tatsächlich auf. (DDFF, S. 31)

- sl. In potem sta obadva poskusila kar najhitreje teči, da bi se znebila drug drugega. *Stisnila sta zobe* - zaradi mehurjev - in razkrečila noge - zaradi vnetih notranjih strani - in sta dirjala in sopihala in v resnici zmanjšala zaostanek. (DNZJ, S.29)

Hier haben wir es mit einem kinetisch scharfen Bild zu tun: Zähne beißt man bei Schmerzen, in schweren Zeiten oder wenn man etwas Unangenehmes tapfer ertragen muss, zusammen. Im Slowenischen entspricht die Übersetzung mit dem Kinegramm *stisniti zobe* genau dem Original: gewählt wurde also das Übersetzungsverfahren Substitution I.

Wie schon so oft, wird Felix auch am Wandertag von anderen Mitschülern gehänselt, weil er dick ist.

(2)

- dt. Felix nahm seinen neuen Rekorder mit, aber den entriss ihm Willi gleich beim Schultor. „Fetter“, rief er, „du schleppst schwer genug an dir selber, ich bin nett und trag ihn dir!“ Willi lief mit dem Rekorder zu den anderen Kindern und drehte so wild an den Knöpfen, dass es Felix *ins Herz schnitt*. (DDFF, S.30)

- sl. Jani je vzel s seboj svoj novi kasetar, ampak Vili Novak mu ga je izpulil iz rok že takoj pri šolskih vratih. „Bajsi,“ mu je zaklical, „ti že tako dovolj tovariš na sebi, prijazen bom in ti ga bom nosil!“ Vili Novak je stekel s kasetarjem k drugim otrokom in tako divje obračal gumbe, da *je Janiju pokalo srce*. (DNZJ, S. 28)

Der reale Vorgang im AS-Kinegramm *jmdm./jmdn. ins Herz schneiden* in der Bedeutung ‘jmdn. sehr bekümmern, tiefes Mitgefühl in jmdn. wecken’ und im ZS-Kinegramm *komu je pokalo srce* (dt. wörtl. ‘jmdm. platzte das Herz’) wird symbolisch verstanden, die Gebärde wird nicht realisiert. Die slowenische Übersetzung ist eine Substitution II des AS-Kinegramms, weil es zwischen den beiden Kinegrammen Differenzen im lexikalischen Komponentenbestand gibt. Interessanterweise ist im Slowenischen auch das Verb *zarezati* (dt. *schneiden*) lexikalisiert, mit dem ein etwas intensiverer Vorgang beschrieben wird (*komu se je kaj zarezalo v srce*), das aber in der Übersetzung nicht eingesetzt wurde.

Während der Rechenschularbeit musste Felix schnaufen, weil er emsig alles falsch rechnete und außerdem Durst hatte. Frau Specht erlaubte ihm zur Wasserleitung

zu gehen. Felix trat dabei auf einen Kaugummi, der an seiner Schuhsohle hängen blieb und als er zurück zu seinem Pult ging, trat er auf einen Schwindelzettel, der am Kaugummi kleben blieb. Frau Specht nieste gerade und machte dabei ihre Augen zu.

(3)

dt. Felix zog staunend den Zettel vom Kaugummi, entfaltete ihn und *strahlte über das ganze Gesicht*. (DDFF, S. 28)

sl. Jani je začudeno odtrgal listič z žvečilnega, ga odprl in ves zasijal. (DNZJ, S. 25)

Das Kinegramm *über das ganze Gesicht strahlen* steht für einen Gesichtsausdruck, mit dem man seiner großen Freude Ausdruck verleiht und zeigt hier, wie sehr sich Felix über seinen zufälligen Fund und den Inhalt darauf freute. In der slowenischen Übersetzung wird mit der Übersetzungsprozedur Neutralisation I, bei der in der Zielsprache lediglich das Lexem *zasijati* wiedergegeben wird, die Intensität der Emotion etwas außer Acht gelassen. Um auszudrücken, wie intensiv seine Gemütsbewegung war, hätte man sie im Slowenischen auch mit zusätzlichen Substantiven wiedergeben können, wie etwa *zasijati od srečel/veselja*.

Damit Felix mehr Gesellschaft mit gleichaltrigen Jungs findet, schickt ihn seine Mutter jeden Nachmittag auf den Fußballplatz. Aber niemand wollte ihn in seiner Mannschaft haben, niemand wollte mit ihm spielen.

(4)

dt. Auf dem Fußballplatz fragte Felix den Berti, der Kapitän der einen Mannschaft war: „Darf ich bei dir mitspielen?“ Berti *tippte sich mit einem Zeigefinger gegen die Stirn*. Felix rollte zum Willi. Der war Kapitän der anderen Mannschaft. Er fragte ihn: „Darf ich bei dir mitspielen?“ Willi machte sich nicht einmal die Mühe, den *Zeigefinger* zur *Stirn* zu heben. Er *schüttelte bloß den Kopf*. (DDFF, S.12)

sl. Na nogometnem igrišču je Jani vprašal Bertija Kovača, ki je bil kapetan moštva: „Lahko igram pri tebi?“ Berti Kovač se je *s prstom potrkal po čelu*. Jani se je odkotalil k Viliju Novaku. To je bil kapetan nasprotnega moštva. Vprašal ga je: „Lahko igram pri tebi?“ Vili Novak se ni niti toliko potrudil, da bi dvignil kazalec do čela. Samo *zmajal je z glavo*. (DNZJ, S. 12)

Felix spricht zwei Kapitäne der Fußballmannschaft an, zuerst Berti, dann Willi. Beide bringen ihre Reaktion mit der Körpersprache zum Ausdruck. Das Kine-

ogramm *sich mit einem Zeigefinger gegen die Stirn tippen* zeigt, wie ablehnend sich die Kinder Felix gegenüber verhalten, weil er übergewichtig ist. In der kurzen Textpassage wird dasselbe Kineogramm an einer weiteren Textstelle wiederholt eingesetzt. Es werden nicht nur dieselben Komponenten *Zeigefinger* und *Stirn* wiederholt, sondern die ablehnende Reaktion von Willi wird mit weiteren Strukturen in der Umgebung untermauert: *nicht einmal* verstärkt die negative Wirkung der festen Wortverbindung *sich Mühe machen* und auch das zweite Kineogramm *den Kopf schütteln* in verneinender Bedeutung ist ein Ausdruck von Verständnislosigkeit oder Ablehnung, dazu noch begleitet vom Abtönungspartikel *bloß*. Die Wiederholung schafft einen Bildbereich, der diese Textpassage auffälliger und stilistisch markiert macht. In der slowenischen Übersetzung wird zunächst das situationsgemäß adäquate Kineogramm *potrkat* *se po čelu* eingesetzt, eine Geste, mit der Berti seine Ablehnung und Verständnislosigkeit ausdrückt. In der Wiederholung des ZS-Kineogramms wird jedoch nur die Komponente *čelo* eingesetzt. Die Auffälligkeit der Einbettung des betreffenden Kineogramms in der kurzen Textpassage kommt nicht so stark zum Ausdruck wie in der Ausgangssprache.

Als Didi merkt, dass sie so schwer ist, dass sich auf der Wippschaukel fünf schlanke Kinder ans andere Ende setzen müssen, um sie hochzubringen, entschließt sie sich in den Ferien abzunehmen. Nach einem langen Wutlauf, gefolgt von einer manischen Sportphase, ist Didi fast genauso schlank wie die schöne Regine. Für den ersten Schultag, an dem sie ihrem geliebten Freund Felix begegnet, macht sie sich richtig zurecht.

(5)

dt. Am Schulanfangsmorgen zog Didi die neue Hose an und das neue T-Shirt, schüttelte die neue Frisur zurecht und ging aus dem Haus, der Schule zu. Ihr *Herz klopfte* gewaltig. Ganz aufgeregt war sie. (DDFF, S.82)

sl. Prvo šolsko jutro je oblekla Nela nove hlače in novo majico, si poravnala novo pričesko in se napotila od doma proti šoli. *Srce ji je* na vso moč razburjalo. Bila je čisto razburjena. (DNZJ, S. 80)

Phraseme werden in Texten oft so eingebettet, dass sie bestimmte Relationen zu anderen sprachlichen Ausdrucksmitteln herstellen. Auf der Textebene geht es dabei um kreative Verflechtungen mit Phrasemen und anderen sprachlichen Mitteln auf der Ausdrucks- und Inhaltsebene, die zu Ambiguität, Anspielung oder Verfremdung führen können, weil das phraseologische System diese Möglichkeiten bietet (vgl. Valenčič Arh 2014: 169). Im Beleg 5 wird die Bedeutung des Kineogramm *jmds. Herz klopft* zusätzlich expliziert (*Ganz aufgeregt war sie*), so dass andere Sprachzeichen das Verstehen oder Interpretieren zusätzlich sichern.

Dieses Verfahren wird Paraphrasieren genannt und dient der Sicherung von Tiefenstrukturen, um die Kohärenz als inhaltlichen Zusammenhang im Text zu gewährleisten. Auch in der slowenischen Übersetzung wird das entsprechende und völlig adäquate Kinegramm *srce razbija komu* zur Beschreibung der heftigen Gefühlsbewegung anaphorisch paraphrasiert, so dass die umschreibende und verständnissichernde Wirkung dieses Verfahrens beibehalten wurde.

5 ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Korpusanalyse hat veranschaulicht, dass Kinegramme in Christine Nöstlingers Kinderbuch *Dicke Didi, fetter Felix* ein auffälliges Stilmittel darstellen. Die Auffälligkeit von Kinegrammen in der Figurenrede lässt auf die Darstellung von Emotionalität, Einstellungen und Befindlichkeiten der Hauptprotagonisten schließen. Als bildhafte feste Wortverbindungen lockern Kinegramme auf der Erzählebene die starre Handlungsbeschreibung auf. Im untersuchten Roman zieht sich das Dick-Sein thematisch durch den ganzen Roman, gleichzeitig aber konnte auch eine hohe Konzentration an verbalisierter Körpersprache bestätigt werden, so dass der Eindruck entsteht, dass die Phraseme textkonstituierend mit dem Thema der Handlung zusammenhängen. Die Übersetzungen der untersuchten Kinegramme in der Zielsprache Slowenisch sind funktional adäquat. Insgesamt 44 Kinegramme in der Ausgangssprache wurden in der Zielsprache Slowenisch zu 91 Prozent äquivalent substituiert oder erweitert und zu 9 Prozent neutralisiert. Dieser Studie liegen relativ geringe Daten zugrunde. Trotzdem kann angenommen werden, dass die weitgehende Übereinstimmung zwischen dem deutschen und slowenischen Sprachsystem die Übersetzungsentscheidungen beeinflusste. Kinegramme wurden als textlinguistisches Verfahren eingesetzt, wobei sie unter der textkohäsiven Perspektive auf der Oberflächenstruktur in beiden Sprachen sehr bedacht – auch anhand der Verfahren der Wiederaufnahme, Häufung, Paraphrase und Modifikation – in den Text eingebettet wurden. Beim Übersetzen von Kinderliteratur darf nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, dass der gesamte Übersetzungsprozess von einem Erwachsenen geführt wird, der die Übersetzung als seine Interpretation der Vorlage durch Adaption, Auslassung usw. auch stark beeinflussen kann. Die AS-textbezogene Sicht der Übersetzerin bei der Wiedergabe der untersuchten Phrasemklasse in der Zielkultur hat die situative Äquivalenz und funktionale Adäquatheit der Kinegramme im ZS-Text gewährleistet.

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Die Bibelübersetzung als Konfliktzone im volkssprachlich- lateinischen Mittelalter - eine komparative Analyse von deutsch-slowenischen Übersetzungen

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Povzetek

Srednji vek v zgodovini človeštva velja za eno najmračnejših obdobj. Z vidika ljudskih prevodov Svetega pisma in iz tega izhajajočem odpiranju evropskega večjezikovnega in transkulturnega dialoga, pa je pozni srednji vek ključno doprinesel k razvoju današnje globalne informacijske kulture. Znanost in izobraževanje sta se v srednjem veku razvijala v senci in pod prevlado teologije, ki je bila usmerjena klerikalno in se je zavzemala za izključno krščansko vodilno kulturo. Vsa religiozna besedila so bila cenzurirana, številne knjige, napisane v ljudskih jezikih in s tem dostopne širšemu obsegu bralcev, pa so bile na seznamu prepovedanih del, imenovanem Index librorum prohibitorum (1559), kar je povzročilo dodaten konflikt in spor na relaciji ljudsko-latinskega prevajanja. Na tem seznamu oz. v tem razvidu rimske inkvizicije so bili vsi avtorji in knjige, katerih branje je za kristjane veljalo kot hud greh, med drugim celotni spisi Martina Luthra, ki je bil izobčen iz cerkve in pregnan iz cesarstva, kar je

imelo posledice tudi za slovenska prevajalca Svetega pisma, Primoža Trubarja in Jurija Dalmatina. V prispevku poskušamo osvetliti kulturno-zgodovinske okoliščine luteranskega prevoda Svetega pisma in jih povezati s slovenskimi prevodi, ki so pokazatelj osamosvajanja slovenskega jezika in imajo ključno vlogo v razvoju slovenske kulture. V empirični raziskavi na primeru izbranih verzov Dalmatinovega prevoda svetih besedil ugotavljamo, kakšne prevajalske strategije je pri svojem delu v primerjavi z Lutrovim in s Trubarjevim prevodom Svetega pisma, ki sta mu služila za izhodišče, uporabljal Dalmatin.

Ključne besede: prevod Svetega pisma, latinščina-ljudski jeziki, Index librorum prohibitorum, Martin Luther, Jurij Dalmatin

1 DIE BIBEL ALS ÜBERSETZUNGSBESTSELLER ALLER ZEITEN

Auch in unserem Informations- und Kommunikationszeitalter schafft es die Bibel weiterhin, die Rangliste der weltweit meistgelesenen Bücher anzuführen. Dafür gibt es mehrere Gründe. Kein anderes geistiges Werk konnte jemals die Aufmerksamkeit sämtlicher Gesellschaftsschichten so stark auf sich ziehen und wurde derart oft übersetzt, gelesen und ausgelegt wie die Bibel. Die Bibel ist ein historisches, philosophisch-theologisches und literarisches Werk erster Güte, mit dem sich seit beinahe zweitausend Jahren überall auf der Welt christliche Geistesgrößen, Wissenschaftler und Theologen, aber auch zahlreiche spezialisierte Bibelübersetzer befassen (vgl. Delisle und Woodsworth 2012). In der katholischen Kirche wurde das Latein als Liturgiesprache erst Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts durch die jeweiligen Landessprachen ersetzt, um vom Kirchenvolk besser verstanden zu werden.

Als am häufigsten übersetztes Werk der Menschheitsgeschichte stellt die Bibel - laut Angaben der britischen Bibelgesellschaft wurde sie bislang in 2.200 Sprachen und Dialekte übersetzt - mit ihrer komplexen, multidisziplinären Struktur seit jeher große Anforderungen an das Können und das Verantwortungsgefühl der Übersetzer. Bibelübersetzer waren bzw. sind in der Regel Experten in Theologie und/oder Translation, doch trotz ihrer exzellenten fachlichen und beruflichen Fähigkeiten konnten sich in die Bibelübersetzungen immer wieder kleinere und größere Fehler einschleichen. Der häufigste Einwand bezieht sich auf das wortgetreue Übersetzen, das eine Folge ihres großen Verantwortungsgefühls und ihrer hohen Pietät gegenüber dieser einzigartigen historisch-kulturellen Publikation ist. Zur Rechtfertigung dieser Übersetzer sei betont, dass bei Bibelübersetzungen stets auch die unstrittige Forderung bestand, streng und verantwortungsbewusst an die Übersetzung heranzugehen, ohne auch nur „einen Millimeter vom Ori-

ginal abzuweichen“, da es sich um Gottes Wort handelt. Zu Recht wird betont, dass die mittelalterlichen Übersetzer „das Übersetzen als Askese“ verstanden haben (Movrin 2012:95). Die biblischen Themen, Gleichnisse, Allegorien und Legenden haben im Laufe der vergangenen zweitausend Jahre die Errungenschaften unserer Kultur und Zivilisation durchdrungen und sie geformt. Ohne profunde Bibelkenntnisse ist die christliche und europäische Geschichte und Kultur nicht zu erfassen. Durch die Bibelübersetzungen wurde eine einheitliche Kultur geschaffen, die als christliche Kultur oder Zivilisation bekannt ist, und die Kenntnis der Heiligen Schrift war und ist zu allen Zeiten das Fundament der Bildung. Die Bibel (griech. *biblos*, *biblia* = Buch, Bücher) umfasst die Bücher des Alten und des Neuen Testaments. Sie ist das heilige Buch der Christen, eine Sammlung religiöser Schriften geschichtlichen, dogmatischen, moralischen und poetischen Inhalts. In der christlichen Überlieferung gilt die Bibel als apostolisches Werk, das die Wahrheit über Gott, über Christus und über die Stellung und das Heil des Menschen offenbart. Es ist das kanonische Werk des Christentums, der Kirche und der Theologie, das aber nicht nur als geschriebener Text lebt. Als mündliche Überlieferung spielt es eine bedeutende Rolle in der Einstellung zum Glauben und zur menschlichen Zivilisation. Das Alte Testament umfasst die heiligen Schriften des Judentums und ist auf Hebräisch verfasst, während das Neue Testament vom Leben und Wirken Jesu Christi und des Urchristentums berichtet. Es entstand in der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jahrhunderts der neuen, christlichen Zeitrechnung in griechischer Sprache. Die einzelnen Bücher der Bibel sahen nicht immer so aus wie heute, sie waren ursprünglich vor allem nicht in Kapitel und Verse eingeteilt. Wie auch die anderen Handschriften aus jener Zeit war sie *in continuo* geschrieben, ohne Wortabstände, ohne Zwischenräume und ohne Interpunktion, meist in Spalten ohne festgelegte Anzahl von Graphemen pro Zeile und ohne Silbentrennung. Die erste Gesamtbibel mit Versnummerierung war die neue lateinische Übersetzung von Sante Pagnini aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, obwohl das Konzil von Trient 1546 die Vulgata als maßgeblich erklärte, da es sich um „altehrwürdige, allgemeine Übersetzung, die durch so lange Jahrhunderte im Gebrauch der Kirche erprobt ist“ handelte. Vulgata (lat. *vulgata im Volk verbreitet*) die lateinische Übersetzung der heiligen Schrift, wurde schon um das Jahr 390 von Hieronymus übersetzt und galt lange Zeit als die relevante Bibelübersetzung der katholischen Kirche. Sie wurde zur wichtigsten Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters und prägte mit ihrem Latein die intellektuellen Tätigkeiten. Erst mit der Reformation und der Lutherbibel, die als Ausgangssprache Hebräisch bzw. Griechisch bevorzugte, begann der Niedergang der Vulgata.

2 BIBELÜBERSETZER - REFORMATOREN UND HUMANISTEN

Die hebräischen bzw. griechischen Urschriften des Alten und des Neuen Testaments haben dem Zahn der Zeit nicht widerstanden und liegen nicht mehr vor. Vorhanden sind jedoch Abschriften. Diese Kopien haben sich mit der Zeit mehr und mehr vom Urtext entfernt, was auf die verschiedenen Übersetzungsstrategien durch Jahrhunderte zurückzuführen ist, die zu Unterschieden zwischen den einzelnen Bibelversionen führten.

Nida (1964:120) spricht von einer „dynamischen Dimension der Kommunikation“ und unterscheidet zwischen linguistischer Translation und kultureller Adaptation, wobei er zwei Äquivalenzbegriffe einführt: Formale und dynamische Äquivalenz. Formale Äquivalenz lehnt sich möglichst an den Ausgangstext an, „eine dynamische Äquivalenz liegt dann vor, wenn der zielsprachliche Text so an die zielkulturellen Gegebenheiten angepasst wird, dass die Botschaft des Ausgangstextes erhalten und in der Zielkultur eine identische Wirkung erzielt wird.“ (Prunč 2001:111). Bei der Bibelübersetzung soll man zwei wesentliche Kriterien berücksichtigen, in denen sich Bibelübersetzungen unterscheiden: die gewählte Textgrundlage bzw. der Ausgangstext der Übersetzung und die verwendete Übersetzungsmethode. Bei Luthers Bibelübersetzung, die als Grundlage für Dalmatins Übersetzung galt, wurde die kommunikativ-kontextuelle Übersetzungsmethode in Anspruch genommen, da Luther möglichst genau den Sinn des Bibelinhalts in deutscher Sprache wiederzugeben versuchte, wobei er sich teilweise der Adaptation als Übersetzungsstrategie bediente. Außerdem unterliefen beim Abschreiben verschiedene semantische und lexikalische Fehler und nicht selten wurden absichtlich inhaltliche Verbesserungen vorgenommen. Laut Jovanović (2003:31) lassen sich die Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments in direkte und indirekte einteilen, wobei zu den direkten oder unmittelbaren die Übersetzungen ins Griechische, Armenische, Syrische, Lateinische (Hieronymus und Pagnini) und Deutsche (Luther) zählen und zu den indirekten die arabische, die äthiopische, die georgische bzw. grusinische, die altlateinische und die slowenische Übersetzung.

