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TRANSLATION AND / UND MIGRATION

Prevajanje in migracije

Zbirka Prevodoslovje
in uporabno jezikoslovje

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Uvod

Pričujoča monografija je zbirka člankov, ki se vsi na tak ali drugačen način posvečajo danes zelo aktualni temi migracij. Zbirka obsega enajst angleških in tri nemške prispevke, ki tematiko obravnavajo z različnih vidikov – denimo z vidika **migracij in manjšin** na primeru slovenskih izseljencev v ZDA in Kanadi, v katerem avtorica ugotavlja, v kolikšni meri so se različne generacije izseljencev uspele vključiti v ameriško in kanadsko družbo, ali pa z vidika jezikovne politike madžarske narodne skupnosti v narodnostno mešanem Prekmurju.

Sklopu o **jeziku, prevajanju in migracijah** je posvečenih pet prispevkov: v prvem je osvetljen pomen medzvrstnega prevajanja kot dejavnika ohranjanja narodnostne identitete pri pripadnikih slovenske manjšine v Porabju na Madžarskem; v drugem se avtorica osredotoča na delo evropskih in severnoameriških protestantskih misionarjev na Kitajskem, še zlasti na njihovo prevajalsko dejavnost. Naslednji članek se osredotoča na rabo z migracijami povezanega besedišča v francosko-slovenskem vzporednem korpusu FraSloK, sledita mu dva nemška prispevka. Avtor prvega analizira rabo eksonimov in endonimov za geografske pokrajine in krajevna imena v šestih nemških turističnih vodnikih po Sloveniji; avtorica zadnjega članka v tem sklopu pa ugotavlja, kako je mogoče prek gastronomije spoznavati druge kulture ter na primeru jedilnikov hrvaškega mesta Zadar ter njihovih prevodov analizira, katere tuje jedi so postale del dalmatinske kuhinje.

Migracije so pogosto tema tudi **v literaturi**. V tem poglavju je zbranih pet prispevkov. Avtorica prvega v kratki zgodbi pisateljice Alice Munro, ki opisuje emigracijo škotske družine v Ameriko v začetku 19. stoletja, analizira tiste elemente govora glavnega junaka zgodbe, ki se za prevajalski proces zdijo še posebej zahtevni. V naslednjem prispevku je predstavljen Louis Adamič, ki velja za najvplivnejšega slovenskega izseljenskega avtorja in prvega slovenskega izseljenskega prevajalca v angleščino, ki je Američanom približal književnosti in kulture Jugoslavije ter drugih slovanskih narodov. V tretjem prispevku tega poglavja je predstavljen sodobni kanadski pisatelj sovjetskega porekla David Bezmozgis. Avtorica analizira zbirko njegovih kratkih zgodb, v katerih pisatelj uporablja tako imenovan anglešk-ruski »code-switching«, ter ponudi nekaj prevajalskih rešitev obravnavanja tega postopka v slovenskem prevodu teh del. Predzadnji članek literarnega niza se ukvarja s slovenskimi prevodi dveh frankofonih in enega postkolonialnega avtorja, pri čemer avtorica skuša predstaviti potek uvrščanja kulturnospecifičnih izrazov v original in strategije njihovega prevajanja. Zadnji prispevek je napisan v nemškem jeziku, njegovi avtorici pa se na primeru romana *Daldossi oder das Leben des Augenblicks* pisateljice Sabine Gruber lotevata pojma migracij v sklopu vojne tematike. V prispevku predstavita prevode izsekov tega romana v hrvaščino ter jih analizirata na sintaktični, leksikalni, semantični ter stilistični ravni.

Skozi prizmo prava pa so **migracije** obravnavane v zadnjih dveh člankih; v prvem avtorici predstavita pravne klinike kot pomoč marginaliziranim in socialno šibkejšim članom prebivalstva, ki nimajo možnosti drugih oblik pravne pomoči, pri čemer se osredotočata na vprašanje, ali tovrstne klinike zagotavljajo ob pravni podpori tudi prevajalske in / ali tolmaške storitve, namenjene priseljencem, beguncem, prosilcem za azil in drugim, ki ne razumejo ali govorijo slovenskega jezika. V zadnjem prispeveku pričujoče monografije pa so predstavljene nekatere posebnosti pravnega jezika. Ta je laikom pogosto nerazumljiv, nekatera pravna dejanja obdaja slovesno, skoraj mistično vzdušje, čemur botruje raba določenega bolj ali manj nerazumljivega diskurza, pogosto podkrepljenega z rabo značilnih simbolov in strogo porazdelitvijo prostora v sodni dvorani kot tudi uporaba za sodno okolje značilnih pripomočkov in ceremoniala. Le če se v celoti zavedajo teh izrecnih, pa tudi manj očitnih razsežnosti pravnega diskurza, bodo pravni prevajalci in tolmači lahko opravljali svojo vlogo v interesu udeležencev v pravni komunikaciji, še posebej tistih šibkejših in bolj ranljivih.

Urednice upamo, da bo ob tako pestrem naboru člankov marsikdo lahko našel kaj zanimivega ter da delo ne bo samo sebi namen, temveč da bo šlo med ljudi in v branje.

Ada Gruntar Jermol, Mojca Schlamberger Brezar in Vlasta Kučiš

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I MIGRATION AND MINORITIES / MIGRATION UND MINDERHEITEN / MIGRACIJE IN MANJŠINE

1 Immigrant Experience through the Prism of Bilingualism and Biculturalism: The Case of Slovene Americans and Canadians

Nada Šabec

People migrate to new countries for a variety of reasons from personal to economic or political. While they are mainly driven by the desire for a better life, the immigrants' experience may also be traumatic to some degree, as they are leaving behind all that is familiar, often also their loved ones. In addition, immigrants are always faced with the enormous challenge of adjusting to their new environment. The case of Slovene immigrants in the United States (Cleveland, OH; Washington, DC) and Canada (Toronto, ON; Vancouver, BC) is presented in order to show the extent to which different generations have managed to integrate themselves into American and Canadian societies respectively. Special emphasis is placed on language and culture as two of the most significant factors of ethnic identification. In terms of language, we explore language choices on the level of the individual and the types of bilingual discourse in which they engage (borrowing, code switching) as well as on a broader, community level (degree of bilingualism and language shift from Slovene to English). The findings concerning the immigrants' language use and language attitudes as well as their feeling of ethnic identity provide an interesting and valuable insight into the bilingual and bicultural nature of the immigrant experience.

2 The Hungarian Minority in Slovenia and Hungarian as a Minority Language

Judit Zágorec-Csuka

The article will focus on the Hungarian minority living in Slovenia and the Hungarian language as an official language in the ethnically mixed area of Prekmurje, located in the north-eastern part of Slovenia, where 30 towns have indigenous Hungarian inhabitants. In this area, both Slovene and Hungarian are official languages. The article considers the language policy of the Hungarian ethnic community, and reveals some of the social and legal characteristics of the bilingual area with a brief insight into the history and the environment of the Hungarian minority. There will be discussion about cultural and informative activities of the Hungarian minority. The author will also present selected authors of

Hungarian origin (Lajos Bence, Albert Halász, Sándor Szúnyogh, Pál Szomi and Judit Zágorec-Csuka) and discuss their work which was translated into Slovene and published in the book series *Bridges on the Border* (orig. *Mostovi na meji*). The focus will be on translations of Hungarian literature which were presented at the Vilenica International Literary Festival, a gathering of poets, prose writers, dramatists and essayists from Central Europe, including Hungary. There will be an evaluation of the importance of these modern Hungarian translations into Slovene in terms of intercultural communication and multilingualism in countries of the European Union.

II LANGUAGE, TRANSLATION AND MIGRATION / SPRACHE, TRANSLATION UND MIGRATION / JEZIK, PREVAJANJE IN MIGRACIJE

3 Language Language Variety Translation as a Factor in Maintaining Minority Identity

Mihaela Koletnik, Alenka Valh Lopert, Melita Zemljak Jontes

The paper focuses on the importance of intralingual translating as a factor in maintaining the national identity of the members of the Slovene minority in the Porabje region in Hungary. The paper presents the role of literary production in this region, in which the dialect has assumed the role of a Standard language in order to overcome basic problems i.e., understanding and accepting the Slovene Standard language, which hinders the Slovenes of the Porabje region in establishing genuine connections with national organisations.

The paper focuses on intralingual translation i.e., the translation between varieties of the same language. It discusses (1) the translation of the written Standard language into the written dialect, using the example of the short prose collection *Srebrni breg/Srebrni brejg* (*Silver Hill*), written by Feri Lainšček, Milivoj Miki Roš and Milan Vincetič, and (2) the translation of the written dialect into the written Standard language, using the example of *Andovske zgodbe/Andovske prpovejsti* (*Stories from Andovci*) by Karel Holec.

Keywords: Slovene language, Slovene social language varieties, language variety translation, Slovene minority members in the Porabje region, minority identity

4 Encounters with the Remote and Strange: Protestant Missionaries in China as Translators of the *Dao De Jing*

Artea Panajotović

Several thousand Protestant missionaries from Europe and North America lived and worked in China between 1807 and 1953. Apart from their primary task of spreading Christianity, they played an important role in the cultural exchange between East and West. After outlining the scope of the work of Protestant missionaries with a particular reference to missionary-scholars and their translation work, the paper focuses on four English translations of Laozi's *Dao De Jing* by John Chalmers (1868), James Legge (1891) and Dwight Goddard (1919 and 1939). The analysis centres on a comparison of the titles, the introductions written by the translators, the English equivalents provided for some of the fundamental concepts of Daoist philosophy and certain cultural references found in the source text. By examining the diachronic patterns of domestication and foreignization and the translators' expressed attitudes towards Laozi's text, the aim is to determine the extent to which these elements reflect changes in the Western outlook and the missionary enterprise that had occurred by the turn of the century.

5 Migration-related lexis in FraSloK

Adriana Mezeg

The present paper focuses on the use of migration-related vocabulary in FraSloK, a French-Slovenian parallel corpus containing subcorpora of two text types: newspaper articles from *Le Monde diplomatique* and their Slovenian translations (published between 2006 and 2009), and 12 original French novels along with their Slovenian translations (published between 1995 and 2008). Interestingly, four novels were written by authors (two men and two women) who emigrated to France in the period between 1984 and 1990. On the one hand, the purpose of the study is to extract migration-related vocabulary from the two subcorpora, compare its use with regard to the frequency and variety in journalistic and literary discourse, paying special attention to the fact whether there are any differences or similarities between the four mentioned emigrated novelists and the other authors. On the other hand, this study is translation-oriented and sets to analyse the translations of some French migration-related words, comparing the results with the corresponding entries in the French-Slovenian dictionary by Anton Grad (1975), but also with their frequency in a reference literary and journalistic Slovenian corpus, particularly with regard to the frequency of a nativised Slovenian word versus a loanword for the same notion (for example *izseljenec* or *emigrant* as possible Slovenian equivalents of the French word *émigrant*).

6 Gerne exotisch, aber bitte mit heimischen Gewürzen! - Zum Gebrauch von Exonymen und Endonymen in deutschsprachigen Slowenien-Reiseführern

Mladen Rieger

Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht den Gebrauch exonymer und endonymer Landschafts- und Ortsnamen in sechs ausgewählten deutschsprachigen Slowenien-Reiseführern. Wenngleich eine zunehmende Rolle des Schriftverkehrs im Allgemeinen mit einem Exonymenschwund einhergehen mag, können diese Tendenzen in Slowenien-Reiseführern nicht nachgewiesen werden. Ganz im Gegenteil, konnte doch nachgewiesen werden, dass gut 80% aller slowenischen Landschaftsnamen mindestens einmal exonym verwendet wurden. Dies ist einerseits der Textsorte Reiseführer mit ihrer Fülle an für den potentiellen Touristen (ir) relevanten Informationen zuzuschreiben, andererseits der besonderen Sprachkombination Slowenisch/Deutsch, die auf eine lange gemeinsame Geschichte zurückblicken kann, in der die meisten heute slowenischen Regionen und Orte einen deutschen Namen trugen, dessen bloße Lexikonexistenz dazu verleitet, selbst dann verwendet zu werden, wenn seine Gedächtnisexistenz in der Sprachgesellschaft schon längst erloschen ist. Weiter wurde festgestellt, dass insbesondere onymische Derivate mit Exonymen vorliebnehmen, da sie sich in das morphologische Sprachsystem besser integrieren lassen.

Wennschon einigen Reisejournalisten ein mangelndes oder nicht konsequentes Konzept der Exonym- bzw. Endonymwahl vorgehalten werden könnte, so darf es in einem vereinten Europa keinen Platz mehr für Ressentiments gegen ihren (Nicht-)Gebrauch geben.

7 Interkulturelle Speisekarten und gastronomische Grüße aus Zadar

Helga Begonja

Gastronomie ist oft der interessanteste Weg, einen Einblick in eine andere Kultur zu gewinnen. Fremde Speisen und neue Geschmäcke locken viele, dass sie ins Ausland gehen, um die kulinarische Vielfalt eines fremden Landes zu entdecken. In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird am Beispiel von Speisekarten der Stadt Zadar analysiert, welche fremde Nationalgerichte in die dalmatinische Küche integriert wurden. Es wird weiterhin analysiert, ob die Speisekarten auf eine verständliche und angemessene Weise über das Angebot eines Restaurants an Nationalgerichten informieren und ob ihre Übersetzungen für ausländische Gäste ausreichend informativ und appellativ sind.

III MIGRATION AS A LITERARY THEME / MIGRATION ALS LITERARISCHES THEMA / MIGRACIJE KOT LITERARNA TEMA

8 A Migrant 'Malgré Soi': Munro's Ancestor Old James in Slovene Translation

Tjaša Mohar

Alice Munro's "The View from Castle Rock" is a short story from the eponymous short story collection about an early 19th-century emigration of a Scottish family from Scotland to the New World. The characters are based on Munro's ancestors and carry the same names. The central character in the story is James Laidlaw or Old James, Alice Munro's great-great-great-grandfather, who is the driving force behind the family's emigration. However, once aboard the ship that will take the family to the new continent, Old James becomes sullen and ill-humoured; he starts praising his home country as never before, and later refuses to accept the new country for his home. Old James is mostly characterized by his actions and his speech. The latter contains colloquial language as well as numerous culture-specific terms, and appears in the form of dialogue and in the form of two letters that Old James writes from the new continent. Besides being written in colloquial language, the two letters are also full of grammar and spelling mistakes. This paper aims at analysing those features within Old James's speech that appear to be particularly challenging for the translation process, with reference to the existing Slovene translation.

9 Migration, Literatures and Translation: Louis Adamič – a Writer of Two Worlds and the First Slovenian Immigrant Translator into English

Jasna Potočnik Topler

Louis Adamič (1898-1951) is considered the most influential Slovenian immigrant author, and the first Slovenian immigrant translator into English. Undoubtedly, his connections to important politicians and his dinner in the White House contributed to his recognition in the United States of America. His political activism aside, he wrote about the challenges facing contemporary United Sates and the modern world, especially with regard to immigrants in America. What is more, he contributed to intercultural relations, not only with his works on cultural identities and multi-ethnic nations, but also with his translations of Slovenian, Croatian and Bohemian short stories in American newspapers and magazines. An analysis of his works, especially *Laughing in the Jungle*, *Dynamite*

and *My America,* shows that he made efforts to acquaint Americans with the cultures and literatures of the Yugoslav and other Slavic nations. In fact, he was the first Slovenian immigrant who translated into English. The ideas presented in his literary works, articles and public lectures have gained international relevance and recognition, and consequently many scholars of multicultural studies have examined and worked with his ideas and concepts on multiethnicity.

Keywords: Louis Adamič, translation, multiethnicity, American literatures, cultural studies

10 The Challenge of (not) translating Russian-English Code-Switching in David Bezmozgis's *Natasha and other Stories* (2004)

Natalia Kaloh Vid

David Bezmozgis is an exemplifying manifestation of the Canadian multicultural mosaic of the new millennium, as he navigates three different cultures: the Soviet Union of his childhood, his adopted homeland of Canada and his historical Jewish heritage. In his first collection of short stories, *Natasha and Other Stories,* published in 2004, Bezmozgis used English-Russian code-switching by introducing Russian words that are transliterated and put in italics but neither translated nor explained in the English first-person narrative. By introducing code-switching, Bezmozgis depicted a realistic vision of the unique bilingual situation in immigrant communities when the members of the community use both linguistic codes, creating a hybrid linguistic variety that often cannot be completely comprehended by others. The question naturally arises of how and if code-switching can be translated. The emphasis of this analysis is on suggestions of rendering English-Russian code-switching in Bezmozgis's narrative when translating into Slovene. The purpose of the analysis, thus, is to illustrate the possibilities of using both domesticating and/or foreignising strategies, considering that the target audience of English-speaking readers are most likely completely unfamiliar with most of the source material.

Keywords: code-switching, domestication, foreignisation, Bezmozgis, translation

11 Translation as Language Enrichment: the Example of Francophone and Postcolonial Authors in Slovene Translations

Mojca Schlamberger Brezar

In Slovene, translation has been seen as offering the possibility for language enrichment since the early days of the practice (cf. Stanovnik, Kocijančič Pokorn, Gorjanc). This process is still ongoing, especially in connection to culturally specific terms. In this regard, source-oriented translation solutions are more common in Slovene than target-oriented ones. On the basis of the analysis of three works of two Francophone authors (A. Maalouf, Y. Khadra) as well as a postcolonial one (Chinua Achebe) and their translations into Slovene, we will try to uncover some general procedures in the introduction of culturally specific terms (in the original book) and strategies of translation into Slovene. We would like to see if the two categories present a different basis for translation.

It seems that the authors themselves offer the possibility of including culturally specific terms directly in the original text by explaining them to the general public in order to make them generally known as a specificity of the world they are describing. Some translators take this it into account, others do not.

Keywords: translation as language enrichment, culturally specific terms, francophone, postcolonial, Slovene

12 Migration im Kontext der Literatur und des literarischen Übersetzens am Beispiel des Romans *Daldossi oder das Leben des Augenblicks* von Sabine Gruber

Petra Žagar-Šoštarić, Doris Mesaroš

Migration ist gegenwärtig ein unausweichliches Thema, unter anderem auch innerhalb des Literaturbetriebes. In diesem Rahmen ist auch die s.g. Migrantenliteratur oder Literatur, die von und über Migranten spricht und die in zahlreichen Ländern in Form von Übersetzungen zu lesen ist, von großer Bedeutung. Übersetzungen literarischer Werke leisten einen wichtigen Beitrag zum Thema Migration.

Die vorliegende Arbeit soll anhand des Romans von Sabine Gruber *Daldossi oder das Leben des Augenblicks* den Begriff der Migration im Rahmen der Kriegsthematik aufgreifen. In einem weiteren Schritt soll die Übersetzung der Studierenden an der Universität in Rijeka herangezogen werden. Die Analyse vorhandener

Übersetzungen einiger Romanauszüge der Masterstudenten des Faches Germanistik wird auf syntaktischer, lexikalischer, semantischer und stilistischer Ebene durchgeführt. Es werden dabei immer zwei Übersetzungsvarianten - der Übersetzungsvorschlag und die Endvariante - miteinander verglichen, um unterschiedliche stilistische Formulierungen derselben Übersetzung hervorzuheben und diese zu illustrieren. Als theoretische Grundlage zur Analyse wird das detaillierte linguistisch-semiotische Analyseverfahren für literarische Ausgangstexte von Alena Petrova (2009) angewandt. Abschließend soll in diesem Beitrag die jeweilige Übersetzungsproblematik hervorgehoben und Übersetzungslösungen angeboten werden.

Da keine kroatische Übersetzung dieses Werkes vorliegt, stellt das Original die Studierenden vor eine noch größere Herausforderung, da sie sich an keiner Vorlage orientieren können und deswegen keine Vergleiche zur eigenen Übersetzung ziehen können.

IV MIGRATION THROUGH THE PRISM OF LAW / MIGRATION DURCH DAS PRISMA DES RECHTS / MIGRACIJE SKOZI PRIZMO PRAVA

13 European Transcultural Law Clinics for Migrants and Refugees: Possibilities and Perspectives for Interpreters and Translators

Natalia Kaloh Vid, Vlasta Kučiš

In general, law clinics provide aid to the marginalised and underserved population who do not have the means to seek other forms of legal aid and often lack the information to do so. Hence, the question naturally arises of how such clinics guarantee not only legal aid but also translating/interpreting services when assisting immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers or any other person who does not speak the language of the majority. These, often marginalised, groups should by no means be denied *pro bono* legal aid and/or interpreting services. The problem is that in most legal clinics, at least in Slovenia, the people providing *pro bono* interpreting services lack either legal training, interpreter training, or both, which can have detrimental consequences. The following article thus focuses on the importance of offering professional translating/interpreting services on a regular, organised and supervised level in a legal transcultural clinic, considering the fact that European multilingualism is a unique aspect of the region's cultural diversity. Translating/interpreting services are not yet implemented in the form of intra- or extra-curricular activities (elective/compulsory courses) at any university in Slovenia.

Keywords: law clinic, interpreting, translating, university curriculum, Slovenia

14 Behind the Scenes of Legal Discourse

Alenka Kocbek

As noted by Mellinkoff (1963: vi), law is a discipline that relies on the intrinsic power of the legal language. This power essentially stems from the threefold nature of the legal language – its normative, performative and technical dimension (Cao 2007:13), but also from some of its less palpable features such as its occasional vagueness that may generate uncertainty and its at times intended opacity which can instil fear and respect. Moreover, certain legal acts are surrounded by a mystic and solemn atmosphere, of which the legal language is an essential component. This solemnity is created by the use of a discourse partly or totally incomprehensible to the laypersons involved in legal communication, and further supported and enhanced by non-verbal elements, such as the use of typical symbols marking legal settings, a strict allocation of space within the courtroom, and the use of typical court paraphernalia. Only by being fully aware of these explicit and implicit dimensions of legal discourse will legal translators and interpreters be able perform their role in the best interest of the parties participating in legal communication, especially of the weaker and more vulnerable ones.

I

Migration and Minorities / Migration und Minderheiten / Migracije in manjšine

Immigrant Experience through the Prism of Bilingualism and Biculturalism: The Case of Slovene Americans and Canadians

Nada Šabec
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Povzetek

Ljudje se izseljujejo v druge dežele iz različnih razlogov, od osebnih do ekonomskih in političnih. Ne glede na to, da jih pri tem žene prvenstveno želja po izboljšanju življenjskih razmer, je izseljenska izkušnja največkrat vsaj delno tudi travmatična. Pomeni namreč, da puščajo za seboj vse, kar jim je znano, velikokrat pa tudi njim drage osebe. Hkrati se soočajo z velikanskim izzivom prilagajanja novemu okolju. V članku predstavljeni primer slovenskih izseljencev v ZDA (Cleveland, OH; Washington, DC) in Kanadi (Toronto, ON; Vancouver, BC) ugotavlja, v kolikšni meri so se različne generacije izseljencev uspele vključiti v ameriško in kanadsko družbo. Poudarek je na jeziku in kulturi kot dveh najpomembnejših dejavnikih etnične identifikacije. V jezikovnem smislu raziskujemo tako jezikovno izbiro in vrsto diskurza pri posameznikih (sposojanje, kodno preklapljanje) kot tudi širši jezikovni položaj na ravni celotne skupnosti (stopnja dvojezičnosti, jezikovni premik od slovenščine k angleščini). Rezultati, ki se nanašajo na jezikovno rabo in odnos izseljencev do jezika ter na njihov občutek etnične pripadnosti, ponujajo zanimiv in dragocen vpogled v dvojezično in dvokulturno naravo izseljenske izkušnje.

Ključne besede: migracije, dvojezičnot, jezikovni premik, etnična identiteta, dvokulturnost

0 INTRODUCTION

Migration is a life-altering event. Regardless of the reasons for leaving one's home, this is always much more than just a question of physical re-location. Immigrants inevitably face a whole series of adjustments inextricably linked to their migration in order to function in the new environment. The language and culture of the host country are no doubt just two of the most crucial factors they encounter, which ultimately affect/(re)shape their sense of identity, be it on a personal, social, ethnic or some other level. Literature provides various theories as to how immigrants adapt to the new environment. Berry' acculturation model (1990), for instance, distinguishes between four alternative strategies used by minorities when they come into contact with the majority. They may either assimilate completely with the majority, retain a separate or marginalized status or, on the other hand, integrate into the mainstream society. While assimilation implies embracing the dominant culture to the point of completely giving up original cultural features (language, religion, traditions etc.), separation means just the opposite, i.e. a total rejection of the majority culture and clinging to the old customs. Marginalization is somewhere in between the two, with insecurity as far as identity is concerned, accompanied by a partial loss of the original language and insufficient acquisition of the dominant one. All three strategies seem to be lacking in terms of enabling the immigrants to thrive in the new society and simultaneously maintain a positive self-image. It is only the last strategy, integration, which is more positive, as it allows immigrants to both work toward becoming a valuable part of the mainstream society while preserving a degree of cultural identity (or at least appreciation/positive attitude toward it). This is also the strategy adopted by the Slovene immigrants in the U.S. and Canada. It is the aim of this paper to examine their situation in more detail, focusing on their sense of ethnic identity through the prism of their bilingual and bicultural experience.

1 RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to present as comprehensive a picture of the linguistic and cultural situation among Slovene Americans and Canadians as possible, I focused on four of their communities: Cleveland and Toronto as the largest ones in the U.S. and Canada respectively and Washington, DC and Vancouver, BC as examples of relatively small and fragmented communities. Also importantly, I took into account the time dimension of their immigration so as to be able to assess any variations occurring across the generations. The findings are based on the data collected by

means of participant observation, tape-recorded semi-structured interviews and follow-up self-report questionnaires probing the immigrants' language use and language attitudes as well as their perception of the relationship between the degree of mother tongue/heritage language maintenance and their sense of cultural and/or ethnic identity. The fieldwork in the mentioned communities has been underway for a number of years starting as far back as late 1980s in Cleveland and still going on in Vancouver, with the last visit there in the fall of 2016 and the next one scheduled for September of this year (e.g. Šabec 1992, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2011, 2016, 2017). It has encompassed as many as 576 subjects of both genders as well as a wide-ranging spectrum of ages, educational levels and generations. However, for the purpose of this article, the results for each individual study will not be presented separately; instead, the shared features and the differences between them will be pointed out when relevant to the immigrant experience through different time periods and in different locations. In other words, the emphasis will be on the narrative of the immigrants' and their descendants' experience in terms of linguistic adjustment (the degree of mother tongue maintenance in the case of the 1st generation and heritage language in the case of younger generations; the types of bilingual discourse used by them; language choice depending on various speech situations and interlocutors) and identity issues related to culture and ethnicity. Some of their questionnaire responses and excerpts from the interviews will be used for illustration purposes, and a brief outline of their immigration to the U.S. and Canada will be provided before the data presentation and analysis.

2 SLOVENE IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S. AND CANADA

With the exception of individuals such as missionaries and adventurers who came to North America as early as the 18th century, the first great wave of Slovene immigration occurred between the turn of the 19th century and 1924, when the U.S. passed the Immigration Act restricting the number of new immigrants. These were economic immigrants from the impoverished Slovene regions, which were at the time part of Austria Hungary, and from the Littoral and Karst, two regions annexed by Italy after WWI. Attracted by the promise of a better life, they headed predominantly to Cleveland, which was among the fastest growing cities in the U.S. and in dire need of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The majority found employment in steel mills, construction industries and other local factories. They settled around Broadway and East 55th Street along the St. Clair Avenue, where they could for the most part function in their own dialects and only learned the most basic English for the workplace and for venturing outside

their very close-knit community. Hardworking and highly motivated, they soon saved sufficient funds to organize themselves, establishing their own parishes and parochial schools as well as other ethnic organizations such as fraternal benefit societies. These societies served as mutual fund companies on which they could rely in times of hardship, but at the same time they also served as centers of social and cultural activities (Klemenčič 1995: 198). Gradually starting their own businesses, they thus gained a solid economic base, allowing them to establish several Slovene National Homes in which they held meetings and organized various social functions, where Slovene singing societies, dance groups, polka bands, button-box clubs and even theater groups performed on a regular basis. The extent to which they managed to maintain their language and culture is perhaps best described by a quote from the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (Thernston 1980: 973): "In Cleveland, for example, St. Clair Avenue from 30th to East 79th Streets became by the 1920s so completely Slovene in character that English was the foreign language."

Regardless of their superior existence in the New World compared to that in the "old country",[1] the immigrants were well aware of their limitations due to lack of education and proficiency in English. Their priority was therefore to ensure that their children receive a solid education and learn English. The 2nd generation was thus fluent in both languages, speaking Slovene at home and English elsewhere. They were able to move up the social and economic ladder, for the most part moving into the more affluent and ethnically-mixed suburbs. This was even more true of their children, the 3rd and later generations, whose members are mostly college educated, but who only rarely speak Slovene now. They also have less and less time to take part in ethnic activities and, in contrast to the early immigrants, no longer intermarry and/or choose their friends and partners based on ethic criteria. They have in fact become fully integrated into the mainstream society.

The second large immigration wave consisted mostly of political immigrants fleeing the Yugoslav Communist regime after WWII. Compared to the prewar immigrants, they were better educated, spoke both dialectal and Standard Slovene and, for the most part, some English, which gave them an advantage in seeking employment. They, too, formed ethnic organizations, but no longer lived in segregated communities. In many ways, their children are much more similar to the 3rd generation pre-war immigrants than to the 2nd generation of pre-war ones.

A comparable Slovene Canadian community to Cleveland is Toronto (the former having 10,000 people of Slovene descent, the latter approximately 50,000). Toronto Slovenes exhibit a somewhat lower degree of intergenerational variation,

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1   A common reference to Slovenia used by the early immigrants .

as most of them arrived in Canada after WWII. There is no residential concentration, but they have an equally impressive network of ethnic organizations as their Cleveland counterparts and certainly a very rich cultural life. In terms of language, however, the 2nd generation already is less engaged in ethnic activities and shows a lower level of Slovene proficiency than their pre-war counterparts in Cleveland.

The same can be said about Slovenes in the two smaller communities in which I conducted my research. Slovenes in Washington, DC are for the most part professionals who were already born in the U.S. and came to the capital city with the purpose of finding employment in various federal agencies. This leaves them little time to socialize with other Slovenes. Similarly, the Vancouver Slovenes have only one ethnic organization with just some 400 active members (Plut 2008). In both cases, active engagement in ethnic activities and the resources available to support them are thus relatively low and, consequently, proficiency in Slovene, on the decline.

Before moving to a more detailed linguistic analysis, we can conclude that the bilingual situation in all four communities is fairly unstable and highly transitional in nature, with a very high degree of mother tongue attrition. The only generation that was truly balanced as far as bilingualism is concerned was the 2nd generation of pre-war immigrants, while the 3rd generation already experienced a partial or even complete shift to English. This can certainly be at least partially explained by the stigma attached to foreign accents at the time, which is why parents neglected to teach their children Slovene. When later, in the 1960s, this was no longer the case and it became almost fashionable to search for one's roots, many 3rd generation Slovenes regretted not being able to speak their heritage language, but for most it was already too late. This three-generation cycle during which mother tongue attrition occurs is not unique to Slovenes and is, in fact, typical of many Americans of European origin. However, what is special in our case is that the pace at which this occurred was greatly accelerated among post war immigrants – to the point where we can claim that is has been almost shortened by one generation. Such a development is understandable in view of the unfavorable environment in which English is the prevalent and prestigious language and where, with insignificant numbers of new immigrants, Slovene has little if any practical value. It has to be noted, of course, that the language shift from Slovene to English applies only to the entire communities under investigation, as there may be and, in fact, there are individuals or groups of them who are putting considerable effort into preserving or learning the language (e.g. young people participating in the seminar of Slovene Language, Literature and Culture organized by the University of Ljubljana).

3 LINGUISTIC ASPECTS

Both on individual and on community level, the linguistic behavior of the immigrants is primarily characterized by their generational status. This is true of the level of their bilingual proficiency, the types of bilingual discourse that they use, the language choices that they make, the language attitudes that they hold and, consequently, the degree of their mother tongue/heritage language maintenance.[2]

3.1 Bilingual proficiency

For obvious reasons, it is the first generations that speak Slovene best, but who are not necessarily fully proficient in English, at least not in the initial stages of their settlement in the new country. This is especially true of the pre-war generation,[3] whose Slovene was mostly dialectal and somewhat archaic compared to current Slovene, while their English was limited to borrowing the basic vocabulary. Their post-war counterparts were certainly more bilingual in that they either had some knowledge of English and/or were forced to upgrade it, as living in segregated communities was no longer an option for them. The most balanced in terms of bilingualism were no doubt the 2nd pre-war generation immigrants, who found themselves in a position where they had to use Slovene in communication with their parents and English with the outside world. Their children, on the other hand, largely lost the ability to use both languages, with English becoming the stronger or even the only language. This is also true of the 2nd post-war generation and of all younger generations, especially millennials. Proficiency in Slovene is therefore highest with those who were born in Slovenia and who received a formal education in Slovene, whereas with the American-born the factors encouraging heritage language maintenance are primarily frequent opportunities to use it (larger communities as opposed to small ones, Slovene being the household language, active involvement in ethnic activities) and positive attitudes toward the language. Social and geographical mobility, ethnically mixed marriages, and lack of contact with other Slovenes, on the other hand, almost inevitably lead to a shift toward English.

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2 Mother tongue refers to the language of the Slovene-born subjects who actually immigrated to the U.S. or Canada. For their children and grandchildren Slovene is the heritage language. By the same token, only the first generations are immigrants in the true sense of word, while their descendants are, technically speaking, already U.S. or Canadian citizens. In this paper, they are all referred to as immigrants for the sake of economy.

3 By now most are deceased, but when I first started my fieldwork in Cleveland, I was still able to talk to many of them.

3.2 Types of bilingual discourse

An interesting phenomenon in researching the immigrant linguistic situation concerns the two distinct types of bilingual discourse: borrowing and code switching. Borrowing was typically used by the 1st pre-war generation who, for all practical purposes, spoke no English, but nevertheless borrowed English words either to fill lexical gaps or because some words were used with such frequency that it was all but impossible to adopt them. Borrowing involved combining English bases with Slovene affixes, resulting in examples such as *drajvati karo* from *to drive a car*. The adaptation was therefore both phonological and morphological. The borrowings or loanwords were mostly open-class items such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, while function words remained in Slovene. Borrowing is occasionally used by members of other generations as well, but with much lower frequency. Instead the bilingual discourse typical of them is so-called code switching (referred to by some as *half pa pu*[4]) whereby the two languages do not mix on the level of a single word, but remain discrete (e.g. Well, *ga kritizirajo, ker potem* government profitira, *ne? Ni nikoli* right whatever you do.[5]) The prerequisite for engaging in code switching is of course some degree of bilingual proficiency, which is why we no longer encounter it with those members of younger generations who only speak English. With those who do, however, the choice of language depends on a number of situational factors, the most important of which is the interlocutor. According to interpersonal accommodation theory (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977), the speaker chooses a shared ethnic language in order to accommodate the addressee, while an intentional adherence to English despite both interlocutors' competence in both languages may be interpreted as an attempt to disassociate from them. The interlocutors speaking Slovene most often include family, friends and ethnic contacts. Other factors, especially linguistic ones, may also trigger code switching in either direction (e.g. emphasis, repetition, a temporary inability to retrieve a specific word from memory etc.), among the situational factors, however, we need to mention two more: the topic of conversation and the setting in which it takes place. Certain topics are more conducive to being discussed in Slovene (e.g. childhood memories, things associated with the "old country", and personal affairs as opposed to, say, business or government), and the same is true of informal vs. formal settings. Slovene is more likely to be heard at open-air events and while socializing than, for instance, during official meetings of ethnic organizations (in the beginning these were held in Slovene, but gradually switched to English so that younger members could take a more active part in them; the same is true of the ethnic press, where in the beginning the newspapers were published entirely in Slovene, but are now predominantly English with just a page or two in Slovene).