Bibelübersetzer waren über die Jahrhunderte humanistische Kämpfer und Visionäre, die wegen ihrer demokratischen, patriotischen und freiheitlichen Einstellung verfolgt, verurteilt und eingesperrt wurden. Im 16. Jahrhundert, in den Jahren zwischen 1536 und 1546, kam es jedoch im übersetzerischen Bereich zur großen Wende, die mit drei großen Namen verbunden ist: Martin Luther, Etienne Dolet und William Tyndale. Diese haben durch ihre übersetzerische Tätigkeit die Entwicklung der gesamten Wissenschaft - Philosophie, Astronomie, Geometrie, Mathematik, Medizin, Optik usw. - enorm vorangebracht. Ciceros Gedanke vom freien bzw. kommunikativen Übersetzen wird tausend Jahre später

von Martin Luther (1483-1546) wieder aufgenommen, dessen deutsche Übersetzung der Heiligen Schrift als größte geistige und sprachliche Errungenschaft aller Zeiten gilt. „In diese Zeit fällt die große Leistung Martin Luthers, der mit der Bibelübersetzung eine Grundlage dafür schuf, ein adressatengerechtes Herangehen an Übersetzung überhaupt anzustreben“ Đurović (2009:88). Pelc (2002: 146) behauptet: „Sein Werk war nicht nur die Übersetzung in der damaligen Wortbedeutung, sondern eine Neuschöpfung des Inhalts der Heiligen Schrift im Kontext des Geistes und des Rhythmus der deutschen Sprache.“ Luther veröffentlichte auch seine Schriften meist auf Deutsch. „Bereits 1522 gab er das Neue Testament und 1534 die gesamte Bibel in einer Übersetzung heraus, die einem Leser mit durchschnittlicher Bildung nahe kam und verständlich war“ (vgl. Pelc *ibid.*:147). Nach seinem Vorbild führten Protestanten auch in anderen Ländern ihre Landessprache als Verkehrssprache ein und schufen damit eine neue Art der Kommunikation im öffentlichen Leben. Luthers revolutionäre Auffassung der Übersetzung: „rem tene, verba sequentur“ (erfasse die Sache, dann folgen die Worte von selbst) wurde in den intellektuellen, europäischen Kreisen als neue Translationsmethode akzeptiert und wurde gleichzeitig zum Grundprinzip der Reformation als politisch-kulturelle Bewegung (vgl. Stolze 2001). Laut Đurović (*ibid.*) „stellt sich von da an immer wieder die Frage der Treue zum Original oder der adressatengerechten Übersetzung, die im Laufe der Geschichte unterschiedlich beantwortet wird.“ Das Spätmittelalter und die Zeit der Reformation wird durch die Einführung der multilingualen Kommunikation und den Untergang des Lateins als *lingua franca* charakterisiert, was auch wesentliche Folgen für die Entwicklung des translatorischen Profils hatte. Laut Kocijančič-Pokorn (2003:44) „übersetzte Luther für die Menschen“, obwohl die katholische Kirche jede ungenehmigte Veröffentlichung der Bibel in einer Landessprache als häretisch verurteilte, was schließlich in massenhaften Bücherverbrennungen gipfelte und durch die Zensur im Rahmen von *Index librorum prohibitorum*¹ realisiert wurde. Auch in Slowenien war die protestantische Bewegung stark unter dem deutschen, lutherischen Einfluss, angeführt von Primož Trubar und Jurij Dalmatin.

3 JURIJ DALMATINS BIBELÜBERSETZUNG

Ein wesentlicher Grundsatz jeder protestantischen kirchlichen Gemeinschaft war die Überzeugung und Auffassung, dass Gott die Gläubigen in ihrer Sprache anspricht. Daher war die volkssprachliche Übersetzung der Heiligen Schrift das höchste Ziel des protestantischen Wirkens, das auch vom slowenischen Bibelübersetzer Jurij Dalmatin (1547-1589) befolgt wurde (vgl. Štih und Simo-

¹ Es handelt sich um einen Katalog von verbotenen Kunstwerken, Büchern und Theaterstücken, die von der Kirche als häretisch aufgefasst wurden. Damit versuchte die Kirche gegen den Protestantismus und die Reformation zu kämpfen.

niti 2010). Seine Bibelübersetzung zählt zu den bedeutendsten translatorischen und kulturellen Höhepunkten in der Geschichte des slowenischen Volkes, denn „*Übersetzung ist – in einem weiteren Sinne – immer Kulturarbeit*, in einem engeren Sinne *Spracharbeit*: Arbeit mit der anderen und an der eigenen Kultur, Arbeit mit und an der eigenen Sprache“ (Koller 2001:59). Kulturelles Wissen ist also bei der Anfertigung von Translaten unentbehrlich, denn »ein Text ist eingebettet in eine Situation und diese wiederum in eine Kultur. Ausgangs- und Zielsituationen und Ausgangs- und Zielkulturen überschneiden sich« (Kußmaul 2007:53). Durch Translation werden nämlich auf der textuellen Makro- und Mikroebene wesentliche interkulturelle und linguistische Elemente transportiert, d. h. der Translator hat nicht nur die Aufgabe, Wörter und Sätze von einer Sprache in die andere zu transkodieren, sondern er muss auch den kulturellen Kontext vermitteln, wodurch es den zielsprachlichen Rezipienten erst möglich wird, fremdsprachliche Texte zu erfassen.

Die Vorbereitungsphase des Übersetzungsprojekts war umfassend und sorgfältig geplant. Ahačič (2010) stellt fest, dass Dalmatin schon im Jahre 1572 die Übersetzung des ersten Buches Mose nach Ljubljana geschickt und schon 1575 in Ljubljana seine erste Übersetzung veröffentlicht hat: die Übersetzung des Alten Testaments Jesus Sirach, die vom Verleger Janž Mandelc herausgegeben wurde und als erstes gedrucktes slowenisches Buch aufzufassen ist. Die partielle Veröffentlichung der Bibelübersetzung brachte Dalmatin bald an sein Ziel, die Übersetzung der ganzen Bibel, die eigentlich in einer groben Form schon im Jahre 1578 verfasst wurde. Mit der Herausgabe der Mose-Bücher wollte Dalmatin bei den Krainer Landständen das Interesse für den Druck der gesamten Bibel wecken, was ihm schließlich auch gelang. Das ganze Übersetzungsprojekt war ziemlich anspruchsvoll und finanziell riskant, deshalb hat man sich zuerst geeinigt, dass das Manuskript von damaligen führenden Theologen aus allen drei slowenischen Ländern überprüft und genehmigt werden sollte. Die Überprüfungscommission, die 1581 ganze zwei Monate an der Übersetzung arbeitete, bestand aus angesehenen Mitgliedern der theologischen Kreise: als Vorsitzenden nannte man den Grazer Superintendenten Jeremi Homberger, zu den Kommissionsmitgliedern zählten noch Bernhard Steiner aus Klagenfurt, der Kärntner Prediger Janž Fašang, der Laibacher Superintendent Kristof Spindler und die Prediger Schweiger Tulščak und Felicijan Trubar. Im Kommissionsausschuss, der für die Überprüfung und Benotung von Dalmatins Bibelübersetzung zuständig war, wirkte auch der Projektleiter Adam Bohorič. Es ist interessant, die Rolle und die Funktion der angeführten Personen in der Überprüfungscommission genauer zu untersuchen, denn einige konnten gar kein Slowenisch und waren nur bei eventuellen spezifischen Ausdrücken und Termini behilflich, einige waren für Anmerkungen zuständig, andere befassten sich wieder mit Dialektausdrücken oder stellten das neue biblische Glossar zusammen oder wurden aufgrund seiner schönen Schrift-

fähigkeiten, mit der er die Reinschrift des übersetzten Manuskripts erstellte zum Mitglied der Kommission, wie beispielsweise Andrej Savinec. Die bedeutendste Rolle bei dem Überprüfungsverfahren der Bibelübersetzung hatten aber trotzdem der Autor und Übersetzer selbst und der Projektleiter Adam Bohorič, der für die sprachliche und orthographische Form der Übersetzung verantwortlich war (vgl. Ahačič 2010).

Dalmatin hat sich über seine Bibelübersetzung umfassend und detailliert in der Einleitung der slowenischen Bibelveröffentlichung geäußert, unter anderem erklärt er, dass er als Ausgangstext für sein Übersetzungswerk die deutsche Bibelübersetzung von Martin Luther benutzte. Eine starke Anlehnung an Luthers deutschsprachige Bibelfassung ist bei Dalmatins slowenischer Übersetzung deutlich zu spüren und zu sehen. Das Alte Testament wurde im Ganzen nach Luthers Vorbild übersetzt, die Hauptorientierung für die Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments war außer Luthers auch noch die Trubars Bibelübersetzung.

Bei der Übersetzung einiger Werke des Neuen Testaments folgte Dalmatin den Lösungen Trubars, die er im Vergleich zu Luthers Text ausgiebig *ausbesserte*. Das Verhältnis zwischen den Wörtern, die Dalmatin vom Trubar übernahm, und Wörtern, die Dalmatin veränderte oder selber hinzufügte, war im Durchschnitt vier zu eins. Wie es bei allen späteren Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments üblich ist, hat auch Dalmatin zusätzlich zur fremdsprachigen Grundlage die damalige Tradition beachtet. Bei inhaltlichen Unterschieden der Übersetzungen von Trubar und Luther, folgte Dalmatin Luthers Vorbild, viel weniger Trubars, noch seltener fügte er seine eigenen Lösungen ein (vgl. Ahačič 2010). Dalmatins Bibelübersetzung wurde in 1500 Exemplaren veröffentlicht. Mit Dalmatins Bibel gelingt es den Slowenen, unter den Nationen mit in der eigenen Sprache gedruckter Bibel den 14. Platz einzunehmen, womit die slowenische Sprache zur bedeutendsten Sprachgruppe des heutigen Europa zählt. Damit ist Dalmatins Beitrag zur Entwicklung und Positionierung der slowenischen Kultur innerhalb des europäischen Raums enorm. Die Sprache, die Dalmatin bei seinem Bibel-Übersetzungsprojekt benutzte, hat Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts wesentlich die slowenische Schriftsprache beeinflusst. Wie Ahačič und Potočnik (2010) in der Radiosendung *Ars* feststellten, wurde „Dalmatins Bibel von katholischen Priestern und anderen Autoren der katholischen biblischen Lesebücher bis zur Veröffentlichung von Japeljs Bibel um 1800 verwendet, wobei man betonen muss, dass sich Japeljs Bibelübersetzung an vielen Stellen an Dalmatins Übersetzung hält.“

4 DIE TRANSLATORISCH-SPRACHLICHEN HERAUSFORDERUNGEN IN DALMATINS BIBELÜBERSETZUNG

Mit Dalmatins Bibelübersetzung und mit der Grammatik von Bohorič wurde die slowenische Sprachverwendung normiert. Obwohl Dalmatin noch immer zahlreiche Germanismen und Lehnübersetzungen benutzt, ist die Sprache in ihrer Struktur konsequenter und bekommt die Grundzüge der heutigen slowenischen Sprache. Im Jahre 1612 veröffentlichten Tomaž Hren² und der Jesuit Janez Čandek eine Sammlung evangelischer und apostolischer Lesebücher in der slowenischen Sprache. Die meisten Texte wurden aus Dalmatins Bibelübersetzung übernommen, einige Stellen wurden geringfügig korrigiert. Man änderte und ersetzte einige deutsche Ausdrücke, die mit der Vulgata nicht übereinstimmten und ersetzte sie mit slowenischen Begriffen: *erbič* mit *dedič* (der Erbe), *flis* mit *skrb* (die Sorge), *gvant* mit *oblačilo* (die Kleidung) und *žlahta* mit *narod* (das Volk).

Damit bekamen die slowenischen Priester im Jahre 1612 eine offizielle, volkstümliche Ausgabe der ausgewählten Bibeltexte und waren dazu aufgefordert, diese in ihren Gottesdiensten vorzulesen. Obwohl im Spätmittelalter volkssprachlich-lateinische Konflikte und Auseinandersetzungen bezüglich des Wortes Gottes in den kirchlichen und klerikalen Kreisen zu verzeichnen sind, wobei man noch immer dem Latein als der *lingua franca* der damaligen Zeit den Vorrang gab, wurde langsam parallel auch die slowenische Bibelübersetzung bei der Kirchenpredigt eingesetzt. Im 17. Jahrhundert wurde oft sogar der Gebrauch von ins Slowenische übersetzten Büchern und der Einsatz der slowenischen, volkstümlichen Sprache seitens der Priester und Prediger überprüft. Die slowenischen Protestanten haben wesentlich zur Entwicklung der slowenischen Sprache und Kultur beigetragen, indem sie Luthers volkssprachlichen, verdeutschenden Übersetzungsprinzip folgten: „*man mus die mutter jhm hause / die kinder auff der gassen / den gemeinen mann auff dem marckt drumb fragen / und den selbigen auff das maul sehen / wie sie reden / und darnach dolmetzchen / so verstehen sie es den / und mercken / das man Deutsch mit jn redet.*“ (Koller 2006:39)

Mit der Zeit wich die gesprochene Sprache immer weiter von der in dem 16. Jahrhundert gesprochenen Sprache ab und somit wich die Schriftsprache der slowenischen protestantischen Schreiber, die mittels Hrens Lektionär noch immer gebraucht wurde, weiter von der gesprochenen Sprache ab. Als nächster passte Janez Ludvik Schönleben das Lektionär an. Als er im Jahre 1672 die zweite Ausgabe des katholischen Lektionärs vorbereitete, wollte auch er nicht stark in die Sprache eingreifen. Vielmehr schrieb er, mit geringfügigen Änderungen, Hrens

² Tomaž Hren (1560–1630) war Laibacher Bischof und ein eifriger Gegenreformer, der sich radikal für die Ausrottung des Protestantismus und Erhaltung des bestehenden Katholizismus einsetzte.

Werk Wort für Wort ab und somit natürlich auch Dalmatins Werk. Die in seinem Buch gebrauchte Sprache war weit von der damals gesprochenen Sprache entfernt. Und er fand die passende Antwort: Die Texte sollen gemäß den Überlieferungen der alten Schreiber geschrieben werden und gesprochen werden sollen sie gemäß der tatsächlich gesprochenen Sprache. Wie Ahačič (2010) betont, weist Schönleben besonders auf die Vokalreduktion hin, die „bei uns als ein Zeichen der Gewandtheit gilt“. Dennoch meint er, dass man Wörter, bei denen es zur Vokalreduktion kommt (z. B. wenn *piščanec* (Hühnchen) zu *piščanc* oder *pšanc* wird), im Slowenischen nicht so schreiben darf, wie sie ausgesprochen werden, da sie sonst unleserlich sind. Somit kam Janez Ludvik Schönleben zum erwähnten und in den nächsten Jahrzehnten sehr einflussreichen Sprachprinzip, die die slowenischen protestantischen Schreiber, besonders Dalmatins Bibel, aufgestellt haben. Dieser Norm nach hängt die Aussprache von der Region ab, sie entspricht also der tatsächlichen Sprachentwicklung in einem gewissen Bereich und in einer gewissen Zeit. Laut Schönleben beeinflusst die Schreibweise die Aussprache nicht unmittelbar. Die traditionelle Schreibweise aber erhält eine einheitliche und leserliche Schreibweise. Überdies können mit dieser Schreibweise die Tradition und die mit ihr verbundene scheinbare Sicherheit sowie wenige Schreibschwierigkeiten für gegenwärtige Schreiber erhalten werden.

Die Jahre vergingen, die Sprache veränderte sich, die Texte in den Lektionären, herausgegeben in den Jahren 1715, 1730, 1742, 1754 und 1758, jedoch blieben mehr oder weniger gleich und wirkten sich stark auf das Bewusstsein über die Tradition der slowenischen Schriftsprache aus. Wegen des Unterschieds zwischen der tatsächlich gesprochenen Sprache und der traditionellen Schreibweise fanden es die Autoren immer wichtiger, dass sie die Schreibweise und die Sprache in ihren Werken rechtfertigten.

In der Einleitung des Lektionärs aus dem Jahre 1742 wies Franc Mihael Paglovec auf einen der deutlichsten Unterschiede zwischen der gesprochenen Sprache aus den 16. Jahrhundert und der der späteren Jahrhunderte hin. Das velare präkonsonante *l* und das velare *l* im Auslaut, wurden im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert schon konsequent als *u* ausgesprochen. Man sagte also nicht mehr *volk* (Wolf), sondern *vouk*, nicht mehr *delat* (er arbeitete), sondern *delau*. Solch einen Übergang kann man in den meisten slowenischen Dialekten verfolgen, er setzte sich allerdings auch in der modernen slowenischen Schriftsprache durch. Die traditionelle Schreibweise solcher Beispiele mit *l* war, vor allem wegen der Rolle, die Hrens und Schölebens Übersetzung des Lektionärs spielte, so stark, dass, trotz anderer Aussprache, die Schreibweise mit *l* wenigstens theoretisch ganz selbstverständlich ist. Die ersten Texte darüber findet man bei Janez Svetokriški Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts, dann aber bei fast allen Autoren, die sich mit Fragen der traditionellen Schreibweise der slowenischen Literaturwerke beschäftigten (vgl. Ahačič 2010).

In der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts fand das Abschreiben der Bibelübersetzung von Dalmatin sein Ende, da die Schreiber das normative Ideal der slowenischen Schriftsprache mit der gesprochenen Sprache nicht mehr überprüfen konnten. Vonnöten waren neue Wörter- und Grammatikbücher. Jurij Dalmatins Bibelübersetzung aus dem 16. Jahrhundert hat die slowenische Sprache im 18. Jahrhundert stark beeinflusst und hat ihr eine normierte Dimension verliehen.

5 KONTRASTIVE ANALYSE VON EINIGEN VERSEN DER BIBELÜBERSETZUNG

Im Rahmen des translatorischen Seminars der Abteilung für Translationswissenschaft in Maribor, wurde mit den Studierenden ein Pilotprojekt ausgeführt, wobei Teile und Verse der Bibelübersetzungen von Dalmatin, Trubar und Luther kompariert und analysiert wurden. In der empirischen Analyse wird davon ausgegangen, dass bezüglich der damaligen gesellschaftlichen und historisch-politischen Umständen, unter denen die slowenische Übersetzung der Heiligen Schrift entstand, Dalmatin seine Bibel möglichst volkstümlich für das breite Volk zu übersetzen versuchte, um den theologisch-philosophisch-religiösen Inhalt verständlich wiederzugeben. Als Ausgangstext und Übersetzungstextgrundlage diente Luthers und Trubars Bibelübersetzung, die sich nicht für eine wörtliche, sondern für eine kommunikative Übersetzungsmethode entschieden, obwohl man in den analysierten Übersetzungen eine Kombination von beiden Strategien findet. (vgl. Pirih 2013)

Es wird auch davon ausgegangen, dass die Germanismen bei Trubars Bibelübersetzung entfernt und mit entsprechenden slowenischen Wörtern ersetzt wurden. Anhand von einigen Versen wird überprüft, ob man Fortschritte in der slowenischen Schriftsprache verzeichnen kann, wobei eine komparativ-historisch-translatorische Methode herangezogen wird, um auf einige Übersetzungsstrategien von Dalmatin aufmerksam zu machen. Um eine bessere Übersicht der Pilotstudie zu ermöglichen, wurde bei der translatorischen Analyse die aktuelle slowenische Standardübersetzung der Bibel herangezogen. Laut Pirih (2013) werden folgende Abkürzungen bei der Untersuchung verwendet: LÜB – Luthers Bibelübersetzung aus dem Jahre 1545, TÜB – Trubars Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments (1582), DÜB - Dalmatins Bibelübersetzung (1584) und SÜB – Slowenische Standardübersetzung der Bibel (5. Auflage, 2006).

5.1 Beispiele aus dem Alten Testament – Nehemia, Kapitel 1

Slowenische Reformisten und Protestanten übersetzten im 16. Jahrhundert biblische Texte meistens nach Luthers und Trubars Übersetzung, die manchmal mit Bemerkungen und zusätzlichen Kommentaren versehen wurden. Beim Übersetzen von Texten des Alten Testaments hat sich Dalmatin nicht an Trubars Übersetzung anlehnen können, er stützte sich an Luthers Übersetzung, was aus den folgenden Beispielen auch ersichtlich ist (Ahačič 2007: 516).

Vers 1

LÜB (Luther)	DJS sind die Geschichte Nehemja /	des sons Hachalja. Es geschach im monden Chislef des zwanzigsten jars /	das ich war zu Susan auff dem Schlos /
DÜB (Dalmatin)	LEtu fo te beffede Nehemia,	Hahaliaviga Synu. Pèrgudilu fe je v'Mefci Kisleu, v'dvajšfetim lejtí,	kar sim jeft bil v'Sufani na gradi,
SÜB (Standard)	Besede Nehemija, Hahaljávega sina:	V mesecu kislévu, v dvajsetem letu,	sem bil v mestni trdnjavi v Suzah.

Dalmatin entschied sich in der ersten Versreihe anstatt des deutschen Wortes *Geschichte* (zgodbe) für das slowenische Wort *beffede*, was aus der Perspektive der damaligen Zeit verständlich ist, da man Geschichten mit *Worten* erzählte. In der zweiten Reihe hat er in seiner Übersetzungsstrategie, um dem Leser eine zusätzliche Information zu gewährleisten, eine Ergänzung benutzt (*v'dvajšfetim lejtí*). Für Dalmatins Bibelübersetzung ist der Gebrauch von Apostrophen charakteristisch (*v'Mefci*, *v'dvajšfetim*, *v'Sufani*) aber auch seine wörtliche Übersetzung des deutschen Hilfsverbs im Präteritum *ich war* (bil sem), den er mit *sim jeft bil* übersetzte.