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4   *Half pa pu* stands for *half English* and *half Slovene.*

5   Eng.: Well, he is being criticized because the government profits in the end, doesn't it? It is never right whatever you do.

Parts of discourse spoken entirely in Slovene tend to be influenced by English as well (the influence progressing with the immigrants' length of stay in the U.S. or Canada). Pronunciation is especially affected (the aspirated *p*, *t*, *k*, the so called *dark l*, the rhotic *r*). The same is true of Slovene inflectional patterns, which seem to be too complex for Slovene Americans and Canadians, resulting in their simplification, generalization or even omission (e.g. *smo šli z moja teta mož* instead of *smo šli z možem moje tete).*[6] Word order is also affected due to the typological differences between Slovene and English (an example of which can be seen in the overuse of subjective personal pronouns in cases where Slovene as a pro-drop language does not require them). Furthermore, the influence of English accounts for the not so rare occurrence of calques such as *imeti dober čas* from *to have a good time* instead of Slovene *uživati/se imeti lepo.*

An interesting aspect shedding light on the linguistic situation in the communities under investigation are also language attitudes. These may play a role in the degree to which an individual is trying to preserve his or her mother tongue/heritage language. At times, however, the questions about them produce contradictory results, as will be shown in the next section.

3.3 Language attitudes

Only responses to the most relevant questions about language attitudes will be presented, as the inclusion of all would exceed the scope of this paper. We will take a closer look at the following: the immigrants' self-evaluation of bilingual proficiency, their preferred conversational language, their attitude toward code switching, the importance of preserving their mother tongue, and the role that they attribute to mother tongue in terms of their ethnic identification.

The first generations rate their proficiency in Slovene as high or very high, while their proficiency in English is rated poor in the case of pre-war immigrants and as good in the case of post-war ones. In addition, speaking is rated much higher than the more demanding skills of reading and writing. The ratings for both languages are more balanced in the case of the 2nd pre-war generation, whereas in the case of all other generations English scores considerably higher than Slovene. With the younger generations, the ratings for reading and writing are also on the increase compared to their older counterparts. As for the preferred conversational language, all of the 1st generation pre-war immigrants choose Slovene; among the post-war ones, this percentage is decreasing. The 2nd pre-war generation vacillates between Slovene and English, while for everybody else the only option is English.

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6   Eng.: We went with my aunt's husband (In Slovene both the word order and the cases are used incorrectly).

As for their attitudes toward code switching, most are quite tolerant of it, the exception are 1st generation of post-war immigrants who feel that code switching is "corrupting" the language. The others realize that it is practically impossible to speak "pure" Slovene in an English-dominant environment and that at least some Slovene is better than nothing. Some also see it as facilitating communication between the older and younger generations.

The following are some examples of questionnaire responses that illustrate the dilemmas facing the immigrants with regard to language choice.

- During the first years we spoke Slovene at home. When our children started school and made friends with the neighborhood kids, they began to use English also at home. When our first son went to kindergarten, he was able to recite Ciciban (Oton Župančič) and his teacher told me that nobody at school would listen to him. I realized that it was not their fault that we lived in Canada, that this was their country, so I bought him English "Nursery Rhymes". My husband and I also needed English at work.

- The state of Slovene in the Slovenian[7] Society is not particularly promising. We speak English at our functions. Even our board meetings are always conducted in English because some don't speak Slovene at all. I always try to speak Slovene with those members who know Slovene, but they all soon switch to English. It is even more difficult to use Slovene in e-mails. I still write the society newsletter in both languages even though I am sure that practically nobody reads the Slovene part of it. We have Slovene books and films and I use them mostly in language classes. Sometimes somebody borrows a book. Every now and then we play Slovene films at a social event, but there is little interest.

The responses regarding the importance of preserving the mother tongue, however, are the ones that strike us as most intriguing, if not paradoxical. Almost all, even those who lack proficiency in Slovene, are convinced that it is very important to preserve the mother tongue/heritage language, attributing great symbolic value to it. The most notable exceptions are some millennials who no longer see it as a viable option and view it only as a nostalgic remnant of the past. However, there are a few equally young individuals who are learning Slovene, primarily to communicate with their grandparents, but also in order to be in contact with Slovenia. The attitudes toward the language are therefore predominantly positive, as seen in the following examples.

- I feel that it is important to preserve the Slovenian language as that will also preserve the Slovenian culture, and knowing your roots and very you came from is very key.

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7   Both *Slovene* and *Slovenian* are correct and are used interchangeably by various organizations, publications etc.

- For me the preservation of the language is very important for cultural identity. I probably believe this because the language was taught to me at an early age and so it si not a burden to learn it later in life (although I could use many lessons to inprove). I think understanding the language helps one better understand the people, be they immigrants to the United States – as my parents were – or the Slovenians living in Slovenia today. There is a connection between language and thinking, so I appreciate that my language skills, poor though they are, can still provide me with special insight into the culture and people.

Finally, the subjects were asked to rank several factors on a scale from least to most important in terms of how important they consider them for ethnic identification. Their answers showed a discrepancy between their previously declared belief about the importance of preserving mother tongue, as only the 1st generation of pre-war immigrants ranked language as the second most important (after culture), while for everybody else, language came fourth of even fifth after culture, religion, cuisine, music and work ethic (the last one not being an ethnic feature, but nevertheless included because of the wide- reported pride by the respondents in their being hardworking and honest). Such results inevitably raise the question of the relationship between language and culture, i.e. whether the immigrants see themselves as more bilingual or bicultural and how this affects their sense of ethnic identity. This will be addressed in greater detail in the next section.

4 CULTURAL AND ETHNIC ASPECTS

For the early immigrants in particular, the contact with the New World, which differed significantly from, say, life in the rural areas of Austria-Hungary of the day presented something of a culture shock. They knew, however, why they had undertaken the long journey to America and were determined to do everything in their power to succeed in the new society. With hard work and an entrepreneurial mentality they did, opening up new opportunities for their children and grandchildren. In the beginning especially, they relied heavily on each other, forming ethnic organizations and establishing National Homes, where they could meet on a regular basis, exchange experience and advice, relax in a safe environment, reminisce about the "old country", make plans for the future - in short, feel "at home" with other Slovenes. In Cleveland, for instance, they even built their own Old People's Home, and had several Slovene parishes with parochial schools (which eventually got reduced to Sunday schools or short language courses due to diminishing enrolment). Numerous cultural groups from singing societies to polka bands were formed and performed at various events. The situation in

Toronto was similar. Both Slovene Americans and Canadians also published Slovene newspapers and had their own radio stations. The smaller communities had, understandably, fewer members and resources, but nevertheless endeavored to preserve their culture.

With the new generations, the gap between the American way of life and the old ways gradually narrowed, with elements of both cultures slowly blending into each other. This does not mean, however, that all features of Sloveneness were given up. As is evident from the participants' responses, many persevere until today and are cherished as something very valuable. And while the early immigrants understandably declared themselves to be Slovene, members of the later generations say that while they are Americans or Canadians first, they are also Slovene. For many, the Slovene part actually plays a significant role in their lives, as illustrated by the following account by a 2nd generation Slovene American:

- Knowing my ancestry as well as I do – both of my parents were born in Slovenia, I have visited there with relatives on numerous occasions, and I grew up in a community of Slovenians – grounds me tremendously – that is, it helps me transcend my everyday reality and takes me to another place and frame of mind!). Understanding my heritage gives me a strong sense of personal history and encourages me to explore and keep alive, as much as possible, family connections. In a way, it also makes me feel special and unique. Having a direct line to my roots helps me better understand the people around me and, perhaps, makes me more interesting as well.

As far as culture is concerned, the respondents define it very broadly. For most it means anything from traditions, customs, music, religion, and holidays to cuisine – anything that reminds them of their "old country" or the country of their ancestors.

- All of these – food, music, language, religion, customs – do seem important and relevant in keeping alive my identity as Slovenian. Having spent much time in Slovenia itself, I see that many of these factors actually connect me to the older generation of Slovenian immigrants to the U.S. more than they do to current Slovenians living in Europe. If I had to choose, perhaps language and religion are the two things that confirm my Slovenian identity. There is some irony there because religion seems to waning in Slovenia, particularly with young people, while here religion is a strong binder for the immigrant community, which has built a cultural and community center on the church grounds. In the practice of religion, we are able to maintain customs that are uniquely Slovenian (butarice,[8] Easter blessing baskets).

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8   Richly decorated greenery taken to church on Palm Sunday for special blessing.

Some, on the other hand, view culture in the narrower sense of the word and report about reading Slovene literature; there are even some who try their hand at writing themselves.

- I read more in English, Slovene books only when they are available or when I bring them from Slovenia. Literature broadens my horizons, calms me, cheers me up and, when talking about Slovene literature, it is a source of information about my home country and a way of reminiscing about it. When I read a Slovene book, I feel more "at home", it is like balm for the soul.

- The inspiration grew stronger; I began to write plays and also poems for adults and also for children, which were used for various functions and performances.

- In writing I found a source of creativity, which made my life easier /…/ I began to search for some inner-self /…/ at the moment when this inner-self became present in my thoughts, words began to pour out unprompted as if somebody were whispering them softly in my ear. Writing filled my time and soul and heart because of the beauty of the Slovene words. /…/ I still help with functions if asked; of course, very few still understand the Slovene language.

Such enthusiasts are, of course, exceptions. Also, with time, the number of ethnic organizations and cultural events is declining, especially in smaller communities. Gone are the days of Slovene theater groups, and while there are child choruses that still sing Slovene folk songs, they have to learn the lyrics by heart as they no longer understand the language. On the other hand, I have witnessed, on the occasion of the Wine Festival organized by the Vancouver Slovenian Society, how two Canadian-born children recited Slovene poems written by their grandmother.

Another aspect worth pointing out is the very dynamic nature of the immigrant experience. An excellent example of that is the way the music that Slovenians brought with them was adapted to the new circumstances and actually contributed to the American music scene and culture. This is vividly reflected by accordion/polka music, which reached the peak of its popularity with Frank Yankovich as the Polka King.[9] Rather than merely transferring this traditional music from the "old country" to America, the immigrants included in it elements of other music genres such as early jazz with typical swing style and even "American" instruments such as the banjo. By so doing they managed to produce an authentic Slovene American/Canadian style that catered both to the ethnic sentiment and

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9   Frank Yankovich, dubbed »America's Polka King«, released over 200 recordings in his career, sold over 30 million records, had two golden records 15 years before Frank Sinatra and won a Grammy award in 1985.

to the broader music taste of the rest of America. The manner in which the melodies, the rhythm and the lyrics of these otherwise typically Slovene folk music combined both the old and the new is a perfect example of how successful Slovene immigrants and their descendants were in fitting into the new environment. The fact that in 2007 the City of Cleveland named a square after Yankovich and that the Slovenes built the Polka Hall of Fame and Museum there is testimony to their contribution to their new homeland.

5 CONCLUSION

The Slovene immigrant experience in the U.S.A. and Canada seen from a bilingual and bicultural perspective suggests that language is not as central to their ethnic identity as we would be led to believe from the participants' responses about the importance of its preservation. It is "an important, but not a unique part" (Edwards 2009: 2), its value being more or less symbolic. After all, we live our lives through language and the actual state of affairs on the ground shows that this is in most cases English, while Slovene is rapidly disappearing, especially among the younger generations.[10] Their sense of ethnic awareness instead comes from shared cultural characteristics such as traditions, music, religion, and cuisine. They perceive these as a positive addition to their American and Canadian identity, i.e. an enrichment of their lives and enhancement of their self-image. In addition, almost all maintain some contact with Slovenia (in the recent decades also via the internet), which was most obvious in 1991, when they unanimously supported Slovenia's struggle for independence. Despite the rather poor prospects of long-term maintenance of mother tongue/heritage language, elements of culture stand a relatively good chance of surviving. Even some millennials, who profess their preference for globalization and present themselves as citizens of the world, admit to having a special affection for their family's history and traditions. Based on the somewhat contradictory data about attitudes, we could conclude that Slovene Americans and Canadians base their ethnic identity both on language and culture; in reality, however, they seem to be more bicultural than bilingual. In either case, their immigrant experience is a successful one as they have managed, in a relatively short period of time, to become not just an integral but also a productive and creative part of mainstream society in their respective new homelands, while at the same time maintaining appreciation of their heritage.

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10 It is, of course, for precisely this reason that the linguistic situation is so much more intriguing and deserving of being studied and documented in terms of changes related to language contact while they last.

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The Hungarian Minority in Slovenia and Hungarian as a Minority Language

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Povzetek

Članek obravnava madžarsko manjšino na območju Slovenije in madžarski jezik kot uradni jezik v narodnostno mešanem Prekmurju, ki se nahaja v severovzhodnem delu Slovenije, kjer v več kot 30 naseljih živijo avtohtoni madžarski prebivalci. Na tem območju sta uradna jezika tako slovenščina kot madžarščina. Osredotočamo se na jezikovno politiko madžarske narodne skupnosti in skušamo orisati družbenopravne značilnosti dvojezičnega območja ter na kratko predstaviti zgodovino in okolje madžarske manjšine. Izpostavili bomo tudi kulturološke in informativne dejavnosti madžarske manjšine ter predstavili izbrane madžarske avtorje (Lajos Bence, Albert Halász, Sándor Szúnyogh, Pál Szomi in Judit Zágorec-Csuka) ter obravnavali njihova dela, ki so bila prevedena v slovenščino in izdana v knjižni zbirki z naslovom *Mostovi na meji*. Posebej izpostavljamo prevode madžarskih književnih del, ki so bila predstavljena na mednarodnem literarnem festivalu Vilenica, v izboru pesnikov, prozaistov, dramatikov in esejistov iz Srednje Evrope in Madžarske. V zaključku ocenjujemo pomen sodobnih madžarskih prevodov v slovenski jezik v luči medkulturne komunikacije in večjezičnosti v državah Evropske unije.

Ključne besede: Madžarska manjšina, madžarščina, prevod književnih del, književna povezava med slovenščino in madžarščino

0 INTRODUCTION

For nearly a thousand years Hungarians have been living in the immediate vicinity of the Slovene nation. Even so, their history is quite inadequately embedded in the minds of Slovenes. Similarly, Hungarians also do not possess great knowledge about the Slovene nation, its history and characteristics (Göncz 2004: 5). In today's world, national borders have begun to lose their political significance. Since both Slovenians and Hungarians live in the European Union, they should possess good knowledge of their neighbours. The Hungarian minority living in Slovenia is very well aware of this, and thus becoming a bridge between the two nations.

Under the Trianon Treaty signed in 1919, villages on the Slovene-Hungarian border were joined to Prekmurje and, consequently, to the Kingdom of SHS, where Hungarians lived in the land known today as the counties of Vas and Zala. Since 1991, approximately 7,000 members of the Hungarian minority live in Slovenia, and similar groups also live in Austria, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia. The third and fourth generation of the Hungarian minority has been living in Prekmurje since 1919, and most were born in the so-called contact zone on the triple border between Slovenia, Croatia and Austria. The introduction of the Schengen border in 2016 brought along special political rights, which allowed for a socio-economic environment and relationships with the Hungarian minority in the Carpathian Basin, despite strong assimilation and the fact that Prekmurje still remains an underdeveloped area in Slovenia.

1 THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY

Members of the Hungarian national community live in approximately 30 villages along the Slovene-Hungarian border, where in addition to Slovene the Hungarian language is also considered an official one. The Hungarian minority resides in the municipalities of Hodoš/Hodos, Moravske Toplice, Šalovci, Lendava and Dobrovnik/Dobronak, has indigenous rights and status, and is protected by constitution and sectoral legislation. The rights stipulated in the Constitution can be exercised only in the area of the indigenous Hungarian community. Moreover, the use of national symbols and the right to cooperate with the Slovene nation is also guaranteed.

In order to preserve their identity, the minority may also independently establish organisations, develop economic, scientific, research, cultural and educational activities, as well as activities in the field of public information and publishing.

Members of the national community exercise their rights through their representatives in municipal and city councils, and in the National Assembly.

Hungarians have been living in compact groups in Slovenia for centuries, and do not feel like foreigners or immigrants, but rather like an indigenous people; they are a national community that has become a traditional, long-lasting and classical characteristic of Slovenia. The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia explicitly emphasises the constitutional rights of the Hungarian nation, regardless of the number of its members (Article 64).

2 CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY

The Hungarian national community has established nearly 60 amateur societies and groups (folklore, music groups, choirs, recitation and drama groups). Their work and organisational tasks are managed by the Cultural Institute of the Hungarian Nationality (*Magyar Nemzetiségi Művelődési Intézet*) and the *Bánffy Center*. The Cultural Center (*Művelődési Központ*) in Lendava is also an important cultural asset for the Hungarian national community, and this versatile cultural facility is the largest in Prekmurje, with the Republic of Hungary also contributing to its construction. Since 1958 the Hungarian Nationality Information Institute in Lendava has regularly published a weekly newspaper, *Népújság*, in Hungarian for the Hungarian national community. Radio and television programs are prepared within the framework of the RTV Public Institute of Slovenia, in particular at the Regional RTV Center in Maribor. *MMR Radio* in Lendava provides 18 hours and 15 minutes of daily programs in Hungarian, which are played even during the weekends. The television programmes includs the show *Mostovi/Hidak*, which is broadcast on both the national and regional Maribor TV channels. The show is broadcast four times a week for 30 minutes, with one-time repeat broadcasts during most of the year, and three times a week for 30 minutes with one-time repeat broadcasts during the summer. According to Article 30 of the Radiotelevizija Slovenija Act, the programs of the national communities are co-financed by the state.

3 LITERATURE OF THE HUNGARIAN NATIONALITY IN SLOVENIA

After 1945 and until 1961, there was no Hungarian literature in Prekmurje, and during the period of the Informbiro (1948) and the Iron Curtain the Hungarian minority had no media of its own. However, in the 1960s *Lajos Vlaj* published a
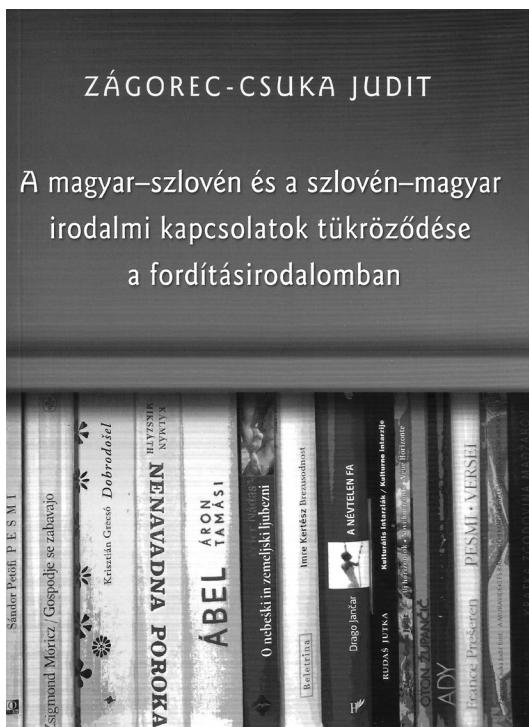
poetry book titled *Versek* (1961). In the 1970s arose the first generation of writers of the Hungarian nationality; Pál Szomi, József Varga, Sándor Szúnyogh and István Palkó published an anthology titled *Tavaszvárás* (*Expecting Spring*, 1972). During the 1980s, new faces appeared in literature and brought with them new trends. These were the new authors: Lajos Bence, Zoltán Gábor, Leona Sz. Kanyó, Erzsébet Rozsmán, József Szabó, János Toplák Czimmermann, and Zsuzsanna Báti Koncz. In 1991 the Republic of Slovenia was born, which brought some changes to the system (along with a new constitution, democracy, pluralism, etc.). During this time new authors from the Hungarian minority worked together in publishing the *Muratáj* magazine (1988): Gabriella Bence Utroša, László Göncz, János Göntér, Albert Halász, István Hagymás, Rózsa Kercsmár, Mária Szabó, Ferenc Vida, and Judit Zágorec-Csuka. In addition to works of fiction, works of academic literature were also published, mainly in the field of linguistics, history and geography, literary history, ethnography, the aesthetics of film, fine arts, etc.

The literature of the Hungarian minority was mostly unrecognised in the wider circles of Slovene culture, especially with regard to the translation of works into Slovene. This led to the decision of the *Franc-Franc* publishing house in Murska Sobota to present modern Hungarian literature in the Republic of Slovenia by publishing the *Mostovi na meji* book collection, together with opuses of chosen authors. After translating the poetry book *Slepci na zemljevidu* (2003), Judit Zágorec Csuka went on to translate other works of poetry, prose and essays in 2010–2014: *V sebi zate* (2010), Lajos Bence, *Vzklit iz kamna* (2011), Albert Hálasz, *Vsestvarnost* (2012), Sándor Szúnyogh, *Zvestoba travnih bilk* (2013) and Pál Szomi, *Jesenska nebina* (2014). All the books published between 2010 and 2014 had a single aim: the literary works should enable Slovene readers to further familiarise themselves with deeper thoughts, emotions, feelings toward their fellow citizens of a different ethnicity, and their experiences regarding their own minority positions. The accompanying editorial notes words served to offer Slovene readers more rounded information regarding the literary opuses and members of the Hungarian minority in Slovenia. The aim of the *Mostovi na meji* book collection, as stated by its editor *Franci Just*, was to bring forth and transform the phrase "They live among us" into "They live with us", and thus emphasise the state of compassion and co-experience.

4 MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM AMONG MEMBERS OF THE HUNGARIAN NATIONALITY AND THE SLOVENE NATION

Literature has played a unique role in individual historical periods. It is also important to consider through which methods any translated literature established has itself within the borders of other culture and literature. Who are the creators

of this translated literature, what were their purposes and styles? To what extent does the translated literature adapt to the logic of the target language, and how does it adapt to the specifications of the literature in the source language? With the European Union the importance of translation has increased significantly; as of today, the EU boasts more than 23 official languages, and with new members entering the Union this number will only increase. One of the goals of the European Commission is also to develop multilingualism, promote foreign language skills and preserve the cultural identities of nations. In her articles, the literary historian Dr. Jutka Rudaš addresses the fact that changes in the perception of Slovene literature have occurred in the last twenty years, which has led to an increase in the perception of the Hungarian translated literature within Slovene literature and reading culture in general. However, some shortcomings are also to be noted in the field of translation, and on this basis it is evident that much work is yet to be done by translators as well as the cultural policymakers who support the publication of translated works.


Figure 1. Judit Zágorec-Csuka: *A magyar-szlovén és a szlovén magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok tükröződése a fordításirodalomban.* (Hungarian-Slovene and Slovene-Hungarian Literary Relations within Translated Literature). Pilisvörösvár. Muravidék Baráti Kör Kulturális Egyesület, 2015., 7-246.

5 SLOVENE TRANSLATIONS OF HUNGARIAN LITERATURE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Vilko Novak and *Štefan Barbarič* were two of the most important translators in the 1950s, after the Second World War. Both were professors of literature who used their Hungarian knowledge to translate Hungarian literature into Slovene. Štefan Barbarič translated the works of the following Hungarian authors: Gyula Illyés, Ferenc Molnár and Zsigmond Móricz. In the 1960s, Barbarič introduced many other Hungarian authors (Áron Tamási, Tibor Déry, Ferenc Sánta, László Német) by adding excerpts from their literary works to the analyses of their literary opuses. Vilko Novak and Tine Debeljak translated (1940) into Slovene a drama by Imre Madách titled *Tragedija človeka* (Az ember tragédiája), for which they received the PEN Club prize. In the 1960s, the authors Drago Grah, Jože Hradil, Jože Ftičar and Jože Olaj also endeavoured to translate Hungarian literature into Slovene, which marked them as the translators of the decade. At this time they translated the classics of Hungarian literature, to which they added also many works of the 20th century, namely those of Mór Jókai, Kálmán Mikszáth, Zsigmond Móricz, László Németh, Lajos Zilahy, Ferenc Sánta and György Moldova. At the beginning of the 70s, István Palkó and Orsolya Gállos published several studies through which they informed Slovene readers about Hungarian poetry and literature in general. In addition to the studies, they also published the translated literature of many Hungarian authors, namely the works of Mór Jókai, Endre Kolozsvári Grandpierre, György Kardos, János Székely, Sándor Petőfi, Géza Gárdonyi, Ákos Kertész, Menyhért Lakatos, Zsigmond Móricz, Lajos Zilahy and Endre Ady.

Translators of Hungarian fiction grew more creative during the 1970s, after the establishment of the Pomurska založba publishing house, which allowed them to publish translated works of Hungarian literature. During that time new faces emerged in the field of translation; among the first was a professor of Slovene language and literature, *Elizabeta Bernjak*, who translated *Igral je tudi sleparjem* (A latroknak is játszott) by Gion Nándor (1980) and *Ararat* (Ararát) by Lajos Zilahy (1977). The publication of bilingual poetry collections started a new trend in the 1970s. In 1973, Jože Hradil translated and published a bilingual (Hungarian-Slovene) collection by Sándor Petőfi titled *Apostol* (Az Apostol). In 1977, Pomurska založba published another bilingual collection, this time a work of Endre Ady entitled *Kri in zlato* (Vér és arany). The selected poems were prepared and translated by Kajetan Kovič and Jože Hradil. In the 1980s, a large number of translators translated the Hungarian literature: Drago Grah, Jože Ftičar, Jože Olaj, Štefan Sedonja, Vilko Novak, Kajetan Kovič, Jože Hradil, Orsolya Gállos, Vlado Peteršič and Marjanca Mihelič. Thanks to such translators, readers could enjoy the works of the following authors: Endre Ady, Nándor Gion, Ferenc

Móra, Endre Illés, Miklós Radnóti, Anna Jókai, Mór Jókai, György G. Kardos, Géza Gárdonyi, and György Konrád. In light of Central European culture of that time, many studies about Hungary, and Hungarian culture and literature were published. The following translated Hungarian dramas were also performed on Slovene stages: *Uspavanka* (Altató) *by* László Fodor (1955); *Tatovi* (Tolvajok, 1970) and *Mačja igra* (Macskajáték (1975, 1980) by István Örkény; *Liliom* (Liliomfi) by Ferenc Móra (1975).

In 1993, Marjanca Mihelič translated *Hrabalova knjiga* (Hrábál könyve) by Péter Esterházy into Slovene; the book was then published by publisher Wieser in Klagenfurt. Even so, Esterházy's novels became popular in Slovene literature only in later periods. Translated by Marjanca Mihelič, the essays of Péter Esterházy and György Konrád were mostly published in *Nova revija* (New Magazine). After 2000, Hungarian literature was translated into Slovene by the following translators: Marjanca Mihelič, Jože Hradil, Gabriella Gaál, Mladen Pavičić, Jožef Smej, Judita Trajber, and Stela Munk. During this period, they translated the works of Péter Esterházy, Péter Zilahy, László Darvasi, Agáta Gordon, György Dragomán, Krisztián Grecsó, Ottó Tolnai, Imre Kertész and other. They also translated the works of various authors, such as Sándor Márai, Artúr Munk, Dezső Kosztolányi, Béla Hamvas, Antal Szerb, Géza Gárdonyi, and Lajos Harsányi. In 1986 the Slovene Writers' Association founded the *International Literary Festival Vilenica*, and since then it has been arranged annually in the second half of September. The highlight of the festival is the awarding of the Vilenica International Literary Prize. The festival takes place on the Karst Plateau inside the Vilenica Cave. The prestigious prize has already been awarded to a number of Hungarian writers and poets.

6 CONCLUSIONS

For nearly a thousand years Hungarians have been living in the immediate vicinity of the Slovene nation. The third and fourth generation of the Hungarian minority has been living in Prekmurje since 1919. There are about 7,000 members of this minority, and most were born in the so-called contact zone of the triple border between Slovenia, Croatia and Austria. Members of the Hungarian national community live in approximately 30 villages along the Slovene-Hungarian border, where in addition to Slovene, Hungarian is also an official language. Hungarians have been living in compact groups in Slovenia for centuries, and do not feel like foreigners or immigrants, but rather like an indigenous people. The literature of Hungarian nationality has been developing since the 1960s, during which time generations of writers of Hungarian nationality in Slovenia were

connected by the *Muratáj* magazine. Representative authors of the Hungarian nationality who have been active since 1960 are the following: *Pál Szomi, József Varga, Sándor Szúnyogh, Lajos Bence, Zoltán Gábor, János Toplák Czimmermann, Zsuzsanna Báti Koncz, Gabriella Bence Utroša, László Göncz, Albert Halász, Judit Zágorec-Csuka, Péter Pál.* The cultural activity of the Hungarian minority is mostly conducted by the Cultural Institute of the Hungarian Nationality and the *Bánffy Center* in Lendava. The media activity of this group takes place within the RTV Public Institute of Slovenia and the Regional RTV Center in Maribor, where Hungarian programs are broadcast (Hungarian radio *MMR* and TV show *Mostovi/Hidak*). Most information about Hungarian literature is provided to readers through works of translation or partial translation. Although the amount has been increasing in the past 20 years, there is still relatively little published criticism and few translations of Hungarian authors. However, the growth in the number of such publications is supported by the presence of Hungarian authors at the *Vilenica International Literary Festival*, arranged annually since 1986. Since its foundation, the *Vilenica Prize* has been awarded by the Slovene Writers' Association to the best authors in Central Europe, whose spiritual value connects the entire European space. Among the winners have been the following authors of Hungarian literature: Péter Esterházy (1988), Péter Nádas (1998) and László Krasznahorkai (2014). The *Crystal Vilenica* was awarded to: Lajos Grendel (1991), Endre Kukorelly (1992), István Vörös (2000) and Pál Závada (2002). Well-known translators of modern Hungarian literature into Slovene include Jože Hradil, Marjanca Mihelič, Gabriella Gaál and Mladen Pavičić. Multilingualism is the basis for the diversity of European culture. In this multilingual cultural space that is also both Slovene and Hungarian, the demand for translation of literary works has increased. This tendency should also be supported by various competitions intended for publishing Slovene and Hungarian literature in both countries. The Hungarian minority is aware that its place is within a dialogue of different cultures in a multilingual European Union, but this dialogue is primarily derived from the Hungarian-Slovene cultural and linguistic dialogue, and also from the coexistence of the Hungarian minority in Slovenia, where the Slovene nation represents the majority.

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II
Language, Translation and Migration / Sprache, Translation und Migration / Jezik, prevajanje in migracije

Language Variety Translation as a Factor in Maintaining Minority Identity

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Povzetek

V prispevku je osvetljen pomen medzvrstnega prevajanja kot dejavnika ohranjanja narodnostne identitete pri pripadnikih slovenske manjšine v Porabju na Madžarskem. Slovenščina je v Porabju manjšinski jezik, na katerega opuščanje močno vplivajo družbenopolitični in demografski vzroki, jezikovna zmožnost in jezikovna raba ter odnos posameznika in skupnosti do jezika. Naše razmišljanje je posvečeno vlogi literarnega ustvarjanja v Porabju, ko narečje prevzame vlogo, sicer namenjeno knjižnemu jeziku, z namenom preseči temeljno oviro – težave pri razumevanju in sprejemanju slovenskega knjižnega jezika, kar posledično ovira pristno povezovanje Slovencev v Porabju z narodno matico.

V prispevku se osredotočamo na enojezični prevod, tj. prevod znotraj zvrsti istega jezika. Obravnavamo (1) prevod zapisanega knjižnega besedila v pisani narečni jezik v zbirki kratke proze *Srebrni breg/Srebrni brejg* avtorjev Ferija Lainščka, Milivoja Mikija Roša in Milana Vincetiča ter (2) prevod zapisanega narečnega besedila v pisani knjižni jezik v *Andovskih zgodbah/Andovskih prpovejstih* Karla Holeca. Posebnost obeh zbirk je njuna dvojezičnost; črtice v *Srebrnem bregu* so napisane v knjižni slovenščini z vzporednimi prevodi avtorjev samih v prekmursko narečje, kot se govori v Porabju, črtice v *Andovskih zgodbah* pa so napisane v narečju z vzporednimi prevodi v slovenski knjižni jezik; ti so delo pisatelja Milana Vincetiča.

Ugotavljamo, da se avtorji, ki dobro poznajo jezikovni sistem lastnega narečja in ki narečje tudi uporabljajo (tako v govorici kot zapis), pri medzvrstnem prevajanju ne držijo togo izvirnika; v drugo jezikovno zvrst ne prevajajo bese-de za besedo, ampak ob glasoslovnih in oblikoslovnih razlikah med knjižnim jezikom in narečjem upoštevajo tudi dejstvo, da imajo narečja od knjižnega različne sisteme na vseh jezikovnih ravninah, tudi na ravnini povedne in besedilne skladnje. Primerjava knjižnega in narečnega besedila kaže na izvirne narečne izrazne možnosti, zato je narečna podstava veliko bolj ekspresivna kot knjižnostandardna. Ob prenosu narečnega besedila v pisani knjižni jezik se navadno izgubi del njegove prvotne sporočilnosti, kar ima za posledico opuščanje narečnega in približevanje knjižnemu jeziku.

Ključne besede: slovenski jezik, socialne zvrsti slovenskega jezika, prevajanje jezikovnih zvrsti, slovenska manjšina v Porabju, manjšinska identiteta

0 INTRODUCTION

The paper focuses on the importance of intralingual translating as a factor in maintaining the national identity of the Slovene minority members in the Porabje region in Hungary.[1] The Slovene language in the Porabje region is the minority language; it has been strongly influenced by socio-political and demographic factors, by language competence and use, as well as by the attitudes of individuals and communities towards it. In the past, the Slovene Porabje region was linguistically, culturally and economically isolated from the mother country and external Hungarian influences; for these reasons, the ethnic identity of the minority has been preserved in terms of regional and local belonging rather than in relation to the common Slovene identity. The economic, cultural and linguistic isolation from the mother country and the aggressive, more or less covert, assimilation policy of the majority is reflected in the minority group's poor communication ability in terms of the first (minority) language. This is because the minority language was superseded by the majority language in all spheres of public life (in the past, Hungarian language policy did not give Slovene a place in public life), and lately has also been superseded out of families (Bernjak 2006: 141; 2012: 104).

However, according to linguistic indicators of ethnicity, the majority of Porabje Slovenes are beginning to turn away from the majority language, while a decline can be seen in the insufficient proficiency levels of Standard Slovene, which has not evolved in Porabje. The reason for this can be found in the Hungarian government's neglect of the Slovene language, and in the poor knowledge of the dialect, which a large part of the younger generation no longer masters (Bernjak 2004: 32). Today, the revitalisation of the minority's culture and language is particularly associated with the strengthening of the perception of identity of ethnic belonging in this group (in terms of origin, culture, social norms and values, mainly language), which strongly correlates with the understanding of its position and that of the minority group, and simultaneously correlates with the perception of the majority group with whom the minority has direct contact.

This revitalisation is also associated with the preservation of the Slovene minority language in the autochthonous region in the Porabje region (ibid.: 31). Dialectal literary activity, which has a long tradition of two hundred years, plays an important role in this. On the one hand, it raises the cultural level of the minority

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1   The Slovene Porabje (Slovensko Porabje) is located in the west of Hungary, south of the town Monošter in Železna županija (a South Slavic administrative subdivision). The Porabje region has been a bilingual region for more than a thousand years; it covers 94 km², and is geographically and linguistically part of the Prekmurje Goričko region. Approximately 3000 Slovenes live in the Slovene villages of Gornji Senik/Felsőszölnök, Dolnji Senik/Alsószölnök, Slovenska ves/Rábatótfalu, Sakalovci/Szakonyfalu, Števanovci-Otkovci/Apátistvánfalva, Verica-Ritkarovci/Kétvölgy and Andovci/Orfalu, and almost 600 more live in the town of Monošter, the economic and cultural centre of the Slovene Porabje region.

community and preserves the primeval (dialectal) Slovene language. Namely, the dialect, with all its linguistic rules, assumes the role otherwise intended for literary creation in the Porabje region, in which the dialect has assumed the role of Standard language in order to overcome basic problems, i.e. difficulties in understanding and accepting the Slovene Standard language, which, in turn, hinders any genuine integration of the Slovenes in Porabje with their national counterparts. On the other hand, it also awakens a sense of belonging to the Slovene language community, since certain dialectal literary texts have been translated into Standard Slovene.

This paper thus focuses on intralingual translation i.e., the translation between varieties of the same language in the bilingual short prose collections of *Srebrni breg/Srebrni brejg*, written by Feri Lainšček, Milivoj Miki Roš and Milan Vincetič, and in *Andovske zgodbe/Andovske prpovejsti* by Karel Holec. The short prose collection *Srebrni breg/Srebrni brejg* was written in Standard Slovene with the authors' immediate translations into the Prekmurje dialect as spoken in Porabje, and the short prose collection *Andovske zgodbe/Andovske prpovejsti* was written in a dialect with parallel translations into Standard Slovene by Milan Vincetič.

1 *SREBRNI BREG/SREBRNI BREJG* AND *ANDOVSKE ZGODBE/ANDOVSKE PRPOVEJSTI* – LANGUAGE VARIETY TRANSLATION

In addition to various other texts, the literary texts for the national community in the Porabje region have a wider ethnic-cultural-linguistic meaning, since the difficulties in understanding and accepting the Standard Slovene language represent the most important obstacle to achieving a genuine connection with the national base.

The collection of short stories *Srebrni breg/Srebrni brejg* (1995) represents the turning point in the Porabje literary programme "Words for Porabje",[2] which refers to the planned literary production of authors from their native country, and the Prekmurje region in particular, getting as close to the dialect of the addressee as possible (Just 2003: 169). In practice, the idea was realised by printing literary texts in the dialect of the Porabje region and in Standard Slovene at the same time. This paper focuses on intralingual translation of the written Standard language into the written dialect in the short prose collection *Srebrni breg/Srebrni brejg* (1995), and the translation of the written dialect into the written Standard

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2   The beginnings of the literary programme can be traced back to the 1980s.

language in *Andovske zgodbe/Andovske prpovejsti* (2003), issued as the sixth book in the collection *Med Rabo in Muro/Between Raba and Mura*.[3]

According to Smole (2003: 152) and Matičetov (1973: 23), transferring language from a dialect to the Standard language and vice versa counts as translation, since transcoding from one language system to another occurs and the translator is obliged to master both systems. This is entirely comparable to translation from one language to another, that is, from one system to another (Smole 2003: 152).[4]

1.1 The translation of the written Standard language into the written dialect

The short story collection *Srebrni breg/Srebrni brejg* consists of 11 short stories;[5] what makes the short stories unique is their bilingualism, as every story appears in both Standard Slovene and Prekmurje dialect as spoken in the Porabje region. The paper presents the findings of a linguistic comparison of the parallel writing of Standard Slovene and the Slovene dialectal texts.

The written translation into dialect features no diacritics, thus a prosodically correct reading can only be provided by an autochthonous/native speaker of the Prekmurje dialect. Rare exceptions are the acute of the long *e* and *a* in a mixed accent noun type: *roké* 'hands', *brgá* 'the hill (Gen. Sg.)'; pronoun: *sebé* 'myself', *za tebé* 'for you'; or verb: *vlečé* 'to drag', *obrné* 'to turn' is used. The acute is also written to mark the adverb *pá* 'again' and *prlé* 'before'. The quality and quantity of the vowels are not indicated.

The texts are written with the simplified vocal system of the Prekmurje Goričko subdialect, with a straightforward character system that can be easily written by the author and also easily read by the reader. The following forms are used: both dialectal diphthongs: *ej* and *ou/au: brejg* 'hill', *povejn* 'I tell'; *Boug* 'God', *stenau* 'to the wall' (instr. sing. femin.), dialectal *ü: drügi* 'the second', *vüplen* 'I dare', *u,* derived from the vocal *l: dugo* 'long', *sunce* 'sun', *ö*, derived from *e* before *n* or *r: vö* 'outside', *vörvo* 'to have believed', and *e*, derived from the pre-Slavic semi-vowel: *meša* 'mass', *meknoli* 'to put away'. The labialised *a* is usually not specifically marked – in individual words it is written as *o*, which indicates a strong roundness

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3   On the initiative of Ernest Ružič, the book collection *Med Rabo and Muro* was introduced to the publishing programme of Franc-Franc publishing house from Murska Sobota in cooperation with the Union of Slovenes in Hungary. In the book collection, published from from 1998 until today, 20 prose works, printed in both dialectal and standard language, were published.

4   The dialectal language system is even more complete than the standard language system, because it is being sustained and developed by naturally developing inner language laws in contrast to the highly negotiated language laws of the standard language, which necessitates the existence of normative manuals (Smole 2003: 152).

5   F. Lainšček is the author of four short stories, M. Roš the author of two and M. Vincetič the author of five.

in the speech: *zakoj* 'why'. Eg.: *-ir- → -er-: nemer* 'restlessness', *v paperaj* 'in the papers'. The text also features a rare dialect vowel reduction: *kak* 'how', *tak* 'this way', *velko* 'a lot'.

As far as pronunciation is concerned, the sonorant *j* is written as *g ali dj: getra* 'liver', *mordje* 'sea', *h* is completely reduced: *lače* 'trousers', *odo* 'to have walked' or written as *j* in word endings and the intervocal position: *sploj* 'at all', *streja* 'roof'. The final *-l* transforms into *o* or *u: gledo* 'watched', *smejau* 'laughed', *lj* hardens and is written as *l: plünola* 'she spat', *lidi* 'people', *nj* is maintained: *z njin* 'with him', *ogenj* 'fire'. The consonant *m* in word endings is consistently written as *-n,* as it is spoken: *spomnin, tan.* The final *-v* or *v* ahead of voiceless consonants is written as in the Standard language and not as *-f* as it is spoken: *od mlajšov* ,from the younger', *vsigdar* ,always'. *V* in the word beginning appears to be a prosthesis: *vüja* 'ear', *vüpo* 'dared'. The following dialectal changes in consonant groups are written as: *dn → gn: gnes* 'today'; *kt → št: šteri* 'which'; *bn → vn: drouvna* 'small/ thin'; *šč → šk: prgiške* 'handful'.

All the morphological patterns for declination, verb-form patterns and gradation are written in a contemporary dialectal manner with the exception of the ending *-ouf* (← *-ov*) for feminine, singular, instrumental sporadically being written as *-ou.* All three genders are preserved, while the dual is regularly used. Diphthongs in the texts note where the words are stressed when the mixed stress pattern is being reviewed (*za rokou* 'holding hands', *v glavou* 'inside one's head'). The declension of adjectives is mostly of the following type: *nouvoga* 'new'. The text features in the verbal dual conjunction preserved the morpheme for person *-va,* the reduced form of the verb *biti* 'to be' when used in the future tense (*mo ← bom* 'I will', *de ← bode* 'would', *va ← bova* 'we will'; *ta* '(the two of) you will', *te* 'you will (Pl.)', *do* 'they will') and the old infinitive suffix, derived from *-nǫ-* for contemporary Standard *-ni-: obrnoli* 'turned'.

The text is rich in dialectical adverbs, particles and conjunctions, replacing the Standard Slovene ones, eg.: danes → *gnesden* 'today', enkrat → *egnouk* 'once', (za) gotovo → *gvüšno* 'for sure', kasneje → *sledi* 'later', nekje → *nindri* 'somewhere', od kod → *od kec* 'from where', po strani → *venkraj* 'sideways', sem → *es* 'here', takoj → *včasi* 'right now', zelo → *trnok* 'very', zmeraj → *vsakšo pout* 'always'; kajne → *geli* 'isn't that so', ravno → *ranč* 'at this very time', res → *rejsan* 'true', saj → *vej* 'right', seveda → *ka pa te* 'of course', še → *ešče/eške šče,* 'still', vendar → *gelibar* 'but'; čeprav → *če glij* 'even though', da/kar/ker → *ka* 'for', dokler → *dokeč* 'so long', ko → *kda/gda* 'when'.

A comparison of the Standard and dialectal texts shows the originality of the dialectal expressions; the dialectal form is far more expressive than the Standard Slovene. When forming the Prekmurje dialect, the structure of a simple sentence

is usually the same as in the Standard language – the starting point, the passage, and the core follow one after the other. Some word-sequence specific features are notable but without semantic changes:[6] (1) the starting point, the passage, and the core changes: /…/ sem takrat vprašal očeta /…/ → / san te *očo* pito /…/ (I asked my father then) – /…/ so bili skoraj vsak dan pri vodi /…/ → /…/ so bili *pri vodej* skur vsikši den /…/ (they were at the water almost every day) – (2) the anaphoric particle *pa* is written after the semantically empty verb *biti* 'to be' in the present tense and after the free verbal morpheme *se*: Morda *pa ste* imeli kdaj doma svinje /…/ → Mogouče *ste pa* meli doma svinjé /…/ (You may have really had pigs at home /.../) – Saj *pa se* vendar razume, da nič. → Vej *se pa* tak pa tak razmi, ka nika. (But it is understood, however, that it is nothing.)

In addition to inversion, which gives the message more emphasis and also colours it emotionally, the translation into dialect features:

(1) The dialectal use of a personal pronoun at points where, in Standard Slovene (because of stylistic marking), nothing is pronounced: /…/ natanko takrat, ko sem se rodil /…/ → /…/ glij te, kda san se *ge* naroudo /…/ (exactly when I was born) – Kljub vsemu sem jo požiral z očmi. – *Ges* san jo pa vseeno požiro z očami. (Nevertheless, I devoured her with my eyes.)

(2) Adding (a) particles and/or adverbs where it is superfluous in contextual terms in Standard Slovene: To najverjetneje zato /…/ → Tou *pa* gvüšno zatok /…/ (That's probably because /.../) – /…/ tukaj v omari /…/ → /…/ tü *notri* v omarini /…/ (/.../ here in the closet /.../) – /…/ je rada zahajala k mlinu. → /…/ ja *tak* rada ojdla *ta* k mlini (/.../ she liked to go to the mill) – (b) the adjectival modifier to the left of the headword: /…/ imam že dolga leta spravljena okna. → /…/ man že duga lejta tadjana *ena* oukna. (/.../ I've had those windows for years.) – Vasi se je namreč hudo mudilo na breg. → *Cejloj* vesi se je midilo *ta* na brejg. (The whole village was in a hurry to the hill.) – (c) directional adverbs to the verb: podrli → *doj* podrli (to pull down), zamenjali → *vö*zamenili (to exchange), iztrgala → *vkraj* cuknola (to tear).

(3) Replacement (a) of a noun non-prepositional modifier in the genitive with the prepositional one: zvonik *kapele* → türen *od kapejle* (belfry of the chapel) – (b) adjectival modifier with noun (prepositional) modifier: *mlinsko* kolou → kolou *na mlin* (grinding wheel)*, kartonast* zavojček → paklec *iz kartona* (cardboard pack).

(4) The replacement (a) of a non-personal verb form with the personal verb form: Samo počakati je še treba. → *Počakajte malo*, pa te vidli. (We just

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6   Sentence and word order rules are set out in Jože Toporišič's *Slovenska slovnica* (2000: 667–687).

need to wait.) – (b) non-stressed (clitical) and referential form of personal pronouns with their accentuated forms: vido *jih* je → vido *njij* je (he saw them). – Pusti jo, ona ni *zate*! → Püsti jo, ona je nej *za tebé* (Leave her, she's not for you.) – (c) word-formatted lexemes with non-word-formatted forms: desnica → *prava roka* (right hand), kolovoz → *blatna cesta* (cart track), oblaček → *oblak* (cloud), prstanček → *prstan* (ring); našibati → *nucati šibo* (to whip), oživeti → *dobiti düšo* (to revive). – (č) reported speech with direct speech: Če pa se je kateri le ojunačil vprašati Franceka, mu je le-ta na kratko odvrnil, da bodo že videli. → Če pa je šteri vüpo pitati Franceka, je pravo samo*: »Vej te pa vidli.«* (If, however, anyone complained about Francek, he briefly replied that they would see what happens.) – (d) one clause sentences with multiple-clause sentences: Vsi so le bolščali v zares nenavadno oblečenega Franceka. → *Vsi so gledali prouti Franceki, šteri je biu rejsan čudno oblečeni.* (Everyone was staring at the very unusually dressed Francek.)

(5) The abandonment of conjunctions, adverbs, particles, interjections, which in the context of dialect function as superfluous, unnecessary: *In* kaj bodo z njim? → Ka do z njin? (And what will happen to him?) – Otepal se je in brcal, pa je *vseeno* ni zadel. → Mlato se je in brso, pa je nej zadeno. (He was trembling and kicking, but he did not hit it anyway.) – /…/ zakaj sem jih privlekel v stanovanje, in *pa seveda*, kaj *sploh* bom z njimi. → /…/ zakoj san je es prvlejko pa ka mo z njimi? (/.../ why did I drag them to the apartment, and of course, what will I even do with them?) – *Ojej*, ena sama velikanska žalost! → Edna sam velka žalost. (O, one great grief itself.)

(6) Pannonian denial – a form of denying the verb *biti* 'to be' in the present tense becomes *sem ne*: Tudi ni nihče nikoli sedel, kjer mu je bila pač volja. → Tüdi si *je nej* nišče nikdar dojseu, gé me je bila vola. (No one was ever sitting where he wanted.) – Ni me razumela. → *Nej* me je razmila. (She didn't understand me.)

(7) Expressing the future with the present tense: Vsi bomo šli. → *Idemo* vsi. (We'll all go.)

(8) Modification (widening or narrowing) of the Standard syntactic pattern: Njene škorenjčke sem skrbno očistil /…/. → Njene črejvle pa sandale /…/ san vsakič spuco, ka so se svejtili kak sunce. (I cleaned her shoes very carefully.) – Hčerka si je bila zaželela, da bi ob božiču okrasila drevešček nekako drugače, kot smo pač to počeli vsa tista leta doslej. → Čij je ščela za božič napraviti malo ovakši krispan, kak smo ga meli minouča lejta. (My daughter wanted to decorate the Christmas tree in a different way than we had done for all those years.)

On the lexical level, the translation also attempts to remain close to the dialect. Thus, dialectal Pannonian-Slovene words prevail, e.g. *broditi* 'premišljevati, tuhtati; to think', *čeden* 'moder, pameten; wise', *črejvli* 'škornji; boots', *gučat*i 'govoriti; to speak', *posvejt* 'luč; a light', *reč* 'beseda; a word', *šteti* 'brati; to read', *videti* 'zdeti; to seem', *žitek* 'življenje; life', *zlodej* 'vrag; the devil'; some Germanisms are also noted, e.g. *cug* 'vlak; a train', *drout* 'žica; a wire', *kufer* 'kovček; a suitcase', *najgeri* 'zvedav; curious', *penez* 'denar; money', *šift* 'ladja; a ship', *taška* 'torbica; a purse', *tören* 'zvonik; a belfry'; along with some Hungarisms, e.g. *alomaš* 'postaja; a station', *kep* 'podoba, slika; an image, picture', *saga* 'vonj; a smell', *varaš* 'mesto; a town, city'; while Romanisms are rare, e.g. *blanja* 'deska; a board'.

The phrases are either transferred from the Standard language to the dialect or translated with the dialectal equivalent: /…/ pa mi že stara *navijala uro.* → /…/ pa mi je stara že *navijala vöro.* (She gave me a clip round the ear.) – *Vrag naj* me *vzame*. → *Vrag naj* me *buje*. (I'll be damned.) Often, they are replaced by verbal phrases, resulting in an even greater expressivity of the translated dialectal in the texts: /…/ si popravila krilce in brezglavo stekla. → /…/ si popravila kiklo in *zbejžala kak zavica*. (/.../ she fixed her skirt and fled like a scared rabbit /.../) – /…/ sem sprva le zardel /…/ → /…/ san grato *rdeči kak küjani rak* /…/. (/.../ I went red as a beetroot/.../) – Vrnila se je bleda /…/ → Nazaj je prišla *blejda kak stejna* /…/ (She came back as white as a sheet /.../)

1.2 The translation of the written dialect into the written Standard language

The translation of the spoken variety (in our case the written one) into Standard written Slovene is a challenge for Slovene ethnic regions, due to the unusually large number of Slovenian dialects and speeches. When translating the primary spoken dialect into the written Standard language, a large part of its original expression and meaning is usually lost, since the dialect does not only differ on phonological, morphological and lexical levels, but also in the syntax of clause and text (Škofic 2006: 174).

The result is most often the abandonment of the dialect and approximation of the Standard Slovene, which is also noticeable in *Andovskih zgodbah/Andovskih prpovejstih* by Karl Holec.

Holec has produced ten tales of the suffering and resilience of Slovene farming life; set on the outer fringes of the Hungarian landscape, they are characterised by lively dialogue couched in humour, all in the Porabje dialect, with parallel translations into the Standard Slovene language by writer Milan Vincetič.

The linguistic comparison of the dialectal and Standard versions of the texts shows the differences between the written dialectal and written Standard texts on all linguistic levels.

All the dialectal phonemes are written in a Standard manner (with the Standard language letters according to Standard orthography).

The morphology of the Standard Slovene is not equivalent to the dialectal form; all verb-form and morphological patterns are also translated into Standard Slovene, which means that the morphological picture of the book version is inauthentic.

The syntactical clause structure is altered (taking the sentence element and sentence structure into consideration), thus the dialectal syntax is lost. In the translation of the written dialect into the written Standard language, the following elements are omitted:

(a) Different repetitions of words or word phrases: »*Nej trn, nej trn*, baba, vretino sam najšo /…/« > »Kakšen trn neki, izvir sem našel /…/« (Not a thorn, I found a spring.) – »Jaj, *Baug moj, Baug moj*, pomagaj nam grejšnikom!« > »Jaj, moj Bog, pomagaj nam grešnikom! /…/« (Oh, my Lord, help us sinners!).

(b) Personal pronouns that are unnecessary in Standard Slovene: »Dobro, vej go *dja* vöpotegnem.« > »Prav, pa mu jo potegnem ven.« (All right, I will pull it out for him.) – »Kak tau *vi* vejte?« > »Kako to veste?« (How do you know that?).

(c) Some adverbs, particles and modifiers: »Ka pa, tebi se je *vcejlak* zmejšalo! /…/« > »Se ti je zmešalo ali kaj?« (Have you gone crazy or what?) – »Brž, bodni go *notra* v zemlau!« > »Brž, zapiči jo v zemljo!« (Quick, drive it into the ground!) – Popoldneva smo go že vösprobali *tö*. > Popoldne pa smo jo že preizkušali. (We already tested it out in the afternoon.) – /…/ v rokej z *vrbovo* šibov /…/ > /…/ s šibo v rokah /…/ (with a switch in his hands).

(d) Appositions and verbal addresses: »Nauri si ti, *stari*, kak bi ti stüdenec kopo /…/« > »Se ti je zmešalo, ti bi kopal studenec /…/« (Have you lost your mind, you want to dig a well /.../) – »*Vejš ka*, baba, ti si butasta. /…/« > »Raje daj jezik za zobe, baba zmešana. /…/« (Hold your tongue, you stupid woman!).

The linguistic phenomena 'onikanje', i.e., the honorific form of the 3rd person plural form for one person, still preserved in dialect, is consistently omitted in Standard Slovene: *Tupin Imrec so* sploj koražni človek *bili* ešče na stara lejta tö. > Tupinov Imrec je bil pravi dedec tudi na stara leta. (Even in his old age he was a real man.)

In Standard translation, non-derivated lexemes are replaced by derived ones: liter > *literček* 'litre'*,* oblak > *oblaček* 'cloud'*,* nominal and verb phrases are replaced by derived (one-word) lexemes: spodnje lače > *spodnjice* 'underpants', napraviti ograjo > *ograditi* 'to put up a fence', narečni prislovi in vezniki s knjižnimi: zranja > zjutraj 'in the morning', gnauk > nekoč 'sometime', *rano* > zgodaj 'early', *es* > sem 'I am', *vrkar* > zgoraj 'up/above'; *liki* > *temveč* 'but' and nominal modifiers with adjectival forms: sveti andjaldje *v nebesi* > angeli *nebeški* 'heavenly angels'. Particles and interjections are often added: Tak je bilau. > Tako je *tudi* bilo. (And so it was.) – »Baba, baba, poj pa garico notrapüsti, ka ne morem tavö! Baba, glöjpa si?« > »*Hej*, baba, stopi po lestev, ker ne morem ven! *Hej*, si gluha ali kaj?« (Hey, old crone, go and bring a ladder, for I cannot get out! Hey, are you deaf?) and unexpressed predicators in speech: Gda nazaj prišo /…/. > Ko se *je vrnil* /…/. (When he came back /.../.) – Spodkar vrkar vse od njega odišlo. > Tako spodaj kot zgoraj mu *je uhajalo.* (It was coming out of both ends.)

In the Standard translation of the text, specific features of the dialectal word order do not appear, as the word order has been changed and as such is stylistically unmarked – it corresponds to Slovene Standard language criteria: »V štrti ali pet klas sam odo.« > *Obiskoval sem četrti ali peti razred.* (I attended the fourth or fifth grade.) – »Potisni nazaj notra v zemlau šibo!« > »*Šibo porini nazaj v zemljo!*« (Push the switch back into the ground.)*,* some syntactic structures are changed (contracted/reduced or extended): Gda so v tjüjnji na stauli vidli, ka je večerdja tam ostala, ništje nej djo, te so se že zbojali. > Ko pa je v kuhinji videla nedotaknjeno večerjo, jo je spreletel srh. (But when she saw the untouched dinner in the kitchen, she shuddered.) – »/…/ Eden stüdenec si skopam tü doma na dvaura.« > »/…/ Najbolje bo, da si vodnjak izkopljem kar na dvorišču.« (It's best if I dig a fountain right here in the yard.)

The vocabulary has also been changed to the extent that it is no longer indicative of the dialect: non-Slovene dialectal words are most often of Germanic or Hungarian origin and rarely of Romanic. In Standard Slovene, they are mostly replaced by Standard terms: *glaž* > steklenica 'bottle', *koštati* > poskusiti 'to taste', *kromči* > krompir 'potatoes', *pisker* > lonec 'pot', *špilati* > igrati 'to play', *štil* > toporišče 'axe handle', *štjir* > orodje 'tool', *žmah* > okus 'taste'; *lugaš* > brajda 'vine trellis', *palinka* > žganje 'schnapps', *tanač* > nasvet 'advice'; *soldak* > vojak 'soldier'. The same applies to the written dialectal Pannonian lexicon and general Slavic terms, marked as expressive from the point of view of the Slovene Standard: *bot* > palica 'stick', *čarvou* > trebuh 'belly', *dvaur* > dvorišče 'courtyard', *dveri* > vrata 'door', *iža* > soba 'room', *mlajši* > otroci 'children', *pod* > podstrešje 'attic', *tikvi* > buče 'pumpkin'*,* *vretina* > izvir 'source', *žuti* > rumen 'yellow'; pejorative *baba* > ženska 'woman', vražže andovske *babe* > vražje andovske ženske 'devilish women'.

Dialectal phrases are translated with Standard Slovene equivalents: Feri je tak *leto, ka se* je vse *prašilo za njim* > Feri je *tekel, kar so ga noge nesle* (Feri ran as fast as his legs could carry him.); Standard phrases frequently replace dialectal verbal word phrases: Telko tanačov je daubo, ka je ranč nej vedo, *koga naj posluša.* > Toliko nasvetov so mu natrosili, da ni vedel, *kje se ga drži glava.* (He was given so much advice that he did not know where his head was at.) – »Vi ste vsi nauri.« > »Vsi *ste ob pamet.*« (You have all lost your minds.) Also dialectal curses are translated: *njegvoga vraga* > hudiča preklemanega (damn him, *prekleta* vretina > preklemani izvir (damn spring), *njegvoga kalavinskoga* > hudiča zagamanega (damn him).

We can conclude that the Prekmurje and Porabje authors, who are well acquainted with the language systems of their own dialect and are fluent in its (oral and written) use, do not completely adhere to the original when translating. They do not translate into another language variety according to the "word for word" principle, but consider phonetical and morphological differences between the Standard language and dialect, also taking into account the fact that dialects differ from the Standard language systematically on all language levels (as well as on sentence and textual levels). A comparison of the Standard language and dialectal texts attests to the originality of the dialectal translations; thus the dialectal version of the texts is much more expressive than those of the Standard language. When transferring a dialectal text into a Standard one (Škofic 2006: 181) at least some of the original expressiveness is lost, leading to a loss of dialectal features and a move towards the Standard language.

2 CONCLUSION

The Slovenian minority in Hungary is a community that has been shaped in a border area under specific socio-historical circumstances. Bernjak (2004: 145) notes that the Porabje Slovenes, despite their separation from the linguistic development of their mother country, preserved natural language transfer in the past. Today, however, the preservation and development of language and identity awareness have been left to the minority education system, despite the fact that the school serving the Slovene community in Porabje is unable to fulfil its responsibilities in this regard. Therefore, it is important to be aware that the media in the minority language contributes greatly to the preservation and raising of the minority culture's language level, and to the strengthening of national (self-) awareness. This is one of the key factors in its preservation and continuous national development. Literature in the Porabje region, written in Standard Slovene and then translated into the dialect or vice versa, on the one hand revives the

dialect and on the other hand develops the Standard language. With its acknowledgment it builds a bridge from the dialect to the Standard language, and thus a bridge between the two countries.

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Encounters with the Remote and Strange: Protestant Missionaries in China as Translators of the *Dao De Jing*

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Povzetek

Več tisoč protestantskih misionarjev iz Evrope in Severne Amerike je med leti 1807 in 1953 živelo in delovalo na Kitajskem. Njihova poglavitna naloga je bila širitev krščanstva, poleg tega pa so pomembno vplivali tudi na izmenjavo medkulturnih stikov med Vzhodom in Zahodom. V pričujočem prispevku orišemo obseg dela protestantskih misionarjev, pri čemer se še posebej osredotočamo na njihovo prevajalsko dejavnost, v nadaljevanju pa predstavimo angleške prevode Laozijevega dela *Dao De Jing* prevajalcev Johna Chalmersa (1868), Jamesa Leggea (1891) in Dwighta Goddarda (1919 in 1939).

Pri analizi prevodov primerjamo naslove, uvodne besede prevajalcev ter angleške ekvivalente za nekatere temeljne koncepte daoizma ter nekatere druge kulturne reference v izvirniku. Ob primerjavi diahrnonih vzorcev podomačitvene in potujitvene strategije in prevajalčevega odnosa do izvirnika je namen raziskave ugotoviti, v kolikšni meri ti elementi odražajo spremembe v zahodni perspektivi in misijonarskem delu, ki je potekalo na prelomu stoletja.

Ključne besede: misionarji, potujitvena strategija, podomačitvena strategija, John Chalmers, James Legge, Dwight Goddard

摘要

1807至1953年间，数千名基督新教传教士自欧洲、北美来到中国生活和工作。除了传播基督教的首要任务外，这些传教士在东西方文化交流方面亦起到了重要作用。本文立足对新教传教士，特别是学者型传教士的工作范围及其译著的介绍；并以此为基础，着眼于老子《道德经》的四个译本，即：湛约翰（*John Chalmers*）的1868年译本，理雅各（*James Legge*）的1891年译本，德怀特·戈达德（*Dwight Goddard*）的1919年及1939年译本，着重比较上述译本在标题选择、译者简介以及对《道德经》原文中哲学、文化基本概念的英译这三方面的异同。通过确定其中归化和异化的历时模式并考察不同译者的表达立场，从而考察上述因素所反应的西方观念之转变程度，以及传教士之工作在20世纪初所带来的观念转变程度。

关键词：学者型传教士，异化，归化，湛约翰，理雅各，德怀特·戈达德

0 INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century witnessed the explosion of a peculiar form of migration – the waves of religious revival that swept through Europe and the United States sent hundreds of thousands of zealous evangelists on a journey to "benighted" and "heathen" parts of the world. Among their most prominent destinations was China with its unreached millions. The opening up of China was a long, complex and occasionally violent process, in which missionaries played a significant role. This paper deals with one aspect of their widely ramified work. After an overview of the broader cultural context and the significance of translation as one of the activities performed by the Protestant missionaries, the focus shifts to their English translations of the foundational text of Daoism, Laozi's *Dao De Jing*. In a diachronic comparison of certain elements of these translations I then endeavour to ascertain whether and how exactly they reflect the paradigm shift characteristic of missionary work in China in general, from a strong emphasis on evangelizing to the more secularly-oriented activities that marked the beginning of the twentieth century. Translations of Daoist texts are particularly appropriate for such analysis because of the status of this religion-philosophy in the eyes of the West. Unlike Confucianism, China's long-standing official ideology, whose basic tenets were closer to the principles of Christian ethics and could be brought into connection with them, the mysticism and elusiveness of the teaching of Dao, compounded by the extravagant and superstitious practices of Daoist folk religion, often resulted in dismissive attitudes towards this philosophy (Clarke 2000: 37–45). The encounter of the translator with a tradition so, in Max Müller's words, "remote and strange" (Girardot 2002: 3), so foreign to the understanding of life, value system and basic beliefs of a Christian missionary, brings into focus the underlying assumptions both of the translator and the spirit of the time in which the translation was made. According to Kučiš (2016:70) "large language cultures such as the Germanic, Romanic, Russian or Chinese try to reflect a part of their ideological power in their translations."

1 PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN CHINA

Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary in China, set foot on the ground of Macao in 1807. Due to the strict anti-foreign policy of the empire, neither he nor the small number of pioneering missionaries who followed him in the decades to come would have much success in coming anywhere near achieving their goal, the Christianization of China. In *A New History of Christianity in China*, Daniel Bays (2012: 68) notes that in 1860, after more than fifty years

of missionary activity, there were barely a hundred missionaries in China. Only after the defeat of China in two Opium Wars in 1842 and 1860 was the entire territory of the country opened up, making it possible for foreigners to travel, settle and evangelize without let or hindrance. The great surge in the number of missionaries which followed the opening up of China also resulted in a diversification of their activities. Having focused initially on the very practical and rather exhausting tasks of finding language teachers (teaching Chinese to foreigners was forbidden on pain of death), translating and printing basic Christian texts, furtive preaching (Christianity was prohibited by law until 1844) to a small number of largely uninterested natives in the extremely limited areas of Macao and Canton, and not infrequently fighting for sheer survival, Western missionaries now had much greater opportunities. They started engaging in humanitarian and social work – numerous hospitals and educational institutions were established, as well as organizations for famine relief, for the rehabilitation of opium addicts, against foot-binding, etc. Scholarship became an important part of missionary work, developing in two directions – bringing the West to China and bringing China to the West. Thus, on the one hand, because of the practical needs of evangelism, linguistic and lexicographical work thrived, the missionaries developed writing systems for dialects that did not have a script and advances in Chinese printing were made. On the other hand, missionary scholarship progressed in the direction of acquiring knowledge and understanding of China, and sharing it with the Western world. Numerous publications from the pens of Protestant missionaries discussed Chinese history, geography, society, politics, culture, philosophy, religion, etc. In this way, missionary-scholars took on the role of agents of cultural exchange between East and West, substantially contributing to the understanding and study of Chinese culture in the West.[1]

Translation as "a primary mode of transcultural representation and interpretation" (Girardot 2002: 10) had an important place in this process. The amount and range of translations reflect the general direction and aims of missionary endeavour. Since the primary task was evangelization, the quantity of translations into Chinese by far exceeds translations into English. As one of the fundamental Protestant principles is *sola scriptura*, the translation work of Protestant missionaries in China was focused largely on the translation of the Bible into Chinese, and this was the only area of translation work in which missionary effort was coordinated and planned. Besides the Bible, a variety of Christian texts were translated, as were works needed for medical and educational missionary activities. All other types of texts are markedly less numerous.

The corpus of translations into English is significantly smaller. Missionaries translated the following types of works: (1) Chinese philosophical and religious

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1   It should be noted that the scholarly work of Protestant missionaries was largely uncoordinated and depended almost exclusively on the personal choice and effort of individuals.

works. Unlike their Jesuit predecessors, who focused almost exclusively on Confucianism, Protestant translations were more or less equally distributed in their focus among the three Chinese religions. Even though the number of these translations is not great, their influence was considerable as they drew the attention of the Western scientific community to Chinese language and philosophy, which led in turn to the establishment of the first university departments for the Chinese language; (2) political texts, particularly during the period of the Republic (1912–1949); (3) fiction, especially fiction dealing with historic events in which missionaries were involved, such as the Boxer Rebellion or the Japanese occupation; (4) works of Chinese Christian leaders; and (5) some minority literature.

2 TRANSLATIONS OF THE *DAO DE JING*

Among the translations of philosophical-religious texts, the foundational text of Daoism, Laozi's *Dao De Jing*, holds a special place. Protestant missionaries in China produced as many as four English translations of this work,[2] making it the only Chinese text to generate so many versions by Protestant missionaries.[3] John Chalmers's[4] 1868 work was the first translation of this classic into the English language. The second version was made in 1891 by Prof. James Legge.[5] Finally, there are two translations by Dwight Goddard[6] – the first published in 1919 and the other in 1939.

The temporal distribution of the translations offers an opportunity of examining the extent to which the work of translators reflects the changes that the turn of the

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2   The analysis covers translations by English-speaking missionaries who served in China, regardless of whether the translations themselves were made during their Chinese service or after it.

3   Such an interest in Laozi's text is not confined to missionaries. Written in the 6th century BCE and consisting of only 5000 Chinese characters, it is the second most translated book in the world after the Bible.

4   At the beginning of his forty-five years of missionary career, John Chalmers (1825–1899) worked with James Legge in Hong Kong (Cordier 1900: 67). While Legge translated the Confucian classics, Chalmers made the first translation of the *Dao De Jing* into English. He also had an important role in translating the Bible into Classical Chinese, and wrote several lexicographical publications and works on the Chinese language (Anderson 1999: 123).

5   James Legge (1815–1897) spent over thirty years as a missionary in China. In this period, he undertook the monumental task of translating the Chinese classics. Upon his return to England, Legge became the first Professor of Chinese at Oxford, where he remained until his death. There he joined Max Müller's project *The Sacred Books of the East*, and published his translations of Confucian classics together with the new translations of Daoist texts as *The Sacred Books of China*. During his long missionary and academic work, Legge authored numerous other translations, studies on religion (especially comparative) and the Chinese language, as well as Christian texts. Arguably, Legge is "the most important sinologist of the nineteenth century" (Lao 1994: iii).

6   Goddard (1861–1939) differed significantly from his predecessors. This American priest went to China in 1894. During his initial years as a missionary, "he became increasingly frustrated at the failure of the Christian missions to accomplish their spiritual goals. He was convinced that although the Christian propaganda had been successful in influencing educational and social conditions it had failed in its purely religious aspects" (Starry 1980: 3). This set him off on an onerous spiritual quest, which would eventually lead to his conversion to Zen Buddhism in 1928. Goddard is best known for his anthology *A Buddhist Bible* which contains his translations of the fundamental texts of Mahayana Buddhism.

century, when Victorian complacency and superiority gave way to a more open and sympathetic outlook, brought to the Western worldview and the missionary enterprise.[7] My hypothesis is that the translations, dependent on their historical context, will exhibit a diachronic shift from the strategy of domestication to foreignization and be progressively more devoid of Christian influence. The analysis first focuses on the translation of the title, and then on the examination of the translators' general attitude towards the text as expressed in their introductions and commentaries. It then moves on to the discussion of the translation of two key Daoist concepts, *dao* and *de*, and finally explores English equivalents provided for some of the cultural references in the text. The scope of the analysis is, thus, clearly limited: in its focus on the authors' attitudes and translation equivalents of individual concepts, it does not pretend to a comprehensive comparison of translations, nor does it take into account their relative quality, as this would by far exceed the scope of this text. It is, however, hoped that the exploration of the patterns of foreignization and domestication and the authors' expressed attitudes will provide a revealing perspective for a better appreciation of the complexity of the identities that the missionary enterprise produced.