Vers 2

LÜB (Luther)	kam Hanani einer meiner brüder /	mit etlichen Mennern aus Juda /	Vnd ich fraget sie /	Wie es den Jüden gienge /	die errettet vnd vberig waren von dem Gefengnis /	vnd wie es zu Jerusalem gienge?
DÜB (Dalmatin)	de je prišhàl Hanani, edèn moih Bratou,	s'ènimi Moshmy is Iuda.	Inu jeft fim nje vprafhal,	koku bi Iudom fhlu,	kateri fo bily odteti, inu zhes oftali od te Iezhe,	inu koku bi v'Jerusalemi fhlu?
SÜB (Standard)	Tedaj je prišel Hanani, eden izmed mojih bratov,	in z njim nekaj mož iz Juda.	Povprašal sem jih	o Judih,	ki so se rešili ali preostali iz ujetništva,	ter o Jeruzalemu.

In der zweiten Reihe hat sich Dalmatin bei seiner Übersetzung für eine freie Interpretation des deutschen Wortes *mit etlichen* (s številnimi) entschlossen und das apostrofierte Wort *s'ènimi* gewählt, was eigentlich *z nekaterimi* bedeutet, was zur einen Inhaltsänderung führte, da in Luthers Übersetzung die Mehrzahl der Männer gemeint war – Hanani kam mit *vielen Männern* und nicht mit einigen, wie das Dalmatin falsch verstanden und übersetzt hat. In der vierten Reihe setzte Dalmatin das Verb am Satzende, wie in Luthers Text üblich (*es gienge – bi fhlu*) und in der sechsten Reihe übersetzte er wörtlich *von dem* mit *od te*. Auch in der siebten Reihe entschloss sich Dalmatin für eine wörtliche Übersetzungsmethode, was eigentlich für die Reformisten im Spätmittelalter nicht üblich war.

5.2 Beispiele aus dem Neuen Testament – Lukas, Kapitel 2

Beim translatorischen Pilotprojekt wurde bei der Analyse des Neuen Testaments auch Trubars Übersetzung einbezogen, um zu beweisen, dass sich Dalmatin bei seinem Übersetzungsverfahren oft an Trubars Werk anlehnte.

Vers 1

LÜB (Luther)	ES begab sich aber zu der zeit /	Das ein Gebot von dem Keiser Augusto ausgieng /	Das alle Welt geschetzt Schetzen ist hie /	das ein jglicher hat müssen ein Ort des gülden geben von jglichem Heubt würde.
TÜB (Trubar)	PErgudilu fe ie pag vtih iftih dneh,	de uun gre ena Sapuuid od tiga Ceffarie Augufta,	de fe ima preshazati vus fueit.	
DÜB (Dalmatin)	PErgudilu fe je pak v'témiftim zhaffu,	de je ena Sapuvid vunkaj fhla, od Ceffarja Augufta,	de bi fe vus Svejt fhazal.	
SÜB (Standard)	Tiste dni	je izšel ukaz cesarja Avgusta,	naj se popiše ves svet.	

Wenn man Trubars und Dalmatins Übersetzungen vergleicht, kann man einige Unterschiede aber auch Gemeinsamkeiten feststellen, die darauf hinweisen, dass Dalmatin Trubars Übersetzungslösungen oft in Anspruch nahm. Es ist interessant, dass keiner der beiden slowenischen Reformisten den letzten Satz des Verses übersetzte, obwohl man ihn bei Luther finden kann (*das ein jglicher hat müssen ein Ort des gülden geben von jglichem Heubt würde*). In der ersten Reihe benutzt Dalmatin eine präzisere Zeitdefinition im Vergleich zu Trubar (Trubar : *vtih iftih dneh*; Dalmatin : *v'témiftim zhafsu*). In der zweiten Reihe wechselt der zeitliche Aspekt der Aussage (vom Futur ins Präsens) als auch die Wortfolge (Trubar: *de uun gre ena Sapuuid od tiga Ceffarie Augufta*; Dalmatin: *de je ena Sapuvid vunkaj fhla, od Ceffarja Augufta*). In der dritten Reihe wird *vus Svejt* groß geschrieben, was auf die damalige Bedeutung des Wortes zurückzuführen ist.

Vers 2

LÜB (Luther)	Vnd diese Schatzung war die allererste /	vnd geschach zur zeit /	da Kyrenius Landpfleger in Syrien war.
TÜB (Trubar)	Inu leta ner perua Shacinga	fe ie fturila	kadar ie Cyrenius vti Syrij Deffhelski Flegar bil
DÜB (Dalmatin)	Inu letu fhazovanje je bilu tu nar pèrvu,	inu fe je godilu v'tém zhaffu,	kadar je Cyrenius Deshelski flegar bil v'Syrij.
SÜB (Standard)	To popisovanje je bilo prvo	v času	ko je bil Kvirinij cesarski namestnik v Siriji

Dalmatin entschied sich bei seiner Übersetzung für eine Verbalisierung des Substantivs (Trubar: *Shacinga*; Luther: *Schatzung*), indem er das Verb *fhazovanje* benutzte. Zugleich stellte er die Ordinalzahl *nar pèrvu* nach dem Muster von Luther an das Ende und änderte die Zeit in der zweiten Reihe (Luther: *zur zeit*, Dalmatin: *v'tém zhaffu*). Dalmatin hat die deutsche Wortfolge erhalten (Luther: *da Kyrenius Landpfleger in Syrien war*, Dalmatin: *kadar je Cyrenius Deshelski flegar bil v'Syrij*). Interessant ist auch der Gebrauch des kleinen Buchstabens beim Substantiv *flegar*, da Trubar, als das große Vorbild Dalmatins, das selbe Substantiv groß geschrieben hat. Dalmatin wollte mit der Kleinschreibung auf die unbedeutende Rolle der kaiserlichen Stellvertretung machen, wobei er Kaiser Kyrenius mit großen Buchstaben schrieb.

6 KOMMENTAR UND SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG

Die Bibelübersetzung gehört zu den wichtigsten translatorischen Errungenschaften jeden Volkes, da man von einem komplexen und anspruchsvollen translatorischen Handeln (vgl. Holz-Mänttari 1984) sprechen kann. Der Übersetzer agiert in der Praxis als Experte für linguistische, theologische, philosophische, kulturelle und religiöse Fragen, um eine Art *ars translationis* auszuüben. Im Spätmittelalter „begründeten Übersetzer zwar ihre Methode, doch es gelingt noch nicht, das Übersetzen als eine spezifische Sprachverwendung theoretisch aufzufassen und wissenschaftlich zu beschreiben“ (Stolze 2001: 23). Die zahlreichen Anmerkungen und Kommentare zum Übersetzen kreisen um den Streit zwischen der wörtlichen und der kontextuell-sinngemäßen Übersetzung. Die turbulente Zeit der Reformation wird durch den Niedergang des Lateins und der Etablierung der

Volkssprachen charakterisiert. Die slowenische Reformation, angeführt von Dalmatin und Trubar, bildete mit der Bibelübersetzung die Grundlagen für die Entstehung einer einheitlichen, normierten slowenischen Schriftsprache und zeigte auch die Richtung, in der sich die slowenische Sprache weiterentwickeln wird. Im Vergleich zu Trubars Bibelübersetzung war Dalmatin in seinem Werk einen Schritt voraus, indem er slowenische Wörter und Ausdrücke in die Übersetzung einbaute, zugleich aber auch Trubars Schriftsprache verbesserte, die damals noch stark von der deutschen Sprache beeinflusst war. Im Prozess der Bibelübersetzung hat man es mit einem komplexen Handlungsgefüge und einer Expertenhandlung zu tun, wobei bestimmte, nicht nur sprachliche Kompetenzen vom Übersetzer verlangt werden, um entsprechende Lösungsmöglichkeiten erarbeiten und auswählen zu können, die in jeder Zeitepoche spezifisch sind. Bei der Bibelübersetzung soll man neben den sprachlichen Fähigkeiten auf die Unterschiede zwischen der damaligen und heutigen Zivilisation achten, die geschichtlich bedingten Weltansichten richtig verstehen und kommunikativ überbrücken können, Evolutionsentwicklungslinien des Sprachgebrauchs berücksichtigen und letztendlich die Funktion der Theologie, Religion und Translation im bestimmten Zeitraum entsprechend interpretieren können.

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Translation of Terms of Address in Postcolonial Novels in English

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Povzetek

Izrazi naslavljanja, torej besede in fraze, s katerimi ljudje naslavljajo drug drugega, razkrivajo družbeni status govorcev in odnos med njimi. Postkolonialni romani z upodabljanjem dihotomije med kolonizatorji in koloniziranimi v kolonialnem kontekstu oziroma med privilegiranimi belimi in podrejenimi temnopoltnimi prebivalci v postkolonialnem kontekstu spodbijajo diskurze, ki podpirajo kolonializem. Ta dihotomija se pogosto manifestira v dialogih, v katerih podrejeni *Drugi* »gospodarja« naslavlja s specifičnimi izrazi naslavljanja. Slovenski prevajalci pri prevajanju teh kulturno specifičnih izrazov posegajo po dveh strategijah: nekateri jih podomačujejo z izrazi iz slovenskega kulturnega okolja, drugi jih pustijo v izvorniku. Raziskava je pokazala, da podomačevanje izrazov naslavljanja bralca prevoda prikrajša za predstavo o kompleksnih družbenih odnosih med udeleženi v (post)kolonialnem okolju, ki ga literarno delo upodablja.

Ključne besede: izrazi naslavljanja, postkolonialna književnost, *Drugi*, podomačevanje in potujevanje.

1 INTRODUCTION

Terms of address are words and phrases people use to address others and are addressed by them in return. As such, terms of address reveal the social rank of the speakers and the relationship between them.

Colonial society was marked by a clear-cut division between the dominant white colonizers and the subordinate colonized, and this divide resulted in a specific type of discourse wherein the subordinate colonized (the *Other*) used specific forms of address when speaking to their “masters”. In postcolonial times, such communication is represented in postcolonial novels, which, through portrayal of the colonial past or postcolonial present, examine the colonial relationship and resist colonialist perspectives (Boehmer 2005: 3).

The most obvious attribute of the *Other* portrayed in postcolonial novels is the specificity of the language they use. Postcolonial literature has accepted the language of the Centre, i.e. standard English, and inserted it into a new discourse: the languages that the *Other* speak are the representations of “englishes” (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 7-8) into which, as the result of colonization, standard English developed through language contact. Embedded in the non-standard discourse are terms of address that further accentuate the social division between the white colonizer, owner of the land etc., and the subordinate *Other*.

Based on the Slovenian translation of four postcolonial novels, I will discuss the ways in which Slovenian translators tackle the problem of translating terms of address that in the colonial/postcolonial context denote the relationship between the dominant white and the subordinate *Other*, arguing that domestication is not the most appropriate strategy, as it fails to preserve the complexity and specificity of the colonial/postcolonial reality.

2 POSTCOLONIAL LITERATURE

Postcolonial literature has emerged as a response to the experience of colonialism, which shaped the lives of more than three-quarters of the people living in the world today (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 1). It aims to resist colonialist perspectives by undercutting, “thematically and formally the discourses which supported colonization – the myths of power, the race classifications, the imagery of subordination” (Boehmer 2005: 3) and by giving voice to the “subaltern”¹, the subordinate members of colonial society – the *Other*.

¹ The term “subaltern” was introduced by the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci; in the postcolonial theory it defines those social groups which are subordinate on the basis of their social class, caste, race etc.

Colonialism caused certain kinds of behaviour, imposed new models of identity, and re-codified cross-cultural relationships of both Europeans and the colonized (McLeod 2007: 3). In order to confirm their superiority, the colonizers needed someone to whom they could attribute the lack of power, self-confidence and ability to think and rule (Boehmer 2005: 21).

The crucial means of representation of colonial and postcolonial reality in post-colonial literature is language. The language framework is normally standard English, whereas the language spoken by the (former) colonized – the *Other* – is influenced by local vernacular and speech customs (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 37-38). Non-standard language varieties symbolize cultural distinctiveness, whereas the combination of standard and non-standard/postcolonial English expresses the cultural tension between the “centre” and the “periphery” (ibid.).

3 TERMS OF ADDRESS

Terms of address are vocative expressions that refer to the collocutor and thus contain a strong element of deixis (Braun 1988: 7), i.e. their meaning depends on the context in which they are used. Yang (2010), discussing the difference between English and Chinese terms of address from the cultural perspective, argues that terms of address are used to attract people’s attention, to show the difference in social class, the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, and to express politeness and a particular degree of respect. Terms of address have been especially important in English since the breakdown of the ‘thou/you’ pronoun system in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and have had a greater grammatical importance in English than in other languages that retain separate pronouns *you* for singular and plural/deference (Dunkling 1990).

Slovenian has preserved the distinction between the second-person pronouns *ti* and *vi*, i.e. “vikanje” and “tikanje”, which denote the levels of formality, politeness, but also respect and power (Onič 2013). Therefore, in translation from English into Slovenian, the relationship between the speaker and the addressee can, in addition to the use of the forms of address, be expressed by either of the two second-person pronouns, i.e. *ti* or *vi*.

There is always a social meaning encoded in an address variant, and this social component consists of the speaker-addressee relationship, the speaker’s evaluation of the addressee and of the speaker’s social background (Braun 1988: 258). The nature of terms of address can only be defined when we know the overall relationship between the speaker and the hearer (Dunkling 1990).

In postcolonial novels, the dichotomy between the *Other* and the white colonist is often depicted through a dialogue wherein the *Other* reveal their subordinate position by addressing the dominant white person through terms of address. The address relationship is asymmetrical, meaning that the two speakers address each other differently; “masters” normally do not use any form of address, which further confirms the social inequality. While some terms of address used in postcolonial literature are geographically neutral and may occur in any colonial setting (e.g. *sir*, *master*), others are regionally specific (e.g. *baas* in South Africa, *sah* in Nigeria, *sahib* in regions with Indian population: India, Trinidad etc.). The latter appear in postcolonial text as untranslated words – often in italics. Inserting untranslated words into the English discourse is one of the techniques for expressing cultural distinctiveness in postcolonial writing (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 63).

4 POSSIBLE STRATEGIES IN TRANSLATING TERMS OF ADDRESS IN POSTCOLONIAL LITERATURE

Given the sociocultural background that provides the conditions for the use of particular terms of address by the *Other* in postcolonial literature, it seems understandable that a translator will find it difficult to think of a Slovenian equivalent, a word or an expression, that would contain the same implications and undertones as the original. A complete homology is impossible (Tymoczko 1999: 55; Snell-Hornby 1988: 13-22), and in moving between languages and cultural discourses something will inevitably be lost.

Discussing translation between cultures, Wolf (1995: 131) advocates that the knowledge of ethnography, i.e. “the culture-specific and social phenomena of the societies involved”, is “indispensable for the perception of the structure and the meaning of language”. An informed translator is therefore more susceptible to the asymmetries between different cultures and this can result in more deliberate decisions.

Baker (1995) suggests a number of strategies for translating words with culture-specific meaning: cultural borrowing, calque, transliteration, cultural substitution, translation by a more general expression, paraphrase, a note and omission. Similarly, Yang (2010), taking into consideration the differences between Chinese and English terms of address, suggests four translation methods from Chinese to English to make readers understand the difference between Chinese and English addressing terms: literal translation, flexible translation, specification or generalization, domestication and alienation.

In this article we use the notions *domestication* and *foreignization*, drawing on Venuti's definition of the terms (1995, 1998). Both approaches are employed by the four Slovenian translators, whose translation of terms of address denoting social relations between the underprivileged *Other* and the white colonizer in the colonial context, or the privileged landowner in the postcolonial context, is presented in the case study.

Domestication or translation by cultural substitution wherein "the source language expression is replaced by a reference that is more in accordance with the norms of the target culture" (Baker 1995) may render a translated text more acceptable in the target culture, since it makes it more fluent and requires less effort on the side of the reader. While the propositional meaning of the source language expressions and their translated forms may not overlap, a translator's aim is to achieve the same or similar impact on the target reader. According to the findings of cognitive science, people tend to assimilate new and unknown information to patterns that they can recognize and they are familiar with (Ty-moczko 1999: 48).

Venuti (1998: 67), however, stresses the problem of the formation of cultural identity with rewriting foreign texts in domestic dialects and discourses. In his opinion translation has power in constructing representation of foreign cultures. By domesticating notions that carry a specific cultural meaning in the source culture – in our case the colonial/postcolonial context – a translator creates a false representation of colonial/postcolonial reality. Venuti further refers to Berman (1992) who argues that a bad translation is ethnocentric in that it systematically denies *Otherness* in a foreign work, whereas in a good translation this ethnocentric negation is limited and the source language and culture differences (*Otherness*) of the foreign text are preserved.

Baker (1995: 254) sees the translator's challenge in his/her ability to assess the target readers' range of knowledge and assumptions about various aspects of the world, and to strike a reasonable balance between fulfilling their expectations and maintaining their interest by offering them new and alternative insights. In her view, readers of translated texts are prepared to take a view different to their own, if they are properly motivated.

5 CASE STUDY

The study is based on extracts from four postcolonial novels. Two of the authors come from South Africa, one from the Caribbean and one from Nigeria. A different translator translated each novel. All extracts contain dialogues between a

subordinate *Other* (a black servant, a black farm-labourer, a black farm overseer etc.) and a white master.

South African writers J.M. Coetzee (1940-) and Nadine Gordimer (1923-2014) placed their postcolonial novels in an apartheid setting, problematizing land ownership through the relation between white landowners and black farm workers.

1. The novel *In the Heart of the Country* (1976) by J.M. Coetzee is a first-person narrative by a white woman Magda living with her father on an isolated Afrikaans farm. The monotonous life is shaken up by the arrival of a work-seeking black man, Hendrik. The following scene depicts the moment Hendrik appears on Magda's father's door.

[...] Hendrik arrived one afternoon, a boy of sixteen, I am guessing, dusty of course, with a stick in his hand and a bag on his shoulder, stopping at the foot of the stairs and looking up to where my father sat smoking and staring into the distance: that is our wont here, that must be the origin of our speculative bias, staring into the distance, staring into the fire. Hendrik doffed his hat, a characteristic gesture, a sixteen-year-old boy holding his hat to his breast, men and boys all wear hats here.

“**Baas**,” said Hendrik, good day, **baas**. I am looking for work.”

My father hawked and swallowed. I render his words; I cannot know whether Hendrik heard what I heard besides, what I perhaps did not hear that day but hear now in my inner ear, the penumbra of moodishness or disdain about the words.

“What kind of work are you looking for?”

“Anything – just work, **baas**.”

“Where are you from?”

“From Armoede, **my baas**. But now I come from **baas Kobus**. **Baas Kobus** says that **baas** has work here.”

“Do you work for **baas Kobus**?”

“No, I do not work for **baas Kobus**. I was there looking for work. Then **baas Kobus** said that **the baas** has work. So I came.” (Coetzee 1982: 19-20)

The two people involved in the dialogue are Hendrik, a young black man looking for a job – the *Other* – and a white farmer. English here is just representation of Afrikaans. Expressions *my baas* and *baas* are used in the vocative case by Hendrik alone when addressing the white man. The white man does not use any term of address in return, however, he refers to another white farmer as *baas*. This corresponds to the definition of the word *baas* in the Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles which states that the term *baas*, meaning “master”, is of the Dutch origin and was in the past “used of or to a white male, indicating the speaker’s perception or acknowledgement of the other’s superior social status”, usually “the owner or master of a home, farm, or business, and employer of the servants or labourers who work there”. As such it can be used as a form of address, often in a phrase *my baas*, as a deferential form of address in the third person, and also by one white person of another, when speaking to a black or ‘coloured’ person (2014). In the passage the term is used in all three functions.

The novel was translated into Slovenian in 2001 by Jure Potokar.

[...] Hendrik je prispel nekega popoldneva, ugibam, da šestnajstleten fant, seveda prašen, s palico v roki in torbo na rami, se ustavil pri vznožju stopnic in pogledal navzgor, kjer je sedel moj oče, kadil in strmel v daljavo: taka je naša tukajšnja navada, gotovo je vir našega spekulativnega nagnjenja, strmeti v daljavo, strmeti v ogenj. Hendrik je snel klobuk, značilna kretnja, šestnajstleten fant, držeč klobuk na prsih, možje in fantje tukaj nosijo klobuk.

»**Gaspud**,« je rekel Hendrik, dober dan, **gaspud**. Delo iščem.«

Moj oče je zakrhal in pogoltnil. Povzemam njegove besede. Ne morem vedeti, ali je Hendrik slišal, kar sem jaz slišala poleg, kar morebiti nisem slišala tistega dne, ampak slišim zdaj s svojim notranjim ušesom, pridih muhavosti in prezira v besedah.