2.1 Different approaches to the translation of the title

The name commonly used for Laozi's text is 道 德 經 (*Dao De Jing*). *Dao* and *de* are the key concepts of Daoist philosophy which have no equivalent Western terms, while *jing* means a classic. Chalmers's edition offers as many as four translations of the title: The cover reads *The Speculations of "the Old Philosopher" Lau Tsze*, the half title *Tau Teh King*, and the title page *The Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality, of the Old Philosopher, Lau-tsze*. On the opening page, he offers yet another variant – "Tau Teh King; or the Classic of Tau and of Virtue." Legge's translation is published in the thirty-ninth volume of Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* series, together with the first part of Zhuangzi. The cover of the book reads *Sacred Books of the East: Texts of Taoism, Part I*. The title page of the publication is *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Taoism, Part I: the Tao Teh King; the Writings of Kwang-tze*. At the beginning of the translation, Legge gives "The Tao Teh King. Or the Tao and Its Characteristics." Both Goddard's versions are titled *Laotzu's Tao and Wu Wei*, and the opening page "Tao Teh King". (The term *wu wei*, a fundamental Daoist concept, is included in the name of the book as it is the title of Henri Borel's study of Laozi's philosophy, which accompanies Goddard's translation.)

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7 Goddard's unusual life is part of this cultural landscape. Although it can be argued that his second translation does not belong to the category of Protestant translations, its omission would be a deliberate simplification of the complex picture of missionary movement and identity.

All four translations incorporate the transliteration of the original into their titles, but they do this in different ways. Chalmers opts for creating a descriptive main title for his publication, in which he translates even Laozi's name (Old Philosopher), while Legge's choice is to echo the name of the Sacred Books series, relegating Laozi to the subtitle. This decision clearly was not a result of the publisher's editorial policy, since of the fifty volumes which make up the Sacred Books series, only Legge's translations were given a descriptive title, and all others are named after the texts they contain. Whereas both Chalmers and Legge provide a translation of the title of Laozi's text, the twentieth-century versions make a point of an exclusive use of transliterated Chinese terms. The diachronic movement from the strategy of domestication and striving towards making the title conform to the culture of the target language to the strategy of foreignization and retaining information from the source text is thus here clearly discernible.

2.2 Translators' introductions

All the translations come with introductions which provide valuable insight into the attitude of the translators towards the text. Chalmers gives a thirteen-page introduction in which he expresses his admiration for Laozi, calling him "*the* philosopher of China" (Chalmers 1868b: vii) and stating that "Confucius no doubt excelled all his contemporaries as a casuist, a ritualist, and a litterateur, but not more than Lau-tsze excelled him in depth and independence of thought" (ibid.). He gives an overall positive account of the "Old Philosopher," pointing to passages that could be interpreted in the Christian spirit and to the moral ideas in the book which are close to Christian virtues.

Legge includes a twenty-two-page preface and a forty-four-page introduction in his edition. His introduction is a work of serious scholarship, the result of a meticulous study of the history of the text, its extant and lost commentaries as well as contemporary scholarship on the subject, combined with his own thorough analysis. According to Julia Hardy (1998: 166), whereas he "avoided attempts to impose Christian theology onto [Laozi's] text", in both his introduction and commentaries which accompany each chapter he "made his sympathies clear and proclaimed Lao-tzu wrong about many things about which Christian doctrine was right, not actually interpreting the text but simply measuring it against preconceived standards" (ibid.). Similarly to Chalmers, he emphasizes Laozi's morality as the most valuable aspect of his philosophy: In his comment to the line "(It is the way of the Tao) to recompense injury with kindness," for example, Legge (1962a: 107) states: "[This] is the chief glory of Lao-tze's teaching, though I must think that its value is somewhat diminished by the method

in which he reaches it." For Legge, clearly, Laozi's greatest strengths lay in the places where his writings bore inferior resemblance to Christian thought. He is also unequivocal about favouring Confucianism over Daoism – the fact that he published his translation of Confucian texts twelve years before the Daoist classics is highly indicative, and his introduction leaves no room for doubt: while "[Confucius] recognized the nature of man as the gift of Heaven or God," "we can laugh at [Laozi's views on knowledge]" (Legge 1962b: 31), and "[Confucius] proved in the course of time too strong for Lao as the teacher of [the Chinese] people. […] [Daoism's] overthrow and disappearance will be brought about ere long" (ibid.: 33).

Goddard's 1919 version gives six pages of introduction and a two-page biographical note on Laozi. He begins his introduction with "I love Laotzu! […] I want you to appreciate this wise and kindly old man, and come to love him" (Goddard 1919b: 1). Similarly to his predecessors, he emphasizes the coincidences of outlook between Laozi's philosophy and Christianity, depicting him as someone who (despite all Goddard's sympathies) gave a still rudimentary expression to the truth that was brought to perfection in Christianity: "Laotzu saw in a glass darkly what Jesus saw face to face in all his glory, the Divine Tao, God as creative and redemptive Love" (ibid.: 6) and points out that "Laozi has much in common with Jesus and the apostolic times – when nonviolence, simplicity and quietness prevailed" (ibid.). A much less disparaging attitude than Legge's is obvious, and the significant equation of God with *dao*, which would be absolutely unacceptable for Legge, should also be noted.

In their introductions, all three translators point out the fallacy of the impersonality of the *dao* and Laozi's failure to envision a personal god. Chalmers (1868b: xv) writes: "Probably most readers will think it would have been well if he […] recognized a personal God as the highest existence, instead of placing an indefinite, impersonal, and unconscious Tau before Him and above Him." In his explanation of chapter 25, Legge (1962a: 69) asks

> Was he groping after God if haply he might find him? I think he was, and he gets so far as to conceive of Him as "the Uncaused Cause," but comes short of the idea of His personality. The other subordinate causes which he mentions all get their force or power from the Tao, but after all the Tao is simply a spontaneity, evolving from itself, and not *acting* from a personal will, consciously in the direction of its own wisdom and love.

Goddard (1919b: 3) is the mildest in his accusation; he tries to vindicate Laozi by stating that *dao* is so benevolent and wise as to be almost personal.

In his 1939 translation, Goddard added a new five-page introduction, in which he informs us that he has become a Buddhist and that he made the translation

with the help of a Buddhist-Daoist monk. There are no references to Christianity in this text, but he reprints the first introduction in this new version.

The authors' Christian attitude is noticeable in the first three introductions, but their axiological and affective evaluations differ: despite his scientific approach, Legge exhibits a pronounced bias towards Christianity and Confucianism and a lack of particular appreciation of Laozi and Daoism, whereas Chalmers and Goddard in his text of 1919 are comparatively less disparaging and reveal a much more positive attitude towards Laozi. Goddard's second text focuses entirely on Daoism and Buddhism.

2.3 Translations of philosophical concepts

Dao is the fundamental concept of Daoism and one of the most significant concepts in Chinese philosophy in general. Like other great philosophical, religious and mystical concepts, it does not lend itself to easy explanation. The basic meaning of the word is "way." For Laozi it is a name for the unnameable source of all existence which reason cannot fathom and words cannot hold, but without which nothing in the world of phenomena could exist. Zhuangzi describes it as follows:

> Tao cannot be regarded as having a positive existence. The name Tao is a metaphor, used for the purpose of description. To say that it exercises some causation, or that it does nothing, is speaking of it from the phase of a thing – how can such language serve as a designation of it in its greatness? If words were sufficient for the purpose, we might in a day's time exhaust the subject of the Tao. Words not being sufficient, we may talk about it the whole day, and the subject of discourse will only have been a thing. Tao is the extreme to which things conduct us. Neither speech nor silence is sufficient to convey the notion of it. When we neither speak nor refrain from speech, our speculations about it reach their highest point. (Legge 1962b: 15)

Such a concept is certain to put the translator to task, and the term has been variously translated as the Way, Reason, Providence, the Logos, and even God (Watts 1981: 40). In their introductions, all the Protestant missionary translators opt for the use of the original term and do not try to identify *dao* with some of the more familiar western concepts[8] (even though they do not always follow this in practice). Chalmers (1868b: xi) explains his decision in the following way:

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8   Unlike the Jesuits, who translated *dao* as God, Protestants were generally uneasy with similarities between Chinese religions and Christianity.

> I have thought it better to leave the word *Tau* untranslated, both because it has given the name to the sect – the *Tauists* – and because no English word is its exact equivalent. Three terms suggest themselves—the Way, Reason, and the Word; but they are all liable to objection. Were we guided by etymology, "the Way," would come nearest to the original, and in one or two passages the idea of a *way* seems to be in the term; but this is too materialistic to serve the purpose of a translation. "Reason" again seems to be more like a quality or attribute of some conscious being than *Tau* is. I would translate it by "the Word," in the sense of the Logos, but this would be like settling the question which I wish to leave open, viz. – what amount of resemblance there is between the Logos of the New Testament and this *Tau*, which is its nearest representative in Chinese.

In his translation of the opening chapter, Chalmers transliterates the word, but adds the unsuitable "reason" in brackets, which greatly impoverishes the meaning of this key Daoist concept. He only does so in this opening chapter, though. Elsewhere he keeps to the original, and in one place gives "Way" in brackets. Legge also gives a lengthy discussion of the word *dao* and how it should be translated and concludes: "The best way of dealing with it in translating is to transfer it to the version, instead of trying to introduce an English equivalent for it" (Legge 1962b: 15). Therefore, he too transliterates the word, and in some places uses Way, Method and Course in brackets along with the transliteration. Goddard (1919b: 3) writes in his introduction:

> The simple meaning of Tao is "way," but it also has a wide variety of other meanings. Dr. Paul Carus translates it, "Reason," but apologizes for so doing. If forced to offer a translation we would suggest Creative Principle, but much prefer to leave it untranslated.

In both his texts, he consistently uses only the transliteration of the term, offering additional explanations in some places.

The second part of the title of Laozi's book, and another vital concept of Daoism, *de* can be understood as the power of the *dao* in the phenomenal world. Guan Yin Zi writes: "it is never possible to master the *dao*. What we can master is not called the *dao*, but *de*" (Lisevič 2014: 16). Thus, *de* can be defined as "the realization or expression of the Tao in actual living" (Watts 1981: 107). Although often translated as virtue, "it is not virtue in the sense of moral rectitude" (ibid.). Chalmers consistently renders *de* as virtue, providing no explanation that would make the meaning of this complex concept clearer. Legge, aware of the difficulty of the term, keeps reminding the reader that it should not be translated as virtue, and varies his translation of the term greatly, but he does not give the original term along with his various versions, which is a definite drawback to his approach to the translation of this term. His translations include: attribute, attributes or

characteristics (of the Tao), the Quality, active force, manifestation of (Tao's) force, (Tao's) outflowing operation, virtue, and kindness. In both his translations, Goddard keeps to the original term *de*, also offering vitality, power or virtue along with *de* in some instances.

Therefore, when it comes to the concept of the *dao*, the translations are more or less uniform: all translators agree in principle that the method of foreignization should be adopted and leave the term in its original form, providing additional explanations in certain places. The situation is different with the concept of *de*: the older translations employ the method of domestication, and the newer ones that of foreignization.

2.4 Treatment of cultural references

The final element in this analysis are the equivalents Protestant missionary translators provide for concepts unique to Chinese culture: 玉 (*yu* – jade), 刍狗 (*chu gou* – straw dogs), 册 (*ce* – bamboo slips for counting), and 里 (*li* – 0.5 km). The special place of jade in Chinese culture dates back to the late Neolithic period: it has been revered as "the fairest of stones" and embodiment of the virtues of benevolence, integrity, wisdom, courage and steadfastness (Childs-Johnson 1998: 55). Chalmers translates it as gem or jewel, Legge as jade, Goddard in both his translations as gem or gems. Straw dogs of the fifth chapter of the *Dao De Jing* are objects made of straw in the shape of dogs, used as sacrificial offerings in the rite of praying for rain. When the rite is finished, they are discarded. Chalmers (1868a: 4) translates them as "sacrificial grass dogs (figures of grass made for a temporary purpose)," Legge (1891: 50) as "dogs of grass" and provides an explanation in the commentary, Goddard in his first translation gives "insignificant playthings made of straw; alike and unimportant" (1919a: 13), and in the later version "dogs and plants; equal value" (1939a: 27). Bamboo slips used for counting appear in chapter 27. Chalmers renders them as "arithmetic," Legge as "tallies," pieces of wood scored across with notches for the items of an account and then split into halves – exact equivalents of the Chinese bamboo slips. Goddard's first translation is "abacus," and his 1939 text gives "rules or diagrams." Finally, they translate the Chinese unit of measurement *li* (0.5 km or 0.3 miles) as follows: Chalmers and Goddard as mile, whereas only Legge leaves the original *li*. In this part of the analysis a departure from the expected pattern of domestication and foreignization is observed. Only Legge adheres to the principle of foreignization, whereas the other translations domesticate or paraphrase Chinese concepts, with Goddard, especially in his 1939 translation, exhibiting significant deviation from the original.

3 CONCLUSION

The religious attitudes and prejudices of the Protestant missionary translators of the *Dao De Jing* are generally not found in the translations themselves. What Julia Hardy said of Legge's translation applies to Chalmers's version and Goddard's first translation as well: they all avoided attempts to impose Christian doctrine onto the text. Their ideological presuppositions are visible in their introductions and commentaries, but their goal in translating was to present the text to the Western audience as faithfully as possible, and not to try to make it Christian or unchristian, to embellish or vilify it. In the introductions, a shift from a pro-Christian attitude can be discerned in diachrony, but it does not occur with the turn of the century as predicted. The translators' estimation of Laozi's value and their affective attitudes also do not fit into the expected pattern, with the second translator expressing the most unfavourable opinion. In the comparison of titles, though, the analysis confirmed the initial hypothesis. In the sphere of philosophical terms, the expectations were also to a large extent met, and a diachronic shift towards greater regard for the source culture can be discerned. The nineteenth-century translators, Chalmers and Legge, partially follow the principle of domestication when Daoist concepts are concerned: they find English equivalents for *de*, but leave *dao* in its original form. Goddard in both his translations systematically employs the strategy of foreignization, as he retains original Daoist terms. When it comes to the concepts specific to Chinese culture, Legge conscientiously adopts the strategy of foreignization, using *li* instead of mile, retaining jade where other translators use jewel or gem, and using tallies for bamboo strips. The analysis thus reveals his high regard for Chinese culture, but also his lack of particular esteem for Daoism, which is made plain in his introduction and commentaries as well as in his treatment of Daoist terms. Goddard's twentieth-century translations show the opposite tendency: while retaining the philosophical terms and doing them more justice, Goddard is not so careful with the cultural elements, revealing his preference for religious and mystical ideas over cultural contents.

In the encounter with the unknown which cannot or can only precariously be reduced to the familiar, acceptable and accepted, the missionary translator faced multiple dilemmas which sometimes probed deeply into the field of his personal identity: to what extent and in what way should a text so far removed from its intended readership be made approachable and understandable; where is the boundary between translation and interpretation; what is the responsibility of the translator and how to protect the reader from what is perceived as the potentially harmful influence of the text; should I be faithful to the text or to my faith, i.e., am I primarily a scholar or a missionary? The answers to these questions and the outcomes of these encounters are different, and sometimes altogether surprising,

as in the case of Dwight Goddard. Therefore, even though the translations of the Protestant missionaries do reflect the general end-of-the-century cultural shift and the transition of missionary work in China from proselytism in the initial phases to the increasingly secular character of its later activities, the fact that it is not possible to come to clear-cut answers even in such a limited selection of elements of analysis points at the complexity of the missionary migration movement and the identities it produced.

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Migration-related lexis in FraSloK

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Povzetek

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

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

0 INTRODUCTION

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

Based on the FraSloK French-Slovenian parallel corpus (Mezeg 2011) containing French newspaper articles and novels along with their Slovenian translations, published in the period from 1995 to 2009, this article[2] is, on the one hand, aimed at exploring the variety and frequency of use of migration-related vocabulary in French journalistic and literary discourse. Four novels were written by the authors who emigrated to France between 1984 and 1990, therefore it seems interesting to investigate whether they contain more migration-related words than those written by the authors who were born and have lived all their lives in France. On the other hand, we wish to examine the differences and similarities in translating a selection of words from the lexical field of migration so as to find out whether the translators opted for a nativised Slovenian word (one which is not felt as having a foreign origin) or decided to use a loanword (i.e. a word taken from a foreign language and at least partly naturalised) under the influence of the source language (for example translating the French word *émigrant* as *izseljenec* (a nativised Slovenian word) or *emigrant* (a loanword)). The translations from FraSloK will be compared to the set of translation equivalents given in the Grad French-Slovenian dictionary (1975), which is considered as obsolete but still represents the most comprehensive dictionary for this language pair, and to the frequency of use of these words in a reference corpus of original Slovenian newspaper articles (a part of the Gigafida corpus containing 663 653 098.9 words) and novels (a part of the Spook corpus that has 1 454 275 words). The comparison with reference corpus data will help us evaluate the strategies used by

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

2   This article was written in the framework of the research program P6-0265 financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).

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

1 METHODOLOGY

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

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

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

2 THE FREQUENCY OF MIGRATION-RELATED VOCABULARY IN FRASLOK

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

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

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

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

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

The relative frequency, calculated per 500 words, reveals a rare use of migration-related vocabulary in both subcorpora, particularly in the literary subcorpus where it is three times less used (0,31 occurrences per 500 words) than in the journalistic one (1 occurrence per 500 words). The use of the most frequent words, as can be seen in Table 1, varies in terms of lexical items and their frequency. In the journalistic subcorpus, where the choice and frequency of individual tokens is greater, stand out the words *étrangers* (*foreigners*, 115 occurrences), *intégration* (*integration*, 86), *étranger* (*foreigner*, 81), *immigration* (*immigration*, 73), *migrants* (*migrants*, 73), *réfugiés* (*refugees*, 63), and in the literary subcorpus *étranger* (*foreigner*, 56), *étrangers* (*foreigners*, 34), *exil* (*exile*, 26), *étrangère* (*foreign*, 24), *exilés* (*exiled*, 14) and *émigration* (*emigration*, 12).
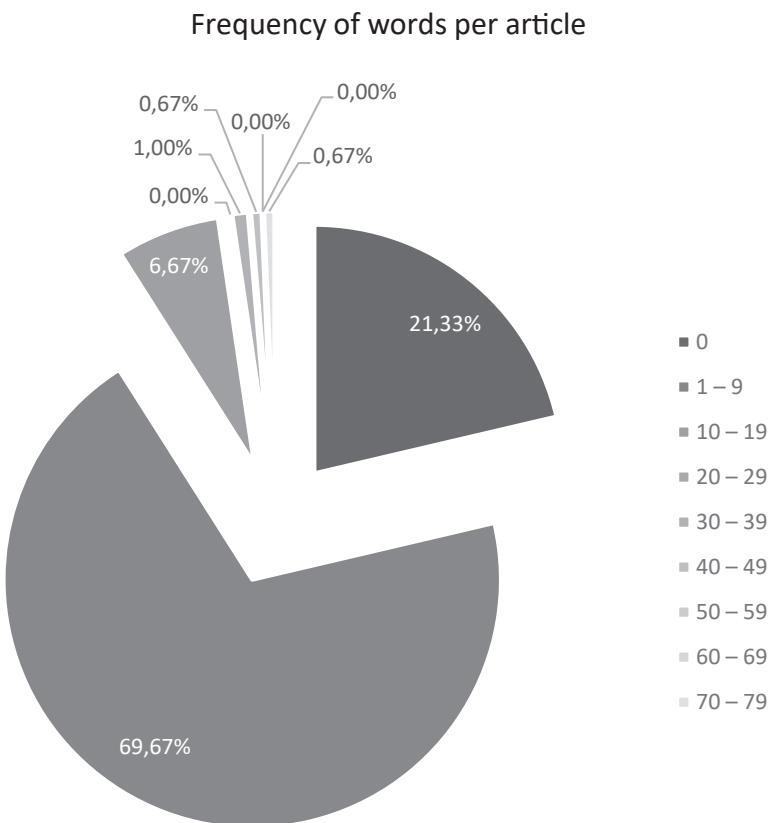
Moreover, as these data can only refer to the two subcorpora as a whole and do not tell us anything about the texts included, it seemed relevant to examine the distribution of the extracted migration-related words in individual newspaper articles and novels.

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

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

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

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

Frequency of words per article

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

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4   The article is entitled *Ministère de l'hostilité* (*Immigration stigmatisée*) (literally *The Ministry of hostility* (*Stigmatised immigration*)), https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2007/07/LIAUZU/14941.
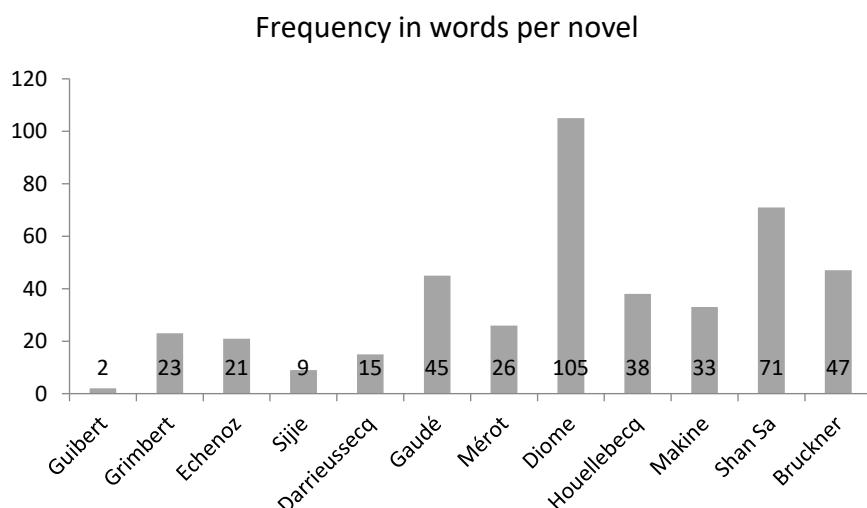
words represent 6.9 % of all the lexical words used and thus show that migration is an important (if not central, as it indeed is) topic in this article.[5] This statement can also be justified by the title of the article (see note 5). In fact, the topic of migration is evident from the titles of all 7 articles.

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

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

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

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

Frequency in words per novel

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

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

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

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

a) ASILE

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

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)[6]

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

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

The Grad dictionary proposes 4 equivalents for the French word *asile*, without any additional information as to their frequency, use etc. Only 3 were found in the Slovenian part of FraSloK: a loanword *azil* and their Slovenian counterparts *zatočišče* and *zavetišče*. The absolute and relative[8] numbers indicate that the loanword *azil* is much more frequent in newspaper articles (particularly translated ones but also original Slovenian), whereas in the novels we observe the predominance of the nativised Slovenian words *zatočišče* (in original Slovenian novels) and *zavetišče* (translated novels). The latter, however, also stands out in the corpus of original Slovenian newspapers where the difference between the use of loanwords and nativised Slovenian words does not seem noticeable.[9]

b) VISA

Grad dictionary: *vizum*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

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

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

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

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

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

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

c) MIGRANT(S)

Grad dictionary: no translation equivalent indicated

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

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

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

d) MIGRATION(S)

Grad dictionary: *preseljevanje*, *selitev*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

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

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

e) ÉMIGRATION(S)

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

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

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

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

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

f) ÉMIGRANT(S), ÉMIGRÉ(S)

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

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

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

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

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

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

g) IMMIGRATION(S)

Grad dictionary: *priseljevanje*, *priselitev*, *imigracija*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

corpus	imigracija absolute/relative f	priseljevanje absolute/relative f	izseljevanje absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	21/0.1	**32/0.2**	1/0.005
Gigafida articles	603/0.003	**3371/0.02**	1090/0.005
FraSloK novels	0/0	**1/0.004**	0/0
Spook novels	0/0	0/0	0/0

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

h) IMMIGRANT(S), IMMIGRÉ(S)

Grad dictionary: *immigrant*(*s*): *priseljenec*

Grad dictionary: *immigré*(*s*): *priseljenec*

FraSloK vs. reference corpora (Gigafida, Spook)

corpus	imigrant absolute/relative f	priseljenec absolute/relative f	izseljenec absolute/relative f
FraSloK articles	4/0.02	**60/0.3**	1/0.005
Gigafida articles	910/0.004	**9447/0.04**	4160/0.02
FraSloK novels	0/0	**7/0.03**	4/0.02
Spook novels	1/0.002	**4/0.008**	1/0.002

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

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

Table 2: Summary of the translation strategies used.

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

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

4 CONCLUSION AND PERSPECTIVES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Gerne exotisch, aber bitte mit heimischen Gewürzen! Zum Gebrauch von Exonymen und Endonymen in deutschsprachigen Slowenien-Reiseführern

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Povzetek

V prispevku analiziramo rabo eksonimov in endonimov za geografske pokrajine in krajevna imena v šestih nemških turističnih vodnikih po Sloveniji. Čeprav zaradi vse večjega pomena pisne komunikacije raba eksonimov upada, tega trenda v analiziranih turističnih vodnikih ni zaznati. Prav nasprotno – za dobrih 80% vseh slovenskih geografskih pokrajin je v prevodu vsaj enkrat uporabljen eksonim. Razloge za to lahko najdemo v specifiki besedilne vrste *turistični vodnik*, ki potencialne popotnike oskrbuje s kopico (ne)pomembnih podatkov, pa tudi v posebni jezikovni kombinaciji slovenščine in nemščine; ta dva jezika imata namreč dolgo skupno zgodovino, ko so slovenske pokrajine in kraji še imeli nemška imena. Že sam slovarski obstoj teh nemških imen je očitno dovoljšen razlog za to, da jih določeni avtorji uporabijo kljub dejstvu, da je zavedanje o njihovem obstoju v določeni jezikovni skupnosti že zdavnaj zbledelo.

Na podlagi analize je bilo nadalje mogoče ugotovili, da so predvsem onimični derivati pogosto izraženi z eksonimom, saj se tako lahko bolje prilagodijo morfološkim posebnostim jezika. Nekaterim turističnim novinarjem bi sicer lahko očitali, da nimajo izdelanega koncepta glede prevajanja geografskih imen – torej glede rabe eksonimov ali endonimov, vendar se v današnji združeni Evropi zdi čustvena obravnava njihove (ne)uporabe preživeta.

Ključne besede: interlingvalna alonimija, eksonimija, endonimija, onimični derivati, turistični vodniki

0 EINLEITUNG

> Was ist ein Name? Was uns Rose heißt,
> Wie es auch hieße, würde lieblich duften;
> So Romeo, wenn er auch anders hieße,
> Er würde doch den köstlichen Gehalt
> Bewahren, welcher sein ist ohne Titel.
>
> (Shakespeare 2016)

Nübling et al. (2015: 43) stellen fest, dass Eigennamen „heutzutage weniger denn je übersetzt [werden], gilt dies doch zunehmend als provinziell". Sie führen weiter, dass „Namen, v.a. im Dt., in ihrer endonymischen Originalform [belassen werden]" (ebd.), was sie als Zitate erscheinen lasse, deren „Namenkörper dabei unangetastet [bleibt]" (ebd.). Auch bei Back (2002: 68) finden sich diese Tendenzen bestätigt, indem er darauf hinweist, dass „die Vermittlung von Namensformen für außerhalb der Sprachgemeinschaft /…/ gelegene Objekte in steigendem Maß durch das Medium der Schrift [erfolgt], so dass für phonisch und morphologisch bedingte adaptive Veränderung endonymischer Namensformen zu exonymischen nur noch wenig oder kein Anlass besteht". Will man also einen Aufsatz zum Gebrauch von Exonymen und Endonymen in deutschsprachigen Slowenien-Reiseführern verfassen, so scheint die Existenzberechtigung eines solchen Vorhabens auf den ersten Blick obsolet geworden zu sein. Zieht man jedoch die Textsorte Reiseführer und das Sprachenpaar Slowenisch/Deutsch in Betracht, so wird man von einem interlingualen allonymischen Meer überschüttet, dessen Gebrauch und Ausmaß näher untersucht werden müssen.

Ein weiterer Grund, den Gebrauch slowenischer Exonyme und Endonyme in deutschsprachigen Texten zu untersuchen, liegt im pädagogischen Streben des Autors, Regelmäßigkeiten und Abweichungen aufzudecken, die den Studierenden die nötige Sicherheit und das angestrebte Sicherheitsgefühl vermitteln, wenn sie sich ans Übersetzen touristischer Werbetexte machen, deren Volumen nicht zu unterschätzen ist. Einen Meilenstein in dieser Richtung setzten bereits Klinar und Grah (2000), deren erste Auflage des Handbuches *Slovenski toponimi v nemški besedilih*[1] bereits 36 Jahre zurückliegt. Zwischenzeitlich veränderten sich nicht nur die politischen Verhältnisse, sondern auch die geographischen Gegebenheiten, die sowohl nach einer praxisbezogenen als auch wissenschaftlichen Auswertung ihrer Erkenntnisse verlangen. Nicht zuletzt müssen die Ergebnisse einer solchen Auseinandersetzung Übersetzern, Reisejournalisten, Verlegern, Studierenden und anderen Interessierten auch in deutscher Sprache zugänglich

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1   Dt. „Slowenische Toponyme in deutschsprachigen Texten".

gemacht werden, um sie für diese Thematik zu sensibilisieren und weiter anzuregen, ihre bisherigen Standpunkte zu überdenken.

Schließlich ist man als Pädagoge spätestens dann verpflichtet, einen Reiseführer genau zu untersuchen, wenn die Studierenden zu Übersetzungsklausuren neben den üblichen Handreichungen und Notizen zur Unterstützung auch solche touristischen Gebrauchsanweisungen mitbringen.

1 METHODE

Unter den auf dem deutschsprachigen Markt verfügbaren Reiseführern wurde für diese Studie anhand von im Vorfeld festgelegten Auswahlkriterien die Wahl auf sechs Titel beschränkt. Folgende Kriterien wurden dabei berücksichtigt: Der Reiseführer sollte das gesamte slowenische Gebiet umfassen, d.h. keine Stadtführer und keine auf bestimmte Regionen spezialisierten Ausgaben. Weiterhin wurden auch Wanderführer und Kulturreiseführer berücksichtigt, die den bereits oben formulierten Voraussetzungen entsprachen. Keine Übersetzungen bzw. deutschsprachige Ausgaben internationaler Verlage (z.B. Lonley Planet, Vis-à-Vis usw.) wurden in Betracht gezogen, auch keine deutschen Übersetzungen slowenischer Titel. Die zu analysierenden Titel sollten in der neusten und, falls vorhanden, mindestens in der zweiten Auflage vorliegen[2], damit eventuelle Fehler der vorherigen zwischenzeitlich korrigiert werden konnten. Generell lassen sich an längeren Texten Regelmäßigkeiten und Abweichungen zuverlässiger untersuchen; deshalb wurden umfangreichere Ausgaben den kompakteren[3] vorgezogen. In die engere Wahl kamen letztlich vier allgemeine Reiseführer der Verlage Michael Müller, Baedeker, Reise Know-How-Verlag und Trescher Verlag, dazu noch ein Wanderführer aus dem Bergverlag Rother sowie der einzige auf dem Markt erhältliche Kulturreiseführer ebenfalls aus dem Reise Know-How-Verlag.

Um vergleichbare und messbare Ergebnisse zu erzielen, mussten einerseits die zu untersuchenden Toponymgruppen bestimmt und andererseits noch weiter eingeschränkt werden, da nicht davon ausgegangen werden konnte, dass alle Titel dieselben Schwerpunkte setzen werden. Obwohl das Ziel der vorliegenden Untersuchung vorwiegend darin besteht, den Umgang mit Exonymen und Endonymen am Sprachenpaar Deutsch/Slowenisch zu analysieren, kommt man nicht umhin, wie Back (2002: 105) festzustellen, dass „die meisten Eigennamen außerhalb des Bereiches der interlingualen Allonymie stehen" und deshalb „am ehesten der Wortklasse der Realienbenennungen /…/ an die Seite zu stellen"

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2   Die einzige Ausnahme dazu war der Kulturreiseführer von Marco Kranjc, der auch neun Jahre nach seinem Erscheinen noch immer in der ersten Auflage vorliegt.

3   Es wurden daher Reiseführer ab einer Gesamtlänge von mindesten 180 Seiten berücksichtigt.

sind (Näheres zu Realien bei Markenstein 1998, Florin 1993, Kadrić et al. 2012: 34–39, Duden-Zweifelsfälle 2016: 328). Aufgrund dessen wurden alle zu untersuchenden Eigennamen, deonymische Derivationen und Bewohnernamen mit einem Stichwort (Tag) versehen, das sich an der von Wurm (2013) vorgeschlagenen Kategorisierung orientierte und für die Zwecke dieser Untersuchung noch erweitert wurde (z.B. [GEO, Landschaftsname], [GEO, Ortsname], [NOMEN, Bewohner]). Auf diese Weise wurden für den vorliegenden Aufsatz zwei Toponymgruppen gebildet: Länder- und Landschaftsnamen (Štajerska, Koroška, Gorenjska, Primorska, Dolenjska, Kranjska, Bela krajina, Prekmuje, Notranjsko) und Siedlungs- bzw. Städtenamen (Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Kranj, Piran, Ptuj, Nova Gorica). Innerhalb einzelner Kategorien wurde nach Regelmäßigkeiten gesucht, um schließlich abweichende Fälle herausarbeiten zu können, oder solche, die bislang wenig bis gar nicht berücksichtigt wurden. Für die statistische Auswertung wurden alle Titel mit Ausnahme des Slowenien-Reiseführers von Klaus Schameitat berücksichtigt, da letzter nicht in elektronischer Form vorliegt und dadurch mögliche Fehler bei der Datenerfassung vermieden werden wollten.

Der vorliegende Aufsatz soll auf folgenden Seiten einzelne, besonders interessante Beispiele in den Vordergrund stellen, sie mit den notwendigen theoretischen Erkenntnissen verknüpfen und zu weiteren Untersuchungen in diesem Bereich anregen.

2 ANALYSE UND DISKUSSION

Back (2002: 2) stellt sich bereits am Anfang seiner umfassenden Studie zur Übersetzbarkeit von Eigennamen die berechtigte Frage, ob man „sprachbedingte Formverschiedenheit von Eigennamen als etwas Selbstverständliches oder als etwas Auffallendes" ansehen soll und zieht den Schluss, dass es „wohl davon abhängen [wird], ob [man] einen Eigennamen vor allem als Wortschatzelement der diesen Namen jeweils benützenden Sprache ansieht oder eher als Individualbenennung, wo der Einzigartigkeit des Objektbezugs auch eine solche der Wortform zu entsprechen hätte". Gleichzeitig stellt er fest, dass nur „ein Bruchteil aller Eigennamen von sprachbedingter Formverschiedenheit betroffen" (ebd.), und alleine schon deshalb dieses Pränomen etwas Seltenes sei.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung wird jedoch zeigen, dass für das Sprachenpaar Slowenisch/Deutsch diese Erscheinung in deutschsprachigen Reiseführern keinesfalls selten oder gar marginal vorkommt; sie hat eher Regelcharakter, was einerseits auf die Textsorte Reiseführer zurückzuführen und teilweise mit den von Gorsemann (1995: 147) beschriebenen fremdsprachlichen Einschüben in Reiseführern zu vergleichen ist, die „die Kompetenz des Autoren als einem Vermittler

authentischer Darstellungen dokumentieren [sollen]", andererseits auf das gewählte Sprachenpaar, denn wie Back (2002: 63–64) konstatiert, ist jedes Sprachgebiet von einem „Exonymgürtel" umgeben, innerhalb dessen „für geographische Objekte, zum Teil sogar recht unbedeutende, des benachbarten fremdsprachigen Gebietes eigene Exonyme existieren". Einen ausgesprochen breiten Gürtel sieht Back (ebd.) „östlich und südöstlich der deutschen Sprachgrenze", obwohl er dem Deutschen generell viele Exonyme für wenig bekannte geographische Namen zuschreibt (ebd.: 84).

a. (Un)übersetzbare Eigennamen

Wenn Eigennamen (EN) zu ihrem Bezugsobjekt eine direkte und nur in seine Richtung verlaufende Verbindung herstellen, ohne dabei das Saussur'sche Signifikat zu bemühen und stattdessen dem Signifikanten seine für die Namen typische Monoreferenzialität bzw. Direktreferentialität verleihen (vgl. Nübling et al. 2015: 17–22), also „keine Semantik oder lexikalische Bedeutung [haben], sondern sie denotieren nur ein Objekt, gleich einem Etikett /…/ [und] sagen nichts über das Referenzobjekt aus, außer dass es X heißt" (Nübling et al. 2015: 29), so stellt sich zwangsläufig die Frage nach der grundsätzlichen Übersetzbarkeit der Namen. Kalverkämper (1996: 1019) schreibt dazu, dass „nur übersetzt werden kann, was im Ausgangs- wie im Zielcode Zeichen-Status und somit eine sozial verständliche, konventionalisierte, eine codierte Bedeutung(sseite) hat, [und deswegen] /…/ Eigennamen, deren semantische Bedeutung nicht transparent ist, nicht übersetzt werden [können]." Wie lassen sich dann semantisch leere Paare wie *Štajerska/ Steiermark, Laibacher Moor/Ljubljaner Becken, Celjer Feldherr/Cillier Altar* erklären? Kalverkämper (ebd.: 1019–1020) und Nübling et al. (2015: 42) beschreiben diese interlinguale Allonymie mit ähnlichen Worten; während der erste sie als „Namenvarianten" definiert, verstehen die zweiten sie als „verschiedensprachige Formen für ein und denselben Namen", beide stellen schließlich fest, dass bei solchen Wortpaaren keine Übersetzung, da auch keine semantische Übertragung, vorliege. Back (2002: 101) dagegen unterscheidet bei EN zwischen „eine[m] extensiven synchronischen und eine[m] restriktiven diachronisch-genetischen" Begriff des Übersetzens, wobei er den ersten nicht nur im Sinne einer möglichst konstant zu erhaltenden Wirkung im Zieltext versteht, sondern „sekundär auch das Ersetzen zwischen je einander funktional entsprechenden Text*bestandteilen*, eben aufgrund des auf sie entfallenden Beitrages zu der Gesamtfunktion des Textes" (ebd.: 100; Hervorhebung im Original). Daraus schlussfolgert er, dass „auch bei den interlingualen allonymischen Eigennamen von „Übersetzen" zu reden" (ebd.: 101) sei. Der zweite, restriktive Begriff des Übersetzens von EN ist nach Back (ebd.: 103) nur im Bereich jener EN anzusiedeln, die entweder „einen

appellativischen Bestandteil [enthalten]" (ebd.) oder auf deren „geschichtliches Zustandekommen" (ebd.: 102) Bezug genommen wird. Er wirft dem restriktiven Übersetzungsbegriff sogar vor, „den Kontakt mit der übersetzerischen Praxis [zu vernachlässigen] (ebd.: 103), weil seiner Auffassung nach „*Übersetzungs*äquivalenz zwischen zwei Wörtern nicht erst durch Gleichheit einer *Wortbedeutung* konstituiert [wird], sondern auch schon durch Gleichheit des bloßen *Objektbezuges* (wie es bei interlingual allonymischen Namenpaaren zweifellos gegeben ist) zustande kommen [kann]" (ebd.; Hervorhebung im Original).

Auf allonymische Namenpaare weisen sogar zwei Autoren der analysierten Reiseführer hin. Kranjc (2009: 70) erwähnt sie eher beiläufig, indem er feststellt, dass „jeder Ort und jede Gegend in Slowenien auch einen deutschen Namen [hat], um jedoch ein heilloses Sprachchaos zu vermeiden, wurden diese lediglich bei den größeren Städten und bekannteren Regionen erwähnt". Schameitat (2016: 13) dagegen widmet dem Thema sogar ein kleines Unterkapitel, was in Reiseführern für gewöhnlich nicht vorkommt:

> Geographische Namen werden im vorliegenden Buch, soweit es vertretbar ist, in der slowenischen Form angegeben. Dem endlich unabhängigen Staat wird man nicht gerecht, indem man an den altösterreichischen (deutschen) Bezeichnungen festhält. Eine konsequente Einheitlichkeit lässt sich indes nicht erreichen. Es gibt Namen, deren slowenische Form man gegenüber der gängigen deutschen kaum bevorzugen wird (z.B. Julijske Alpe/Julische Alpen); dies trifft bei etlichen Gebirgen zu, vor allem wenn sie die Landesgrenzen Sloweniens überschreiten. In anderen Fällen ist die deutschsprachige Bezeichnung höchstens noch in Österreich geläufig (z.B. Windische Bühel/Slovenske gorice) und trägt wenig zur Orientierung bei. In historischen Zusammenhängen ist es wiederum angebracht, ehemalige Namen zu verwenden (z.B. Laibach statt Ljubljana).

> Auch Sehenswürdigkeiten, Institutionen und Bauwerke muss man wohl auf Deutsch nennen. Namen von Straßen und Plätzen lassen sich zwar häufig übersetzen, aber es handelt sich gleichzeitig um Adressen, und deshalb belässt man sie am besten in der ortsüblichen Version. Nicht zuletzt gibt es noch gemischte Bezeichnungen: Postonjska jama, Grotte von Postojna oder gleich Adelsberger Grotte (unter Verwendung des deutschsprachigen Ortsnamens)? Ebenso: Cerkniško jezero, See von Cerknica oder Zirknitzer See? – In solchen Fällen wurde die mittlere der drei Formen gewählt (deutsche Sachbezeichnung mit slowenischem Ortsnamen in seiner Grundform). Wo es hilfreich oder gar nötig erschien, wurde in Klammern die Bezeichnung in der jeweils anderen Sprache hinzugesetzt.

b. Interlinguale Allonymie bei slowenischen Landschafts- und Städtenamen

Während Grah und Klinar (2000: 17) Exonyme für slowenische Ortsnamen (OrtsN) nur noch in historischen Kontexten zulassen und in Zitaten sogar vorschreiben, spricht sich Back (2002: 84) dafür aus, „auch solche Objekte, für die in einem Beziehungszusammenhang der Gegenwart eine endonymische Namensform zu bevorzugen wäre, in bestimmten Verwendungsarten mit einem Exonym [benennen zu müssen], etwa in fest gewordenen Ausdrücken der Geschichtsschreibung /…/, oder wenn ein Ort in zeitlichem Rückblick oder unter besonderem ethnographischem Aspekt genannt wird".

Bei den an Österreich grenzenden Landschaftsnamen (LandschaftsN) Koroško/a und Štajersko/a überlassen Grah und Klinar (2000: 2–3) der Übersetzerin bzw. dem Übersetzer ansatzweise freie Wahl, indem sie anmerken, dass für die innerhalb Jugoslawiens[4] gelegenen Regionen slowenische Namen, d.h. Endonyme verwendet werden **können**. Präskriptiver äußern sie sich zu österreichischen Bundesländern (Kärnten und Steiermark), sowie zu slowenischen geographischen, nicht historischen Regionen (z.B. Gorenjsko/a, Bela Krajina), die in deutschen resp. slowenischen Texten in ihrer endonymischen Gestalt verwendet werden sollen.

Die an sechs Slowenien-Reiseführern durchgeführte Analyse und ihre darauffolgende statistische Auswertung, bei der fünf in elektronischer Form vorliegende Titel berücksichtigt wurden, ergaben, dass alle Autoren in historischen Kontexten, die sie nicht vorrangig als Zitieren historischer Dokumente, Anführen von historischen Staatennamen und -verbünden bzw. als Angabe historischer Adelsgeschlechter verstehen, sondern vielmehr als jeglichen zeitlichen Rückblick, der mindestens in das Jahr 1945 zurückreicht, Exonyme oder Allonymenpaare verwendet haben.

(1) *Slowenien wurde besetzt und unter Ungarn, Italien und Deutschland aufgeteilt. Hitlers Anweisung lautete, „das Land wieder deutsch zu machen".* **Oberkrain** *und* **die Untersteiermark** *wurden eingenommen und dem Gau Kärnten bzw. dem Gau Obersteiermark angeschlossen.* (Kranjc 2009: 51; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(2) *Im Vertrag von Schönbrunn wurde* **Laibach** *1809 Hauptstadt der neu geschaffenen Illyrischen Provinzen, eines großen Territoriums, zu dem* **Krain***, Triest und Görz, Oberkärnten und Teile Tirols, Kroatiens und Dalmatiens gehörten.* (Schulze 2017: 48–49; Hervorhebung M.R.)

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4   Das zitierte Werk wurde zu einer Zeit verfasst, als Slowenien noch ein Teil des ehemaligen Staatenverbundes Jugoslawien war. Dies wurde auch in der letzten (unveränderten) Auflage aus dem Jahr 2000 beibehalten.

(3) *Die Grafschaft der Sanegg von **Cilli (Celje)** bildete in diesem Gefüge eine Ausnahme. Der **Cilli-Clan** widersetzte sich erfolgreich im 14. und 15. Jh. den Habsburgern, zudem wurde eine weitsichtige Heiratspolitik betrieben – große Teile Sloweniens und auch Kroatiens waren dadurch fest in ihren Händen.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 35; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Überdies wurden insgesamt 83,33% der ausgewerteten slowenischen LandschaftsN und 66,66% der OrtsN[5] in nicht historischen Kontexten mindestens einmal in ihrer exonymen Form verzeichnet.

(4) *Ein durstiger Tourist hält an einem Haus in **Oberkrain**. „Guten Tag", sagt er zum Hausherrn „könnte ich bitte ein Glas kaltes Wasser bekommen?" – „Natürlich," sagt der Hausherr „allerdings hat der Nachbar noch kälteres Wasser als wir!"* (Kranjc 2009: 70; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(5) *Weitere fürs Kajakfahren gut geeignete Flüsse sind in den Alpen die Sava Bohinjka, Dolinka und Savinja, in **der Inner- und Unterkrain** die Kolpa und die Krka.* (Schulze 2017: 117–118; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(6) *Mit ihrem Mantel schützt Maria die Gläubigen – die Bewohner von Celje und **Pettau**, Personen unterschiedlichen Geschlechts und Standes: Neben einfachen Menschen stehen gekrönte Häupter und Kardinäle, sehr schön mit ihren Gesichtszügen dargestellt.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 367; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(7) *Die Landschaft ist zumeist hügelig und reich bewaldet. Wichtige Städte in der **Steiermark** sind **Maribor (Marburg an der Drau)**, **Celje (Cilli)**, **Velenje (Wöllan)** und **Ptuj (Pettau)**.* (Kranjc 2009: 73; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Kranjc (2009: 77; Hervorhebung im Original) hält in seinem Reiseführer sogar fest, dass „man auf dem Stempel der Deutschen Botschaft noch die Inschrift „Deutsche Botschaft Laibach" [findet], doch hat sich der Name Ljubljana auch in Deutschland weitgehend durchgesetzt. In Österreich blieb man bis jetzt weitgehend bei der **deutschen Bezeichnung „Laibach"**, ähnlich wie man dort kaum von Maribor, sondern meist von „Marburg" spricht". Seine Beobachtung findet Bestätigung bei Back (2002: 64; Hervorhebung im Original):

Der Faktor der räumlichen Nähe oder Ferne zum Namensträger kann sich sogar *innerhalb* einer außenliegenden Sprache auswirken, insofern als bestimmte Exonyme mehr in solchen Teilen ihres Territoriums verwendet werden, die dem betreffenden auswärtigen namentragenden Objekt

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5 Berücksichtigt wurden folgende LandschaftsN und OrtsN: Štajerska (Steiermark), Koroška (Kärnten), Gorenjska (Oberkrain), Primorska (Küstenland, -region), Dolenjska (Unterkrain, Niederkrain), Bela krajina (Weißenmark, Weiße Mark, Weißkrain), Prekmurje (Übermurgebiet), Notranjska (Innerkrain), Ljubljana (Laibach), Maribor (Marburg), Celje (Cilli), Kranj (Krainburg) und Ptuj (Pettau).

benachbart sind, als in denen, die ihm ferner liegen. So ist z.B. das deutsche Exonym *Laibach* (Endonym: sln. *Ljubljana*) in Österreich geläufiger als in Norddeutschland.

Kategorische Forderungen von Grah und Klinar (2000: 2), innerhalb jugoslawischer (slowenischer, siehe Fußnote 4!) Grenzen seien konsequent Endonyme zu verwenden und bei OrtsN gebe es keine Exonyme (ebd.: 16), da sie ungebräuchlich seien (ebd.: 58), werden nur dadurch nachvollziehbar, dass „von jugoslawischer Seite in deutschsprachigen Veröffentlichungen kein Siedlungsname, auch nicht jener der Hauptstadt ‚Belgrad', in deutscher Namensform gebraucht [>wurde<]" (Back 2002: 98, Fußnote 2; Hervorhebung im Original).

Dass scheinbare interlinguale allonymische Namenpaare mit Vorsicht zu wählen sind, zeigen am deutlichsten folgende Beispiele:

(8) *Nostalgiezug – In der Saison fährt ein historischer Dampfzug einmal im Monat von* **Gorizia/Nova Gorica** *(Start 8.45 Uhr) kommend morgens gegen 9.23 Uhr in Richtung Bohinj und Bled und kehrt abends zurück.* (Köthe und Schetar 2017: 137; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(9) *Sehenswert ist allerdings der 1906 erbaute und schön restaurierte, klassizistische Riesenbahnhof aus der k. u. k.-Ära, ein unübersehbares Symbol für die große Bedeutung, die* **Nova Gorica/Gorizia** *früher hatte.* (Köthe und Schetar 2017: 145; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Heute steht der OrtsN Gorizia für die italienische, vormals auf Deutsch als Görz benannte Grenzstadt, demgegenüber ist Nova Gorica[6] eine erst nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg auf dem Reißbrett entstandene slowenische Retortenstadt, die es zur Zeit der k. u. k.-Ära noch gar nicht gegeben hatte. Darüber hinaus hat das damalige Jugoslawien nach dem Krieg quasi den Bahnhof der alten, damals noch einheitlichen Stadt sichern können, der Rest wurde später Italien zugesprochen, das infolgedessen einen neuen, auf italienischer Seite liegenden Bahnhof errichten musste. Auch nach Grenzwegfall zwischen den beiden Ländern bleiben beide Bahnhöfe in Betrieb, was für den sich am Reiseführer orientierenden Touristen unangenehme Konsequenzen haben könnte.

c. Artikelgebrauch und Genuszuweisung

EN sind aufgrund ihrer Direktreferenz auf nur ein Objekt per se definit; trotzdem unterscheiden sie sich im Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels stark voneinander.

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6   Umso interessanter ist die Verwendung allonymischen Namenpaares *Nova Gorica – Neu-Görz* bei Schulze (2017: 246), da es sich hierbei um eine der wenigen slowenischen erst nach 1945 gegründeten Städte handelt.

Die Duden-Grammatik (2016: 299–302) spricht diesbezüglich von primärer Artikellosigkeit, primärem Artikelgebrauch, sekundärer Artikellosigkeit und sekundärem Artikelgebrauch. Wenn alle Onyme definit sind, dann geht die Funktion des bestimmten Artikels über das übliche Definieren hinaus und muss unbedingt mit der Genuszuweisung verknüpft werden. Nübling et al. (2015: 73–77) sprechen in diesem Zusammenhang von „referentieller" (ebd.: 74) Genuszuweisung, d.h. dass sich „das Genus der meisten EN /…/ nur durch Kenntnis des Referenzobjekts [erschließt]" (ebd.). Da EN keine eigene Semantik haben, könnte man umgekehrt behaupten, dass das Genus und der Artikelgebrauch bei EN Aufschluss über ihre Identität liefern, die Artikellosigkeit bzw. der Artikelgebrauch in Verbindung mit dem entsprechenden Genus dienen als „Klassenmarker" (ebd.: 75).

Berücksichtigt man die obigen Erkenntnisse, so überraschen die erhobenen Daten umso mehr. Während in Deutschland alle Bundesländer mit Ausnahme des Saarlandes primär artikellos sind, werden in Österreich nur zwei Bundesländer primär mit Artikel verwendet, und zwar die Steiermark und das Burgenland. So nimmt es nicht wunder, wenn Grah und Klinar (2000: 5) für slowenische LandschaftsN primäre Artikellosigkeit, attribuiert jedoch sekundären Artikelgebrauch und Neutrum vorschlagen. Laut vorliegender Untersuchung werden slowenische LandschaftsN in ihrer endonymischen Form 50 Prozent häufiger mit Artikel verwendet als artikellos (20,6% primäre Artikellosigkeit gegenüber 41,2% primärem Artikelgebrauch). Bei ganzen 35,3% der LandschaftsN ist der Artikelgebrauch sogar schwankend (s. Beispiele 10, 11, 12) und bei 2,9% unbestimmbar (s. Beispiel 13).

(10) *__Gorenjska__ ist die wirtschaftlich stärkste Region des Landes, Industrie konzentriert sich auf den Raum um Kranj.* (Schulze 2017: 17; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(11) *Die wachsende Industrialisierung Sloweniens entwickelte sich zuerst __in der Gorenjska__.* (Kranjc 2009: 70; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(12) *Sie sammelten die Nussfrüchte in den Wäldern der Dolenjska, __Gorenjska__ oder der Štajerska und verkauften sie dann in gerösteter Form in den Städten der Habsburger-Monarchie, besonders in Wien.* (Kranjc 2009: 199; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(13) *Detaillierte Auskünfte und gutes Kartenmaterial zum N. P. Triglav, aber auch zur Bergwelt der __Gorenjska-Region__ und deren Touristenorten; zudem sehr schöne Ausstellung über die Bergwelt /…/ u. Fahrradverleih.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 111; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(14) *__Die Notranjska__ (Innerkrain) umfasst jenen Teil des Karsts, der sich vom Flusstal der Ljubljanica über die Hochplateaus von Nanos und Javorniki zum Snežnik (Schneeberg) erstreckt.* (Schulze 2017: 18; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Auch konnte beobachtet werden, dass der Artikelgebrauch realiter davon abhängig gemacht wurde, ob ein Exonym bzw. Endonym gewählt wurde.

(15) *Aktivurlaub wird groß geschrieben in **Gorenjska – der Oberkrain**.* (Köthe und Schetar: 2017: 58; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(16) ***Innerkrain** fehlt ein eigenes Zentrum, auf das die Bevölkerung sich eindeutig beziehen könnte. Aufgrund der Lage und Geschichte **Innerkrains** orientierte sich der westliche Bevölkerungsteil **der Notranjska** eher zur Adriastadt Koper hin, der östliche Teil blickt eher Richtung Ljubljana.* (Kranjc 2009: 70–71; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Die Analyse hat weiter gezeigt, dass 63,88% aller slowenischen LandschaftsN in ihrer endonymen Form feminin gebraucht werden (s. Beispiel 17), lediglich 8,33% neutral (vgl. das Zitat aus Grah und Klinar 2000: 5 weiter oben!), bei 13,04% ist das Genus bei ein und demselben Autor sogar schwankend (s. Beispiele 19, 20), in 30,43% der Fälle war das Genus nicht bestimmbar (s. Beispiel 21).

(17) ***Die Dolenjska** (Unterkrain) zieht sich vom Becken von Ljubljana bis zu den Flusstälern der Kolpa im Süden und Sava im Osten.* (Schulze 2017: 18; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(18) *Eine Ausnahme bildete **das Prekmurje (Übermurgebiet)** an der Grenze zu Ungarn.* (Kranjc 2009: 98; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(19) *Im Norden nach Kamnik hin ragen im slowenischen Kärnten, **dem Koroško**, die Felswände der Alpen steil in den Himmel, der Voralpenraum mit Hügeln, Weinbergen und vielen Flüssen, die slowenische Steiermark, Štajerska, zieht sich nach Süden und Osten hin und schließlich ragt ein Finger der subpannonischen Ebene aus Ungarn herein und umfasst Celje.* (Köthe und Schetar 2017: 276; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(20) *Gostilna Murko, /…/. Spezialitäten **aus der Koroška** wie Schlachtplatte; viele Busse.* (Köthe und Schetar 2017: 312; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(21) *Durch den Vertrag von Rapallo kamen die Küstenregion **Primorska** einschließlich Triests und des Socatals, sowie das westliche Innerkrain rund um Idrija und Postojna zu Italien; die Rapallogrenze von 1921 trennte ca. 400.000 Slowenen vom südslawischen Königreich.* (Wecker 2016: 21; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Sogar das Genus bei exonym verwendeten LandschatsN ist nicht einheitlich. So werden dem LandschaftsN *Krain* und seinen Komposita alle drei Genera zugewiesen.

(22) *Sie verbindet quer durch den Nationalpark zwei gänzlich verschiedene slowenische Regionen: das alpenländische **Oberkrain** und das mediterran geprägte Primorska.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 82; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(23) *Die alpenländische Stadt zählt mit ihren Vororten etwa 55.500 Einwohner und ist das Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftszentrum **der Oberkrain**.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 257; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(24) *In der ethnologischen Sammlung widmet man sich dem Alltagsleben **in der Unterkrain**.* (Köthe und Schetar 2017: 233; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(25) *Von Ljubljana südwestwärts erreicht man die Dolenjska /…/, **den Unterkrain**, im Norden mit Zentrum Novo mesto und dem malerischen Krka-Tal.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 313; Hervorhebung M.R.)

d. Deonymische Derivate

Im Bereich deonymischer Derivate und Konversionen (vgl. dazu Fleischer und Barz 2012: 317–319, Nübling et al. 2015: 61–63, 77–80, Lohde 2016: 180, 185–186) ist festzuhalten, dass mit Ausnahme einiger größerer Städte, die nicht selten in ihrer endonymischen bzw. exonymischen Gestalt konkurrierend vorzufinden sind, ihr Gebrauch entweder vermieden oder exonymisch ausgedrückt wird. Exonyme Derivate und Konversionen sind „als sprachliches Zeichen [offensichtlich] erheblich leichter zu handhaben, und zwar für Sender und für Empfänger" (Back 2002: 84), als ihr endonymes Allonymenpaarglied. Schematisch kann der Gebrauch so dargestellt werden:

	Exonym	vorwiegend Exonym	vorwiegend Endonym	Exonym und Endonym	Fremdwort	Vermeidung Umschreibung Komposita
Derivate auf -isch (LandschaftsN)	+					+
Derivate auf -er (LandschaftsN)		+				+
Derivate auf -er (OrtsN)				+		+
Bewohner (LandschaftsN)		+			+	+
Bewohner (OrtsN)			+			+

Deonymische Derivate auf -isch sind selten und finden ausschließlich in ihrer prädominanten attributiven Funktion Verwendung, deren onymische Basen durchweg Exonyme sind.

(26) *Sitzmöglichkeiten im **oberkrainisch** ausgestatteten Innenbereich oder auf der überdachten Terrasse.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 117; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(27) *Die Fülle der darin vereinten wissenschaftlichen, um scharfe Beobachtungen angereicherten Informationen bescherte Valvasor in der europäischen Geisteswelt den Beinamen »**krainischer** Herodot«.* (Schulze 2017: 82; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Grah und Klinar (2000: 8–15) weisen darauf hin, dass solche aus slowenischen LandschaftsN abgeleiteten Adjektive mit dem Suffix -er zu bilden sind, weiter schlagen sie vor, dadurch entstandene Hiate mit einer *von*-Konstruktion aufzulösen. Alle slowenischen Regionen lauten auf einen Vokal aus; daher ist das Zusammentreffen zweier Vokale bei Suffixbildungen auf -er unvermeidbar. Textsortenbedingt ist die Häufigkeit deonymischer Derivate und Konversionen in Reiseführern so hoch, dass ein rekurrentes Zurückgreifen auf Substitute stilistisch fragwürdig erscheint. Statt *von*-Konstruktionen werden oft Komposita (s. Beispiel 28), Possessivgenitiv (s. Beispiel 29) und andere präpositionale Fügungen (s. Beispiel 30) verwendet.

(28) *Eine **Prekmurje-Spezialität** ist Bograč, ein Eintopf aus Fleischstücken vom Schwein, Rind und Wild, hinzu kommen Kartoffeln u. v. a. viele Zwiebeln, manchmal auch Pilze.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 353; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(29) *Traditionelle Keramik wird kaum noch produziert, nur auf den Märkten **des Prekmurje** kann man mit etwas Glück schwarz lasierte Schalen und Teller bekommen, die typisch sind für diese Region und das angrenzende Ungarn.* (Köthe und Schetar 2017: 486; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(30) *Spezialitäten **aus dem Prekmurje** in einem gemütlichen Ambiente.* (Köthe und Schetar 2017: 47; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Es nimmt kaum wunder, dass einerseits Derivate aus einigen LandschaftsN gänzlich vermieden werden (z.B. für Bela krajina, Dolenjska und Primorska, sieht man von Komposita wie *Küstenort* oder *Küstenstädte* ab), andererseits jene für den LandschaftsN *Krain*, der in seiner Grundform ohnedies vorwiegend exonym verwendet wird, bei allen Autoren vorkommen. Es konnte lediglich eine endonyme Derivationsform aus slowenischen LandschaftsN erfasst werden:

(31) *Der Gutshof mit Storchennest am Dach birgt das Hotel Štrk (Storch) und ein Restaurant; hier gibt's feinste* **Prekmurjer Küche**, *auch leckeren Fisch, vom betagten Meisterkoch Branko Časar.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 353; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Deonymische Bezeichnungen für slowenische Bewohner auf *-er* und ihre unflektierten adjektivischen Konversionen werden entweder umschrieben oder gänzlich vermieden (s. Beispiel 32). Beziehen sich die Bewohnernamen auf slowenische Landschaften, so werden sie vorwiegend in ihrer exonymen Form oder als Fremdwörter verwendet (s. Beispiel 33), stehen sie dagegen für Städte, dann überwiegen Endonyme (s. Beispiel 34). Bei adjektivischen Konversionen konkurrieren Endonyme und Exonyme gleichermaßen (s. Beispiele 35, 36).

(32) **Ältere Einwohner Ljubljanas** *erinnern sich noch an ihn: Mit Hut und schwarzem Gewand flanierte er durch die Straßen der Stadt, das Haupt grüblerisch gesenkt.* (Schulze 2017: 79; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(33) *Kommt* **ein Štajerc (Steirer)** *zur Beichte und fragt den Priester: „Ist es eine Sünde,* **Štajerc** *zu sein?" Sagt der Pfarrer: „Na ja, eine Sünde nicht gerade. Aber schön ist es auch nicht!"* (Kranjc 2009: 73; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(34) *An seinen Ufern wurden Picknickplätze eingerichtet und am Wochenende fahren* **die Mariborer** *gerne hoch zur nahen Osankarica und wandern die 15 Min. auf Holzbohlen zum See herüber.* (Köthe und Schetar 2017: 461; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(35) *Am wichtigen Handelsknotenpunkt der von der Ostsee zur Adria führenden Bernsteinstraße (über Štanjel) und der Via Egnatia (s.u.) erbauten sie unter anderem im* **Laibacher Moor** *(südwestlich des heutigen Ljubljana) die Pfahlbausiedlung Emona.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 31; Hervorhebung M.R.)

(36) *Die Aussicht vor allem gen Süden und Osten ist fantastisch – wer mag, nächtigt hier, erlebt einen fantastischen Sternenhimmel und das Funkeln der Lichter von Kranj und weiteren Orten* **im** *breiten* **Ljubljaner Becken**, *zudem einen grandiosen Sonnenaufgang im Osten und ein Watte-Wolkenmeer über dem Bohinjer-Tal mit See.* (Marr-Bieger 2017: 484; Hervorhebung M.R.)

Besonders hervorzuheben ist die deonymische Konversion des OrtsN *Ljubljana* (s. Beispiel 36). In drei Reiseführern (Marr-Bieger 2017, Köthe und Schetar 2017, Kranjc 2009) wird durch apokopierte Suffixderivate auf *-er*, die als unflektierte Attribute bzw. als Bewohnernamen auftreten, der als störend empfundene Hiat vermieden. Auch bei deutschen OrtsN auf *-en* kann vor dem Suffix

-er das auslautende *-en* wegfallen (Bremen – Bremer, Emden – Emder, München – Münch(e)ner, Zürich – Zür(i)cher). Der den im Deutschen bevorzugten Trochäus fördernde Wegfall ist zwar rückläufig und oft nur noch dialektal zu beobachten, zudem wird dadurch gegen die angestrebte onymische Schemakonstanz – „die exakte Wiedergabe von Eigennamen" (Duden-Grammatik 2016: 200) – verstoßen (vgl. auch Duden-Zweifelsfälle 2016: 270, Nübling et al. 2015: 79, zum Wortakzent auch Eisenberg 2006: 138–149), abseits dessen ist der apokopierten Lösung eine akzeptable Anpassung an das deutsche morphologische und phonologische System zu bescheinigen. Allerdings gibt es vor allem in den Bundesländern Thüringen und Sachsen eine Reihe deutscher auf *-a* endender OrtsN (z.B. Apolda, Niederjahna, Oberfrohna, Mittweida, Görna, Hoyerswerda, Bischofswerda usw.), die trotz Zusammentreffens zweier Vokale nichtapokopierte Suffixderivate auf *-er* bilden (Apoldaer, Niederjahnaer usw.). Eine GOOGLE-Anfrage (11.09.2018) zu ihren apokopierten Pendants (Apolder, Niederjahner, Oberfrohner, Mittweider, Görner, Hoyerswerder, Bischofswerder) ergab immerhin mindestens einen Treffer für den jeweiligen OrtsN (aber auch 145 für Oberfrohner und sogar über 10000 für Hoyerswerder).

3 CONCLUSIO UND AUSBLICK

Mag heutzutage der Gebrauch von Exonymen noch so verstaubt und altbacken klingen (vgl. Nübling et al. 2015: 43) oder „gegenüber dem Gesamtbestand an Namensformen relativ zunehmend in die Minderheit und in einen Ausnahmestatus [geraten]" (Back 2002: 68), nimmt er in deutschsprachigen Slowenien-Reiseführern eine besondere Stellung ein. Dies liegt einerseits daran, dass „in Gestalt der Reiseführer /…/ Konglomerate von unterschiedlichen Themen [vorkommen], über die in der Regel sowohl wissenschaftliche wie populäre Einzelabhandlungen existieren" (Gorsemann 1995: 41) und worin „die verschiedensten Informationen /…/ zur Landeskunde, Kultur und Natur der beschriebenen Regionen, alles das, was der Tourist zum praktischen Zurechtfinden nicht braucht, wohl aber zur bildenden Unterhaltung, den Touristen [ermöglichen], ihren Urlaub in idealer Weise lohnend zu gestalten" (ebd.: 43). Andererseits liegt Slowenien neben Tschechien, der Slowakei und Polen in jenem geographischen Gürtel, in dem das Deutsche historisch bedingt auf zahlreiche Exonyme zurückgreifen kann, in „[deren] Kenntnis und [dessen] Gebrauch der sprachlich geformte Wissensbesitz eines Gebildeten zum Ausdruck kommt" (Back 2002: 73). Trotz eines allgemein festgestellten Exonymenschwunds, diesem seine Daseinsberechtigung zu entziehen (vgl. Klinar und Grah 2000: 2,16,58), wäre gleichermaßen sachlich wie moralisch falsch. „Denn [es gehört] /…/ zu den Funktionen jeder Einzelsprache, ihrer Sprachgemeinschaft tendenziell den

Kosmos aller begegnenden Erscheinungen mit spracheigenen lexikalischen Mitteln zu erschließen" (Back 2002: 71) sowie es notwendig ist, offene sprachpolitische und ortholinguistische Fragen zwischen zwei Sprachgemeinschaften einvernehmlich zu lösen. Es wäre nämlich ein Zeichen ungenügender kritischer Grundhaltung, den Österreichern das Recht auf ihre exonymen Formen für slowenische Landschafts- und OrtsN zu verweigern und sich gleichzeitig für zweisprachige Ortstafeln in Kärnten einzusetzen.

Man muss nicht jeden exonymen Gebrauch gutheißen, primär wenn er das Ergebnis einer redaktionellen Entscheidung ist, alle slowenischen Landschafts- und OrtsN systematisch exonym und endonym einzuführen, zumal „in den Fällen schwankenden Namengebrauches es meist nicht möglich [ist], auf das Kriterium der muttersprachlichen Kompetenz /…/ zu rekurrieren, weil eine solche Kompetenz sich nicht auf lexikalische Randgebiete fachterminologischen Charakters erstreckt" (Back 2002: 79). Gleichzeitig gibt es aber auch Autoren, die unter Verzicht auf onymische Derivate vom Exonym-Gebrauch weitgehend absehen oder dafür dann doch auf exonyme Basen zurückgreifen. Gerade das grundsätzliche Fehlen endonymer Derivate – einige größere Städte ausgenommen – deutet darauf hin, dass Flexionsformen noch immer ‚exonymaffiner' sind als ihre nicht flektierten Grundformen.

Viele Doubletten in Form allonymischer Paarglieder sowie schwankender Genus- und Artikelgebrauch in ein und demselben Reisführer rufen nach zwingend notwendigen Veränderungen im redaktionellen Prozess, die den Autoren und Autorinnen den nötigen fachsprachlichen Support und eindeutige interne Richtlinien zur Verfügung stellen würden, die sich an den neuesten Erkenntnissen der Sprach- und Übersetzungswissenschaft orientieren. Der Einwand, dass solche Vorschläge im Bereich der Sprachlenkung anzusiedeln sind, ist hinfällig, da jede Entscheidung für bzw. gegen Exonyme und Endonyme unter anderem „mit Fragen von Politik und Ideologie [verknüpft ist]" (Back 2002: 78–79). Infolgedessen ist es zweifelsohne von Vorteil, solche Entscheidungsfindungen nicht einem einzelnen Autor oder Autorenpaar zu überlassen.

Die durchgeführte Studie warf gleichzeitig neue Fragen auf, die es in Zukunft zu untersuchen gilt. Neben anderen Toponymgruppen wäre es besonders interessant, auch andere nichtonymische Realien einzuschließen. Eine vergleichende Studie deutscher Originaltitel mit den von slowenischen Verlagen veröffentlichten und ins Deutsche übersetzten Reiseführern könnte aufschlussreiche Überschneidungen und Abweichungen im Gebrauch von Exonymen und Endonymen aufzeigen. Allen untersuchten Reiseführern ist gemein, dass sie slowenische, einfach ins Deutsche zu übersetzende Ausdrücke (Fremdwörter) verwenden, die nicht zur Gruppe der Realien gezählt werden können – man könnte sie analog zu falschen Freunden „falsche Realien" nennen – und deren Gebrauch insofern

für weitere Forschungsvorhaben interessant wäre, als er textsortenspezifisch eine appelative Funktion zu erfüllen scheint, die den Fremdwörtern in Werbetexten bescheinigt wird (mehr dazu in Janich 2005: 109–117).

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Interkulturelle Speisekarten und gastronomische Grüße aus Zadar

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Povzetek

Gastronomija je pogosto zanimiv način spoznavanja druge kulture. Drugačne jedi in novi okusi pritegnejo marsikoga, da se poda na tuje in tam odkrije kulinarično raznolikost druge dežele. Avtorica na primeru jedilnikov hrvaškega mesta Zadar analizira, katere tuje jedi so postale del dalmatinske kuhinje. Poleg tega skuša ugotoviti, ali so v jedilnikih na razumljiv in primeren način podane informacije o ponudbi restavracij glede domačih jedi, ali prevodi le-teh tujim gostom nudijo dovolj informacij in če so dovolj privlačni.