»Kakšno delo pa iščeš?«

»Karkoli – delo pač – **gaspud**.«

»Od kod si?«

»Iz Armoeda, **moj gaspud**. Ampak zdaj prihajam od **gaspuda Kabusa**. **Gaspud Kabus** pravi, da ima **gaspud** tukaj delo.«

»Ali delaš za **gaspuda Kabusa**?«

»Ne, ne delam za **gaspuda Kabusa**. Tam sem bil, ko sem iskal delo. Potem mi je **gaspud Kabus** rekel, da ima **gaspud** tukaj delo. Pa sem prišel.«
(Coetzee 2001: 26)

In the translation the word *baas* is domesticated as *gaspud*, the vowel alternation resembling the Dolenjska dialect pronunciation. The translator's attempt was obviously to contribute to the simplicity of Hendrik's speech. The problem here is twofold: on the one hand, a dialect version of the term "gospod" leaves the impression that the worker comes from the periphery (since the Dolenjska dialect variant was chosen, a Slovenian reader might imagine the character coming from the Dolenjska region), while it does not suggest the social inferiority of a black worker in relation to a white farmer in the specific South African milieu. In addition, considering that the term *baas* is/was not used only by black people, it seems illogical why both the black man and the white, more articulate farmer should pronounce it in the same way. Only the persistent repetition of the word as a term of address, i.e. in the vocative case, indicates the inferior and dependent position of the black speaker. The novel does not contain much dialogue, and even though Hendrik's speech consists of short, elementary sentences, it is not marked by other non-standard features. Therefore, the regionalized equivalent of the significant term *baas* seems even more inappropriate. A neutral "gospod" or even untranslated *baas* would be more acceptable.

2. Nadine Gordimer's novel *The Conservationist* (1974) portrays a rich white businessman who in an attempt to fulfil his empty life buys a farm. He knows nothing about farming and visits the place only during weekends while in the meantime a black foreman, Jacobus, looks after the farm for him. In the following extract Jacobus informs the farmer about events on the farm while he was away.

[...] – **Master** – he pleads – **Master**, it's very bad down there by the river. I'm try, try phone you yesterday night. What is happen there. The man is dead there. You see him. – And his hand, with an imperious forefinger shaking it, stabs the air, through chestlevel of the farmer's body to the line of willows away down behind him.

– A man? –

– There – there – The herdsman draws back from his own hand as if to hold something at bay. His forehead is raised in three deep wrinkles.
(Gordimer 1983: 12)

Jacobus speaks creolized South African Black English. Embedded in his speech is the term of address *master* (one meaning of the word *master* in Oxford Diction-

ary, defines the term as “chiefly historical: a man who has people working for him, esp. servants or slaves”), indicating the social and professional relation between the white landowner and his black foreman.

Boris M. Verbič, who translated the novel into Slovenian in 1979, preserved the term of address in its original form:

[...] »**Master**« – se brani – »**master**, tam spodaj ob reki je zelo hudo. Skušal sem, ti skušal zares sinoči telefonirati. Kaj se tam dogaja. Mož tam je mrtev. Ti ga videti.« – In njegova roka, z ukazujočim kazalcem, ki jo trese, se zabode v zrak, v višini farmarjevih prsi proti vrsti vrb za njim.

»Človek? –«

»Tam – tam.« – Pastir se umakne svoji lastni roki, kot da bi hotel nekaj držati v šahu. Njegovo čelo se izboči, vanj so zarezane tri globoke gube. (Gordimer 1979: 16)

On another occasion Jacobus, when talking about a sick calf, addresses his master as *baas*.

– But is it taking the milk, now? –

– Yes, **baas**, she's eat now. –

– But why does it still lie down all the time? Doesn't it walk about? –

– Yes, **baas**, she's walk. – (Gordimer 1983: 56)

Here too the translator left the term in its original form.

»Ampak zdaj pije mleko, ali ne?«

»Da, **baas**, zdaj piti.«

»Ampak zakaj pa ves čas mirno leži? Ali nikoli ne teka okoli?«

»Da, **baas**, že hoditi.« (Gordimer 1979: 71)

Baas or *master* as the terms of address are in most cases preserved in their original form in translation. However, when not used in the vocative case the translator

on some occasions translates them as “gospod”. In the following case Jacobus speaks of Mehring’s son Terry:

Jacobus says – That nice jersey the young **baas** he gave it – you know that one? Very, very nice jersey – they’s take it. Everything ... You know that one jersey? – (Gordimer 1983: 96)

»Lepi pulover,« reče Jacobus, »mladi **gospod**, on mi ga dati – veš, katerega? Zelo zelo lep pulover – vzeli so ga. Vse ... veš, kateri pulover?« (Gordimer 1979: 124)

Nevertheless, the translator never translates the word *master* or *baas* when Jacobus talks of his own master.

– Yes, was no trouble. They say to me I know who is this man. I say – me, I don’t know who is, the **master** tell you nobody here can know. The **master** tell you already. [...] (Gordimer: 1983: 26)

»Da, nič sitnosti. Rekli so mi, vem, kdo je mož. Rečem jaz, jaz ne vem, kdo, **master** vam že povedal. [...] (Gordimer 1979: 33)

Keeping the two nouns – *baas* and *master* – in the original form when used as a term of address, seems like a deliberate translation strategy. Even though the two words are not translated, their meaning can be understood from the context, and especially *baas*, being specific for the South African master – servant relations, creates the culture-specific air that would be lost if the terms were simply rendered as e.g. “gospod”. It also seems that the translator just as deliberately chose to translate the terms in those cases when they are not used as the terms of address, i.e. in a less marked position where they do not so clearly indicate the hierarchy between the landowner and his worker.

3. Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (1977-) set her novel *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2007) in post-independence time, more precisely in the context of the Nigerian civil war of 1967-70. The *Other* in the novel is portrayed through a number of black characters, among them Harrison and Jomo. Both work as servants for a British citizen, Richard Churchill, who came to Nigeria to explore traditional Igbo art. The first part of the conversation below is between Richard Churchill and servant Harrison, the second part between Churchill and gardener Jomo.

‘By the way, Harrison, do you happen to know of any herbs for men?’
Richard asked, hoping he sounded casual.

‘**Sah?**’

‘Herbs.’ Richard gestured vaguely.

‘Vegetables, **sah?** Oh, I make any of the salad of your country very good, **sah.** For professor Land, I am making many different-different salad.’

‘Yes, but I mean vegetables for sickness.’

‘Sickness? You see doctor in Medical Centre.’

‘I am interested in African herbs, Harrison.’

‘But, **sah,** they are bad, from witch doctor. They are devilish.’

‘Of course.’ Richard gave up. He should have known that Harrison, with his excessive love for all things non-Nigerian, was not the right person to ask. He would ask Jomo instead.

[...]

‘Oh, good morning, Mr Richard, **sah,**’ he said, in his solemn manner. ‘I want take the fruit to Harrison in case you want, **sah.** I no take them for myself.’ Jomo placed the bag down and picked up his watering can.

‘It’s all right, Jomo. I don’t want any of the fruit.’ Richard said. ‘By the way, would you know of any herbs for men? For men who have problems with ... with being with a woman?’

‘Yes, **sah.**’ Jomo kept watering as if this was a question he heard every day.

‘You know of some herbs for men?’

‘Yes, **sah.**’

Richard felt a triumphant leap in his stomach. ‘I should like to see them, Jomo.’

‘My brother get problem before because the first wife is not pregnant and the second wife is not pregnant. There is one leaf that the *dibia* give him and he begin to chew. Now he has pregnant the wives.’

‘Oh. Very good. Could you get me this herb, Jomo?’

Jomo stopped and looked at him, his wise, wizened face full of fond pity. ‘It no work for white man, **sah.**’

‘Oh, no. I want to write about it.’

Jomo shook his head. ‘You go to *dibia* and you chew it there in front of him. Not for writing, **sah.**’ Jomo turned back to his watering, humming tunelessly. (Adichie 2007: 73-74)

The speech of both Nigeria-born servants, probably Igbo, an ethnic group from southeastern Nigeria, has characteristics of Nigerian English. The repeating term of address *sah* is a phonetically deformed variant of ‘sir’, which is normally a polite and respectful way of addressing a man, especially one in a position of authority.

Gabriela Babnik (1979-), who translated the novel into Slovenian in 2008, rendered the term of address *sah* in both cases as *gospud*. Vowel alternation in the second syllable resembles a variant of Dolenjska dialect.

»Mimogrede, Harrison, morda poznaš kakšno zelišče za moške?« je vprašal Richard in upal, da je zvenel vsakdanje.

»**Gospud?**«

»Zelišča?« Richard je pokazal z rokami.

»Rastline, **gospud?** Oh, pripravim katerokoli solato vaše dežele, zelo dobro, **gospud**. Za profesorja Landa pripravljam zelo različno različne solate.«

»Da, toda mislim rastline za bolezen.«

»Bolezen? Ste videli zdravnika v zdravstvenem centru?«

»Zanimajo me afriška zelišča, Harrison.«

»Toda, **gospud**, saj so škodljiva, izdelujejo jih vrači. Vražja so.«

»Seveda.« Richard se je vdal. Moral bi vedeti, da Harrison s pretirano naklonjenostjo do vseh nenigerijskih stvari ni prava oseba za tovrstna vprašanja. Raje se bo obrnil na Joma.

[...]

»Oh. Dobro jutro, gospud Richard, **gospud**,« je dejal resno. »Sadje sem hotel odnesti Harrisonu, če bi slučajno hoteli, **gospud**. Ne vzeti zase.« Jomo je položil košaro na tla in v roke vzel vedro.

»V redu je, Jomo. Nočem sadja,« je dejal Richard. »Mimogrede, poznaš kakšna zelišča za moške? Za moške, ki imajo težave, ko ... ko so z žensko?«

»Da, **gospud**.« Jomo je nadaljeval z zalivanjem, kot da gre za vprašanje, ki ga sliši vsak dan.

»Poznaš kakšna zelišča za moške?«

»Da, **gospud**.«

Richard je začutil krč zmagoslavja v trebuhu. »Rad bi jih videl, Jomo.«

»Moj brat je imel prej težave, ker prva žena ni noseča in druga žena ni noseča. Obstaja nek list, ki mu ga je dal *dibia*, in začel ga je žvečiti. Zdaj ima noseče žene.«

»Oh, zelo dobro. Mi lahko priskrbiš to zelišče, Jomo?«

Jomo se je ustavil in ga pogledal, njegov uvel obraz, poln prizanesljivega sočutja. »Ne delovati na belcu, **gospud**.«

»Oh, ne, pisati hočem o tem.«

Jomo je odkimal z glavo. »Greš k *dibiu* in prežvečiš tam pred njim. Ni za pisanje, **gospud**.« Jomo se je vrnil k zalivanju in vztrajno molčal. (Adichie 2008: 79-80)

The term of address *sab* is used throughout the novel by those black characters who work as servants to both black and white socially superior characters, and in all cases the translator rendered it as "gospud". The novel abounds in untranslated words and expressions from Igbo, the native language of the Igbo people. They were clearly employed by the author to draw the reader closer to the sociocultural reality depicted in the book. The translator left those expressions in their original form, which is why the terms of address in the Dolenjska dialect stand out even more.

4. The novel, *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966), was written by Jean Rhys (1890-1979) as an imagined prequel to Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. Its takes place mostly in the West Indies. The main character is Rochester's first wife, the white creole, Antoinette Bertha Mason. The *Other* in the novel are former black slaves who after emancipation redefine their position in relation to the white colonizers. After the prohibition of slavery within the British Empire, many slaves fled the French lands, which is why many black servants are from the islands colonized by the French.

In the first extract, Rochester himself narrates the dialogue between himself and two of the black servants, Hilda and Amélie.

In the afternoon Amélie brought me a second letter.

Why you don't answer. You don't believe me? Then ask someone else – everybody in Spanish Town know. Why you think they bring you to this place? You want me to come to your house and bawl out your business before everybody? You come to me or I come –

At this point I stopped reading. The child Hilda came into the room and I asked her, 'Is Amélie here?'

'Yes, **master**.'

'Tell her I wish to speak to her.'

'Yes, **master**.'

(...)

She leaned lightly against the veranda post, indifferently graceful, just respectful enough, and waited.

'Was this letter given to you?' I asked.

'No, **master**, Hilda take it.'

'And is this man who writes a friend of yours?'

'Not my friend,' she said.

'But he knows you – or says he does.'

‘Oh, yes, I know Daniel.’

‘Very well then. Will you tell him that his letters annoy me, and that he’d better not write again for his own sake. If he brings a letter give it back to him. Understand?’

‘Yes, **master**. I understand.’ (Rhys 2000: 75, 76)

Both servants address Rochester as *master* clearly implying their relation of a master and a servant.

Olga Šiftar (1945–) in her translation into Slovenian (1971) left the terms in their original form:

Popoldne mi je Amélie prinesla drugo pismo.

Zakaj mi ne odgovorite? Mi ne verjeti? Potem vprašati koga drugega – V Spanish Townu vsi vedeti za to. Zakaj, mislite, vas pripeljati v ta kraj? Hočete, da jaz priti v vašo hišo in pred vsemi izkričati zadevo? Pridite k meni ali jaz priti ...

Tukaj sem prenehal brati. V sobo je prišla Hilda in vprašal sem jo: »Je Amélie tukaj?«

»Da, **master**.«

»Povej ji, da želim z njo govoriti.«

»Da, **master**.«

(...)

Narahlo se je naslonila na steber terase, nedoločno privlačna, ravno dovolj spoštljiva, in čakala.

»So tole pismo dali tebi?« sem vprašal.

»Ne, **master**. Hilda ga sprejeti.«

»In je mož, ki mi piše, tvoj prijatelj?«

»Ni moj prijatelj,« je dejala.

»Vendar te pozna – tako vsaj pravi.«

»Oh, da, poznam Daniela.«

»Zelo dobro. Bi mu hotela povedati, da me njegova pisma dražijo in da bo boljše zanj, če mi jih več ne bo pisal? Če še kdaj prinese pismo, mu ga vrni. Si razumela?«

»Da, **master**. Razumela.« (Rhys 1971: 108, 109)

Black servants in the novel no longer behave servilely towards their masters, as they must have done as slaves. When servants start leaving the household, Rochester observes how one of them, Baptiste, stops addressing him as he did before:

‘Are you leaving too?’

‘No,’ said Baptiste. ‘I am overseer here.’

I noticed that he did not call me ‘**sir**’ or ‘**master**’. (Rhys 2000: 91)

»Ali tudi vi odhajate?«

»Ne, jaz biti tukaj nadzornik.«

Opazil sem, da me ne kliče niti »**gospod**« niti »**gospodar**«. (Rhys 1971: 131)

On this occasion the translator translated the two terms, which – when used as a term of address – she normally left in the original, thus explicating their meaning and the difference between the two. Referring to ‘vikanje’ in the above dialogue, it seems unlikely that a white man in the first half of the 19th century, immediately after emancipation, would show his black servant so much deference as is expressed in Slovenian by the use of the second person ‘*vi*’.

In the same novel the endearing term of address *doudou*, in English *little darling* (Rhys 2000: 144), which comes from French creole, *patois*, is used by a black servant from Martinique, Christophine, when recounting to Rochester her conversation with his wife and her mistress, Antoinette, who she has known since childhood.

[...] And what did you do before you brought her back in the present condition?’

‘What did I do! Look! Don’t you provoke me more than I provoke already. Better not I tell you. You want to know what I do? I say *doudou*, if you have trouble you are right to come to me. And I kiss her. It’s when I kiss her she cry – not before. It’s long time she hold it back, I think. So I let her cry. That is the first thing. Let them cry – it eases the heart. When she can’t cry no more I give her a cup of milk – It’s lucky I have some. She won’t eat, she won’t talk. So I say, “Lie down on the bed *doudou* and try to sleep, for me I can sleep on the floor, don’t matter to me.” [...] (Rhys 2000: 97)

Here too the translator left the term of address in the original form. Since she capitalized it, it is not clear, though, whether she wrongly assumed it was a first name. Moreover, it again seems that the translator did not consider the use of ‘tikanje’ and ‘vikanje’ in Slovenian: on the one hand Rochester, a master, uses ‘vi’ when speaking to the servant, on the other Christophine uses ‘ti’ when addressing her mistress Antoinette.

[...] In kaj je bilo to, kar ste naredili, preden ste jo spravili nazaj v prvotno stanje?«

»Kaj storiti! Poglejte! Ne me bolj izzivati, kot me že. Bolje ne, vam pravim. Radi bi vedeli, kaj narediti. Reči ji, *Doudou*, če imaš težave, storiti prav, da priti k meni. In jo poljubiti. Šele ko jo poljubiti, ona zajokati – ne prej. Dolgo časa se zadrževati, sem pomislila. Zato jo pustiti, naj joče. To biti prvo. Pusti jim jokati – to olajša srce. Ko več ne mogla jokati, ji dati skodelico mleka – sreča, da ga imeti. Ona ne jesti, ne govoriti, zato ji reči: ‚Lezi na posteljo, *Doudou*, in poskušaj zaspati, jaz lahko spati na tleh, ne skrbi zame.‘ [...] (Rhys 1971: 140)

6 DISCUSSION

The translations of terms of address when used by the *Other* in dialogues with the dominant white, either in colonial or postcolonial context, reveal two translating strategies: the terms of address are either left in their original form, their foreignness preserved, or adapted to the target culture and target audience, and therefore domesticated.

The translators of J.M. Coetzee’s *In the Heart of the Country* and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s *Half of a Yellow Sun* both domesticated the terms *baas* and *sah*: in *In the Heart of the Country* *baas* is translated as *gaspud*, while *sah* in *Half of a Yellow Sun* is translated as *gospud*, both resembling Dolenjska dialect variant of the word “gospod” (Engl. “sir”).

Baas appears as an Afrikaans word within the English discourse, and a wider English-speaking readership, except perhaps the South African, may not be familiar with it. This is why it could easily be treated as an untranslated word and left in its original form. It is also not a non-standard variant hence no need to translate it into a dialect form. *Sah* on the other hand is a non-standard variant of the word “sir”, used by two black people speaking non-standard Nigerian English. Here the choice of a non-standard translation seems more acceptable.

The problem, however, is the choice of a dialect variant. What parallels did the translator of *In the Heart of the Country* draw between a black farm-labourer in South Africa and a man from the Slovenian Dolenjska region? Likewise, how do black servants in post-independence Nigeria correspond to people from Dolenjska region? Having a black labourer in the South African complicated racial context and black servants in Nigerian postcolonial context speak with a Dolenjska accent may provide the reader with a misleading representation of the portrayed reality and interracial relations. Domesticating a term of address that indicates the speaker’s social status through an expression from a target culture regional dialect may only imply that the character using it comes from the periphery, but does not say anything about the character’s inferiority and dependence, it does not make him what he is – the colonial/postcolonial *Other*. It seems that translators who translate terms of address in culture-specific (post) colonial setting should instead opt for a neutral “gospodar”, as it would not add inappropriate regional implications and would render more closely the hierarchy between the speakers.

A possible alternative to the above strategy is provided by translation of terms of address in the other two novels. The translators of Jean Rhys’s *Wide Sargasso Sea* and Nadine Gordimer’s *The Conservationist* both left the terms of address in their original form – a strategy classified by Baker (1995) as *cultural borrowing*. *Master* and *baas* in apartheid South Africa in *The Conservationist* and *master* and *doudou* in colonial Jamaica in *Wide Sargasso Sea* are rendered without change in the target language. The Penguin Books 2000 edition is furnished with a glossary explaining the meaning of patois expressions; such appendices definitely help the reader with understanding untranslated words and so with interpreting the sociocultural situation in (former) colonies. More often than not, terms of address remain unexplained, but as the *Other* use them in almost every statement directed at their white collocutors, a careful reader may deduce their meaning – if not implications – from the context. And even if their entire meaning and implications are not grasped by a target reader, with cultural borrowing the impression of the reality portrayed in the text is not disrupted by the cultural allusions from the target culture, as is the case with cultural substitution.

The comparison between the four novels is interesting also in terms of the time when they were translated. The first, *Wide Sargasso Sea*, was translated in 1971, *The Conservationist* in 1979, *In the Heart of the Country* in 2001 and the last, *Half of a Yellow Sun*, in 2008. If such a small sample can indicate a tendency, then it can be concluded that older translations show preference for foreignization, whereas contemporary translators are more inclined towards domestication in translation of culture-specific items such as terms of address.

7 CONCLUSION

The terms of address used by the subordinate *Other* in the dialogues of postcolonial novels indicate the dichotomy between the privileged white and subordinate black in a colonial or postcolonial context. The Slovenian translators either domesticate them or leave them in their original form. With foreignization, readers may be deprived of the full extent of the meaning the untranslated words encompass, while rewriting the expressions in domestic dialects provides the target reader with a distorted representation of the colonial/postcolonial reality. As untranslated words are a common technique for expressing culture distinctiveness in postcolonial novels, this strategy can also be applied in the case of terms of address.

This study was performed on a rather small sample of four translations. More extensive research might reveal other translation strategies, e.g. translation by a more general expression. When comparing domestication and foreignization of the terms of address in postcolonial literature, the latter proves a better option as it preserves the true identity of those involved in colonial/postcolonial contact. Translations cause changes in the target culture by filling the cultural gaps (Toury 1995: 27), thus a translation that preserves the cultural and linguistic foreignness of the source texts, may – though perhaps requiring more effort on the side of the reader – enrich the target culture.

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Stylistic shifts in translation of fiction into Slovene: Is literary fiction translated differently from popular fiction?