Ključne besede: gastronomija, kulturni in jezikovni stik, prevajalec, jedilnik, funkcionalna prevodna teorija

0 EINLEITUNG

Die nationale Küche und die Lebensmittel sind oft der interessanteste Weg, einen Einblick in eine andere Kultur zu gewinnen. Wenn eine Rezeptur oder ein Gericht als Landesspezialität gilt, wäre ihr Ruf ohne interkulturellen Austausch höchstwahrscheinlich nicht zustande gekommen. Die nationalen Küchen wurden sehr oft von vielen Einflüssen geprägt. Als ein gutes Beispiel kann man das Gericht *Wiener Schnitzel* nennen. Es hat seinen Ursprung nicht in Wien, sondern in Venedig, weil die italienischen Köche schon im 16. Jahrhundert Fleisch in Weißbröseln bucken. Nach der Legende kam das Schnitzel nach Österreich Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, und zwar durch den österreichischen Feldmarschall Radetzky. Heutzutage ist es eine der bekanntesten österreichischen Spezialitäten[1].

In ihrer langjährigen Geschichte wurden die kroatischen Regionen von Ungarn, Venezianern, Österreichern, Türken und Franzosen beherrscht und all diese Nationen hinterließen ihre Spuren in der kroatischen Küche. Die Kroaten haben viele fremde Speisen und fremde Einflüsse angenommen und ihnen ihre eigene kulinarische Ausprägung gegeben.

In dieser Abhandlung wird am Beispiel der aktuellen Speisekarten der Stadt Zadar analysiert, welche Speisebezeichnungen, die heute als dalmatinische Spezialitäten und kroatische Nationalspeisen gelten, aus fremden Sprachen entlehnt wurden. Es wird weiterin analysiert, welche Übersetzungsverfahren bei der Translation dieser nulläquivalenten kroatischen Kultureme verwendet wurden und ob dabei der Translatskopos realisiert wurde.

1 ENTLEHNUNGEN IM KROATISCHEN

Unter Entlehnung (*Lehngut, Lehnwort, loan-word, borrowing, borrowed word, import, emprunt, parola importata*) verstehen wir die Übernahme fremden Sprachmaterials in die jeweilige Muttersprache. Die Entlehnung erfolgt beim Sprachkontakt zweier Völker und Sprachen und die Lehnwörter passen sich in starkem Maße oder ganz ihrer „Gastsprache" an (vgl. Simeon 1969: 112–113).

Wegen seiner geographischen Lage und der geschichtlichen Ereignisse war Kroatien verschiedenen kulturellen und sprachlichen Einflüssen ausgesetzt. Kontakte mit der venezianischen, deutschen, österreichischen, ungarischen und türkischen Bevölkerung hatten wichtige Folgen für das sprachliche Lehngut im Kroatischen.

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1 Die österreichische Küche. https://www.austria.info/at/aktivitaten/essen-und-trinken/die-osterreichische-kuche (Zugriff am 1.3.2018)

1.1 Entlehnungen aus dem Deutschen im Bereich der Gastronomie

Kroatien war über mehrere Jahrhunderte politisch und kulturell mit dem Habsburgerreich verbunden und dies hatte Folgen insbesondere in der Sprache hinterlassen. Besonders der Wortschatz aus den Bereichen der Verwaltung und des Militärs, der Technik und des Handwerks, der Wohn- und Lebenskultur wurde mit vielen Germanismen bereichert (vgl. dazu Ivanetić in Stojić 2009: 99–107).

Es gibt mehrere Faktoren, die die Übernahme deutscher Entlehnungen begünstigen. Von 1527 war Kroatien ein Teil der Habsburgermonarchie und diese politische Gemeinschaft dauerte bis zum Zerfall der österreich-ungarischen Monarchie im Jahre 1918.

Im 17. Jahrhundert wurde die sog. Militärgrenze (kroat. *Vojna krajna*) errichtet, die sich größtenteils durch kroatisches Gebiet erstreckte und ebenfalls den kroatisch-deutschen Bilingualismus begünstigte (vgl. Piškorec 2005: 56, zit. nach Ivanetić in Stojić 2009: 100).

Im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert kam es zu einer geplanten und systematischen Kolonisation Nord- und Ostkroatiens. Die Einwanderer aus Franken, Lothringen, Oberrhein, Schwaben, Tschechien, Mähren und Österreich hatten einen großen Einfluss auf die Sprache, die durch viele deutsche Lehnwörter bereichert wurde (vgl. dazu Štebih 2009: 92; Rittig-Beljak 2003: 83).

Die Entlehnungen aus dem Bereich der Ess- und Trinkkultur, die in die kroatische Sprache aufgenommen und an ihre Regeln angepasst wurden, sind beispielsweise folgende: *aufšnit* (dt. *Aufschnitt;* kroat. *hladni narezak*); *fiš* (dt. *Fisch;* kroat. *riblji paprikaš*); *karmenadl* (dt. *Karbonade;* kroat. *meso od rebra*); *knedla* (dt. *Knödel;* kroat. *valjušak, okruglica*); *špek* (dt. *Speck*; kroat. *slanina*) (vgl. dazu Ivanetić in Stojić 2009: 102-106; Rittig-Beljak 2003: 55-68).

Wiesinger (1998: 27, zit. nach Štebih 2009: 92) betont, dass der für *Österreich* charakteristische Wortschatz alle Lebensbereiche betrifft, sich jedoch besonders auf dem Gebiet der Verwaltung und im gastronomischen Bereich mit Bezeichnungen für Früchte, Gemüse, Lebensmittel, Speisen, Speisenzubereitung und Küchengeräte häuft. Štebih (2009: 93) verwendet für die Lehnwörter *österreichischer* Herkunft den Begriff *Austriazismen* und führt folgende Beispiele an: österr. *Eingemachtes* – kroat. *ajgemahtes, ajngemaht, ajngemahtes, ajnmokc, angmohec*; österr. *Kapuziner* - kroat. *kapuciner*; österr. *Tascherl, Tatschkerl* – kroat. *tačrkli, taški, tašrli*; österr. *Struckel* - kroat. *štrukal, štruklja, štrukel, štrukelj, štrukljec,* usw.

1.2 Entlehnungen aus dem Italienischen im Bereich der Gastronomie

Das gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Leben an der adriatischen Ostküste, in Istrien, Dalmatien und Dubrovnik wurde vom romanischen Element geprägt. Dalmatien stand vier Jahrhunderte lang (1420-1797) unter der Herrschaft der Republik Venedig und die dalmatinischen Städte Dubrovnik, Split und Zadar waren kulturelle Zentren mit bilingualer Bevölkerung (vgl. Štebih 2009: 95−96).

Die heutigen italienischen Lehnwörter an der adriatischen Küste stammen aus dem venezianischen Dialekt, der sich sehr stark von seiner heutigen Form unterschied. Vom 16. Jh. an wurde das Venezianische parallel mit dem Toskanischen gebraucht, das zunehmend an Wichtigkeit gewann und letztendlich zur Kultursprache wurde.

Die Entlehnungen aus dem Venezianischen und Italienischen im Bereich der Gastronomie sind beispielsweise *kaneloni* (ven. *cannelloni*); *njoki* (ven. *gnocchi*); *makaruni* (ven. und ital. *macaròni*); *panceta* (ven. *panzèta); pršut* (ital. *prosciutto); pàšta šùta* (ital. *pastasciùtta*).

1.3 Entlehnungen aus dem Ungarischen im Bereich der Gastronomie

Die meisten Ungarismen wurden im Zeitraum vom 13. bis 17. Jahrhundert entlehnt. Der ungarische Einfluss im Kroatischen wurde im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert immer schwächer. Zusammen mit den Speisen entlieh man auch ihre Namen (ung. *Dobostorta* - kroat. *doboštorta;* ung. *Gulyás* - kroat. *gulaš;* ung. *Lepény* - kroat. *lepinja*) (vgl. Štebih 2009: 94).

1.4 Entlehnungen aus dem Türkischen im Bereich der Gastronomie

Das Türkische hatte oft eine vermittelnde Rolle bei der Übernahme arabischer und persischer Wörter. In die kroatische Gastronomie importierte man *baklava* (tür.; arab. *bāqlawa), ćufte* (tür. *köfte<kūfte); sarma* (tur. *sarma), usw.

2 KORPUS UND METHODISCHE VORGEHENSWEISE

Das Korpus der vorliegenden Analyse machen 112 gastronomische Kultureme aus, die 30 Speisekarten der Stadt Zadar entnommen wurden. Die kulturspezifischen kroatischen Speisebezeichnungen wurden manuell ausgewählt und bei der Überprüfung ihrer Etymologie wurden folgende Wörterbücher verwendet: *Glosar kuhinjske i kulinarske terminologije romanskog podrijetla u splitskome dijalektu (2004), Rječnik stranih riječi: tuđice i posuđenice (2007).* Die Begriffe wurden zusätzlich auf der Webseite des Portals *Hrvatski jezični portal* aufgesucht[2].

Es wurde weiters analysiert, welche Übersetzungsverfahren bei der Übertragung dieser nulläquivalenten Kulinaria ins Deutsche verwendet wurden und ob der Translatskopos dabei realisiert wurde. Jedes Übersetzungsverfahren wird mit einem ausgewählten Beispiel veranschaulicht und kommentiert. Am Beispiel der authentischen Ausgangs- und Zieltexte Zadarer Speisekarten wird gezeigt, ob der Translatskopos mit informativer und appelativer Funktion realisiert wurde. Für jedes der angeführten Beispiele wird ein Vorschlag einer funktionalen Übersetzung nach den Ansätzen der Skopostheorie gegeben. Um die ursprünglichen Bedeutungen der kroatischen gastronomischen Kultureme leichter nachvollziehen zu können, wurden in die Analyse zusätzlich Kochbücher einbezogen, in denen die Informationen über die Zubereitung und das Servieren der traditionellen dalmatinischen Speisen zu finden sind. Die Analyse der angewandten Übersetzungsverfahren wird im 9. Kapitel dieser Arbeit präsentiert.

Im Folgenden werden die Ergebnisse unserer Recherche nach entlehnten Lexemen am Beispiel der Kulinaria Zadarer Restaurants kommentiert.

3 ENTLEHNUNGEN AM BEISPIEL VON SPEISEKARTEN DER STADT ZADAR

Die Analyse der Entlehnungen gastronomischer Kultureme an einem breiteren Muster von 112 Einträgen hat ergeben, dass die kulturspezifischen Kulinaria in einer überwiegenden Zahl aus dem Venezianischen und Italienischen stammen. Von der Gesamtzahl der analysierten Kultureme wurden 106 Belege romanischen Lehnguts gefunden (z.B. *Pršut* - ital. *prosciutto*; *File bakalara u umaku od kapara* – ven. *bacalà*; ital. *baccalà*; *Brudet od hobotnice s povrćem* – ven. *broèto de pesse*; *Fratar na lešo* - ital. *lesso* und *lésso*; Pašticada - ven. *pastizzo, pastizzar*; ital. *pasticcio*;

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2   Hrvatski jezični portal. http://hjp.znanje.hr/ (Zugriff am 25.2.2018)

Rožata – ven. *rosada* [*de late*]; *Slani inćuni* – ven. *incio*; *Dalmatinska bržolica* – ven. *briſola, brisiòla, Manestra* – ital. *minestra, usw.*)[3].

Die kulturspezifischen Begriffe, die den anderen Fremdsprachen entlehnt wurden, sind in den Speisekarten Zadarer Restaurants sehr selten. Im analysierten Korpus wurden folgende Beispiele gefunden: *Špek domaći* – dt. *Speck*; *Gulaš s keljom* – ung. *gulyás*; *Šunka u kruhu* – dt. *Schinken*; *Krafni* – dt. *Krapfen*. Diesen Beispielen werden die folgenden zwei hinzugefügt, in denen nur ein Bestandteil des analytischen gastronomischen Namens aus dem Französischen entlehnt wurde: *Poširane rolice brancina* – franz. *pocher*; dt. *poschieren*; *Marinirani janjeći kotlet punjen pršutom* – franz. *côtelette*.

Dieses Ergebnis ist der beste Beweis des Einflusses der romanischen Zivilisation in Dalmatien. Die Sprach- und Kulturkontakte zwischen der kroatischen und italienischen Adriaküste waren besonders zur Zeit der Republik Venedig sehr fruchtbar. Die Namen vieler Gerichte der adriatischen Küche, die heute zu den kroatischen Nationalgerichten gezählt werden, stammen gerade aus dem Venezianischen. Die Dalmatiner haben die köstlichen und oft simplen Speisen der italienischen Küche angenommen und ihnen mit ihren eigenen Ingredienzien, Kräutern, Ölen eine eigene kulinarische Note gegeben. Die dalmatinische gastronomische Kultur wurde von der fremden Esskultur, aber auch von vielen autochthonen Speisen (z.B. *vitalac, kaštradina, tingul*) und Zubereitungsweisen geprägt (z.B. die Zubereitung der Speisen *unter der Backglocke* (kroat. *ispod peke*) oder am Spieß (kroat. *na ražnju*) (usp. Begonja 2016: 200−205).

Die *Liste der autochthonen kroatischen Gerichte*[4], die von dem kroatischen Ministerium für Tourismus erstellt wurde, zeigt, dass es viele Kultureme aus dem Bereich der Gastronomie gibt, die aus anderen Fremdsprachen entlehnt wurden (z.B. *Švargl* – dt. *Schwartenmagen*; *Šunka u kruhu* – statt njem. – dt. *Schinken*; *Arambašići* – tür. *harami başı*, usw.)[5]. Da in den Restaurants der Stadt Zadar vorwiegend viele typisch dalmatinische Speisen angeboten werden, wurden die genannten regionalen Gerichte in dem analysierten Korpus nicht verzeichnet.

4 TERMINI DER KULTURSPEZIFIK

Die Kulturspezifik wird von verschiedenen Theoretikern unterschiedlich gedeutet und benannt. Hansen (1996: 63) zählt zu den *Kulturspezifika*, die sie auch

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3   Die Etymologie dieser Lexeme wurde in Šimunković in Kezić (2004); Klaić (2007) und auf der Webseite *Hrvatski jezični portal* (http://hjp.znanje.hr/) überprüft.

4   Die *Liste der autochthonen kroatischen Gerichte*, die vom kroatischen Ministerium für Tourismus erstellt wurde, kann man auf der folgenden Webseite sehen: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2011_06_60_1332.html

5   Die Etymologie dieser Lexeme wurde auf der Webseite *Hrvatski jezični portal* (http://hjp.znanje.hr/) überprüft.

Kultureme oder *kulturgebundene Elemente* nennt, sprachliche und nicht-sprachliche Elemente der AT-Kultur, die in anderen Sprachräumen „entweder unbekannt, fast unbekannt oder anders definiert sind", weil sie sich auf volks- oder landesspezifische Gegenstände oder Erscheinungen einer Sprachgemeinschaft beziehen.

Kutz (1981: 109) spricht von *Realienbenennungen*, die als „sprachliche Kodifizierungen der in einer bestimmten Phase gesellschaftlicher Entwicklung entstandenen spezifischen Erscheinungen des gesellschaftlichen (wirtschaftlichen, politischen, kulturell-geistigen) Lebens einer historisch gewachsenen Kommunikationsgemeinschaft" gelten.

Wörter für „Gegenstände, Begriffe und Situationen, die in der praktischen Erfahrung der Träger einer anderen Sprache einfach nicht vorhanden sind", werden auch von Barchudarow (1979: 101) *Realien* genannt. Seine Beispiele sind Wörter für verschiedene Gegenstände der materiellen und geistigen Kultur, z.B. Nationalgerichte (*Eisbein*, *muffin*, *toffee*, *butter-scotch*); Trachten (*Dirndl*); Tänze (*Schuhplattler*, *Rheinländer),* Volksdichtungsformen (*Knittelvers*).

In Anlehnung an Witte (2000: 99), die Kultureme als „gesellschaftliche Phänomene, die von jemandem in einer gegebenen Situation als relevante Kulturspezifika angesehen werden" definiert, wird in der vorliegenden Abhandlung der Begriff *gastronomisches Kulturem* verwendet.

5 KULTUREME ALS ÜBERSETZUNGSPROBLEM

Kultureme haben keine oder nur eine teilweise Entsprechung im Wortschatz der Zielsprache. Die kroatischen Nationalgerichte (z.B. *škripavac, ličke police, kaštradina*) werden zur Gruppe der Lexeme gezählt, die in der deutschen Sprache kein adäquates Äquivalent haben. Barchudarow (1979: 100) bezeichnet „das völlige Fehlen eines Äquivalents für eine bestimmte Einheit der Ausgangssprache im Wortschatz der Zielsprache" mit dem Begriff „äquivalentlose Lexik".

In der wissenschaftlichen Literatur wird das Thema *Äquivalenz* sehr ausführlich behandelt (z.B. Prunč 2001, Koller 2004, Stolze 2011).

Da der vorliegende Artikel die Nulläquivalenz auf der lexikalischen Ebene thematisiert, werden im Folgenden die Ausführungen über die denotative Äquivalenz von Koller (2004) und die Aufteilung der Null-Äquivalenz von Kutz (1981) näher dargestellt.

Bei der denotativen Äquivalenz von Koller (2004) wird der außersprachliche Sachverhalt und die Lexik betont. Auf der lexikalischen Ebene unterscheidet

Koller (2004: 216, 228) fünf Typen der denotativen Äquivalenz zwischen den Wörtern einer Ausgangs- und einer Zielsprache: die *Eins-zu-eins-Entsprechung*, die *Eins-zu-viele-Entsprechung*, die *Viele-zu-eins-Entsprechung,* die *Eins-zu-Null-Entsprechung* und die *Entsprechung statt Entsprechungen.*

Von den genannten Typen der Äquivalenz lassen sich die Eins-zu-Teil-Entsprechungen und die Eins-zu-Null-Entsprechungen auf die gastronomischen Kultureme anwenden. Bei der 1:0 Entsprechung handelt es sich um *eine Lücke* im lexikalischen System der Zielsprache für ein bestimmtes Lexem der Ausgangssprache (z.B. kroat. *torta hrapoćuša* – dt. Ø). Mit den Eins-zu-Teil-Ensprechungen werden die Fälle bezeichnet, in denen sich für ein Lexem der Ausgangssprache ein teilweise entsprechendes Lexem in der Zielsprache finden lässt (z.B. kroat. *dagnje na buzaru* – dt. *Miesmuscheln in Weißweinsud*).

Die Nulläquivalenz kulturspezifischer lexikalischer Benennungen stellt nach Kutz (1981: 107−109) einen der drei Äquivalenztypen dar: 1. *die referentielle Nulläquivalenz;* 2. *die lexikalisch-semantische* und 3. *die stilistisch-pragmatische Nulläquivalenz.*

5.1   Die referentielle Nulläquivalenz äußert sich „im Fehlen einer entsprechenden Bezugsgröße, eines Referens in der Wirklichkeit der ZS-Kommunikationsgemeinschaft /.../" (Kutz 1981: 107). Dies können kulturspezifische Lexeme sein, die im Laufe der historischen Entwicklung der deutschen Sprach- oder Kommunikationsgemeinschaft nicht entstanden sind (z.B. kroat. *arambašići*) oder nicht naturbedingt sind (z.B. die dalmatinischen urwüchsigen Pflanzen *bljušt* (lat. *Tamus communis*), *divlji komorač* (lat. *Foenicum vulgare*), usw.).

5.2   Die lexikalisch-semantische Nulläquivalenz tritt infolge „unterschiedlicher kognitiver Segmentierung der Wirklichkeit und spezifischer Bündelung von Merkmalen im Wiederspiegelungsprozess bei Trägern verschiedener Sprachen auf /.../". Sowohl den Deutschen als auch den Kroaten ist die Zubereitung von kandiertem Obst wohl bekannt. Der deutsche Begriff *kandierte Orangenschalenstreifen* und der kroatische Kulturem *arancini* haben aber einen unterschiedlichen Stellenwert in der gastronomischen Tradition beider Länder. Im Unterschied zu *kandierten Orangenschalenstreifen* sind *Arancini* eine traditionelle Delikatesse aus Dubrovnik, die zu Weihnachten zubereitet wird, und zwar so, dass Orangenschalen von heimischen Orangen im Zuckerwasser gekocht werden.

5.3   Die stilistisch-pragmatische Nulläquivalenz manifestistiert sich „im Fehlen eines entsprechenden Formativs mit korrelirenden stilistisch-pragmatischen Charakteristika" (Kutz 1981: 107). Hierzu gehören Regionalismen, okkasionale Bildungen, bewusste oder unbewusste Irregularitäten. Als

Beispiel kann man den Begriff *Jause* nennen, der in der österreichischen Varietät des Deutschen besteht und aus dem slowenischen Wort *južina* entstanden ist (vgl. Duden 2001). Die stilistisch-pragmatschen Charakteristika des Begriffs stimmen mit dem dalmatinischen regionalen Ausdruck *užina*, *marenda* nicht überein.

6 ÜBERSETZUNGSVERFAHREN BEI NULLÄQUIVALENTEN KULTURSPEZIFISCHEN BEGRIFFEN

Beim Übersetzen eines Textes aus der AS in die ZS stellen Kultureme ein besonderes Problem dar und die Entscheidung, wie man den Inhalt eines kulturspezifischen Begriffs in einer anderen Sprache ausdrücken kann, ist von Fall zu Fall zu treffen. Die Übersetzung kulturspezifischer Begriffe hängt von folgenden Faktoren ab: von der Zielsprache und der Zielgruppe, vom Texttyp, von den vorausgesetzten Kenntnissen der Rezipienten.

Die Übersetzungswissenschaft hat sich sehr viel mit der Nulläquivalenz und den darauf bezogenen Übersetzungsverfahren beschäftigt. Barchudarow (1979), Kutz (1981), Koller (2004), Newmark (1988), Markstein (2006), Schreiber (2006), zählen unterschiedliche Übersetzungsverfahren auf, die sich in folgende Gruppen einteilen lassen:

6.1   *Hyponym* und *Hyperonym* (vgl. Barchudarow 1979, Newmark 1988) sind Substitutionen eines Wortes der AS durch ein Wort (eine Wortverbindung) der ZS mit engerer Bedeutung bzw. weiterer Bedeutung.

6.2   Eine *annähernde Übersetzung* ist die Übertragung des ausgangssprachlichen Ausdrucks durch einen Ausdruck mit ähnlicher Bedeutung in der Zielsprache. Koller (2004: 233) bezeichnet dieses Verfahren als „die Wahl der am nächsten liegenden Entsprechung" mit dem Beispiel engl. *performance* - dt. *Sprachverwendung.*

6.3   Eine *Analogiebildung* ist „die Verwendung eines sinngemäß entsprechenden ZS-Wortes, z.B. nach der Funktion" (Markstein 2006: 291). Als Beispiel führt Markstein engl. *Home Office* – dt. *Innenministerium* an.

6.4   Übernahme des ausgangssprachlichen Ausdrucks unverändert als *Zitatwort* (z.B. engl. *public relations* – dt. *Public Relatins*) oder mit einer vollständigen oder teilweisen phonetischen, morphologischen oder graphemischen Anpassung (z.B. *die Kolchose(n), die Westminster Abbey*) (vgl. dazu Koller 2004: 233; Markstein 2006: 291).

6.5 Bei *Lehnübersetzung* wird der ausgangssprachliche Ausdruck *wörtlich* (Glied für Glied oder Wort-für-Wort) in die Zielsprache übersetzt. Als Beispiel führt Koller (2004: 233) die Wörter engl. *bomb carpet - * dt. *Bombenteppich*; engl. *data processing - * dt. *Datenverarbeitung* an.

6.6 *Explikation* ist eine definitorische Umschreibung des ausgangssprachlichen Ausdrucks mit dem Kollerschen Beispiel engl. *runner - * dt. *sich rasch verkaufendes Produkt* (Koller 2004: 233). Schreiber (2006: 152) zählt die Explikation zu der Gruppe der übersetzerischen *erläuternden Hilfsverfahren*. Hierher gehören *Anmerkungen, Vor- und Nachworte, Fußnoten.*

6.7 Erklärungen der AS-Lexeme werden von Barchudarow (1979: 106) *beschreibende (erläuternde)* Übersetzungen genannt. Beschreibende Übersetzungen werden in der vorliegenden Abhandlung den *Paraphrasen* zugeordnet, die die Bedeutung des nulläquivalenten Lexems mit anderen Worten erklären (vgl. Newmark 1988: 83f.).

Diese theoretische Darstellung der potenziellen Übersetzungsverfahren im Falle lexikalischer Nulläquivalenz deutet auf die umfangreichen theoretischen Ausführungen und die Vielfalt der Terminologie hin. Da in der vorliegenden Arbeit die Übersetzungen der gastronomischen Kultureme am Beispiel von *Speisekarten* analysiert werden, werden wegen der charakteristischen Sprachverwendungs- und Textgestaltungsmuster manche von den erwähnten Übersetzungsverfahren für den analytischen Teil nicht relevant sein. Dies bezieht sich in erster Linie auf deskriptive Äquivalente, Explikationen mit längeren Definitionen oder Übersetzungen mit Kommentaren und Anmerkungen in den Fußnoten.

In Anlehnung an die dargestellte Terminologie werden im Kapitel 9 der vorliegenden Arbeit, der Analyse von Übersetzungen der kroatischen gastronomischen Kultureme ins Deutsche, die deutschen Zieltexte auf die folgenden Übersetzungsverfahren hin untersucht: *Hyperonym/Hyponym, annähernde Übersetzung, Analogie, Zitat ohne Erklärung, Zitat mit Erklärung, wörtliche Übersetzung ohne Erklärung, wörtliche Übersetzung mit Erklärung, Paraphrase.*

7 DIE SKOPOSTHEORIE ALS THEORETISCHER RAHMEN

Vor den 70-er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts war die Translationswissenschaft linguistisch orientiert und ihre zentralen Begriffe waren *die Äquivalenz* und *die Invarianz*. Koller (1972: 69-70) definiert das Übersetzen folgendermaßen:

> Linguistisch kann die Übersetzung als Umkodierung oder Substitution beschrieben werden: Elemente a1, a2, a3 ... des Sprachzeicheninventars L1 werden durch Elemente b1, b2, b3 ... des Sprachzeicheninventars L2 ersetzt.

Snell-Hornby (1994: 13) setzt sich einer solchen Auffassung stark entgegen und betont:

> Es herrscht heute Einigkeit darüber, dass das Übersetzen nicht eine bloße Umkodierung darstellt, bei der der Übersetzer als passive Schaltstelle, als Zwischenstation fungiert. Das Übersetzen hat auch nicht mit einer linearen Kette von Einheiten zu tun, sondern mit dem Text als *Gestalt*, als ganzheitlichem, übersummativem Gefüge.

In der *Skopostheorie*, die von Katharina Reiß und Hans Vermeer in der *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* (1984) ins Zentrum der theoretischen Überlegungen gerückt wurde, wird der *Zweck* der Translation an der obersten Hierachieebene angesiedelt. Das Ziel, der Zweck (*Skopos*) der Translation ist die Herstellung eines Translats, das für die Rezipienten in der Zielkultur sinnvoll und verständlich sein muss.

Die Aufgabe des Translators einer Speisekarte besteht darin, die Botschaft des Ausgangstextes an den Empfänger zu übermitteln. Unter Berücksichtigung des Textzusammenhangs, des Übersetzungszwecks, der Textsorte und der Distanz zwischen der Ausgangs- und Zielkultur muss er für den Ausdruck in der Ausgangssprache einen entsprechenden Ausdruck in der Zielsprache finden. Das Translat soll „ein Informationsangebot in einer Zielsprache und deren Kultur über ein Informationsangebot aus einer Ausgangssprache und deren Kultur" sein (Reiß in Vermeer 1984: 76).

Die Textsorte *Speisekarte* stellt einen Werbetext mit informativer und apellativer Textfunktion dar. Die klassische Menüfolge einer Speisekarte stellt den gemeinsamen Kommunikationsgegenstand des Textproduzenten und des Textrezipienten dar (vgl. dazu Riley-Köhn 1999: 252). Der eigentliche Speisekartentext ist kohäsionslos und die Fachsprache im Bereich der Gastronomie wird durch die Nominalisierungstendenz und den hohen verbalen und adjektivischen Anteil charakterisiert. Die Verben beziehen sich auf Garungsmethoden und Verfahren der Vor- und Aufbereitung der Speisen (z.B. *parieren, blanchieren, dressieren, marinieren, bestreuen*) und kommen in den Speisebezeichnungen als deskriptive Partizipien vor (z.B. *legierte Spargelsuppe, panierte Scampi, gegrillte Seeteufelfilets*). Die Adjektive erscheinen in den positiv konnotierten *sensorischen Namen* (vgl. Lipavic-Oštir 2013: 150), z.B. *frische Früchte*, *saftige Tomaten*, *zarte Lammmedaillons*, *knusprig frittierte Garnelen*.

Bei traditionellen Gerichten sollte verdeutlicht werden, wie sie serviert werden. Die typischen sprachlichen Konstruktionen (z.B. *mit Olivenöl verfeinert, mit feinem Käse bestreut, mit Zitronenscheiben garniert*), tragen der Verwirklichung der appelativen Funktion des Textes wesentlich bei.

Um einen Translatskopos realisieren zu können, sollte der Translator Experte in seinen Arbeitssprachen und Arbeitskulturen (vgl. Witte 2006: 346) sein. Er sollte die textsortenspezifischen Merkmale kennen und sprachlich adäquat und angemessen übersetzen. Die gastronomischen Kultureme sollten besonders sorgfältig übersetzt werden, weil sie einen Teil des gastronomischen Nationalerbes darstellen.

8 ÜBERSETZUNGEN DER KULTUREME AM BEISPIEL VON SPEISEKARTEN DER STADT ZADAR

Im Folgenden werden die Ergebnisse der Analyse von Übersetzungsverfahren dargestellt, die bei der Übertragung ausgewählter und im Teil 4 dieser Abhandlung kommentierter gastronomischer Kultureme, angewandt wurden.

Die Analyse von Übersetzungsverfahren der gastronomischen Kultureme an einem breiteren Muster von 112 Einträgen hat Folgendes ergeben:

8.1

Kroatische gastronomische Kultureme werden in einer überwiegenden Zahl als *wörtliche Übersetzungen* wiedergegeben. Von der Gesamtzahl analysierter Kultureme wurden 72 Belege der wörtlichen Übersetzungen ohne Erklärung und 5 mit Erklärung gefunden.

Beispiel (1)
AT: *crni rižoto*
ZT: *Risotto schwarz*

Beispiel (2)
AT: *CRNI RIŽOTO OD SIPE*
ZT: *SCHWARTZ RISOTTO VON SEPPIA*

Schwarzer Risotto ist ein sehr altes und beliebtes dalmatinisches Gericht, das mit der Tinte von Sepia zubereitet wird, die ihm das unvergessliche visuelle Erlebnis und den unverwechselbaren Geschmack verleiht. Das Sepiafleisch und die Tinte wurden schon im Mittelalter hochgeschätzt und zwar in den hochentwickelten

Handelsstädten am Meer wie z.B. in Venedig und in Genua (vgl. Barbieri 2003: 14–15). Neben der Variante mit Reis und Sepiatinte kann die dalmatinische Delikatesse auch mit Tintenfischteifen und Tinte zubereitet werden. Dies wird an den Ausgangstexten 1 und 2 deutlich, die den analysierten Speisekarten entnommen wurden. Die orthographisch und grammatisch falschen wörtlichen Übersetzungen *Risotto schwarz* und *SCHWARTZ RISOTTO VON SEPPIA* vermitteln einem deutschsprachigen Gast gar keine Vorstellung von der traditionellen und einzigartigen dalmatinischen Speise. Beide Zieltexte sind werbestrategisch ungeschickt formuliert. Sie haben keinen informativen und appelativen Inhalt und bewirken eher, dass man diese Speise nicht bestellen möchte. Da die kulturelle Distanz beim ZT-Rezipienten in diesen Beispielen groß ist, wäre es notwendig, zusätzliche Informationen über das kulinarische Kulturem zu liefern und es beschreibend-erklärend zu übersetzen. Die funktionalen Übersetzungen könnten daher folgendermaßen lauten:

Schwarzer Risotto – *traditionelles Gericht mit Reis und Tintenfischtinte. Heiß serviert, mit hartem Käse bestreut.*

Schwarzer Sepiarisotto – *Reis, mit Tintenfischstreifen und Tintenfischtinte zubereitet. Heiß serviert, mit zerriebenem Käse bestreut.*

8.2

Von der Gesamtzahl der analysierten Kultureme wurden 15 Belege der Übersetzungen mit dem Übersetzungsverfahren *Paraphrase* realisiert.

Beispiel (3)
AT: *pašticada*
ZT: *Rindfleisch gespickt mit Speck, Karotten und Knoblauch in milde Sauersüße, Gnocchi*

Pašticada ist in Dalmatien „ein Kultessen" (Barbieri 2003: 194), das an Feiertagen oder an Tagen von Heiligen vorbereitet wird. Das Lexem wurde aus dem Venezianischen *pastizzo, pastizzar* und dem Italienischen *pasticcio* entlehnt. Pašticada wird aus Rinder- oder Jungbullennuss zubereitet, das zwei Tage in Wein mariniert wurde. Das Fleisch wird mit der dalmatinischen *Panceta* und Möhren gespickt und angebraten. Dabei wird es mit dem dalmatinischen Wein und *Prošek* begossen. Getrocknete Pflaumen, Knoblauchzehen und Zwiebeln werden hinzugefügt. Das Fleisch wird ein paar Stunden gekocht, in Scheiben geschnitten und mit dem Saft der *Pašticada* begossen. Pašticada wird mit hausgemachten Gnocchi serviert.

Das Kulturem ist ein Beispiel der referentiellen Nulläquivalenz in der zielsprachlichen Kommunikationsgemeinschaft. Die Originalbezeichnung eines der

beliebtesten Nationalgerichte sollte beibehalten und zusätzlich erklärt werden. Der Translator könnte bei diesem Lexem vor schwierige Lösungsentscheidungen gestellt werden, da viele Informationen *über* die Zubereitung potentiell interessant sein könnten. *Pašticada* wird traditionell mit Gnocchi serviert und dies stellt eine weitere relevante Information dar. Die *Übersetzung* könnte folgendermaßen lauten:

Dalmatinische Pašticada. *Ein pikantes Festessen aus marinierter Jungbullennuss, mit Speck und Karotten gespickt, angebraten und mit getrockneten Pflaumen und Zwiebeln gekocht. Dazu servieren wir hausgemachte Gnocchi.*

8.3

Von der Gesamtzahl der analysierten Kultureme wurden 9 Belege von *Zitatwörtern* gefunden, 3 davon mit einer Erklärung.

Beispiel (4)
AT: *Pašta fažol*
ZT: *Pašta fažol*

Pašta fažol, ein Bohnen-Eintopf mit Nudeln und getrocknetem Fleisch, ist eine traditionelle dalmatinische Speise. Die kroatische analytische Speisebezeichnung enthält zwei entlehnte Lexeme aus dem Venezianischen *pasta* und *fagiolo*.

Das kroatische Wort *grah* (lat. *Phaseolus vulgaris*; dt. *Bohne*) ist eine Hülsenfrucht, die von den spanischen Conquistadoren im 16. Jahrhundert aus Amerika nach Europa gebracht wurde. Die Kroaten haben der Bohne einen eigenen Namen gegeben: *grah*, nach dem alten baltisch-slawischen und altslawischen Namen für Hülsenfrüchte: *grahi, grakhi, graci*. In Dalmatien ist der Name *fažol* üblich, vom italienischen *fagiolo*, der Ableitung aus dem spanischen Namen *frijol* (vgl. dazu Barbieri 2002: 300).

Pašta fažol ist ein typisch dalmatinisches Gericht aus Bohnen, getrocknetem Fleisch, Speck, *pršut* oder *panceta*. Es kann mit Petersilie, zerkleinerten Tomaten, Olivenöl verfeinert werden.