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Povzetek

Prevodi nežanrske književnosti v slovenščino se predvsem v slogovnih prevajalskih strategijah pogosto razlikujejo od prevodov žanrske književnosti. V prispevku analiziram slogovne spremembe v prevodih šestih romanov, ki so izšli po letu 2000, in sicer: *Svoboda* (Jonathan Franzen), *Na obali Chesil* (Ian McEwan), *Skrivnostni primer ali kdo je umoril psa* (Mark Haddon), *Brooklynske norosti* (Paul Auster), *Cesta* (Cormac McCarthy) in *O lepoti* (Zadie Smith), in predstavljam možne razloge zanje. Ugotovitve primerjam z ugotovitvami analize prevodov žanrske književnosti (Zlatnar Moe 2010) in ugotavljam, da nekatere spremembe sloga niso odvisne od žanra, druge pa so žanrsko specifične in do njih prihaja samo v prevodih nežanrske književnosti, ne pa tudi žanrskih besedil. V prevodih žanrske književnosti se večina sprememb zgodi na ravni registra, predvsem pri formalnosti, nekaj pa tudi pri funkcijskih jezikovnih zvrsteh (vojaški ali obredni jezik se na primer v nekaterih primerih prevajata v nezaznamovanem knjižnem jeziku). Pri prevajanju nežanrske književnosti je spreminjanja ravni formalnosti veliko manj, pač pa se pojavijo spremembe v ideološki podobi besedila in karakterizaciji, česar v žanrskih prevodih ni opaziti, prav tako je v njih več prevajalskih rešitev, ki kršijo norme slovenskega knjižnega jezika. V obeh skupinah besedil je veliko primerov nevtralizacije sloga, a so te spremembe različne glede na to, ali gre za žanrsko ali za nežanrsko književnost. Vsi ti prevajalski premiki lahko privedejo do prevoda, ki je slogovno nevtralnejši, na nekaterih mestih pa je lahko celo nejasen in okoren.

Ključne besede: književno prevajanje, slog, književnost, register, žanrska književnost.

0 INTRODUCTION

In 2007 I presented the results of a study of register shifts in translation of popular fiction from English into Slovene (Zlatnar Moe 2010) at the meeting of the Slovene Literary Translator Society. In the discussion, a question arose which seemed worth exploring further: Do the results of this study mean that translators translate literary texts differently from those belonging to the field of popular fiction? To find out, I analyzed six novels by critically acclaimed literary authors in addition to the seven popular novels presented in the 2010 study. The focus of the analysis lay on the shifts in style and register, and especially on their impact on the target text. The results show that there are differences in translators' approach to literary and popular texts on the stylistic level, specifically in the area of register, when dealing with levels of formality and different fields used by the authors of the source texts.

1 TRANSLATING PROSE

Although the translation of prose is probably the largest field of literary translation, such translations (especially of contemporary popular fiction) have been less studied than, for example, translations of poetry. As Bassnett (2002:109) says, "Although there is a large body of work debating the issues that surround the translation of poetry, far less time has been spent studying the specific problems of translating literary prose." She offers a few possible explanations for this, such as the higher status of poetry, or greater eloquence of translators of poetry regarding their methods, but the most interesting one that seems to resonate in the Slovene prose translations (literary and popular alike) is "the widespread erroneous notion that a novel is somehow a simpler structure than a poem and is consequently easier to translate" (Bassnett 2002:109). One of the symptoms of this assumption is that translators often go straight on and start translating the text without reading it through first¹, an approach, as Bassnett (2002:110) rightly observes, that would be quite unimaginable in the translation of a poem. Because of this approach, the translator often does not even notice the overall structure of the novel, or the role that individual stylistic, syntactical, lexical, and other choices of the source author play in the structure of the novel as a whole. Instead, they begin with the first phrase, and they work their way through the whole text, following sentence after sentence, aiming to produce a text that adheres to the target culture norms, that will please the the target culture recipients.

¹ This kind of approach has been observed for example in translation classes of literary translation, as well as admitted in informal conversations with practising literary translators, and the reasons given for it were mostly ever shorter deadlines and increasing workloads.

To achieve this, the aim of the translator is what Venuti (1995:1) calls a fluent text²:

A translated text [...] is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers, and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text – the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the original.

André Lefevere (1992) too, talks about the tendency to neutralize everything that is not familiar in the target culture, although his remarks deal with broader issues of ideology and discourse rather than style, syntax or register.

This approach, however, produces a text that is rather different stylistically (and sometimes also in other respects) from the source text: it is more neutral, less diverse and consequently often less interesting. For this reason, translation theorists have devised a number of recommendations to translators, such as regarding the whole novel as a unit, rather than a cluster of sentences; paying attention not only to the content of the novel, but equally to its style; and above all determining the function of the text, and the function of individual stylistic devices within the text³ in order to choose the most appropriate strategy in each case.

As we can see, then, prose translation, whether it is of literature or popular fiction, tends to go in the direction of stylistic neutralization and domestication. But are there also differences between translators' approach towards texts from the two different fields of writing?

1.1 Translating literary fiction, translating popular fiction

Literature and popular fiction are both broad fields filled with different genres and (especially popular fiction) subgenres. They are also two very distinct fields. They operate in different ways, they are discussed differently, and the readers have different expectations towards them (cf. Gelder 2004:14–20). All this is mirrored by what professional and general readers say about them. Literary novels are praised for their originality, for their beauty of expression, for their intricate style, for the new, fresh ways in which writers approach the eternal questions of human experience. Popular novels are praised for telling a good story, for their

² Although Venuti talks about the British and US literary translation scene, his observations also describe the conditions in Slovenia (cf. Zlatnar Moe 2010b).

³ Hilaire Belloc, *On Translation*, (1931:116), quoted in Bassnett (2002:119).

power to tear the reader out of the real world and settling him or her in the universe of the book, for a clear ending, for their adherence to the particular genre. This might indicate that the translators' tendencies to simplify and domesticate will bring about fewer and smaller stylistic changes in the translations of popular fiction than in the translations of literature, since stylistic originality is apparently less expected in the former.

It also seems that the readers approach the two fields in a different way: they turn to popular fiction for fun and escape, and to literature for personal growth and enrichment of the soul. One Slovene professional reader even thought that literature is for autumn, winter and rain, while popular fiction is meant to be read in the summer, on the beach (cf. Zlatnar Moe 2010:127). But what about the translators? Translators are also readers, as Bassnett (2002:78) points out: "The translator is after all, first a reader and then a writer, and in the process of reading he or she must take a position [towards the source text]". Does that mean, then, that the translators approach the translation of a popular novel differently than the translation of a literary novel?

In some ways, this is unavoidable. For example, much more popular fiction is translated than literary fiction. This means that translating popular fiction will enable the translator to get more work. Consequently, it will unavoidably feel more like a mundane activity, not a creative one. Sometimes translators of very famous books can suddenly find themselves explaining their work in the popular media, or in a fierce discussion over translation issues with the die-hard fans of the work in question. Some other working conditions also differ – the deadlines for popular fiction tend to be very short because the publisher wishes to join the trend. And, although translators of popular fiction occasionally get a taste of the fame that is usually reserved for the stars of popular culture, it seems quite impossible for them to achieve the kind of recognition that is expressed through awards – either official, state awards, or the professional ones awarded by translator or writer associations. The translators of literature, on the other hand, are often given more translator-friendly deadlines (except when a book of literary fiction becomes a best selling movie, for example, or when an author that has not yet been translated receives a major literary award), get practically no hassle from the fans of the source text, and are much more eligible for awards.

But external working conditions are not the only thing that changes. As Lefevere (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998) has pointed out more than once, and as the publicly expressed opinions of some Slovene translators also suggest,⁴ translators do indeed have a different attitude to different fields, and also treat each group of

⁴ "Publicly expressed opinions" here means statements by literary translators in interviews or during public discussions in the Translator Society, during literary festivals, etc.

texts in a different way: “Writers and their works are translated differently when they are considered ‘classics,’ when their work is considered as ‘cultural capital,’ and when they are not” (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998: 109). When talking about translation of sacred texts, Lefevere (1992:121) notes: “Such faithful, even literal translation⁵ is reserved for books that are repositories of a culture’s authority. Yet by analogy this kind of translation can be extended to works considered classics of world literature”. The research done on the translation of popular fiction confirms this: Robyns (1990) finds that French translations of English crime fiction are heavily adapted to the norms of original French crime fiction, and also, that the translating strategies used are often old-fashioned and no longer used in other genres (Robyns, 1990: 24). Paizis (1998) came to a similar conclusion regarding Greek translations of French romances (Paizis 1998, quoted in Milton 2000: 171), whereas French translations of American science fiction are less heavily adapted to the target culture (ibid.)

All this leads to the hypothesis that there are indeed some differences between translating popular fiction and translating literary prose: that the translations of literary prose might be nearer the “faithful,” source-oriented end of the scale, while popular fiction tends to be more neutralized, or even domesticated, nearer the target-oriented end of the scale. The study of popular translations from English into Slovene has shown a certain degree of stylistic neutralization in popular fiction (Zlatnar Moe 2010a). But does literary prose really escape it? How classic must a classic be in order to avoid neutralization and domestication?

2 RESEARCH MATERIAL

2.1 Corpus

In order to determine what stylistic shifts happen in popular fiction, seven novels of different genres published in Slovene translation in what was then the last decade (now the last 15 years) were analysed. To examine the shifts in the literary prose on the way from English into Slovene, I analyzed six novels:

1. Paul Auster: *The Brooklyn Follies* (translated by Miha Avanzo); first published in 2006, Slovene version: 2009.

⁵ Although that varies between different target cultures: in the “central” target cultures (i.e. cultures that are more often the source of translated fiction than the target), such as the British or the American, translators/editors often make visible interventions (such as reorganizations of the text or omissions of its parts) even when it comes to translations of prestigious literary texts. We thank Reviewer 2 for pointing this out.

2. Mark Haddon: *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* (translated by Vasja Cerar); first published: 2003, Slovene version: 2003.
3. Cormac McCarthy: *The Road* (translated by Lili Potpara); first published: 2006, Slovene version: 2009.
4. Ian McEwan: *On Chesil Beach* (translated by Suzana Tratnik); first published: 2007, Slovene version: 2008.
5. Zadie Smith: *On Beauty* (translated by Matej Juh); first published: 2005, Slovene version: 2008.
6. Jonathan Franzen: *Freedom* (translated by Jure Potokar); first published: 2010, Slovene version 2012.

The popular novels included in the analysis are: J.K. Rowling: *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (transl. by Jakob Kenda), J.R.R. Tolkien: *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the Ring* (transl. by Branko Gradišnik), T. Pratchett: *The Colour of Magic* (transl. by Maja Novak), H. Fielding: *Bridget Jones's Diary* (transl. by Maja Novak), N. Hornby: *About a Boy* (transl. by Mojca Krevel), D. Brown: *The Da Vinci Code* (transl. by Nataša Müller), and M. Binchy: *Tara Road* (transl. by Aleksandra Rekar).

2.2 The authors

The popular fiction books I studied and their authors all belong to the canon of their respective genres, in some cases they even started the genre in question or significantly shaped it. All the authors have had more or less successful films based on their books (though not necessarily the novels included in the study). They have generally acquired a faithful following of fans who are willing to buy whatever they write – in short, they are representative of the field of popular fiction.

The literary fiction authors are generally considered to be among the most highly regarded authors of contemporary prose fiction, some have been called “the best of their generation” or “one of the greatest”, one has been knighted; they have all been nominated and had won literary awards, and several of their books, too, have seen film adaptations. They have generally written fewer books than the authors in the popular fiction corpus. Only one of them, Paul Auster, also writes popular fiction, namely crime. Another slight exception is Mark Haddon, since most of his books belong to the genre of literature for children. But the studied book, *The Curious Incident*, was targeted at the adult public in

the source culture.⁶ All of the authors have more than one book translated into Slovene, but by different translators.

2.3 The translators

The Slovene translators of popular fiction are a rather diverse group in terms of age and experience. Some are beginners, others have published over 100 translations as well as original work, some are freelance translators, others higher education teachers, authors, etc. The Slovene translators of literary fiction are a more homogenous group. All graduated in some combination of languages and literatures,⁷ except one who graduated in sociology and anthropology. The Slovene On-line Bibliography (COBISS) shows that none of them has published less than 50 items (original work and translations combined). They are also a slightly older group on average, and unlike the popular fiction group, they all work with literature in some way. Five out of six are published authors in Slovenia (some of them also internationally), the remaining one is a journalist. All have had experience with translating literature for adults, two of them have also translated literature for children, and one also translates crime fiction. One of the translators has published quite a few theoretical texts on literary translation.

This seems to show that translators of literary fiction are very often different people than translators of popular fiction. There is some overlapping in the field of children's literature, but the findings (as well anecdotal evidence) seems to suggest that the translators mostly either translate one or the other, and also, that popular fiction is the field where beginners get their first chance while literary fiction is mostly translated by more experienced translators.⁸

3 METHOD

I concentrated on the most diverse parts of the books in terms of style and register. I thus analyzed those parts of the text where the characters are in direct or indirect interaction; where characters differ in social position, status, age, and role; or where the style is extreme (e.g. arguments). For each work, I analyzed either an actual chapter if the chapter met all these criteria, or suitable excerpts

⁶ But not, as we shall see, in the Slovene target culture, which had a very strong impact on its translation.

⁷ But only half of them actually studied English, which is interesting, considering the source language of the books in this study.

⁸ It is probably necessary to say that this is only valid in the case of most commonly spoken foreign languages in Slovenia. When it comes to less spoken and translated languages, the situation is somewhat different, and the translator from such a language has very often the opportunity to work with the greatest classics as well as best selling popular fiction from the very beginning.

from different chapters, totalling about a chapter's length. If the chapters were very short (as in *The Curious Incident*), I analysed several chapters.

I focused on the shifts that caused:

- increased formality
- decreased formality
- a change of field
- stylistic changes that affected the contents of the text
- words and phrases that deviated markedly from the target-language norms.

In the second study I started with the same categories as in the first, but later I added new ones (such as ideological shifts).

Those strategies influence the stylistic level of the text directly. A text, for example, which deviates from the norms in the relevant language is considered badly written. The same goes for a text that becomes less coherent because of intentional or accidental shifts of meaning. While a badly written popular novel only confirms the wide-spread opinion among Slovene professional readers and the general public that popular fiction is simply badly written literature, it also influences the reception of literary fiction in the target culture, leaving readers wondering why a certain book won a literary award and why its author seems to be so highly regarded abroad.

The occurrences of the stylistic shifts were determined by comparing individual words, phrases or longer expressions in the source and target languages. In cases of archaisms, neologisms and the like, it was determined with the aid of dictionary definitions in both languages and/or the frequency and typical occurrences of an item in the Slovene corpora. When such aids were not available, as in cases of authors' or translators' personal neologisms, the register of an expression was determined on the basis of an analysis of morphemes, word-formation, etc.

4 FINDINGS

The general overview of the shifts shows some interesting differences between the two groups of translations. Firstly, there are far fewer shifts in the literary translations than in the popular fiction, although a similar amount of text (a chapter, or, in novels with shorter chapters, totalling about a chapter's length) was analysed: in the popular novels 1,287 shifts were found, and in the literary fiction 572. But this is not the only difference. After excluding shifts of meaning, which was the most common shift in the translations of literary fiction, and the second most common in the translations of popular fiction, the distribution of shifts was as follows:

Popular fiction	Literary fiction
1. shifts of formality level	1. other stylistic shifts
2. other stylistic shifts	2. non-normative solutions in the target language
3. non-normative solutions in the target language	3. shifts of field
4. shifts of field	4. shifts in ideology

Shifts in formality, which formed the largest category in the first study, are hardly an issue in the literary fiction corpus. A completely new type of shift comes up in the literary fiction corpus that was absent in popular fiction: shifts of ideology – either within the book universe, or in relation to the target standards of political correctness and polite target society. This list indicates that the stylistic priorities indeed differ in translation of the different genres.

4.1 Stylistic shifts

Stylistic shifts in both studies include shifts of register (field and formality), and shifts due to adherence to Slovene norms of good writing and good manners.

4.1.1 Shifts of field

Shifts of field tend towards the neutralization of style. In the first study, biblical, legal, teenage, children's, military, journalistic or ritual English were all translated into the same neutral formal variety of Slovene.

Field also changes in literary fiction but there are some differences. While in popular fiction extreme varieties are neutralized, this is not the case in literary fiction. Here, gangsta slang in *On Beauty*, for example, is retained and the lower colloquial varieties sometimes even intensified, for example the milder swearing in *The Brooklyn Follies* becomes much harsher in the Slovene version. It is the middle varieties that change to the more neutral ones: university students' language, in *On Beauty* for example, or the sometimes slightly elevated (though not very formal) way their academic parents and their colleagues speak together; the unusual, technical way in which the autistic boy talks to his neighbours in *The Curious Incident*.

In a few cases teenage language mutates into children's language, or adult language into the teenage variety. An example of the former is found in *On Beauty*

where Zora, a sophomore, in the Slovene version calls her father by a word for “father” (*očka*), which is used by small children (and mostly in books). An example of the latter appears in *Freedom*, where two middle-aged men in the Slovene translation suddenly utter two sentences in teenage slang, and then go back to the standard language.

Temporal varieties of the language also seem to cause some problem. In *Freedom*, Richard, a student and a fledgling rock star in the 1970s, insists on using the word “chick” for any female from fellow students to Margaret Thatcher, even though his friends explicitly remind him (and the translator) that he sounds as if he were stuck in the sixties. The Slovene translator ignored that, used the slightly pejorative non-slang word “miškica” (“a little mouse”) once, and then apparently gave up on slang completely and opted for the standard informal word for girl (“punca”). This is problematic, since there is quite a discussion on the word “chick” at one point in the novel (p. 100-101), which becomes redundant in the Slovene version.

But generally, children’s and teenage language seem to cause problems for the translators of popular fiction as well as of literary fiction. Not only do they regularly neutralize the style of speech in the source text, they also frequently correct the style of the underage characters. This urge to correct children affects popular fiction and literary fiction alike. One such example is *The Road*, where most of the text is written as a rather informal dialogue between the father and the son; and the second one is *The Curious Incident*, which is written from the point of view of a fifteen-year-old autistic boy. It is in those two texts that the large majority of stylistic corrections in the study occur (36 out of 51). While the shifts in *The Road* simply confirm the findings from the study of popular fiction, namely, that translators apparently fall into a teacher-like mode when translating children and teenagers, *The Curious Incident* has an additional complication. Monotony, repetition and generally poor vocabulary apparently are symptoms of autism. Correcting this, then, not only changes the style of the book, but also affects characterisation, and removes important clues to the plot. The boy in the target text is less obviously autistic than in the source text, which may influence the way the reader reads the story.⁹ A similar case is Nick Hornby’s *About a Boy* in the popular corpus, in which most shifts towards neutralization (and “improvements” of style) happen in the chapters narrated by a teenager.

To sum up, we could say that field-specific varieties of language sometimes change in both categories, but that the translators of literary fiction tend to be more com-

⁹ *The Curious Incident* shows some confusion of the target professional public as to whether it is a book for children or for adults. It has been translated by a prominent translator of books for children, and obviously according to the Slovene norms for translations of children’s books (see Tabbert 2002, 326). But then it was used as the book for the final high school exam that uses books for adults.

fortable with the extreme varieties of language – except when it comes to children and teenagers, where the norms of good writing for and by children prevail.

4.1.2 *Adherence to the Slovene norms of good writing and good manners*

In translations of popular fiction I found several changes which ‘improved’ the style of the text, adapting it to the Slovene norms of good writing, such as compression, where the translator uses fewer words to say something than the author; omission of repetition, and changes that prettify nastier parts of the text. Vulgarisms tend to be either embellished or left out, sometimes probably to avoid repetition.

These types of changes also appear in the translations of literary prose, but to a lesser degree, and mostly in only two novels, *The Road* and *The Curious Accident*, involving child narrators. The norm of non-repetition is very strong in the Slovene target culture, not only as a “universal of translation” (see Baker 2011: 288), but also in original writing where it is generally frowned upon and permitted only occasionally (see Zlatnar Moe 2010a). Both those books go against what any Slovene writer would intuitively do. *The Road* has the additional complication that the style is not only repetitive and monotonous, but also informal, and involves a very prominent child character. Repetition is retained much of the time, but the style is corrected and the formality level is increased. Repetition is sometimes avoided in the other books in the study, too, although not as often as in popular fiction. This can change the style of the book considerably. In *The Brooklyn Follies* one woman says, “My father is a **dark** man and he lives in a **dark** wood. He pretends he is a bright man now, but that’s only a trick. He’s still **dark**. He’ll always be **dark** – right up to the day he dies”¹⁰. In the Slovene version only two forms of the word are exactly the same (“mračnjak” – and the word means “a grim person”, not “dark”), once the translator opted for “dark” and once for the adjective “grim”. Consequently, the darkness of this sentence was considerably lightened.

A very frequent improvement strategy is to complete the sentence structure with missing auxiliaries or sentence elements: “Downshore the weathered timber of an ancient ship” receives a verb in past tense: “Further down **there were** the weathered timbers of an ancient ship” (*The Road*). Another strategy involves replacing a general word with a more specific one: “a **thing** that could not **be** back” becomes “a **world** that cannot **be given** back” (*The Road*) and similar.

Unlike the translators of popular fiction who often use compression to improve the style, literary translators use more words to say something than the author,

¹⁰ And his family name is “Dunkel,” as we shall see.

because they decide the target reader needs some explication of what is said. In *The Brooklyn Follies* a woman explains that her family name is “Dunkel” and goes on: “It means Dark, in case you didn’t know.” The Slovene reader has the benefit of getting a fuller dictionary definition: “Dunkel means **dark or dim** in case you didn’t know.” Explanations are given in the text for the culture-specific elements, such as “a rehab in Berkeley”, (*The Brooklyn Follies*), or “soul food” (*On Beauty*) which is somewhat confusingly explained as “our traditional food”.¹¹ Sometimes less specific items also are explained even though they are not unfamiliar to the readers in Slovenia, such as “to check into a motel” or “a fortune-teller.” When the text *is* compressed, it seems more a result of a lack of ideas what to do in Slovene, than because the translator wants to avoid wordiness. Such examples are “Poor-Tom-All-Alone” which is reduced to “poor Tom” (*The Brooklyn Follies*) or “a wee undergraduate” which becomes “a student” (*Freedom*).

In literary fiction, stylistic shifts sometimes take an unexpected direction. They do neutralize the style, but not towards standard language. Vulgarisms are sometimes intensified. For example, in *The Brooklyn Follies* one character says, “I want to get the hell out of New York”, but the expletive in the Slovene version is much harsher. The same happens to “Mr Goddam God” who becomes “fucking mister God” in the Slovene version, and the irony of the phrase is lost in translation. Another interesting difference in the use of expletives is that while in popular fiction they tend to disappear, this is not the case in literary fiction. Instead, differences in intensity disappear. Whether the person in question is mildly irritated or absolutely furious, in the Slovene version, the intensity is always the highest. We could say, then, that while the shift in expletives is common to both fields, literary and popular, the change happens in opposite directions.

Lastly, there is a group of shifts characterized by explicit non-adherence to the norms of good writing. They mostly occur in works of the more experienced translators, as a result of their inclination to creatively play with language in their translations, thus introducing non-normative versions of existing words, or neologisms. Sometimes this strategy is effective, but sometimes the neologisms or the non-normative solutions stand out in the text, or, not seldom, decrease formality of the text by being too unusual, or unintentionally funny. But this tends to happen more in popular fiction than in literary fiction. Franzen’s novel *Freedom* poses numerous stylistic challenges to the translator’s creativity, and in most cases the result is neutralization. One example is a word used frequently in one part of the book, namely “to crutch”, as in: “Patty [...] crutched herself speedily to the front door...” The Slovene translator initially opted for a literal translation of “to crutch”, but afterwards preferred various descriptive versions such as “by help of crutches”, or “on crutches”, while the author of the source text let Patty crutch around until her knee was healed.

¹¹ Confusingly because it is not clear who the “our” refers to.

There is one more stylistic feature that seems to cause more problems in literary fiction than in popular fiction, and that is intertextuality. In the popular fiction corpus there was one novel (*Bridget Jones's Diary*) which included many references to other texts, more or less retained in the Slovene translation, even though they were sometimes too culture-specific for the Slovene reader to understand (references to what was said by some very British celebrity, on TV shows, etc.). But it has to be said that those intertextual references were quite obvious and easy to spot for the translator. Intertextual references in *Freedom*, on the other hand, are sometimes less obvious and the translator did either not see them, or decided to ignore them. At one point the dialogue between the characters becomes quite incoherent for that reason:

“What’s up?”

“What’s up with *you*? [...] It seems like you’ve been everywhere.”

“Yeah, really *singing the body electric*. Heady times here.”

“*Tripping the light fantastic*.”

“Exactly. In a Dade County jail cell.”

This dialogue is translated word-for-word, without any cultural references to either poetry or popular music, and this makes it incomprehensible in the Slovene translation.

Stylistic shifts, then, differ between the two sets of novels. While in the popular fiction there is the tendency of neutralizing the extreme and unusual stylistic features of the original, this is less often the case in literary fiction. There the extremes are preserved, but less extreme varieties are neutralized. Strategies on neologisms and other creative use of language in the source text, too, seem to differ. While the more experienced translators creatively translate those expressions in popular fiction, and often add some of their own, the translators of literary fiction are more reserved when it comes to creative use of language. They either neutralize it or translate it word-for-word. Intertextuality seems to pose more problems to translators of literary fiction as well, but a different corpus of novels with strong intertextual links and references would be required to establish a clear tendency.

4.1.3 *Shifts of formality level*

In both studies, I looked for three types of formality shifts: increased formality, decreased formality and sudden falls in an otherwise formal environment. In the first study, this was by far the largest group of shifts (627 out of 1287), and for the most part the formality of the text was increased (412 shifts). Formality was increased especially in dialogues, in informal conversations, in the speech of low-status characters, children and teenagers, in conversations across social-class

boundaries and in informal writing. Formality was decreased in cases where the text was very solemn, when characters discussed serious issues such as emotions, and in the case of proper names and universe-specific elements (in fantasy books).

The situation in translations of literary fiction proved to be quite different. Less than a fifth of all shifts (105 out of 572) belong to this category. The vast majority of all changes happens in dialogues; the only exceptions are the cases from *The Road* and, surprisingly, the entire *On Chesil Beach*, in which the translator consistently opted for a more formal and poetic style than the original. In literary fiction, the majority of shifts cause increased formality. This is done through the choice of more formal, unusual or archaic synonyms, a more complex syntax, unusual or archaic endings of suffixes. Translators sometimes (again, most frequently in *The Road*) decided to complete incomplete sentences, or opted for a more formal word order. That the most upward shifts in formality happened in *The Road* comes as no surprise, for the reasons explained above, and indeed they are fewer than I expected before the study was done. The translator only occasionally decided to break the monotony, and did not avoid repetition at all costs, or very often. The reasons for the overall increased formality in *On Chesil Beach* are less clear, and seem to be simply the result of the translator's reading of the source text.¹² In *Freedom* and *On Beauty* increased formality occurs in dialogues between students, former students, and their teachers. It seems then, that students fall into the same category as teenagers and children, the group which poses great challenges for Slovene literary translators.

There are not many (13) cases of decreased formality in the analyzed texts. All of them occur in dialogues. The most interesting cause of decreased formality is instances of public address. In Slovene, people who do not know each other, or are not equal in status, normally address each other in the 2nd person plural, and all others in 2nd person singular or dual. In English there is no such distinction. One indicator is the use of first names, but names are not always used, and the translator has to decide, based on conventions, circumstances, context, etc., how the characters will address each other¹³. In most cases, translators followed the relevant Slovene conventions, but in *The Brooklyn Follies*, the translator chose informal address in all circumstances – regardless of age, status, intimacy between characters and so on. This solution stands out of the context, for example when complete strangers meet for the first time, and decreases the formality of the text in others. Another stylistic change that also helped decrease formality in some instances was the above-mentioned intensifying of expletives, though whether this actually decreases the formality of the text, depends on the context.

¹² Incidentally, *On Chesil Beach* is also the novel in which most semantic shifts occur, which indicates that the translator did read and interpret it in a very special way.

¹³ For further discussion on the problems of translating English forms of address into Slovene, see Onič 2013.

The third type of formality shift, namely a sudden fall in the formality of a word or phrase relative to its immediate context, appears in both fields, although less often in literary fiction than in popular fiction, but there are some instances. In popular fiction, it was the less formal word or phrase that was nearer to the source material than the more formal vicinity. But in literary fiction the shifts go the other way too, and there were a few cases of sudden jumps in formality, which stood out just as much as sudden falls. The reason for this new type of shift is probably that the formality is generally less increased in translations of literary fiction than in translations of popular fiction, which is what makes those jumps in formality possible. In *On Chesil Beach*, for example, a couple is discussing how they met, and the woman says “And then you saw me. [...]And you decided to *stare me out*.” The Slovene version renders “stare” as “*bolščati*”, an old-fashioned word which is never used in spoken language. Even though the style of the whole text is formal in the source version and even more so in the target version, this one word still stands out as much more formal than the rest of the text.

Formality levels, then, tends to change less in translations of literary fiction than in translation of popular fiction, and the changes are almost always limited to dialogues. The possible reasons for this are many, from biographical to ethical. Beginners prefer formal register and are more likely to translate popular fiction; also, translators might feel that they should stick close to the original when translating literature, but less so when translating popular fiction.

4.2 Shifts specific to literary fiction

Some shifts occur only in the translations of literary fiction, or are at least much more prominent there. For example, translators tend to make more additions, most often to complete the sentence on the syntactical level. This does not happen in translations of popular fiction, at least not noticeably, but that could be the result of the source text style. As mentioned before, literary texts are often praised for their original style and creative expression; in popular fiction other usually qualities are prized more highly. It may be, therefore, that the literary authors in my study took a more creative approach to syntax, but the Slovene translators (and possibly even more so the copy editors) did not follow their lead. There is also an increase in deviations from the target-language norms on all levels, beginning with the morphological, which was expected. But it came as a surprise that the majority of those were not neologisms or other creative solutions, but awkward literal translations (59 out of 115 altogether). Very interesting are new categories of shifts in ideology, and, even more surprising, changes that make characters look better than they do in the source text.

4.2.1 *Shifts in characterization and ideology*

This category of shifts was not present in the popular novels, but it appeared in literary translations. The shifts fall into two groups. In the first, the shifts occur when the character does or says something that does not put him or her (or possibly the author) in the best light. Such an example is from *On Beauty*, where one character wrongly states that *Kyrie Eleison* is Latin. In the Slovene translation this information is corrected, and the character is left marvelling at the beauty of *Kyrie Eleison* in Greek. Similar are changes of “Negro” into “a black man” (in a dialogue)¹⁴, “he kissed her **wetly**” into “he kissed her **passionately**”, or “they would have [...] **dumped** my body into an unmarked grave” into “they would have [...] **buried** my dead body in an unmarked grave”. This is a translation norm that used to operate in Slovene literary translation in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (see Zlatnar Moe 2004: 218), but later it seemed to disappear. It is very interesting that it reappears at the beginning of the twenty-first century.¹⁵

The other group of changes includes shifts in ideology, following Hatim and Mason’s (1997: 218) definition of ideology as “a body of assumptions which reflects the beliefs and interests of an individual, a group of individuals, a social institution, etc., and which ultimately finds expression in language”.

The shifts in ideology sometimes change the characterization, or even the plot; at other times, they only adapt incidental detail to expectations and stereotypes of the target culture.

Shifts of the first type may be subtle changes in meaning on the word level: while a character “decides” on something in the source text, he “realizes” this same thing in the target text. Thus the power to decide is replaced with realization, which is much less deliberate, but which involves facticity, unlike “decide” which indicates mere personal opinion or preference. A similar change is from “mind” to “soul”, a shift from the rational to the spiritual, very common in Slovene translations of this word. An example of another change, which happens within the book universe, can be seen in *The Brooklyn Follies* where one character in the source text speaks about her unpleasant experiences with an extreme Christian cult. In the target version, her comments are directed towards “the Church” in general, or a generic “god” (never written with the initial cap¹⁶). All her references to this specific cult are generalized: when she says “we’re quitting the church” (meaning

¹⁴ For further research on translating racist language see Trupej, 2014.

¹⁵ It is possible, however, that this particular translation norm is gaining strength, as it can also be observed in, for example, Srečko Fišer’s translation of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* from 2013 (Zlatnar Moe, submitted).

¹⁶ This, again, could possibly be the contribution of the copy editor, a radical implementation of the rule that ‘the word God is only capitalized in theological or confessional texts (and contexts)’ (personal communication from an editor).

the extreme Christian cult she is escaping from), in the Slovene translation they “stop going to church” (“nehali sva hoditi v cerkev”), which would be understood by readers as abandoning religion in general. The same shift occurs later, when the woman quite specifically says “[...] I’ll never have to go near *that* church again”. Some terms belonging to Christianity, such as “God” and “excommunication” are generalized; in the case of “God” this happens by omission of initial cap, which changes the Christian God into a generic deity of any denomination or mythology. Also, “excommunicated” becomes “excluded” which is rather less severe and final. The last example is the translation of a specific term “born-again holy-rollers”. In the target text the phrase “born-again holy-roller”¹⁷ is rendered as “one of those converted saints”. Both words, “converted” and “saint” can be used derisively in Slovene, but they mean something else, and thus vital information about the church in question is lost.

Shifts of the second type do not cause any profound changes in plot and characterization. Instead, details in characterization, references to extra-textual reality, etc., are adapted to suit stereotypes or public opinion in the target culture. Such examples are upgrading Mozart from “one of the greatest unappreciated composers” to “one of the greatest composers”, or changing “friends” into “female friends”, or “Negro” to “a black man” (all from *Freedom*).

4.3 Non-normative solutions in the target language

That this group of shifts is larger in the literary than in the popular novels was partly expected, based on the expressed opinions of the translators. Several of them have said in interviews or public discussions something along the lines that translating popular fiction is just work, whereas real creativity lies in translating literature. The expected result of this attitude would be more creative solutions on all levels, but, surprisingly, this is not what happens. In fact, the larger part of non-normative elements occur because the translators opt for literal translations of source-language elements, followed by linguistic shifts which signal lacking appreciation of the target language rules (such as the use of the dual number, declination of nouns, use of possessive pronouns, etc.).

This interference is sometimes found even on the orthographical level, especially in the use of capital letters (which are used less often in Slovene than in English). But the largest group by far are calques, not only where idiomatic expressions are

¹⁷ *American Heritage Dictionary* defines it as “Used as a disparaging term for a member of any of various religious denominations in which spiritual fervor is expressed by shouts and violent body movements”; *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* as “a member of one of the Protestant sects whose worship meetings are characterized by spontaneous expressions of emotional excitement”; and *Wikipedia* as “a term in American English used to describe Pentecostal Christian churchgoers. The term is commonly used derisively, as if to describe people literally rolling on the floor or speaking in tongues in an uncontrolled manner.”

concerned but in the case of typical collocations, or as a result of a strong interference with the source language elsewhere. One such example is the translation in *Freedom*, where “our poster bird” becomes simply “our bird on the poster”, or examples where the English language uses more words than Slovene (the subject in Slovene is normally expressed through the form of the verb, not separately, and the sex of the person is expressed through the ending of the noun, thus there is no need to say “male musician” in as many words in Slovene, as it is done in *Freedom*). Another type of interference happens on the syntactical level, an example being the excessive use of present participles in Slovene (where they increase the formality and make the text look mildly old-fashioned). Also split sentences (such as “It was her brother who came to see her.”) have a different role in Slovene, the emphasis is much stronger if you split a sentence than it is in English, and the result is often that trivial events are emphasized out of proportion. Those shifts are not motivated by the source text; they are the translators’ additions.

The last large group are literal translations of idiomatic and culture-specific elements or references, such as “law school” in *Freedom* or the biblical expression “the heavenly host”¹⁸ in *The Brooklyn Follies*. Also informal conversational phrases, such as “I rest my case” or “How are you doing there”, receive a different meaning in Slovene as a result of literal translations, while idioms lose meaning altogether for the same reason. In *Freedom* one character says to another “you have to fish or cut it here” which is translated as “you have to fish or cut the cord”, leaving the Slovene reader rather puzzled as there is no corresponding saying in Slovene, and the characters are talking about love matters, not fishing. Only the smallest group in this category are non-normative solutions that occur because of the creative approach of the translator towards the target language (for example neologisms, surprising word-formation and similar), whether following in the footsteps of the source text author, or independently.

While there are non-normative solutions to be found in translations of both popular fiction and literature, it is surprising that in translations of literary fiction most of those solutions are not a result of creative use of language by the translator, as one would expect. On the contrary, the translators neutralized creative use of language in the source text with normative solutions. The non-normative solutions are mostly the result of linguistic interference or lack of familiarity with the source culture. After analyzing both sets of novels, I can conclude that translators seem to be much more daring and playful when translating popular fiction, especially fantasy, than when they are translating literary fiction. In the latter case the results seem to indicate a certain degree of discomfort on the part of translators when faced with unusual linguistic and syntactic features.

¹⁸ In the latter example “host” is rendered by “gostitelj”, a person who receives guests, instead of a word referring to “a great number, multitude”, usually “truma” in the phrase “heavenly host”.

4.4 Semantic shifts

Although my research focused on style, the semantic shifts must be at least mentioned, since they were rather numerous. It is interesting that they were the largest group by far in the literary fiction corpus (171 out of 572 shifts) and second largest in the popular fiction corpus. There was one novel that stood out, containing 63 of the 171 total changes. It was translated by the only translator who did not study language and/or literature. It must be said that those shifts are neither so numerous nor so visible that they would change the reader's experience of the book, but they are sometimes puzzling, and they do subtly change the characterization and relations between the characters, if not the plot. Most of them seem to be the result of misreading ("two hours" becomes "two houses", "Haven's hundred" becomes "heaven's hundred", etc.); unfamiliarity with a certain field (such as ornithology in *Freedom* or individual universes in fantasy fiction); interference, or, sometimes, attempts to avoid interference, and false friends; but very often there is no apparent reason why the translator opted for a word or phrase that means something different in the target language. Why, for example, did the Slovene translator of *On Chesil Beach* translate "long hair, almost over **your ears**" with "and long hair, almost over **your eyes**"? Another type of semantic change is the result of misreading of grammatical features. Especially prone to disappearing are the target-specific linguistic features, in the case of Slovene, the use of dual, imperfect verbs, or the polite form of address. Because of these shifts, the person, gender or tense change, and with them the relations and characterizations. Such an example is found in *Freedom* where one character is said to be a tee-totaller, but in the source version it is the man, and in the target version the woman, even though this is inconsistent with other passages.

5 CONCLUSION

After analyzing 13 novels from both fields I can conclude that there are indeed differences between translations of popular fiction and translations of literary fiction. They begin with the choice of the translator, it seems, as literary novels in the study were all translated by more experienced translators who translate mainly literary texts, while popular fiction was translated by a mixed group of beginners and experienced translators of literary and non-literary texts. But there are also differences in translating strategies, which result in different translation shifts. Thus register is more vulnerable to change in popular fiction than in literary fiction. In particular, formality levels change more in popular fiction, while in literary fiction changes of field are more usual. The one field-specific language variety that seems to pose problems for everybody is the language of children, teenagers, and students (in literary fiction).

Other stylistic changes, too, differ between the two fields. In popular fiction most shifts are towards improvement of style, prettifying of uglier elements, neutralization of extremes, and stylistic improvements of the speech of child characters. By contrast, in literary fiction, the children's passages are still corrected but the extremes remain, or are even intensified, and the more moderate elements are further neutralized. Some shifts are much more prominent in the literary fiction, or even exactly opposite to the shifts in popular fiction. While in the latter, the translators often chose compression as a strategy to improve the style, the translators of literary fiction chose more verbose solutions in order to explain certain elements to the readers. Syntactical improvements (completing sentences that are lacking auxiliaries or sentence elements) are much more present in translations of literary novels.

An interesting group of shifts are those concerning expletives. While in popular fiction they tend to be embellished or deleted, in literary fiction they tend to remain in the text, but are unified and sometimes intensified.

Non-normative solutions are present in both fields, but are surprisingly more creative in the field of popular fiction, especially in the fantasy genre, than in literary fiction. There the translators tend to neutralize the creative solutions of the source text, and adapt them to the linguistic and stylistic norms of the target language. The non-normative solutions that remain are mostly the result of literal translations of the source material.

There are a few shifts that are specific only to the translation of literary fiction. These occurred in the area of characterization and ideology. In the former some translators decided to protect the characters' reputation by choosing prettier words or phrases for what they do/are in the source text. Shifts in ideology sometimes affect characterization and the plot, but sometimes they subtly adapt details to the stereotypes and expectations of the target culture¹⁹.

The shifts of meaning emerge as a concern to the researcher. They are numerous in both groups of texts, and while in some cases it is obvious that they are the result of misreading, interference or unawareness of a specific linguistic or cultural feature, far too many appear unmotivated. Further research should pay attention to those semantic shifts and the reasons why they happen.

In conclusion, not only do readers approach literary and popular fiction in different ways, but apparently, so do commissioners and translators,²⁰ although there

¹⁹ And sometimes less subtly, as research by Orel Kos (2014) and Kocijančič Pokorn (2014) shows.

²⁰ Possibly not, however, copy-editors. But this too needs further investigation, since what we have now, is mostly anecdotal evidence.

are many similar translation strategies in both groups as well. As a result, popular fiction and literary fiction in Slovene translations seem to be more distinct from each other than they are in the source cultures.

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Diffusion de la littérature québécoise dans les pays de l'ex- Yougoslavie

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Povzetek

Pričujoča razprava se loteva vprašanja o prisotnosti quebeške ali širše francosko-kanadske književnosti v prostoru bivše Jugoslavije ob upoštevanju prevodov v srbsčino, hrvaščino, makedonščino in slovenščino. Dve glavni fazi v prevajanju, najprej v sklopu enotne države, nato pa po razpadu Jugoslavije v devetdesetih letih, ne kažeta velikih razlik, kar zadeva izbor prevajanih avtorjev. Razlogi za prevajalske, uredniške in morda predvsem tržne odločitve so vsekakor težko preverljivi v drugih okoljih, zato razprava podrobneje analizira predvsem traduktološke pojave v Sloveniji. Ugotovitev, da doslej očitno ni bilo usklajenih naporov za sistematsko predstavitev tega sklopa kanadske književnosti, sovпада z oceno, da v slovenskem prostoru prihajajo do izraza avtorji, ki ne odražajo najbolj ustrezno vse kompleksnosti quebeške književnosti, njene zgodovine in glavnih smernic v njenih literarnih tokovih.