Durch das Übersetzungsverfahren Zitatwort ohne Erklärung wird dem deutschen Gast keine Auskunft über das gastronomische Kulturem gegeben und die informative und appelative Funktion des Textes wird nicht erfüllt. Die Gerichte, bei denen die kulturelle Distanz relativ groß ist, sollte man mit einer Erklärung versehen. Die Originalbezeichnung *Pašta fažol* sollte beibehalten werden, um zu signalisieren, dass das Gericht einmalig ist und keine andere fremdsprachige Entsprechung hat. *Pašta fažol* wird traditionell mit geriebenem Käse bestreut und heiß serviert. Die funktionale Übersetzung könnte lauten:

Pašta fažol – *dalmatinische dicke Suppe aus Bohnen, getrocknetem Fleisch und Wurst. Heiß serviert, mit geriebenem Käse garniert.*

8.4

Von der Gesamtzahl der analysierten Kultureme wurden 5 Belege für das Übersetzungsverfahren *Analogie* gefunden.

Beispiel (5)
AT: *dagnje na buzaru*
ZT: *Miesmuscheln in Weißweinsud*

Buzara ist ein traditionelles Essen, das man überall in Dalmatien und Istrien findet. Es bezeichnet die Art der Zubereitung von Muscheln, zu der in der Regel Weißwein, Knoblauch, Olivenöl und Petersilie gehören.

Das Übersetzungsverfahren *Analogie* wird eingesetzt, um beim ZT-Rezipienten ein Bild von der *Buzara* hervorzurufen, da *Miesmuscheln in Weißweinsud* als ein ähnliches Gericht den deutschen und österreichischen Gästen bekannt sein könnte. Auf den Webseiten deutscher und österreichischer Kochportale findet man nämlich Rezepte für dieses Gericht[6].

Im Duden Universalwörterbuch (2001) findet man folgenden Eintrag:

Sud, der; -[e]s, -e: **a)** *Flüssigkeit, in der etw. gekocht wurde;* **b)** (meist Fachspr.): *Flüssigkeit, in der etw. ausgekocht wurde.* (Duden 2001)

Der Terminus bezeichnet eine „Flüssigkeit, in der etw. gekocht wird" und die deutsche Zusammensetzung *Weißweinsud* weist darauf hin, dass die Speise genauso wie die dalmatinische *Buzara* mit Weißwein zubereitet wird. Die deutschen Rezepte zeigen, dass Miesmuscheln in Weißweinsud mit Schalotten, Fenchelknolle, Butter und einer Gewürzmischung für Muscheln zubereitet werden. In der dalmatinischen *buzara* werden diese Zutaten nicht verwendet. Die mediterrane Zubereitung dieser Speise ist sehr einfach und ohne Olivenöl wäre sie ganz undenkbar. In der Übersetzung ins Deutsche sollte das erkennbare sprachliche Element *buzara* beibehalten werden. Wegen der lexikalisch-semantischen Nulläquivalenz des Begriffs sollte der Zieltext eine kurze Information über die Zubereitung und das Servieren der Speise bieten. Eine mögliche Übersetzung wäre daher:

Miesmuscheln *(à la Buzara) - Miesmuscheln mit Weißwein, Knoblauch und fein gehackter Petersilie, mit Olivenöl verfeinert*

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6 Ein Vorschlag der Zubereitung von *Miesmuscheln in Weißweinsud* kann man auf der folgenden Webseite sehen https://www.lecker.de/miesmuschel-weisswein-25932.html

8.5

Von der Gesamtzahl der analysierten Kultureme wurden 4 Belege für eine *annähernde Übersetzung* gefunden.

Beispiel (6)
AT: *DALMATINSKA BRŽOLICA S BLITVOM* (J 15)
ZT: *Dalmatinischer rostbraten mit mangold* (J 15)

Der regionale Ausdruck *bržola* wird in diesem Beispiel mit dem deutschen Äquivalent *Rostbraten* übersetzt. Im Duden Universalwörterbuch (2001) findet man den folgenden Eintrag: **Rostbraten,** der: *auf einem Bratrost gegarter Braten.*

Dalmatinska pržolica (regional *bržola, bržolica, pečenica*) wird vom Schweinefleisch bzw. Schweinekotelett zubereitet. Das Lexem ist eine Entlehnung aus dem Venezianischen *briſola, brisiòla* (vgl. dazu Šimunković in Kezić 2004: 40). In der österreichischen Variante der deutschen Sprache wird für das Lexem *Schweinekotelett* der Begriff *Schweinskarree* (kroat. *kare*) mit der Bedeutung *Rippenstück vom Kalb, Schwein, Lamm od. Hammel* verwendet (vgl. Duden Universalwörterbuch 2001). Wenn man den orthographisch und semantisch falschen Eintrag *rostbraten* in der deutschen Übersetzung überhaupt akzeptiert, kann man feststellen, dass *dalmatinska pržolica* mit *Rostbraten* nur gedehnt äquivalentiert sein kann und dass die Übersetzung zu einer semantischen und stilistischen Bedeutungsänderung des Kulturems führt.

In der Übersetzung des kroatischen Kulturems schlagen wir ein Zitatwort mit Erklärung über die Fleischsorte und das Servieren vor.

Dalmatinische bržolica −Schweinekotelett vom Grill, dazu Mangold

8.6

Von der Gesamtzahl der analysierten Kultureme wurden 2 Belege des Übersetzungsverfahrens *Hyperonym* gefunden.

Beispiel (7)
AT: *Tjestenina u umaku od rajčice*
ZT: *Pasta mit Tomaten-Sauce*

Der standardsprachliche Ausgangstext *tjestenina u umaku od rajčice*, in dem der Regionalismus *šalša* vermieden wurde, hat höchstwahrscheinlich dazu beigetragen, dass im Zieltext zwei übergeordnete und stilistisch neutrale Lexeme *Pasta* und *Tomaten-Sauce* (statt *Tomatensauce, Tomatensoße*) verwendet wurden.

Šalša ist eine Entlehnung aus dem Venezianischen *salsa* (vgl. Šimunković in Kezić 2004: 109) und bezeichnet eine Soße aus Tomaten und verschiedenen Zutaten. Da *šalša* eine autochthone dalmatinische Speise darstellt, wäre es angemessen in der Übersetzung ein Zitatwort mit dem toponymischen Bestandteil (*dalmatinische Šalša*) zu verwenden. Da die dalmatinische *Šalša* mit Spaghetti oder Maccheroni gegessen wird, wäre es ratsam, diese Information in die Übersetzung zu integrieren. Der international bekannte Ausdruck *Salsa* weist darauf hin, dass das Gericht mit Tomaten zubereitet wird, aber der einzigartige Geschmack der dalmatinischen *Šalša* wird den potentiellen Gästen wohl helfen, den phonetisch veränderten Speisenamen in Erinnerung zu behalten. Die Übersetzung könnte daher lauten:

Spaghetti mit einer Šalša *aus Tomaten und dalmatinischen Kräutern, mit Rosmarin dekoriert.*

9 SCHLUSSFOLGERNDE BEMERKUNGEN

Die gastronomische Kultur und die Kulturgeschichte einer Nation spiegeln sich in ihrer Sprache wider. Kulinarische Begriffe als lexikalischer Bestandteil einer Sprache sollten als Kulturträger angesehen werden. Solche Begriffe wurden in dieser Arbeit mit dem Terminus *gastronomische Kultureme* bezeichnet. In der Abhandlung wurde gezeigt, dass das Angebot an regionalen dalmatinischen Gerichten in Speisekarten der Stadt Zadar reich ist. Die Namen dieser Gerichte stammen überwiegend aus dem Venezianischen und Italienischen, was vom enormen Einfluss der italienischen Küche auf die dalmatinische Esskultur zeugt. In der Abhandlung wurde analysiert, ob die Übersetzungen der ausgewählten kroatischen Kultureme ins Deutsche den deutschen und österreichischen Gästen eine Information über die kulturspezifischen Kulinaria in einem adäquaten und sprachlich angemessenen Translat bieten. Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass die angewandten Übersetzungsverfahren inadäquat und werbestrategisch ungeschickt sind und die Zieltexte sprachlich inkorrekt. Der Translatskopos wird nicht realisiert und den ausländischen Gästen werden die Informationen über das gastronomische Nationalerbe nicht vermittelt.

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III
Migration as a Literary Theme / Migration als literarisches Thema / Migracije kot literarna tema

A Migrant 'Malgré Soi'[1]: Munro's Ancestor Old James in Slovene Translation

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Povzetek

»Pogled z grajske pečine« (angl. "The View from Castle Rock") je kratka zgodba iz istoimenske zbirke kratkih zgodb Alice Munro, v kateri pisateljica opisuje emigracijo škotske družine v Ameriko v začetku 19. stoletja. Literarni liki so zasnovani na pisateljičinih prednikih in poimenovani po njih. Glavni junak zgodbe je James Laidlaw oz. Stari James, pisateljičin praprapraded, ki je gonilna sila emigracije družine. Vendar komaj se vkrca na ladjo, s katero bo družina odplula na novi kontinent, že postane čemeren in nejevoljen; rodni deželi začne peti slavospeve kot še nikoli prej, nove dežele pa pozneje ne sprejme za svoj dom. Starega Jamesa karakterizirajo predvsem njegova dejanja in govor. Za njegov govor so značilni pogovorni jezik in številni kulturno specifični izrazi, pojavlja pa se tako v dialogih kot v dveh pismih, ki jih Stari James odpošlje iz nove domovine. Pismi sta – poleg tega, da sta napisani v pogovornem jeziku – polni slovničnih in pravopisnih napak. Prispevek analizira tiste elemente govora Starega Jamesa v dialogih in pismih izvirnika in slovenskega prevoda, ki se zdijo še posebej zahtevni za prevajalski proces.

Ključne besede: Alice Munro, »Pogled z grajske pečine«, migracije, književno prevajanje, pogovorni jezik

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1   *French*, "against his will".

0 INTRODUCTION

The View from Castle Rock is Alice Munro's twelfth short story collection, published in 2006. According to Maria Löschnigg (2014: 14), it is a semi-autobiographical collection, while Gordon Bölling calls it an "exceptionally personal book" (2011: 120). Munro's biographer Robert Thacker observes that in this short story collection, Munro deals with "ancestral and personal subjects" and that it contains some of her "most revealing autobiographical writings" (2011: 529). Coral Ann Howells (2016: 81) defines the stories in *The View from Castle Rock* as non-fiction, arguing that some of them represent Munro's heritage narrative, while others trace her immediate family history, with "Working for a Living" being the transitional story between the two. As Löschnigg explains, in *The View from Castle Rock*, "the intradiegetic narrative is framed by the discourse of a first person narrator who appears as a historian or chronicler" (2014: 26). The book is divided into two parts, followed by an Epilogue; the first part, subtitled "No Advantages", consists of a series of stories that trace the history of Munro's ancestors on her father's side, while the second part, subtitled "Home", features several stories from Munro's own childhood, teenage years and adult life. However, as Munro herself explains in the Foreword, the collection does not consist of memoirs but of stories, although these are closer to her own life than some of her other stories with a first person narrator; in addition, the part of the book "that might be called family history has expanded into fiction, but […] within the outline of a true narrative" (2007: np).

Besides being a semi-autobiographical collection, *The View from Castle Rock* is also distinguished in Munro's writing by its strong historical background. While most of Munro's stories from her other collections are set in the Province of Ontario and, to a lesser extent, in British Columbia in the recent past, the first part of *The View from Castle Rock* is set partly in Scotland and partly in the New World, and covers the period from the late 17th century to the early 20th century. The main focus of the first part of the collection is a true event—the emigration of a Scottish family, based on Munro's ancestors, to Canada in the early 19th century. The ship carrying immigrants lands in Quebec, and the family settles in York (later, Toronto). That Scotland sent many emigrants to Ontario is established in the book titled *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650-1990* by John J. Bukowczyk et al. (2005), which also confirms the exchange of emigrants and settlers across the border with the United States. It is not surprising that Munro has chosen to write about migration; as Franca Iacovetta (1997: 1) points out, Canada is "an immigrant receiving society", and much of Canadian historical scholarship has focused on writing about immigration. Migration is also a common topic in contemporary Canadian literature, for, as Löschnigg (2014: 298) explains, the migration cycle is one of the two major

types of contemporary short story cycles in Canada, the other being the life cycle. By melding the history of her family and her personal history in *The View from Castle Rock*, Munro has created, according to Löschnigg, "an innovative example of the migration cycle" (ibid).

This paper will focus on the central character of the title story of the collection, "The View from Castle Rock", James Laidlaw or Old James, firstly to define him as a poorly assimilated immigrant, and secondly to analyse his speech, which best characterizes him, yet might also be particularly challenging for translation owing to its culture-specific features manifested by Scottish geographical names and historical references, on the one hand, and colloquial language, on the other.

1 OLD JAMES – A MIGRANT MALGRÉ SOI

The story "The View from Castle Rock" revolves around the emigration of Old James, Munro's great-great-great-grandfather, and a few other members of his family (two of his sons, Andrew and Walter, his daughter Mary, Andrew's wife Agnes and their son Young James) from the Ettrick Valley in Scotland to "America", as they refer to the New World in their conversation—more precisely to Canada, as we learn later in the story. The family crosses the Atlantic in 1818 aboard a large ship, together with many other Scots. Old James's youngest son Walter keeps a log of the six-week journey, noting major events, such as deaths and births, as well as the weather, in order to send an account of the journey, once they land in the New World, to his two brothers who have remained in Scotland. As we learn at the end of the story, the passages from Walter's journal inserted in the story are authentic, as well as the two letters that appear in the story and that were written by Old James after he had settled in Canada.

A short explanation of the story's title is in order here. Old James, discontent with life in the remote Ettrick Valley, which according to the Statistical Account of Scotland as of 1799 offers "no advantages" (Munro 2007: 3), constantly talks about going to "America". The story opens with Old James taking a small group of people, including his ten-year-old son Andrew, up the Castle Rock, the hill on which Edinburgh castle stands, to show them "America" across the sea. The scene is rather comic, for all that can be seen from the top of the hill is the other side of the bay, the county of Fife. However, Old James somehow manages to convince the company that what they are looking at is "America":

> "So did I not tell you?" Andrew's father said. "America. It is only a little bit of it, though, only the shore. There is where every man is sitting in the midst of his own properties, and even the beggars is riding around in carriages."

"Well the sea does not look as wide as I thought," said the man who had stopped staggering. "It does not look as if it would take you weeks to cross it."

"It is the effect of the height we're on," said the man who stood beside Andrew's father. "The height we're on is making the width of it less."

"It's a fortunate day for the view," said Andrew's father. "Many a day you could climb up here and see nothing but the fog."

He turned and addressed Andrew.

"So there you are my lad and you have looked over at America," he said. "God grant you one day you will see it closer up and for yourself." (Munro 2007: 30)

Although Old James's sons, tired of their father's constant mentioning of America, make jokes about his intentions, Old James eventually manages to collect the necessary money to take his family to the New World. However, his sons are not as keen on going as he is, and three of them run away in order to escape their father's plan. Although aggrieved by the fact that he will not be bringing five strong sons to America, he is still in good spirits until he boards the ship that will take them across the ocean and sees all the people on it: "Where are we to sleep? Where have all these rabble come from? Look at the faces on them, are they blackamoors?" (Munro 2007: 32). However, he soon finds a pastime on the ship: he starts telling stories about his home country and his grandfather, who was a kind of a local legend, to anybody who will stop and listen, and thus becomes a shipboard celebrity—some listen to him because they are interested in the stories, others because there is little other amusement available.

Besides being the central character in the story, Old James is the most comic one. His actions reveal him as determined and persistent but also as quick tempered and obstinate. His two sons are embarrassed by him and try to avoid him on the ship; his daughter Mary is afraid of him, while Agnes, his daughter-in-law, finds him annoying. If, at the beginning of the story, Old James is a fervent advocate of emigration, who urges his family members to exchange the God-forsaken Ettrick Valley for a better life in the New World, as soon as he comes aboard the ship he starts complaining and regretting his decision: "Oh, that ever we left our native land!" (ibid). When the ship finally sails within sight of the new continent, he refuses to look at the land (Nova Scotia), and starts praising the Ettrick Valley again. As the ship lands in Quebec, "among such clamour of the French tongue and cries of gulls and clanging of Papist church bells" (ibid: 81), Old James laments: "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" (ibid: 82). That he is concerned about matters of the soul in this strange new land also appears in the letter that he writes to his eldest son Robert, who has remained in Scotland. Although in the letter he is rather optimistic about life in the new country, he

is sceptical of the new religion. In another letter that he writes to the editor of a magazine, he expresses his great concern for his fellow Scotsmen, who have gone astray, exchanging religion for Whiskey. In addition to the two letters that testify to the fact that Old James is a poorly assimilated immigrant, Old James says to his son Andrew: "It [the new country] cannot be my home. It can be nothing to me but the land where I will die" (ibid: 80).

2 OLD JAMES'S SPEECH

Old James's speech appears in the form of dialogue as well as in the form of the two letters that he writes from the new continent—one to his son Robert in Scotland and the other to the editor of *The Colonial Advocate* magazine. The analysis of Old James's speech is divided into two parts: the first part deals with translation challenges related to the historical and geographical references in the speech, while the second part deals with translation problems related to its linguistic features.

2.1 Historical and Geographical References

Since the story is culturally strongly embedded into early 19th-century Scotland, numerous culture-specific terms appear in old James's speech. While such terms play a crucial role in representing a certain culture in the source text, they are particularly difficult to translate, owing to what Newmark (2004: 94) calls a "cultural gap" that exists between the source and the target languages. Translation problems may occur in cases where culture-specific terms do not have an equivalent in the target language, such as proper names pertaining to material and social culture. Two possible translation approaches when dealing with culture-specific features are foreignization and domestication, which were, as Lawrence Venuti (1995: 19) points out, defined by the German philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher at the beginning of the 19th century. As Schleiermacher explains, in the first case the translator "leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him", while in the second case the translator "leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him" (in Venuti 1995: 19-20). Štefan Vevar (2001: 12-13) argues that contemporary translation practice is in favour of domestication or relativization of absolute foreignizing items in order to preserve the function and the artistic effect of the original text. Vevar (ibid) further argues that the appropriate degree of foreignization or domestication to be used in literary translation differs from case to case and is

dependent on various factors. As the following analysis will show, domestication is the preferred approach in the Slovene translation of culture-specific references in Old James's speech.

In Old James's account of life in his home valley, there are several geographical and historical references:

> "In the Ettrick there is what they call the highest house in Scotland," James says, "and the house that my grandfather lived in was a higher one than that. The name of the place is Phauhope, they call it Phaup, my grandfather was Will O'Phaup and fifty years ago you would have heard of him if you came from any place south of the Forth and north of the Debatable Lands." (Munro 2007: 47)

The Slovene translation:

> »V dolini Ettrick stoji to, čemur pravijo najvišja hiša na Škotskem,« reče James, »in hiša, v kateri je živel moj ded, je bila više od te. Domačija se imenuje Phauphope, pravijo ji Phaup, moj ded je bil Will O'Phaup in pred petdesetimi leti bi slišali zanj, če bi živeli v katerem koli kraju južno od Fortha in severno od spornega ozemlja.« (Munro 2017: 53)

The geographical name of *Ettrick* that appears in the original text is accompanied in the Slovene translation by what Newmark (2004: 82) calls a culturally neutral third term or functional equivalent in order to reduce the foreignizing effect, e.g. *dolina* Ettrick (back translation (BT): the Ettrick valley). The geographical name of *Forth*, on the other hand, which stands for the Firth of Forth, cannot be rendered in the target language by simply adding a functional equivalent to avoid foreignization. In such cases it is possible to keep the original term and explain it in a footnote. In the Slovene translation, the following explanation is given in the footnote: *ustje več škotskih rek* (BT: the estuary of several Scottish rivers). *Debatable Lands* is another historical geographic term that can be deforeignized in the target language. A possible solution is to translate it literally and add a footnote with the English name and an explanation, as is the case in the existing Slovene translation: the term is translated as *sporno ozemlje* and the following footnote is added: *Angl. Debatable Lands, ozemlje med Škotsko in Anglijo. Ko sta bili to še ločeni kraljestvi, je bilo sporno, kateremu kraljestvu pripada* (BT: /…/ an area between Scotland and England. When these were separate kingdoms, it was debatable to which kingdom the area belonged). This kind of translation procedure is in line with Vevar's suggestion (2001: 106) that elements in the text that might sound foreign in the target language should be translated hermeneutically, by explaining them to the reader.

References to Scottish history are found in Old James's account of the Scottish kings on the occasion of the famous climb up Castle Rock:

"It was King Jamie asked the young Douglases to have supper with him and when they were fair sitten down he says, oh, we won't bother with their supper, take them out in the yard and chop off their heads. And so they did. Here in the yard where we stand.

"But that King Jamie died a leper," he went on with a sigh, then a groan, making them all be still to consider this fate.

Then he shook his head.

"Ah, no, it wasn't him. It was King Robert the Bruce that died a leper. He died a king but he died a leper." (Munro 2007: 28-29)

The Slovene translation:

»Kralj Jamie je povabil mlada brata Douglas na večerjo in komaj sta sedla k mizi, je rekel, ah, kaj bi si dali opravka z njuno večerjo, odpeljite ju na dvorišče in jima odsekajte glavo, In tako so storili. Tu, na dvorišču, kjer stojimo.«

»Ampak kralj Jamie je umrl gobav,« je nadaljeval in zavzdihnil, nato zastokal, da so morali vsi stati pri miru in razmisliti o tej usodi.

Nato je zmajal z glavo.

»Ah, ne, to ni bil on. Kralj Robert Bruce je umrl gobav. Umrl je kot kralj, ampak umrl je gobav.« (Munro 2017: 36-37)

The names of the kings in the above passage are not further explained in the target language, which means that in these cases foreignization has been preserved. However, a footnote about "the young Douglases", which is rendered into Slovene as "mlada brata Douglas" (BT: the young Douglas brothers), is added in the Slovene translation: *Člana vplivne plemiške družine na Škotskem* (BT: members of an influential noble family in Scotland), which means that this element has been translated hermeneutically.

2.2 Colloquial Language

Although the story is partly set in 19th-century Scotland and its protagonists are Scottish, there are not many Scots words in the text. Among those that do appear in direct speech are, for instance, *ye* (Scots denoting the pronoun "you"), *wee* (Scots for "little"), *laddie* (Scots for "boy") and *aye* (Scottish Gaelic for "yes"). In the existing Slovene translation, only the word *aye* has been preserved, which the protagonists consistently use instead of the standard affirmative expression *yes*. In the Slovene text, the word *aye* is written the way it is pronounced, *aj*, which is a possible solution, considering that some Slovene readers can probably recognize

this word as the Scottish colloquial word for *yes*, and for those that cannot, this is not crucial for the understanding of the text as a whole.

In Old James's speech, colloquial language appears in dialogues as well as in the two letters that he writes. His direct speech is partly ungrammatical: there are several examples of non-standard syntax, for instance a plural noun followed by a verb in the singular form (as in "even the beggars is riding around in carriages"). However, in his two letters, ungrammatical language is also accompanied by several spelling mistakes. As Tomaž Onič (2008: 148) argues, grammar mistakes are usually not easily translatable, owing to the specific nature of individual languages. Particularly in translating drama or direct speech in prose texts, Onič (2017: 141) suggests that the translator should find a different translation solution with the same intensity and a similar effect. This is in line with what Keith Harvey (2004: 37) calls the technique of compensation. While according to Hervey and Higgins (1992: 34-40), the lost element should be replaced with a new one of a different kind in the same place in the text, or with the same element in a different place in the text, Mona Baker (1992: 78) and Hatim and Mason (1990: 202) are less precise about where in the text the compensation should take place. In addition to grammar and spelling mistakes, Old James's letters are also characterized by the absence of punctuation (a few punctuation marks do appear in the letters, probably to show that Old James is aware of their existence, but is unsure of or careless about how to use them properly). While the absence of punctuation is strictly observed in the Slovene translation, as will be shown in the examples below, the grammar and spelling mistakes are not preserved. However, some cases of compensation do appear in the Slovene translation in order to preserve at least some of the colloquial character of Old James's speech, a selection of which will be presented here.

In his letter to the editor of *The Colonial Advocate*, Old James writes:

> /…/ Now sir I could tell you bit of Stories but I am afraid you will put me in your Colonial Advocate I do not like to be put in prent I once wrote a bit of a letter to my son Robert in Scotland and my friend James Hogg the Poet put it in Blackwoods Magazine and had me all through North America before I new my letter was gone Home /…/ (Munro 2007: 84)

The Slovene translation:

> /…/ Gospod lahko bi vam povedal kaj zgodb ampak se bojim da me boste dali v časopis nimam rad da me dajo v časopis nekoč sem napisal pismo mojemu sinu Robertu na Škotsko in moj prijatelj pesnik James Hogg ga je dal v revijo Blackwood ki so jo poslali povsod po Severni Ameriki preden sem vedel ali je moje pismo prišlo domov /…/ (Munro 2017: 85).

The colloquialism "I could tell you bit of Stories" is partly preserved in the Slovene translation ("lahko bi vam povedal kaj zgodb", instead of the standard "nekaj

zgodb" or "kako zgodbo"). The colloquialism "I once wrote a bit of a letter to my son Robert in Scotland" is translated in the way that the possessive pronoun "mojemu" ("nekoč sem napisal pismo mojemu sinu Robertu") replaces the standard reflexive possessive pronoun "svojemu", which is a case of compensation. This is in line with Onič's (2017: 142) suggestion regarding the grammar mistakes pertaining to Slovene colloquial language that the translator into Slovene can use in order to lower the level of formality of the text. The words *prent* and *new* that are misspelled in the original text are not misspelled in the target text. One might be tempted to compensate *prent* with the colloquial word *cajteng* in the Slovene translation. However, "to put in print" is not colloquial or dialectal; thus using a colloquial word in the Slovene translation would lower the level of language in the target text.

In the same letter, Old James writes

> /…/ The Scots Bodys that lives heare is all doing Tolerably well for the things of this world but I am afraid that few of them thinks about what will Come to thear Soul when Death there Days doth End for they have found a thing they call Whiskey /…/ (Munro 2007: 83-84).

The non-standard syntax in the above passage ("the Scots Bodys that lives heare" and "few of them thinks") is not preserved in the Slovene translation. Neither do the several spelling mistakes in the original text (Bodys, heare, thear, there (instead of their)) appear in the Slovene translation. However, a compensation does appear towards the end of the passage, where the pronoun *čemur* is replaced by the pronoun *ki* ("nekaj ki mu pravijo viski") to add to the colloquial character:

> /…/ Vsem Škotom ki živijo tu gre še kar dobro kar zadeva stvari tega sveta bojim pa se da jih malo misli na to kaj se bo zgodilo z njihovo dušo ko bo smrt končala njihove dni kajti našli so nekaj ki mu pravijo viski /…/ (Munro 2017: 84)

As regards Old James's letter to his son Robert, the numerous spelling mistakes from the original text do not appear in the Slovene translation; however, the colloquial language is partly preserved. For instance, the passage "/…/ the people here speaks very good English there is many of our Scots words they cannot understand what we are saying /…/" (Munro 2007: 82) is translated into Slovene as "/…/ ljudje tu govorijo zelo dobro angleško veliko naših besed ne morejo razumeti kaj pomenijo /…/" (Munro 2017: 83). The improper use of third person singular instead of third person plural in the original is compensated with the non-standard syntax is in the translation: "veliko naših besed ne morejo razumeti kaj pomenijo".

Similarly, the passage "/…/ Some [farm Houses] will have as good as 12 Cows and four or five horses for they pay no Taxes just a perfect trifell and ride in

their Gigs or chire like Lords … /…/" (Munro 2007: 82) is translated into Slovene as "/…/ Nekatere kmetije imajo celo dvanajst krav in štiri ali pet konj saj ne plačujejo nobenih davkov samo eno malenkost in ljudje se vozijo okrog z gigi in kočijami kot gospodje /… /" (Munro 2017: 83). Colloquialisms in the original text include "some will have as good as 12 cows"; "just a perfect trifell", and "[they] ride in their chire". In the Slovene translation, colloquial language is preserved in "ne plačujejo nobenih davkov samo eno malenkost". However, the words "trifell" and "chire" that are misspelled in the original are not misspelled in the translation.

The numerous spelling mistakes that appear in the original text are mostly enabled by the complex spelling rules and the numerous homophones that exist in the English language. For instance, Old James writes the word *here* as *hear*; *their* as *thear* and *there*; *bodies* as *bodys*, etc. These instances of incorrect spelling that add to his characterization cannot easily be preserved in the Slovene translation, for in Slovene, spelling is less complex and there are fewer homophones. In the above passage, the word "konj" could perhaps be misspelled as "kojn", and the word "davkov" could be written as "daukou", as it is pronounced, to preserve at least some cases of misspelling. There are quite a few translations of literary works into Slovene where the low register as well as the non-standard grammar and spelling of the original texts have been preserved, for instance Andrej Skubic's translation of Irvine Welsh's novel *Trainspotting*. However, Welsh is a contemporary Scottish writer and his use of non-standard English (a mixture of Scots language and Standard Scottish English) is consistent in speech throughout the novel, whereas the story "The View from Castle Rock" is written in standard English, with the exception of some cases of direct speech and the two letters written by Old James. In addition, Munro's use of colloquial language and Scots expressions is not consistent in the characters' direct speech throughout the story. It seems more as if, by using a few Scots expressions, Munro sought to add to the authenticity of her Scottish characters, rather than write their utterances in genuine Scots colloquial language, that of the early 19th century, for that matter. Perhaps Munro tried to match the imagined dialogue in the story to the recorded language in Old James's letters that have been preserved in the original. The one that Old James sent to *The Colonial Advocate* was published in William MacKenzie's book *Sketches of Canada and the United States*. MacKenzie was in fact the very editor of *The Colonial Advocate* to whom Old James sent the letter. In *Sketches of Canada and the United States*, MacKenzie (1833: 468) remarks that Old James (or Auld James, as he refers to him) depicts in his letter "America as he found it," and that his mode of spelling has been preserved in the letter.

As Onič (2008: 147) observes, the contemporary translation studies cannot offer definite guidelines regarding the translation of colloquial and dialectal language owing to the specifics of individual languages. Therefore, it is up to the translator

to decide how to translate passages written in a lower register appearing in a literary work that is mostly written in standard language, such as is the case of Old James's letters in "The View from Castle Rock". Considering the fact that Old James is a 19th-century character, it would be very difficult to find a linguistic equivalent of his speech in Slovene to replicate the historically-mediated interpretations between Scots and English.

3 CONCLUSION

This paper has aimed at identifying some of the linguistic and stylistic textual elements in Old James's speech that are potentially challenging in the translation process, in this case in the translation into Slovene. Old James's speech is characterized by a strong historical dimension and numerous culture-specific terms, on the one hand, and by extensive use of colloquial language, on the other. Apart from identifying potential translation challenges and providing brief general comments to their transfer into another linguistic and cultural context, the existing translation solutions have been analysed.

Although there is much theoretical knowledge available to support the relevant translation issues that appear in this kind of literary text, the existing guidelines suggested by various translation scholars are not universal, owing to the specific nature of individual languages and cultures. Therefore, in the final stages of polishing the translated text, the literary translator often needs to rely on his or her sensibility for the target language when judging the appropriateness of the language elements to be used in the target text against the background of the target language and culture.

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Migration, Literatures and Translation: Louis Adamič – A Writer of Two Worlds and the First Slovenian Immigrant Translator Into English

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Povzetek

Louis Adamič (1898-1951) velja za najvplivnejšega slovenskega izseljenskega avtorja in prvega slovenskega izseljenskega prevajalca v angleščino. K temu so nedvomno pripomogle tudi njegove politične povezave in vabilo na večerjo v Beli hiši, seveda pa tudi motivi njegovih del; pisal je namreč o pomembnih, perečih vprašanjih takratnih Združenih držav Amerike in sodobnega sveta, še posebej o priseljencih. Njegov prispevek k medkulturnim povezavam in dialogu pa ni zgolj v njegovih delih, ki obravnavajo kulturne identitete in narodnostna vprašanja, ampak tudi v njegovih prevodih kratkih zgodb iz slovenščine, hrvaščine in češčine, ki jih je objavljal v ameriških časopisih in revijah. Analiza njegovih del, še posebej knjig *Smeh v džungli*, *Moja Amerika* in *Dinamit*, kaže, da se je trudil Američanom približati književnosti in kulture Jugoslavije ter drugih slovanskih narodov. Izpostaviti pa velja, da je zaradi idej, predstavljenih v svojih književnih delih, člankih in predavanjih, postal mednarodno prepoznaven in da strokovnjaki s področja multietničnih študij še danes preučujejo njegove ideje in koncepte o sobivanju različnih narodnosti.

Ključne besede: Louis Adamič, prevajanje, večnarodnost, medkulturni dialog, ameriške književnosti, kulturne študije

0 INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, and still today, the migration of people for various reasons is one of the important factors that characterise human destinies. Among immigrants, there are always also writers. Their literature is not only interesting from the point of view of its artistic value, but it also has an important social component, which is valuable as a source of awareness of multiculturalism and as a historical document of a certain period. Wittke (1946: 189) emphasises the importance of emigration literature with the idea that it reflects a specific time, space and society, and notes that such authors help write the history of the world (ibid.). According to Wittke (1946: 189), migration has become an important factor in literature as we live in the age of mobility, or in an "age of mobility and borderlessness" (Pourjafari and Vahidpour 2014: 679). Pourjafari and Vahidpour (2014: 681-686) explain that emigrant literature portrays characters who face migration in a variety of ways through their diverse narratives, with the goal of showing the social, cultural, economic and political aspects of immigrant lives in the host society. When Slovenian emigrant authors are discussed, especially those who have chosen the motivation for leaving one's country as their main theme, Louis Adamič stands out for his efforts to show immigrants integrating successfully and create a tolerant, multicultural society. The Adamič scholars Mirko Jurak (1981: 126-135), Jerneja Petrič (1988: 409-11) and Janja Žitnik Serafin (http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi1000090/) state that Adamič is the most successful Slovenian emigrant author. Žitnik (http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi1000090/) supports her claim with data from the author's biography: He wrote 20 books, some 500 articles, lectures, and so on, and he also gained his international reputation by visiting the American Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. He received many awards (including the Guggenheim scholarship in 1932), and he was also an author featured in the Book-of-the-Month Club. He received an Honorary Doctorate from the Temple University in Philadelphia in 1941, and the Yugoslavian award for Brotherhood and Unity in 1944. Among many activities, he also engaged in translation from Slavic languages into English. Famous writers like Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Henry Louis Mencken, Sherwood Anderson and F. Scott Fitzgerald, supported and advised him. Adamič's works, the majority of which deal with ethnic, cultural and social issues in his two homelands, Slovenia and the United States, also found their way into American literary anthologies, in which he was often presented as a "worker's writer". However, even today, despite the fact that Adamič is cited by the most prominent authors in the fields of Migration and Ethnic Studies, Multiculturalism and Integration of Immigrants, this Slovenian-American author is often overlooked by literary theory. That said, the following scholars have published extensively on him: Mirko Jurak, Tatjana Dumas Rodica, Jerneja Petrič, Janja Žitnik Serafin, and Dan Shiffman.

1 ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Prior to examining Adamič's work as a translator, some knowledge of the author's background is essential. Adamič wrote in his first book, *Laughing in the Jungle* (*Smeh v džungli*), that he came to the United States of America in 1913, to the land where "everything was possible" (Adamič 1932: 6). According to Müller (2015) the year given in the book is slightly incorrect, and the correct date is 28 December, 1912. At the time Adamič was only fourteen years old.