Ključne besede : Francosko-kanadska književnost, quebeška književnost, Slovenija, Hrvaška, Makedonija, Srbija

0 INTRODUCTION

Dans le contexte de l'interculturalité ambiante, de la mobilité entre cultures et la globalisation des valeurs, la traduction d'une langue majeure, selon la définition de Pascale Casanova (1999), vers des cultures considérées comme mineures, reste un facteur décisif pour l'importation des tendances intellectuelles, politiques ou idéologiques, des modes littéraires ou critiques, mais aussi des orientations éducatives et plus largement sociales. Pour une meilleure compréhension des mouvances contemporaines, nous avons choisi d'orienter nos recherches vers les pays où la traduction a joué un rôle fondateur dans la construction de l'identité nationale et de la culture. Aussi, nous nous proposons d'analyser un volet de l'importation et de l'hybridation des valeurs socioculturelles que représente selon nous la traduction. Nous observerons la part que joue la traduction depuis un ensemble linguistique majeur, en l'occurrence une tranche de la francophonie, dans l'élargissement possible des horizons de cultures non francophones, de taille considérablement moins importante. Dans cet article, nous évoquerons la région complexe et linguistiquement variée qui est celle de l'ex-Yougoslavie. En effet, autant ce pays paraissait politiquement uni de l'extérieur, autant il contenait plusieurs cultures autonomes, possédant chacune une langue indépendante, qui conditionnait le système éducatif et le domaine éditorial. Une fois sa dissolution entamée en 1991, et surtout à partir de 1995, le morcèlement du pays a consolidé plusieurs États indépendants, à savoir la Slovénie, la Croatie, la Bosnie-Herzégovine, la Serbie, la Macédoine et le Kosovo (seule cette région ne sera pas prise en considération dans notre étude). Ces changements ont intensifié les différences et les particularités de chaque culture, mais aussi leur politique éditoriale.

S'il faut croire que la traduction du français n'occupe qu'une place secondaire face aux sources anglophones et allemandes, les grands classiques français ont néanmoins régulièrement trouvé leur place dans le contexte culturel de l'ex-Yougoslavie. Il en va autrement de la traduction en provenance de la francophonie, ce que Michel Le Bris nomme « la littérature-monde » (voir aussi Casanova 1999). Dans la mesure où cette dernière reste connue de manière souvent arbitraire, et importée de façon peu systématique, notre analyse portera aussi sur les conditions qui influencent sa présence sur le marché du livre. Ainsi, à considérer les ressources bibliographiques, notre premier constat serait qu'un effort concerté pour familiariser les lecteurs avec les œuvres marquantes des cultures francophones, notamment en provenance du Québec, n'a jamais vraiment existé, malgré le travail de certaines maisons d'édition, des associations littéraires et culturelles, ainsi que des individus connaisseurs de ces cultures.

Pour mieux comprendre la situation, il s'agit de remonter dans les dernières décennies du vingtième siècle, les années ayant précédé la dissolution de la Yougoslavie.

L'intérêt pour les littératures des nouveaux pays indépendants de l'Afrique noire correspondait, dans les années soixante-dix et davantage quatre-vingt, au soutien apporté par la Yougoslavie titiste au mouvement des pays « non-alignés ». En ce qui concerne le Québec ou le Canada francophone, la situation était plus paradoxale, à cause de la production littéraire écrite en français, avec certaines normes qui ne correspondaient pas aux caractéristiques du post-colonialisme et qui incarnaient les tendances contemporaines. Le féminisme québécois, bien avant d'autres régions francophones, a plaidé la cause de la féminisation comme principe majeur d'une nouvelle identité linguistique en français. Par ailleurs, le modernisme québécois, à la suite de la Révolution tranquille, a rompu avec la tradition romanesque, celle de la « grande noirceur ». Cette évolution n'a jamais pu être suivie dans sa complexité.

Dans cet article, nous nous sommes efforcées de rassembler les œuvres littéraires canadiennes, notamment québécoises, traduites complètement ou en partie, en serbe, en croate, en macédonien et en slovène. En l'absence d'études sur le sujet et de banques de données d'œuvres francophones, nous avons entamé nos recherches à l'aide du corpus en ligne de l'*Index Translationum* de l'UNESCO. Puis, nous avons poursuivi nos recherches avec la base de données *Cobiss* qui nous a permis de répertorier plus précisément les œuvres traduites. Des recherches ont aussi été menées sur les sites internet des différentes bibliothèques nationales. Par ailleurs, les chiffres recueillis et les interviews menés auprès de certains traducteurs nous ont permis de dégager les principales tendances littéraires et périodes relatives aux traductions des œuvres québécoises dans l'espace de l'ex-Yougoslavie. Enfin, nous avons retenu les œuvres littéraires canadiennes-françaises ainsi que certaines œuvres d'expression anglaise, liées au champ littéraire québécois, à savoir les auteur(e)s d'origine québécoise, même s'ils ont choisi de vivre ou de publier dans un autre pays, et les auteurs d'origine non-québécoise installés au Québec.

Nous formulons, dans cette étude, l'hypothèse que les traductions s'articulent autour de deux phases qui coïncident avec l'histoire de l'ex-Yougoslavie : une phase commune, précédant l'éclatement de la Yougoslavie, et une phase de déploiement individuel qui concerne la période post-yougoslave. Nous pensons, en effet, que ces phases intègrent les traductions d'auteurs ou d'œuvres québécoises vraisemblablement similaires. Dans une première partie, abordons les traductions dans trois des Républiques fédérales de l'ex – Yougoslavie : la Serbie, la Croatie et la Macédoine. La seconde partie se penchera, plus particulièrement, sur l'analyse des phénomènes traductologiques en Slovénie, à partir de 1991, date de son indépendance. D'abord, la connaissance du terrain a favorisé une étude plus détaillée de ce contexte. Ensuite, la présentation synthétique des auteur(e)s traduit(e)s dans cette partie permet une meilleure comparaison avec la liste des noms qui apparaissent dans les traductions effectuées en ex-Yougoslavie.

1 LES RELATIONS DES PAYS DE L'EX-YOUGOSLAVIE AVEC LE CANADA FRANCOPHONE

1.1 En Serbie

La Serbie a une longue tradition francophone. Le nombre d'ouvrages traduits en serbe pourrait donc être supérieur à ceux traduits en croate ou en slovène. Les premières traductions des auteurs francophones débute durant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres. Dans les années 1930, Vladimir Spasojević (*Izabrana dela. Knj. I*) publie la traduction serbe de quelques pages du roman canadien *Maria Chapdelaine* de Louis Hémon. Ce roman (*Marija Šapdelen*) sera de nouveau traduit en 1984 par Jasna Tošić. En 1963, les *Contes populaires canadiens* sont traduits par Milena Šafarik afin de permettre aux lecteurs serbes de connaître « le folklore des immigrants européens au Canada » (Petković 1963 : 122). Il faudra pourtant attendre l'ouverture des années 1980 pour que se manifeste un plus grand intérêt envers la littérature canadienne, même si la majorité des œuvres intégrales seront traduites et publiées après 2000 (Novaković 2012 : 108).

Les années 1980 coïncident également avec l'introduction d'études universitaires consacrées à la promotion de la culture et la littérature canadiennes, à Belgrade et à Novi Sad, notamment à la mise en place de cours de littératures francophones. D'autre part, les efforts des universitaires yougoslaves ont mené à des liens de coopération qui se renforcent au fil du temps. On invite ainsi les écrivains canadiens en Serbie et on traduit leurs œuvres. En 1987, l'Association Yougoslavie-Canada voit le jour et produit plusieurs assises annuelles auxquelles participent des universitaires, des écrivains et des intellectuels canadiens. Afin de connaître la richesse de la littérature canadienne, des colloques internationaux sont organisés à travers toute la Yougoslavie, avec le concours des associations locales (en l'occurrence Slovénie-Canada ; Serbie-Canada ; Croatie-Canada et Macédoine-Canada). Ils ont lieu notamment en Serbie (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš), en Slovénie (Bled), en Croatie (Trogir), en Macédoine (Ohrid) et au Monténégro (Herceg Novi). Ljiljana Matić, professeure à l'Université de Novi Sad et un des membres fondateurs de l'Association de Littérature et de Culture Yougoslavie-Canada, participe à plusieurs colloques internationaux sur la littérature canadienne. Également vice-présidente de l'Association yougoslave des études canadiennes, elle fait figurer au programme des études universitaires de la Chaire de langue et littérature françaises de Novi Sad un cours sur les littératures francophones, notamment québécoise. En outre, depuis les années 1990, elle a traduit en serbe plusieurs prosateurs québécois. Elle débute avec l'écrivain québécois d'origine serbe Negovan Rajić (*Service pénitentiaire national Nacionalna robijaška služba*, 1993). Elle

poursuit, dans les années 2000, avec les traductions des auteurs suivants : Madeleine Ouellette-Michalska (*La maison Trestler ou Le 8e jour d'Amérique* \ *Kuća Trestlerovih ili Osmi dan Amerike*, 1996), Gaëtan Brulotte (*L'Emprise* \ *Dvojniki*, 2002), Michel Tremblay (*Le cahier noir* \ *Crna sveska*, 2006), Christiane Chevrette (*Les complices de Pain d'Épice* \ *Saučesnici Medenjaka*, 2007), Hélène Dorion (*Sous l'arche du temps* \ *Pod svodom vremena*, 2008), Daniel Danis (*Le Chant du dire-dire et Le Langue-à-langue des chiens de roche* \ *Pevanje sokočala i Draženje stenovitih pasa*, 2010). Ces traductions permettent de connaître des noms très en vue de la littérature québécoise.

Durant cette même période, d'autres œuvres québécoises sont traduites. On note, entre autres, Jean-Pierre Davidts (*Le petit prince retrouvé* \ *Povratak malog princa* traduit par Anđelka Cvijić, 1998) ; deux ouvrages d'Hélène Dorion sont traduits la même année par Jovica Aćin (*Jours de sable* \ *Peščani dani*, 2006 ; *Un visage appuyé contre le monde* \ *Lice prislonjeno uz svet*, 2007) ; Gilles Pellerin est traduit par Anja Miletić, Irena Obradović et Ana A. Jovanović (*Ï* (i tréma), *Dve tačke na i*, 2007) ; sept romans du cycle d'aventures fantastiques « *Amos Daragon* » de Bryan Perro sont traduits par Nebojša Pajić (*Porteur de masques* \ *Nosilac maske*, 2003 ; *La Clé de Braha* \ *Ključ za Brahu*, 2004), mais aussi par Zorana Ogrizović (*Le crépuscule des dieux* \ *Sumrak bogova*, 2004 ; *Al-Katrum-les territoires de l'ombre* \ *Al-Katrum zemlje senki*, 2005 ; *La malédiction de Freyja* \ *Frejino prokletstvo*, 2005 ; *La tour d'El-Bab* \ *Kula El-Bab*, 2006) ; et par Marijana Medaković (*La colère d'Enki* \ *Enkijev gnev*, 2006). Nous passons à un autre type de littérature avec Dany Laferrière, élu en 2014 membre de l'Académie française (*Le goût des jeunes filles* \ *Ukus mladih devojaka*, traduit par Vladimir D. Janković, 2006 ; *Vers le sud* \ *Ka jugu*, traduit par Gordana Breberina, 2007) ; et Sylvain Trudel (*La mer de la tranquillité* \ *More tišine*, traduit par Spasa Ratković, 2008). Quant à la littérature québécoise d'expression anglaise, un court extrait de l'ouvrage de Yann Martel (*Piov život* \ *Life of Pi*, traduit de l'anglais par Predrag Šaponja, 2002) semblait tester l'intérêt du public, pour être suivi de l'œuvre intégrale (*Pijev život*, traduit de l'anglais par Lazar Macura, 2003), et de l'ouvrage *Beatrice and Virgil* (*Beatriče i Vergilije*) traduit par Mihajlo Matić (2010) ; Mordecai Richler, le doyen de la littérature juive de Montréal, est présent par ses romans *Barney's Version*, traduit de l'anglais par Aleksandar V. Stefanović (*Barnijeva verzija*, 2007) et *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (*Sazrevanje Dadija Kravica*, 2007) par Ljiljana Nastić.

D'autre part, quelques anthologies apparaissent, regroupant pour la plupart des fragments d'auteurs canadiens anglophones et francophones : en 1986, l'*Anthologie du récit bref canadien* est publiée par Vladislav A. Tomović (*Antologija kratke priče Kanade*) réunissant des extraits anglophones (traductions de Velimir Kostov) et francophones (traductions de Borjanka Ludvig). En 1989, l'écrivain et traducteur Dragoslav Andrić publie une anthologie de la poésie canadienne comprenant

une partie francophone et une autre anglophone suivie, en 1991, d'une anthologie de la poésie canadienne moderne (*Antologija novije kanadske poezije*) traduite par l'écrivain et éditeur Bogdan Mrvoš. Il faudra cependant attendre 2006 pour que paraisse un recueil de pièces de théâtre intitulé *Mogući svetovi : savremena kanadska drama* (*Les mondes possibles : le drame canadien contemporain*) publié par Jovan Ćirilov et David Albahari. Sur les neuf pièces de théâtre dramatiques, deux extraits appartiennent au théâtre francophone : *Le vrai monde ?* de Michel Tremblay et *Les reines* de Normand Chaurette. Enfin, en 2010, Ljiljana Matić publie en français un recueil d'essais littéraires intitulé *Le lys dans la neige*, où elle aborde des questions théoriques (telle l'identité culturelle) ; elle se penche aussi sur un genre particulier (la prose, la poésie) et ses représentants. Comme l'indique l'auteure dans son « Avant-propos », cette œuvre fait suite au recueil précédent, *Ponts et lignes de démarcation* (2000), d'après elle « le premier ouvrage consacré à la littérature québécoise en ex-Yougoslavie et l'un des premiers en Europe centrale et orientale » (*Le lys*, s. p. [7]).

La coopération culturelle entre la Serbie et le Canada, importante dans les années 1990, s'intensifie dans les années 2000. En plus des anthologies, de nombreux auteurs contemporains, canadiens ou québécois, sont traduits. Si les romans prédominent, les traductions serbes touchent pourtant tous les genres : la poésie (Hélène Dorion), la dramaturgie (Daniel Danis), le conte (Gilles Pellerin), la prose fantastique pour enfants (Bryan Perro). Certains facteurs ont contribué à la publication des traductions d'œuvres québécoises : d'une part, l'ouverture de la Yougoslavie et plus tard de la Serbie, à l'Occident ; d'autre part, la volonté du Canada de promouvoir sa culture à l'étranger. Jelena Novaković (2012 : 112) constate également que le contact du lecteur serbe avec la littérature québécoise a permis la rencontre des cultures.

1.2. En Croatie

La langue croate fait aussi partie du groupe des langues slaves méridionales. Durant la période yougoslave, elle est subsumée (de manière centralisante) sous l'appellation de serbo-croate, plus récemment de BCMS (sigle qui reprend les initiales de chaque variante : bosniaque, croate, monténégrin et serbe). Il semble donc difficile d'extraire les œuvres traduites uniquement en langue croate. Le chapitre précédent recense la majorité des œuvres québécoises traduites en langue serbe (cyrillique) ou serbo-croate (latin). Une recherche sur le site Cobiss serbe (le Cobiss croate n'est pas encore créé) nous indique qu'une anthologie de la poésie canadienne (*Panorama novije kanadske poezije*) a pourtant été traduite, en 1972, du français vers le croate par Luko Paljetak. Mais, elle ne comporte que des auteurs canadiens pour la plupart anglophones. Il semble, par ailleurs, que

les auteurs anglophones prédominent dans la littérature canadienne en Croatie. Aussi n'indiquons-nous que les œuvres traduites en croate à compter de 1991, date de l'indépendance du pays. Comme ces traductions ne sont pas recensées par le Cobiss serbe, nous avons fait une recherche directement auprès des bibliothèques, notamment celle de philologie de la Faculté des Lettres et la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Zagreb.

Parmi les premiers auteurs québécois traduits en croate, mentionnons Yves Thériault (*Agakuk, roman esquimau* \ *Agaguk : roman o Eskimima*, traduction de Srećko Džamonja, 1960) ; Jean-Pierre Davidts (*Le petit prince retrouvé* \ *Mali princ se vratio*, trad. de Ita Kovač, 1998) ; Gaétan Soucy (*La petite fille qui aimait trop les allumettes* \ *Djevojčica koja je previše voljela šibice*, trad. de Ita Kovač, 2003) ; Nicole Bélanger (*Un jour, nous épouserons Roman Gary* \ *Jednoga dana, udat ćemo se za Romaina Garyja*, trad. de Maja Švegović-Majerović, 2003) ; Maxime Roussy (*Du sang sur la chair d'une pomme* \ *Krv na mesu jabuke*, trad. de Maja Švegović-Majerović, 2003). Yann Martel, traduit de l'anglais par Anka Katušić-Balen en 2004 et en 2009 (*Life of Pi* \ *Pijev život*), continue à lui valoir un grand succès en librairie, ce qui justifierait la parution en 2010 de l'œuvre *Beatrice and Virgil* (*Beatrice i Vergilije*, trad. de Mihaela Velina). Des représentants du réseau francophone abondent : Michel Brûlé (*L'enfant qui voulait dormir* \ *Dijete koje je htjelo spavati*, trad. d'Ita Kovač, 2005) ; Gil Courtemanche (*Un dimanche à la piscine à Kigali* \ *Jedna nedjelja na bazenu u Kigaliju*, trad. de Lada Burić, 2005), et finalement la doyenne de la littérature québécoise, Anne Hébert (*L'enfant chargé de songes* \ *Dječak pod teretom snova*, trad. de Marija Paprašarovski, 2006), suivie de Monique LaRue (*La gloire de Cassiodore* \ *Kasiodorova slava*, trad. d'Anja Jović, 2007), l'iconique Jacques Poulin (*Les grandes marées* \ *Velike plime*, trad. de Sanja Lovrenčić, 2009), et aussi la contestataire Marie Gray traduite en 2009 (*Histoires à faire rougir* \ *Ženski poriv*, trad. de Dolores Jovanović ; *Nouvelles histoires à faire rougir* \ *Saten i čipka*, trad. de Dolores Jovanović ; *Histoires à faire rougir davantage* \ *Brigittina tajna*, trad. de Dolores Jovanović ; *Rougir de plus belle* \ *Igra ruku*, trad. de Mira Saršon ; *Un peu, beaucoup, passionnément* \ *Nekad sam bila glupa*, trad. de Mira Saršon).

Par conséquent, on traduit surtout des romans québécois. En effet, il semble qu'aucun poète québécois n'a été traduit en croate. En 2000, l'Ambassade du Canada en Croatie commence à promouvoir, de manière active, la littérature canadienne (Sapun Kurtin, Sindičić Sabljo : 57). Les études de littérature canadienne, anglophone et francophone, font désormais partie du cursus universitaire de l'Université de Zagreb. La Société académique croate-canadienne est créée, en 2004, dans le but de promouvoir les relations culturelles et sociales entre la Croatie et le Canada par une approche interdisciplinaire aux études canadiennes. La Société ainsi que le Conseil des arts du Canada ont subventionné les traductions

de divers auteurs québécois (Monique LaRue, Gaétan Soucy, Jacques Poulin, Anne Hébert).

1.3 En Macédoine

La traduction en Macédoine est aléatoire et relève, par sa rareté, de l'exotisme. Nous avons pu établir une courte liste des traductions publiées en macédonien : en 1996, une anthologie, citant des poètes célèbres comme Neruda, Shakespeare, Sédar Senghor, Baudelaire, etc., propose également la traduction d'une poésie de Gaston Miron (*La marche à l'amour* \ *Pohodot na ljubovta*) ; les romans de Yann Martel *Life of Pi* et *Beatrice and Virgil* sont traduits de l'anglais (en 2003, *Život na Pi*, par Vladimir Cvetkovski et en 2012, *Beatriče i Vergilij*, par Aco Peroski) ; en 2005 apparaît la traduction de Gorazd Vraživirski, d'après l'œuvre de Jean-Pierre Davidts *Le petit prince retrouvé*, sous le titre *Maliot princ povtorno najden* ; enfin, en 2015, l'ouvrage d'Alice Munro (*Runaway* \ *Begalka*) est traduit depuis l'anglais par Kristina Dimkova.

1.4 En Slovénie

Dans la foulée de l'ouverture générale à la littérature francophone, le domaine québécois a également intéressé, dès les années quatre-vingt, des chercheurs ou traducteurs slovènes. Deux grandes périodes sont à noter. La première phase coïncide avec les contacts établis, dès 1980, par Metka Zupančič avec certains éditeurs, mais aussi des collègues québécois et franco-ontariens. Cela a mené à la traduction d'extraits destinés à susciter un intérêt pour la publication des œuvres entières. L'Association Slovénie-Canada, fondée à la suite des premières assises yougoslaves-canadiennes en 1987, a permis de consolider l'intérêt déjà existant pour ce pays nord-américain et les rapports déjà établis entre les universitaires yougoslaves, entre autres slovènes, et leurs correspondants canadiens. En 1988, un premier atelier de traduction a été mis en place avec le concours des étudiant(e)s de littérature française, au sein de l'Association des traducteurs littéraires slovènes. Le don par les services canadiens d'une petite collection d'œuvres québécoises significatives, à la bibliothèque du Département des langues romanes, n'a pas pu à l'époque inciter à la traduction plus importante de ces œuvres. Une autre phase plus productive intervient dans les années 2000. Elle correspond aux échanges récents entre la Slovénie indépendante et le Canada, anglophone ou francophone, avec plusieurs générations de traducteurs et parfois de poètes slovènes, qui ont pu établir des contacts bilatéraux entre les deux cultures et ensuite proposer l'adoption de certaines œuvres dans la traduction slovène.

2 DIFFUSION DE LA PROSE QUÉBÉCOISE EN SLOVÈNIE

Par rapport à la première phase des traductions vers le slovène, les premiers résultats éditoriaux se manifestent en 1988, dans une des revues affiliées à l'Association des organismes culturels slovènes, *Mentor*. La traductrice des textes, Metka Zupančič, à l'époque assistante de littérature française à la Faculté des Lettres de Ljubljana, a basé son choix des extraits tirés de romans québécois sur leur importance pour la culture et la littérature contemporaine du pays, mais aussi sur leur visibilité dans le domaine littéraire de cette époque. Ainsi, il paraissait impératif de présenter aux jeunes lecteurs slovènes, souvent de futurs poètes et romanciers à qui était destinée la revue *Mentor*, un extrait du *Prochain épisode* d'Hubert Aquin (1965), sous le titre « Poslednja epizoda » (1988). Auteur culte des indépendantistes québécois, Aquin semblait refléter certaines préoccupations du Nouveau Roman, de par ses recherches stylistiques, mais pouvait séduire aussi par son écriture quasi ludique et sarcastique, ainsi que par l'aspect rebelle de sa prose. Parmi les auteurs postérieurs à la génération d'Aquin, le nom d'Yvon Rivard s'imposait. Sa visite-conférence en 1985 a mené à la publication de plusieurs extraits de ses textes, dont la traduction d'une entrevue avec Robert Viau, tirée des *Lettres québécoises* (*Mentor* 3/4, 1989). *Nova revija*, considérée comme la publication mensuelle de l'avant-garde intellectuelle, a assuré la parution d'un extrait de *L'ombre et le double* (1979), sous le titre « Dve vprašanji : iz romana *Senca in dvojniki* » (81/82, 1989). La revue *Mentor* a accueilli, dans le dossier sur la littérature québécoise contemporaine (6/7, 1988), un extrait du roman d'Yvon Rivard inspiré de R. M. Rilke, *Mort et naissance de Christophe Ulric* (1976), « Smrt in rojstvo Christophä Ulrica ».

Le même dossier dans la revue *Mentor* (6/7, 1988) contient, entre autres, trois auteur(e)s de l'actualité littéraire québécoise de l'époque. « Prigode Pomme Douly » est un extrait du roman *Les aventures de Pomme Douly* (1988) de Suzanne Jacob. Romancière, dramaturge, essayiste et poète, mais aussi auteure-compositrice-interprète, elle est récipiendaire de nombreux prix littéraires prestigieux. Avec son écriture fraîche et innovatrice, dans le roman *Rue des Petits-Dortoirs* (1988), Denis Bélanger promettait beaucoup avant d'être fauché par une mort prématurée. L'extrait dans *Mentor* porte le titre « Ulica majhnih spalnic ». Celle qui continue à être la grande dame de la littérature québécoise, détentrice de nombreux prix, Nicole Brossard, membre de l'Académie des lettres du Québec, a proposé avec son roman *Le désert mauve* (1987), « Vijolična puščava » pour l'extrait publié en 1988 dans *Mentor*, un défi traductologique, avec la « traduction », voire la réécriture de la première partie du livre, dans un autre français de la deuxième partie du roman. En tant que gardienne littéraire de la mémoire acadienne, Antonine Maillet, récipiendaire de nombreux prix prestigieux, a publié en 1979 son roman

Pélagie-la-Charrette, présenté en slovène par l'extrait « Pelagija z vozom » (*Mentor* 6/7, 1988). Ce roman fut récompensé la même année par le Prix Goncourt, une distinction qui ne fut décernée qu'à deux personnalités non-européennes (avec Atiq Rahimi en 2008).

Or, si la littérature québécoise d'expression française commence à se faire connaître en Slovénie dans les années quatre-vingt, sa diffusion demeurera limitée dans les années quatre-vingt-dix. En 1997, paraît l'adaptation par Boris Kobal et Ira Ratej de la pièce de théâtre *Les belles-sœurs* (1972) de Michel Tremblay (*Nore babe*, traduction de Mate Dolenc), qui dans l'original se caractérise par l'usage du joul, le parler populaire du Plateau Mont-Royal, et la thématique représentant une image de la société québécoise. La même année (1997) sortira la traduction, par Alenka Klabus Vesel, du livre pour enfants de Sylvain Trudel, *Le garçon qui rêvait d'être un héros* (*O fantu, ki si je želel postati junak*), paru en 1995. Cet autre auteur montréalais y aborde des thèmes divers, liés en partie au contexte québécois, comme l'enfance et la vie imaginaire des jeunes, mais traite aussi, avec subtilité, des problèmes matériels universels, du chômage et des difficultés sociales. Toutefois, force est de constater le faible nombre des traductions québécoises et francophones en général dans la décennie suivante. L'histoire de la jeune Slovénie et l'émergence d'un petit marché de l'édition slovène peuvent en effet expliquer le peu d'enthousiasme, dans les années quatre-vingt-dix, pour la littérature francophone en général.

Avec la multiplication et la diversification des échanges, les années 2000 plantent le décor quant au rôle de plus en plus important de la traduction qui permet aux Slovènes de découvrir, entre autres, les noms illustres de la poésie et de la prose québécoise. Ainsi, à partir de 2002, la traduction canadienne et particulièrement québécoise gagne en ampleur. En outre, les aides financières visant à soutenir la traduction et à stimuler l'exportation de la littérature canadienne ont sans doute favorisé l'émergence des œuvres québécoises en Slovénie. En effet, la Sodex (Société de développement des entreprises culturelles) et le Conseil des Arts du Canada ont aidé à la publication des poésies de Nicole Brossard, *Installations : avec et sans pronoms* (1989), traduites en slovène par Brane Mozetič, également poète et romancier (*Namestitve – z in brez zaimkov*, 2002). Grâce aux échanges entre poètes issus de deux cultures, notamment entre Brane Mozetič et Nicole Brossard, cette dernière est invitée en Slovénie, lors de ses nombreuses tournées internationales, ce qui peut expliquer le choix du traducteur. Cette œuvre est typique de l'écriture québécoise féminine. Plus tard apparaissent les traductions complètes de sept œuvres canadiennes, d'expression française et anglaise, en prose. Parmi les traductions de la prose d'expression française, on note que l'écriture féministe québécoise est représentée par le roman de Nelly Arcan, *Putain* (2001), traduit en 2007 par Maja Gal Štromar (*Kurba*) et réédité en slovène en 2009. Toujours en 2009, paraît *Scrapbook*, l'œuvre de Nadine Bismuth (2004) d'après la tra-

duction d'Anuša Trunkelj, où on peut aussi déceler, sous un mode plus ludique, l'influence du féminisme.

Quant à la prose masculine, la première œuvre traduite est un excellent exemple de la richesse culturelle de l'Ontario francophone : il s'agit de *La kermesse* (2006) de Daniel Poliquin, traduit par Maja Kraigher (*Semenj*, 2009). L'auteur est un des rares romanciers d'Ottawa qui ont su s'affirmer dans le milieu littéraire canadien francophone, surtout au Québec, où parfois les auteur(e)s de l'Outaouais ont du mal à se faire connaître. Le roman, situé entre 1914 et 1934, présente de manière souvent ludique Lusignan, un personnage complexe et peu commun pour cette époque. Il s'agit de la première traduction financée conjointement par le Conseil des Arts du Canada et l'Agence slovène pour l'édition du livre (JAK – Javna agencija za knjigo). L'œuvre de Dany Laferrière, *Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre sans se fatiguer* (1985), sera traduite, en 2011, par Ana Prislan, sous le titre slovène abrégé, *Kako se ljubiti z zamorcem*. L'auteur, un Haïtien résidant à Montréal, est un des célèbres représentants de cette diaspora francophone qui a élu domicile dans les contrées nordiques canadiennes. Son roman, tout en politisant sur la condition du « Nègre migrant », avance le concept de « négritude », mais comme nouvelle manière de revendiquer son américanité dans le contexte québécois, encore marqué par la domination anglophone.

Malgré leur faible nombre, ces traductions réunissent certains traits parmi les plus répandus de la littérature québécoise et même plus généralement canadienne. D'une part, l'écriture masculine qui tente d'affirmer son appartenance au domaine francophone et de s'émanciper du colonialisme ou de l'impérialisme, d'autre part l'écriture des femmes qui manifeste sa spécificité sexuelle et son émancipation. Par ailleurs, la littérature canadienne voire québécoise d'expression anglaise est également présente en Slovénie où elle a reçu un accueil favorable. Quelques extraits du best-seller *Life of Pi* de Yann Martel (2002) sont traduits par Judita Mia Dintinjana et publiés dans la revue *Literatura* en 2003. Puis, en 2004, le roman sera traduit intégralement par Luka Senica, sous le titre *Pijevo življenje*. La version slovène connaît un réel succès puisqu'elle sera rééditée en 2005, 2009 et 2012. Yann Martel paraîtra en slovène une seconde fois : en 2011, le roman *Beatrice in Vergil* sera traduit par Breda Biščak (*Beatrice and Virgil*, 2010). Mais, cette fable, le dialogue entre une ânesse et un singe hurleur posant notamment de subtiles réflexions sur la littérature postmoderne, n'a pas connu en Slovénie le même succès que l'œuvre précédente.

Contrairement à Yann Martel, le romancier anglophone de Montréal, satiriste de la littérature contemporaine, Mordecai Richler offre une autre image du Québec. En effet, son roman *Barney's Version* (1997), traduit en slovène par Marcello Potocco (*Barneyjeva zgodba*, 2011), a été abondamment commenté au Québec

francophone. L'auteur y décrit les différentes cultures montréalaises ainsi que les symptômes de la dégradation et de l'acculturation de sa ville natale. Nous pouvons en déduire que les traductions des œuvres québécoises de langue anglaise répondent essentiellement au souci de faire apprécier aux lecteurs slovènes deux auteurs à succès et leurs best-sellers. Parallèlement, l'industrie du livre littéraire se développe, mais elle est obligée de mener une lutte constante de survie et peu de maisons d'édition slovènes osent encore s'aventurer dans la traduction francophone en général, terrain qui pose notamment des risques de rentabilité face à la diminution des subventions.

En 2006 paraît l'anthologie de la prose canadienne anglophone et francophone. Compte tenu de la rareté des anthologies qui serviraient à mieux rapprocher les phénomènes littéraires québécois – ou encore d'ouvrages qui placeraient la littérature québécoise, voire canadienne-française, dans l'ensemble de la production canadienne, il importe de souligner les noms choisis par Maja Kraigher dans son recueil de nouvelles, *Zgodbe iz Kanade* (2006). Comme elle l'affirme dans sa préface, la variété culturelle canadienne se réduit difficilement à des thèmes toujours semblables ou compatibles. Ses contacts et surtout son expérience au stage de traduction BILTC au Banff Centre en Alberta, en 2006, lui a permis de préciser, comme approche, un voyage à travers le Canada, soit à travers le français soit dans des récits en anglais, mais aussi plusieurs pistes pour la traduction d'œuvres entières. La nouvelle au sens large (récit plus ou moins long, parfois à la limite d'un court roman) lui paraît être la forme consacrée de la littérature canadienne, celle qui depuis une soixantaine d'années cherche à s'établir à travers les publications dans des revues et, de suite, dans des anthologies.

En commençant le voyage littéraire en Colombie-Britannique, avec un texte d'Alice Munro, Maja Kraigher nous mène progressivement vers l'est du Canada, avec quelques grandes escales, à Toronto, Ottawa et Montréal, pour aboutir en Acadie, avec l'incontournable voix d'Antonine Maillet, secondée par celles de Jacques Ferron, Lisa Moore et Alistair MacLeod. Pour faire parler du Manitoba, l'anthologiste introduit Gabrielle Roy ; pour la capitale nationale, son choix porte très judicieusement sur Daniel Poliquin. Pour évoquer Montréal, à côté de Mavis Gallant et sa nouvelle en anglais, les auteur(e)s interpellé(e)s évoquent chacun(e) un aspect de la ville urbaine, ainsi Anne Hébert, Marie-Claire Blais, Michel Tremblay, Roch Carrier, Nadine Bismuth et Naïm Kattan. Kraigher note elle-même la rareté des traductions depuis le Canada francophone, alors que la littérature anglophone canadienne semble avoir plus fréquemment attiré le regard soit des traducteurs soit des éditeurs. Compte tenu du fait que sa sélection d'auteur(e)s inclut des noms qui mériteraient de devenir plus familiers en Slovénie, grâce à la traduction des œuvres plus longues, son anthologie atteint parfaitement son objectif.

3 LES POÈTES QUÉBÉCOIS EN SLOVÉNIE

Au printemps 2003, une rencontre au festival littéraire international de Vilenica (Slovénie), entre Nicole Brossard et Barbara Pogačnik, traductrice, poète slovène et plus tard éditrice de la revue *Literatura*, donnait naissance à une anthologie de la poésie québécoise. Le Festival littéraire de Vilenica, qui réunit annuellement, depuis 1986, les écrivains d'Europe centrale et des autres régions, est un lieu de rencontre privilégié entre poètes, prosateurs, dramaturges, essayistes et traducteurs provenant d'horizons divers. La collaboration entre Nicole Brossard et Barbara Pogačnik a permis de réunir un choix d'auteur(e)s québécois(e)s, à l'image d'une première anthologie sur les poètes belges (*V iskanju eksistence in jezika na obrobju : francoska literatura v Belgiji*) publiée, en 2002, par Barbara Pogačnik dans la revue *Literatura*. Ainsi, cette même revue réunit, un an plus tard, sous le titre *Quebeška poezija 20. stoletja, Nostalgija za Francijo po ameriško (La poésie québécoise du XX^e siècle, sous-titré Nostalgie de la France, à l'américaine)*, une trentaine de traductions réalisées par divers traducteurs et révélant quelques maîtres de la poésie dont les carrières furent jalonnées de distinctions littéraires. Six poésies de Nicole Brossard apparaissent dans cette anthologie de la poésie québécoise, dont la traduction de « Bohinjško jezero » (« Lac Bohinj ») tirée du recueil *Je m'en vais à Trieste* (2003). La Slovénie, que la poète a connue au travers de ses voyages, occupe en effet une place particulière dans son œuvre.

L'anthologie propose aussi les poésies d'un des premiers grands auteurs idéalistes du Québec, Émile Nelligan, surnommé le Rimbaud québécois, et les poèmes d'Hector de Saint-Denys-Garneau, un des chantres de la solitude, qui prendra la relève de Nelligan une génération plus tard, la souffrance et la dégradation étant des thèmes communs aux deux créateurs. Alain Grandbois, traduit par Saša Jerele, occupe une place de marque parmi les auteurs contemporains ; il apparaît refusant la mort et chassant les ténèbres pressenties par les poètes précédents. Romancière engagée et réaliste, mais aussi poète de la solitude, cousine de Garneau, Anne Hébert a pu se libérer, elle aussi, de la hantise de la mort. Elle a inscrit la littérature québécoise sur la carte mondiale. Malgré un séjour prolongé à Paris, elle est restée ancrée dans la tradition poétique et romanesque québécoise. La majorité des poésies citées sont traduites par Barbara Pogačnik.

Par ailleurs, parmi les poètes du pays et de l'engagement qui célèbrent l'éclosion à la vie, on compte Gaston Miron, doyen de l'Hexagone, considéré à juste titre comme le fondateur de la nouvelle poésie québécoise, celle d'après la Révolution tranquille. Dans le recueil *Professeur de poésie* d'André Roy, nous pouvons lire la section « La vie du poète », puis celle qui porte sur « Le professionnel de la poésie ». L'auteur, traduit par Brane Mozetič, se plaît à créer, avec ironie, des professions impossibles en relation avec la pratique intensive de la poésie.

Quelques poésies du recueil *Elle était belle comme une idée* (2003), traduites par Nataša Varuša, nous permettent de connaître Normand de Bellefeuille, écrivain, critique et poète de la culture contestataire. Ce dernier alterne entre des poèmes en vers et des lettres en prose, sur les thèmes du cœur et de la mort, adressées à des femmes non identifiées. Parmi les auteures traduites dans ce volume, on retrouve l'une des voix les plus fortes des lettres québécoises, dont l'œuvre est auréolée de prix prestigieux. Ainsi, Denise Desautels dessine, dans les extraits traduits par Ana Zwitter, une interrogation continue de la mort, que la poète ne peut apprivoiser. Autre figure importante de la poésie féminine et une des grandes personnalités québécoises contemporaines, Louise Dupré, traduite par Barbara Pogačnik, est appréciée pour sa finesse stylistique et la grande qualité de son expression, en poésie comme en prose. Sa poésie apparaît intimiste et ouverte sur le champ de la vie. Proche d'Hector de Saint-Denys Garneau, Hélène Dorion, proposée par la même traductrice, s'affirme comme la poète des années 1990. Sa poésie aborde aussi le thème de la solitude, le rapport à l'autre passant par l'écriture.

Par conséquent, cette anthologie poétique passe en revue différents courants et tendances de la poésie québécoise. Comme pour le théâtre et la prose, les courants de la poésie québécoise diffèrent des courants slovènes ou même français. Pourtant, la poésie des femmes façonne le visage de la poésie québécoise et apparaît comme nouvelle, variée et thématiquement internationale.

4 CONCLUSION

Si les littératures francophones, à savoir les non-hexagonales, sont parfois considérées comme périphériques, elles ont pourtant réussi à se ménager un espace de réception dans le champ culturel de l'ex-Yougoslavie, grâce aux traducteurs et aux éditeurs. Malgré le nombre relativement limité de titres québécois parmi les auteurs francophones, la traduction des œuvres littéraires québécoises paraît influencée, de manière générale, par une série de facteurs dont principalement le prestige qu'a connu une œuvre particulière dans son contexte original. Les prix littéraires au Canada, comme celui du Gouverneur Général, ont certainement eu un impact sur la sélection des œuvres à traduire. Par ailleurs, sans compter les anthologies, le décalage qui apparaît entre les parutions originales et les dates de traduction est relativement faible, comme on le voit dans l'ensemble linguistique serbe et croate, et aussi pour les traductions slovènes plus récentes. Plusieurs noms, notamment celui de Dany Laferrière, sont présents dans les trois contextes, sans oublier le succès éditorial de (l'anglophone) Yann Martel. S'agissait-il d'attendre une sorte de vérification internationale des auteurs du domaine francophone, avant de les introduire dans ces différents pays ? C'est ce qui pourrait

expliquer la difficulté, pour les œuvres québécoises ou canadiennes-françaises, à se faire admettre dans le nouveau contexte.

Par conséquent, à considérer les ressources bibliographiques, notre premier constat s'avère en partie réel. Si deux phases ont bien marqué la traduction des œuvres québécoises en ex-Yougoslavie, le choix des auteurs et des œuvres, ainsi que le volume des œuvres traduites, diffèrent toutefois. On constate un intérêt plus prononcé pour traduire la fiction québécoise ; en ce qui concerne le théâtre et la poésie, l'intérêt est mitigé, voire faible. Par ailleurs, un effort concerté pour familiariser les lecteurs de ces régions avec les œuvres marquantes des cultures plus particulièrement québécoises, voire plus largement des régions du Canada, ne semble pas (encore) exister, malgré les efforts de certaines maisons d'édition, des associations littéraires et culturelles, ainsi que des individus connaisseurs de ces cultures.

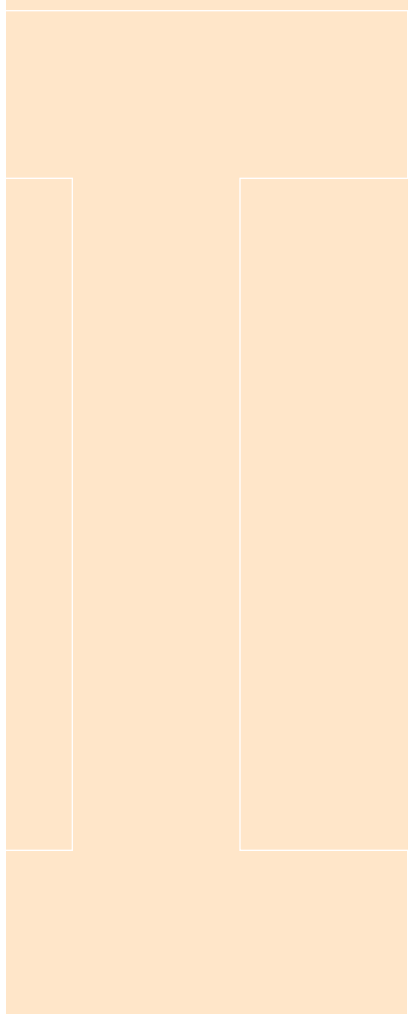
Enfin, de multiples causes mènent les différents acteurs vers leur choix : anticipation du profit, économique ou symbolique, concurrence, besoin de contrecarrer le monopole de la littérature dominante (nationale, germanique ou anglo-saxonne). Ainsi, la coopération ou l'association entre agents qui participent aux diverses phases du transfert littéraire s'est avérée indispensable, mais peu organisée sous forme de réseaux. Peu d'ouvrages ont aussi obtenu des subventions pour encourager la diffusion de la littérature québécoise ou canadienne.

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¹ Dans l'intérêt de l'espace alloué à cet essai, la bibliographie ne propose pas une liste exhaustive des œuvres introduites dans les régions observées, ni de leurs traductions dans les diverses langues slovène, croate, serbe et macédonienne.

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