Together with hundreds of other immigrants, he first came to Ellis Island, which was, according to Vecoli (1985: 7), called the "Isle of Tears" in many languages. In *Laughing in the Jungle* Adamič described his first night in the United States as follows:

> The first night in America I spent, with hundreds of other recently arrived immigrants, in an immense hall with tiers of narrow iron-and-canvas bunks, four deep. I was assigned a top bunk. Unlike most of the steerage immigrants, I had no bedding with me, and the blanket which someone threw at me was too thin to be effective against the blasts of cold air that rushed in through the open windows; so that I shivered, sleepless, all night, listening to snores and dream-monologues in perhaps a dozen different languages. (Adamič 1932: 41-42)

Adamič learned about linguistic diversity and multiculturality as early as this first night in the United States. Perhaps this was the reason why he wrote a lot on such issues later on. On Ellis Island he was staying near a Turk, from a nation that was a traditional enemy of the Slovenian nation:

> The bunk immediately beneath mine was occupied by a Turk, who slept with his turban wound around his head. He was tall, thin, dark, bearded, hollow-faced, and hook-nosed. At peace with Allah, he snored all night, producing a thin wheezing sound, which occasionally, for a moment or two, took on a deeper note. I thought how curious it was that I should be spending a night in such proximity to a Turk, for Turks were traditional enemies of Balkan peoples, including my own nation. For centuries Turks had forayed into Slovenian territory. Now here I was, trying to sleep directly above a Turk, with only a sheet of canvas between us. Soon after daybreak I heard him suddenly bestir himself. A moment later he began to mutter something in Turkish and clambered out of his bed in a hurry. He had some difficulty extricating himself, for there was not more than a foot between his and my bunk, and in his violent haste he rammed a sharp knee in the small of my back. I almost yelled out in pain. Safely on the floor, the Mohammedan began to search feverishly in a huge sack which contained his belongings, and presently pulled out a narrow, longish rug

and spread it carefully on the floor between two tiers of bunks. This done, he stretched himself several times, rising on his toes, cleared his throat, rubbed his beard, adjusted his turban, which was slightly askew; whereupon, oblivious of my wide-eyed interest, he suddenly crashed to his knees on the floor with a great thud. Next, he lifted his long arms ceilingward and began to bow toward the east, touching the carpet with his brow, the while mumbling his sun-up prayer to Allah. At first I did not know what to think of the Mussulman's doings. Then, slowly realizing what it was all about, the scene struck me as immensely funny. Sleepy and cold though I was, I had to pull the blanket over my head, lest the worshiper hear me laughing. (Adamič 1932: 42-43)

In the United States Adamič became acquainted with a whole new life, the big city of New York, where there was already a strong air of multiculturality, and, last but not least, as he states humorously in his book, a banana:

On one of the pushcarts, besides apples and oranges, I noticed a pile of long yellow fruit. I remembered that I had seen the same fruit on stalls in Le Havre before sailing to America. "What are those?" I asked Steve. He laughed. "Bananas. Didn't you ever hear of bananas?" He bought a small bunch and handed me one. I looked at it. I smelled it. Then I bit into it, skin and all. Steve roared. "Peel it!" he cried. "Peel it! That's the skin! You greenhorn!" I blushed and peeled the banana. Then, eating it and liking it, I laughed with Steve, who offered me more bananas. (Adamič 1932: 65-66)

Despite the fact that Adamič's first book, *Laughing in the Jungle*, is subtitled *The Autobiography of an Immigrant in America*, Jerneja Petrič argues that Adamič was often inventing stories in order to draw attention to social and political issues. He exaggerated how he had forgotten his mother tongue because he was away from his family, and also took some liberties in his descriptions of his relatives after WW II, in order to show the situation in Tito's Yugoslavia in a better light than in reality (Shiffman 2005: 27). He also used similar approaches and techniques in his translations into English (Petrič 2011).

In New York, Adamič worked with the newspaper *Glas naroda*, where he soon became a journalist, and, before his seventeenth birthday, an assistant editor. In 1917, he became an American citizen (Shiffman, 29). After WW II he travelled around the United States, across Europe, South America, Hawaii and the Philippines (Adamič 1934: 3), which represented a significant part of his multicultural experience, and after this searched for work all over the States (Adamič 1931/1933: 237):

For a time, I hung around the employment agencies – the "slave market" – on Madison Street in Chicago. I got laboring jobs around Chicago which

lasted two or three weeks. My last job in the vicinity of Chicago was on a big road-building project outside of Joliet. From there I went with a couple of other workers to St. Louis, and from St. Louis to Kansas City, moving from one place to another as impulse and necessity bade me. (Adamič 1932: 189)

He describes this part of his life in the book *Dynamite* (1931):

My fellow workers were unlike the workers I encountered years later on jobs in California. Most of them were foreigners – short, squat, illiterate Italians and French Canadians, only a few of whom spoke English. I felt, successively, sorry for and disgusted with them. The bosses had them cowed. Their wages were low, but they would have worked for even less. At the end of the day they trudged home, silent, uninspiring, a heavy smell of hopelessness about them. They did not belong in America. They knew nothing of the country, nor had the ability or the desire to learn about it. They lived from day to day, from hand to mouth, driven by narrow selfishness. (Adamič 1932: 113-114)

The books *Dynamite* and *Laughing in the Jungle* made Adamič an established author in the United States. However, he was still seen as an immigrant writer of course, who was many times also called a "worker's writer", suggesting that his work was somehow less important or of questionable quality in relation to "real" literature.

In 1932, Adamič received a Guggenheim Scholarship for *Laughing in the Jungle*, a work in which he states:

The Dreiser-Adams conception of life and nature as a chaos – a jungle– within which man dreams and strives for law and order, longs and labors for "normalcy" (then a new word and political slogan in the United States), and simultaneously, in his blundering human way, does everything in his power – particularly in America – to prevent their realization, appealed strongly to my sense of the ridiculous; whereupon my serious spells began to grow less frequent and lighter. (Adamič 1932: 191-192)

The Guggenheim Scholarship enabled Adamič to return to Yugoslavia in 1932 and 1933. He described his trip in *The Native's Return* (*Vrnitev v rodni kraj*). The book, (published in 1934), became a bestseller and a Book-of-the-Month of the American Book Club (Dumas Rodica 1997, Shiffman 2005). In this way, according to Shiffman (2005: 38), Adamič made important contributions to multiculturalism. With his writings on contemporary problems in America and Slovenia, and with his open support for the Yugoslav Partisan struggle, Adamič gained many friends, and also many enemies (Petrič 1981, Shiffman 2005).

Adamič wrote a lot about topics concerning immigrants and their economic situation in the United States, with the following works dealing with immigrants and immigration politics*: A Story of American Lives* (1935), *From Many Lands* (1940), *Two-Way Passage* (1941), *What's Your Name?* (1942), *A Nation of Nations* (1945) and *My America, 1928 – 1938* (1938), where he writes:

> Clearly I was an American from Slovenia, or a Slovenian who came to America and became an American. By coming to the United States and becoming an American writer, I had jumped the boundaries and restrictions, the profound and elaborate pettiness, of the Old World. I was of two worlds, which met in that blizzard on the Iron Range in Minnesota, in Cleveland and elsewhere – not perfectly, but still, they met: America and Slovenia. (Adamič 1938: 137–138)

As far as identity was concerned, Adamič felt more American than Slovenian, or at least this is what he wrote when dealing with this sensitive subject:

> "I am an American citizen and as such, of course, an American at least legally or technically. But I believe and hope I am an American not only legally and technically but actually. Watching other Americans in the United States who were born there, I sometimes think I am more American than a great many of them. Certainly America interests me more than it does a good many native Americans I know who happen to be there simply because they were born there. And I really like America, with all her faults (perhaps partly for her faults); and her future fascinates and intrigues me. In fact, I think I love the place. Writing, I use the American language, which is also part of my means of thinking. Once I was overheard saying something in my sleep; I spoke English. I guess I am an American, all right. And I feel I belong there. But, of course, I was born a Slovenian, here in Slovenia or Carniola; there is no denying that; and, if I may judge by the feelings I have experienced since my homecoming, I am also a Slovenian. There is my mother – she is a Slovenian woman; I am her son. … I have never thought of this before, for in America I have been too occupied with immediate problems, too busy discovering America, wondering about her, going from place to place, earning my living, trying to become a writer; now that you ask me, I would say that I am an American of Slovenian birth; but if you like it better, you can consider me a Slovenian who went to America when he was not quite fifteen and became Americanized, became an American. It is all the same to me; personally, so far as I am aware, I have no problem on this point. There is no conflict in me between my original Slovenian blood or background and my being an American." (Adamič 1938: 126–127)

Despite the fact that Adamič wrote in English, according to Žitnik Serafin (2009: 131), his "balance between the Slovenian and the American component part of

his cultural identity was never shaken," and with his works, he addressed all the "major political, ideological, social and moral dilemmas of his time" (*ibid.*).

Adamič returned to his homeland twice: In 1932 for the first time, and in 1949 for the second, when he became aware of the reality of the new Yugoslavia. In his novel *The Native's Return* he called the Yugoslavian King a Dictator, and was no longer welcome in the country after this:

> He was a man of the times, in the same category of strong-arm rulers with Mussolini, Hitler, Pilsudski, and the rest of the tyrants and dictators. He was a cog in the new political system of post-war Europe, helping to hold together a crumbling civilization with gangster methods. He was a figure in the dreadful European nightmare that seemed rapidly and inevitably approaching its climax – another great war, to be followed (as nearly everyone with whom I talked appeared to believe) by general upheavals of the masses. At the moment he had the whole country 'on the spot'; he might stay in power one, two, five or ten more years; but the future was clearly and definitely against him and his kind. (Adamič 1934: 351)

Adamič's research from his second trip back to Yugoslavia evolved into a book titled *The Eagle and the Roots* (*Orel in korenine*), in which he compares Yugoslavia and the United States. The book was completed by Adamič's wife (Adamič died on 4 September, 1951 in suspicious circumstances) and published in the United States in 1952. In Slovenia (at the time a part of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia) the book was not published until 1970.

2 ADAMIČ AS A TRANSLATOR

Adamič is considered the first Slovenian immigrant to translate into English, and thus he paved the way for other translators. He started publishing translations of Slovenian, Croatian and Bohemian short stories in 1921 (Petrič 2011). Language is clearly one of the biggest problems an (im)migrant or exiled author encounters, and Adamič was no exception. He was marked by his linguistic experience, starting to learn English as late as at the age of 14. His translations were, therefore, also a reflection of his personal linguistic circumstances, and they had, according to Petrič (2011: 59), a double function: To help him improve his English, and to help promote him as a writer. In his early years in the United States, Adamič translated quite a number of works from Slovenian into English, and one of his most important translations is *Yerney's Justice* by Ivan Cankar, the greatest Slovenian writer (New York: Vanguard Press, 1926). Adamič's translations were usually free, and even when he translated from his mother tongue (Slovenian) he frequently used the technique of adaptation (Petrič 2011: 62). His translation of

Ivan Cankar's story "Ob zori" ("At Dawn") is subtitled "Freely Translated", and as Petrič (2011:62) states, Adamič's "deficient language skills did not go by unnoticed, no matter how benevolently his translations may have been regarded". Adamič also translated Cankar's famous short story "A Cup of Coffee" in 1922, and once again, according to Pokorn (2005), there were mistakes in the target language. According to Pokorn (2005: 97), Adamič's translation is "not only linguistically weak and unusual", but also displays a specific approach to translation, which allows freely remodelling the text according to the translator's political and literary convictions.

Beside everything else, it should be emphasised that issues related to migrants, the Slavs, Slovenia and Yugoslavia represent significant elements in Adamič's literary works and translations. By translating from Slovenian and other Slavic languages, he presented the history, culture and socio-political issues of the Slavic nations to people in the United States. In addition to trying to popularise the cultures of Yugoslavia in the United States and establish intercultural dialogue, his translations also helped him master the English language (Petrič 2011).

As noted above, Adamič not only translated Slovenian authors, but also the following works of Croatian literature (Petrič 2011):

- Milan Ogrizović, "The Religion of My Boyhood", The Living Age, CCCXIV (September 2, 1922) 600-605. Reprinted as "God", Golden Book Magazine V (June 1927), 841- 844;

- Ivan Krnic, "In the Department of Public Order", The Living Age CCCXIV (July 15, 1922), 167-171. "U redarstvenom odsjeku", Savremenik: mjesečnik društva hrvatskih književnika, VI (November 1911), 638 – 643.;

- Mirko Jurkić, "Betwixt Two Worlds", The Living Age CCCXV (October 1928, 1922), 239-241. "Među dva svijeta", Iz Završja: crte i priče iz zapadne Bosne. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska 1917. 43-5.;

- Vladimir Nazor, "Angelo the Stonecutter", The Living Age CCCXXIII (November 29, 1924), 483-488. "Klesar Angelo", Priče iz djetinjstva, Zagreb 1924. 156-176.;

- Iso Velikanović, "The Old Fogies' Club", The Living Age CCCXXIV (January 31, 1925), 260-265. "Klupoderski klub", Srijemske priče. "Savremeni hrvatski pisci" št. 34, Zagreb, 1915. 65-75.

Adamič's choice of Croatian stories for translation into English seems to have been almost at random, and this reflects his lack of knowledge in this area (Petrič 2011: 61).

Not only did Adamič translate the works of other writers, but his own writing was also seen as interesting enough to be translated into (according to the Cobiss database) at least five languages:

- *Dinamit*, Zagreb, 1933 (Croatian);

- *Smijeh u džungli*, Zagreb, 1933, in Sarajevo, 1952 (Croatian);

- *Hemkomsten* (*The Native's Return*), Stockholm, 1934 (Swedish);

- *Crisol de razas* (*From Many Lands*), Buenos Aires, 1942 (Spanish);

- *Večere v Bílém domě*, Praga, 1947 (Czech);

- *Borba*, Ljubljana, 1969 (Croatian);

- *Wagasokoku yuugoslavia no hitobito* (*The Native's Return*), Tokio, 1990 (Japanese).

Adamič's main translation and literary motifs were violence, immigrants and immigration politics, and political systems (Potočnik Topler 2014: 149-151). He was trying to enlighten American society with regard to certain issues concerning people living on the edge, by drawing attention to their everyday problems (poor knowledge of English, legal problems, and so on):

> In the labor market, every worker competed with every other. Class solidarity was impossible, for, by the natural power of example of the man on top, and by other means of influence, the very rich imparted to the entire population a large measure of their own feelings and ideas in regard to the aims of life in America. The millionaire's estimate of the value of wealth was almost universally accepted. Essentially, the rich and the poor were dominated by the same ideas, and fired by the same feverish urges and desires. And the universal feeling about wealth naturally and necessarily developed the intense and unlimited competition which made life a bitter struggle, not with Nature to obtain shelter and subsistence, which would seem to be the normal life for man, but of man against man and class against class, in which an ever-increasing number must inevitably fail and be crushed. The rich were getting richer, and the poor poorer. (Adamič 2008: 20)

It is interesting that Adamič's descriptions from almost 90 years ago seem as if they were written today. Europe is full of immigrants in search of better lives, many of whom die on the journeys from their homes, and some countries still have not recovered from the 2008 economic crisis. There is no doubt about the recurring topicality of Adamič's main literary motifs. Aleš Debeljak (1998) sees Adamič as a writer who managed to portray the painful aspects of history in his stories, and in his review of *A Nation of Nations* (the fourth of Adamič's books that considers migration) Paul Knaplund (1946) describes the author as a

journalist, an intellectual, and an engaged propagandist for his homeland Yugo-slavia, while Cooper (2003: 622) states that Adamič succeeded in incorporating "the perspective of the 'outsider who is on the inside'" in all his works. Adamič is a writer who persistently emphasised the importance of ethnic heritage, described the role of immigrants in the economic and cultural development of the United States, and advocated for a pluralistic society, and thus he is still relevant today in terms of migration and ethnic studies, and cited by eminent authors from the fields of Multiculturalism, Integration of Immigrants and the Development of Intercultural Awareness. He believed that immigrants from Mexico, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, France, Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Ireland, and elsewhere, as well as their descendants, made a significant contribution to the development of the American society, which thus has benefitted immensely due to immigrants. Today, Adamič is still relevant, and his works are often compared to those by Willa Cather (1873 – 1947), Thomas Bell (1903 – 1961), Charles Simic (b. 1938 in Belgrade), to mention just a few. Regardless of Adamič's political beliefs and the quality of his literary works written in English, his legacy is rich and worthy of further research and evaluation.

As a writer, although often associated with the premodifiers "worker's'" and "im-migrants'"", thus slightly removed from "real literature", Louis Adamič established himself in the United States with the books *Dynamite* and *Laughing in the Jungle*. Stylistically, his works, in which he outlined the reality of the United States and examined topics such as violence, the integration of immigrants into American society, unemployment, and the struggle for survival, can be classified as part of a genre of documentary prose. He was a critic of American society in order to draw attention to certain mistakes, problems and irregularities, and to correct the prac-tices, solutions and decisions that he considered to be wrong. Thus, in the preface to the second edition of the revised *Dynamite*, published in 1934, he wrote:

> The story that I present here is, as I see it, a criticism of our American capitalist-democratic civilization, the most severe criticism, it seems to me, that anyone could write; but during the writing of the book my constant attitude toward America – this vast country with its 125,000,000 people, its immense natural wealth and great beauty, its high genius and marvelous technical equipment – was, and still is, one of love and of confidence in its ultimate future. (Adamič 1934: 2)

Violence was a topic that Adamič often wrote about. In *Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America* (published in 1931), he deals with labour unrest and the century-old struggle between American capital and workers from the begin-ning of industrialisation to the publishing of the book. Later, in *My America*, he reflects on an economic crisis, which was also a crisis of the value system and its consequences:

> Economically, the most severely affected by this crisis – which, however, is much more than an economic crisis – are, of course, the ordinary, most numerous folk: the factory workers, the many kinds of unskilled laborers, and petty clerks: the anonymous mass, which some of our current "revolutionary intellectuals" think Marx had in mind when he wrote the words "proletariat" and "revolution". But I believe that if Marx saw this "proletariat" in America today he would see precious few who might encourage him in his idea (if I understand him aright) that the impetus for the great change toward a new collectivist social order would come directly from this class. (Adamič 1938: 298).

According to Adamič's *My America,* the main goal of doing business in the United States is making a profit, no matter what the consequences:

> Business corporations, as we have them nowadays, are not social or humane institutions – not even human. They are, for the most part, impersonal, unsocial, powerful, outside the control of society. To be a successful business manager, a man must be or become dehumanized, almost inhuman, at least in his capacity as a business man. Indeed, it can scarcely be said that corporations are managed by men in any real, vital sense of the word. They are operated almost purely by policy, which in the course of years and decades – since the beginning of Big Business – has jelled into tradition, and which has scant, if any, consideration for the human element in business. Profits, profits – that is the thing! (Adamič 1938: 305)

Some of the writer's remarks are terrifying, for example: "no one in corporate business, as it functions today, is personally or directly responsible to society or civilization" (1938: 307), but he also gives suggestions on how to make society more humane, as in, for example, *My America:*

> The problem is what to do about it – not only this coming fall, but generally. I don't believe the American people want to abolish private capitalism and go communist or entirely state-socialist or state-capitalist – not yet. I think that in the next several years, if this current excitement about making business social means anything, effort will be exerted to make business behave and act consistently for the benefit of the people. Such effort will probably result in a terrible fight, which will shake the United States to its depths. Business will oppose it. The people are liable to have a hard time deciding on just how to turn business the master into business the servant. They are apt to have extreme difficulty in doing that chiefly by political means, through laws, etc.; for business has the power to pervert politics and laws, and much experience in such perverting. Labor ---? (Adamič 1938: 308)

Adamič was also aware of the fact that the United States needed some changes: "Much is wrong with America, of course, and I suppose that in the next ten years

the whole country will go through a lot of misery" (Adamič 1934: 364). Further on he writes:

> "I want America to have a chance to think and debate about the methods of progress most suited to her, and gradually – not *via* any short-cuts – to deal with her internal discords and incongruities, which are dislocating her life, throwing it out of focus" (Adamič, 1938: 662).

> But despite this, he finishes *My America* with the following thoughts: "I want America to remain America" and "I want America eventually to become a work of art" (Adamič 1938: 662).

3 CONCLUSION

Often Adamič was pointing out the importance of multiculturalism in the United States: "America, during the past three hundred years, has assimilated millions of the oppressed from all over the world. /…/ We have demonstrated that men of all races, all creeds . . . can live together in peace and fellowship, and serve the best interests of all" (Adamič 1946: 123). Adamič consistently stressed the importance of ethnic heritage, and, at the same time, also argued for pluralism and a constantly evolving American society which respects diversity and, consequently, gains much from it. His contribution to the evolving sense of American multiculturalism is also represented by his translations from Slovenian and other Slavic languages, despite the fact that the translations were often of low quality, strongly adapted or incorrect. His contribution to multiculturalism actually went both ways – he presented Slavic history, culture, and socio-political issues to Americans, and American culture to Slavic nations. Despite the questionable quality of Adamič's translations, they contributed to an awareness of multiculturality and of the challenges faced by a multicultural society.

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The Challenge of (not) translating Russian-English Code-Switching in David Bezmozgis's *Natasha and other Stories* (2004)

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Povzetek

David Bezmozgis predstavlja nazoren primer sodobnega kanadskega večkulturnega mozaika novega tisočletja, saj se v njegovi ustvarjalnosti prepletajo tri različne kulture: sovjetska kultura pisateljevega otroštva, kultura njegove nove prevzete domovine Kanade in pisateljeva zgodovinska judovska dediščina. V prvi zbirki kratkih zgodb *Natasha and Other Stories*, ki je izšla leta 2004, je Bezmozgis uporabljal tako imenovan angleško-ruski "code-switching" ali preklapljanje med tema jezikoma, saj se v besedilu pojavljajo številne ruske besede, ki so prečrkovane in zapisane v poševnem tisku, niso pa prevedene ali razložene. Z uvajanjem postopka preklapljanja med jezikoma je Bezmozgis nazorno upodobil edinstveno dvojezično situacijo v priseljenskih skupnostih, katerih člani pogosto uporabljajo oba jezika istočasno, s tem pa ustvarjajo posebno hibridno jezikovno raznolikost, ki je pogosto tisti, ki ne pripadajo skupnosti, ne razumejo. Ob tem se zagotovo poraja vprašanje, kako in ali sploh lahko prevedemo tovrstno preklapljanje med jezikoma. Analiza ponuja nekaj prevajalskih rešitev obravnavanja tega postopka v slovenskem prevodu Bezmozgisovih pripovedi. Namen analize je ponazoriti možnosti uporabe podomačitvenih ali tujitvenih strategij ob upoštevanju dejstva, da ciljna skupina slovensko govorečih bralcev najverjetneje ne pozna večine ruskih izrazov, ki so uporabljeni v izvirniku.

Ključne besede: preklapljanje med jeziki, podomačitev, tujitev, Bezmozgis, prevajanje

0 INTRODUCTION

David Bezmozgis was born in Riga (Latvia) and immigrated to Canada with his parents as a child. Before graduating from McGill University, Bezmozgis attended Hebrew school and later depicted his experience in "Animal to the Memory", a short story included in his first book. In 2003, three of Bezmozgis's short stories appeared in *The New Yorker, Zoetrope* and *Harper's* and, a year later, his first collection of short stories, *Natasha and Other Stories*, was published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux. The book eventually won the Toronto Book Award and the Commonwealth Writer's Prize for Best First Book, became a *New York Times* notable book and the *Chicago Tribune* and *San Francisco Chronicle* best book of 2004.

Natasha and Other Stories is dedicated to Bezmozgis's parents and chronicles the life of a Russian Jewish family that immigrated to Canada in the 1970s. Bezmozgis presents a realistic portrayal of the immigrant experience that includes an awareness of the hostile impact of the dominant culture and exposes cultural anxieties in the immigrant communities caused by the inevitable conflict between their former and new lives. As is evident from even a brief outline of the narrative structure of Bezmozgis's collection, the book features familiar topics favoured by immigrant authors, such as: the experience of dislocation, identity formation, nostalgia, bilingualism, alienation, material difficulties, depression and loneliness. In each of his well-written stories, Bezmozgis graphically captures the pain, joy, travails and challenges of immigrants from the vantage point of one family. The closely linked stories are narrated by Mark Berman, a little boy in the first four tales, and a teenager in the final three. All the stories take place in Canada, and can be seen as a cycle to the extent that they share the same protagonists: Mark, his family and their friends. Each story forms an independent whole and is articulated around a single event.

Bezmozgis uses English-Russian code-switching to present the complexity of the bilingual situation in the ethnic community, which should be rendered adequately in a translation, even if it requires more cognitive and "deciphering" effort on the part of readers who do not speak Russian.

The current analysis focuses on possibilities of using foreignising and domesticating strategies when rendering English-Russian code-switching that may be applied by future translators of Bezmozgis's narrative into Slovene. The empirical part was carried out with the methodological help of Davies' categorisation of domesticating/foreignising strategies, along with Venuti's, Bello's, Andrews's and Maksimova's methodologies. The functions of code-switching were identified and classified based on a framework adapted from Appel and Muysken (2006), Malik (1994) and Poplack (1980, 1995). Each translation choice will

be evaluated on the basis of rendering a denotative and connotative meaning, in consideration of the target audience of English-speaking readers, who may be completely unfamiliar with the terms. As it is impossible to analyse all examples of code-switching in Bezmozgis's narrative within one study, the main part focuses on a few illustrative examples, thus offering a basis for further research. The results of the study may have wider applicability in terms of analysing the use of foreignising/domesticating strategies when translating literary works in which English-Russian code-switching is also used.

1 CODE-SWITCHING IN BEZMOZGIS'S NARRATIVE

Code-switching is generally defined as a linguistic phenomenon whereby two or more language varieties are used alternately by bilinguals in a conversation. For this study, I applied Winford's (2003) more detailed definition of code-switching, which defines it as the alternating use of relatively complete utterances from two different languages, alternation between sentential and/or clausal structures from the two languages, and the insertion of (usually lexical) elements from one language into the other.[1] Thus, code-switching may be defined as the alternate use of two or more languages by bilinguals in a conversation. Unlike other sociolinguistic phenomena, such as pidgins and creoles, whereby speakers in contact only need to have knowledge of the common language that is used to communicate with speakers of other languages, code-switching requires its speakers to know at least two or more varieties, making it an activity exclusive to bilinguals.

It should be noted that Bezmozgis introduces code-switching primarily by inserting single words from Russian into English. Such use can elaborate on meanings that the second language does not have or capture humour to which the listener may respond. Poplack and Meechan (1995, p. 208) refer to this type as "established borrowing", though the heated debate about differentiating code-switching from borrowing is not a part of this analysis[2], and this term is used only to refer to a particular type of code-switching used in Bezmozgis's narrative. I found only one example of intersentential code-switching (Poplack, 1980, 34), i.e.—interjecting an entire sentence or phrase from Russian into English.

As Bezmozgis uses English-Russian[3] code-switching in his narrative to enhance his writing, to establish a real sense of place and create the atmosphere of an

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1   Depending on the purpose of code-switching studies, scholars may further separate code mixing from code-switching.

2   Thus, Myers-Scotton (1977) asserted that borrowed words arise in conversation with some level of predictability, while the same cannot be applied to code-switching words. This means that borrowed words tend to be used in other conversation as well, but code-switching words may occur only once and not in other discourses.

3   There are also examples of German-English and Hebrew-English code-switching in the narrative.

immigrant community, the question naturally arises of how and if it can be translated at all. Should it be preserved by means of foreignising strategies, or domesticated to make the reading process as transparent and fluent as possible?

Davies distinguishes two types of preservation: (a) transliteration, or the preservation of form, which occurs when "a translator may simply decide to maintain the source text term in the translation; (b) preservation of content, which occurs when 'the actual […] words are not preserved, but where a cultural reference receives a literal translation, with no further explanation' (calquing and literal translation). Both types correspond to foreignising strategies, as they follow the source text closely. Davies also subdivides another foreignising strategy, addition, into two types: (a) addition inside the text, or an intra-textual gloss, occurs when the explanation is inserted directly in the text, and (b) addition outside the text, or an extra-textual gloss, occurs when the explanation is provided, for example, in footnotes, or a glossary (2003: 77). Domesticating strategies suggested by Davies are: localisation (when a translator 'instead of aiming for 'culturally neutral' descriptions, […] may try to anchor a reference firmly in the culture of the target audience') (Ibid., 83-84); globalisation (a translation in which a generalised word is used); transformation (which changes the content of the cultural-specific expression used in the source language and may be defined as 'an alternation or distortion of the original') (Ibid., 86), and creation (which appears when 'translators have actually created a culturally-specific element not present in the original text'). (Ibid., 88) Omission is also suggested as a possible strategy.

In the empirical part of the present analysis, examples of code-switching in Bezmozgis's narrative will be identified and translated into Slovene[4] by employing foreignising or domesticating strategies. Each choice will be evaluated on the basis of rendering a denotative and connotative meaning, in consideration of the target audience of English-speaking readers who are completely unfamiliar with most terms.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: FOREIGNISING AND DOMESTICATING

One debate that continues to reverberate throughout translation studies is whether to use a strategy of domestication or of foreignisation. The translator whose name is most associated with this debate nowadays, Lawrence Venuti, sees the dominance of fluency in British and American translational tradition as proof that domestication is a vital method for successful translation practices

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4   The official translation could not be used, as to date the collection has not been translated into Slovene.

in the contemporary English-speaking world. In the first chapter of his book *The Translator's Invisibility*, Venuti (1995: 5) criticises "fluent translation," as being "immediately recognizable and intelligible, 'familiarised,' domesticated, not 'disconcerting[ly]' foreign, capable of giving the reader unobstructed 'access to great thoughts,' to what is 'present in the original'". Coming down clearly on the side of the foreignising method, Venuti (2006: 547) regards the use of a domesticating strategy as "ethnocentric violence", which is very often put in the service of an "imperialist appropriation of foreign cultures for domestic agendas: cultural, economic, political".

Following Venuti's ideas, advocates of the method (e.g. Berman 2000; Oittinen 2006) believe that any text should be foreignised, and name different forms and strategies aimed at "helping" a translation to keep the spirit of the foreign original and, consequently, to enable the reader to experience the foreign culture.

Though these ideas serve as a useful reminder to translators to be more self-consciousness, open to new tendencies, and independent, it is problematic to state that a translation's quality depends entirely on providing an 'alien' reading experience. Thus, Lederer draws upon a principle feature of any translation as a communicative act, and concludes that,

> For a translation to be understood by the person who depends on it, translators must constantly remind themselves that translation is simply a particular type of communication. What happens when we have something to say? We express it intelligibly in forms accepted by all. Sense is individual but forms are social. (2003: 58)

Lederer's interpretive model of translation theory exposes more the meaning of the message than the form, as "the transfer is supposedly through sense and not words" (2003: 13). Hence, the information is the most vital part of the translation and should be transferred by all means, regardless of which principle a translator decides to embrace.

The appropriate decisions with regard to foreignisation or domestication are usually culturally variable, historically contingent and dependent on various other factors, such as the language. Thus, pondering the question of "foreign-sound-ingness" in translation, Bellos states that "selective or decorative foreignism is available only in translation between languages with an established relationship" (2011: 45), such as English and French. The established relationship between French and English gives the translator an opportunity to foreignise the target text without disturbing the fluency of reading, as "the project of writing translations that preserve in the way they sound some trace of the work's 'authentic foreignness' is really applicable only when the original is not very foreign at all" (Bellos 2011: 47).

Similarly, Eco gives examples of good choices for domestication and foreignisation by examining situations when one of the two strategies being used decreased the readability of the translation by either introducing an incomprehensible cultural reference, or destroying the historical consistency of the text (2001: 22-24).

Andrews and Maksimova also avoid strict criticism of either method. They distinguish between ST preference – which means that "if the translator's ultimate goal is to preserve as much as possible from the ST, then the resulting TT is generally referred to as literal" – and TT preference – if the "translator's ultimate goal is to produce a TT that reads as if it were written originally in the TL for the culture and speakers of the TL, then we have to do with what is often referred to as *free translation*" (2010: 10-11). Neither of the methods is universal, as the authors conclude that "even at the lexical and discourse levels, the degrees of freedom are greatly restricted and vary from utterance to utterance" (Andrews and Maksimova 2010: 11). Thus, any TT produced from an ST would be restricted in a similar fashion, with "greater restrictions at the phonemic and grammatical levels, and lesser restrictions at the lexical and discourse levels" (Andrews and Maksimova 2002: 11).

Hervey and Higgins (2002: 18-25) also articulate the philosophy of *minimising difference* as a central goal of translation, regardless of the foreignising/domesticating strategies applied. As every translation involves a certain degree of loss in meaning, the translator's task is not to seek the perfect or ideal translation but to reduce the translation loss. To achieve this aim, the translator will have to decide "which of the relevant features in the ST are most important to preserve, and which can most legitimately be sacrificed in preserving them" (Hervey and Higgins 1992: 25).

Though providing a detailed assessment of each strategy's advantages and disadvantages is beyond the limits of the current analysis, we can sum up the foreignising method as being one that helps the translator to faithfully convey the message of the original writer, while offering the target readership a chance to enjoy a different cultural atmosphere, as well as new vocabulary and terms within the target language. The process of borrowing among languages enables this.

In contrast, advocates of domestication argue that domesticating foreign literature offers a more pleasant and undisturbed reading experience, preserves the source language's norms, and keeps them intact from any alien interference or exotic additions.

Domestication grants the translator more freedom to manipulate the source text and, finally, according to Yang (2010:77), "alien cultural images and linguistic features may cause information overload to the reader". Advocates of domestication also claim that foreignisation does not attract readers from all levels, as

foreign knowledge that appeals to the elite and educated strata might not appeal to "grassroots" readers, as "domesticating translation is easier for readers to understand and accept" (Yang 2010:79).

3 TRANSLATING ENGLISH-RUSSIAN CODE-SWITCHING

Code-switching is primarily used when Bezmozgis refers to political terms, or so called *Sovietisms*, and other culturally-specific elements.

There are two interesting examples of introducing Russian, or more precisely Soviet, political terms in the narrative. My assumption is that Bezmozgis introduces both terms due to lack of vocabulary between the languages. Appel and Muysken (2006) refers to this type of function of code-switching as a "referential function", i.e. "Code-switching involves lack of knowledge or facility in a language. Hence, bilingual speakers switch code when they do not know the word or when a certain concept is not available in that language. Language is also chosen because it is more appropriate or suitable to be used for a particular topic." Malik calls it "lack of facility" (1994), explaining that code-switching is triggered when bilinguals are unable to search for an appropriate expression in a language or when certain concepts are only available in one language and do not have words that convey equivalent meanings in the other.

The first term is "otkaznik": "At least my parents were not *"Otkazniks."* (Bezmozgis 2014: 33), which refers to individuals, typically, but not exclusively, Soviet Jews, who were denied permission to emigrate by the authorities of the former Soviet Union and other countries of the Eastern bloc. A more common English term is "Refusnic," which originates from the English verb "to refuse". It is always difficult to speculate about the target readers' preliminary knowledge about a different country, yet in this case the term may be problematic as it belongs to the category of *Sovietisms* – that is, culturally-, historically- and socially-specific terms from Soviet speech of the 1930s brought into the Russian language through the discourse of the communist regime to describe various aspects of Soviet life (e.g. professions, institutions, propagandistic slogans, etc.). As different terminology is used when defining the term, I will use the seminal works (in Russian) by Vlakhov and Florin (1980) on translating *realia*, specifically as presented in the chapter entirely devoted to *Sovietisms* and the ways of translating them. In Vlakhov and Florin's methodological research *Sovietisms* are rendered as a sub-category of "*realia*", "words or word-formations that name subjects, facts and objects characteristic of life, a mode of life, culture, social development of one nation and unclear or completely unknown to another, which express a national and/or a

historical *kolorit*"[2] (Vlakhov and Florin 1980: 47; all translations are made by the author).

As in the case of other culturally specific elements, Sovietisms present a rich and diverse cultural identity, carry important, though implicit information and awaken in Anglophone readers an interest and respect for the foreign culture. Hence, extensive domestication of these national, cultural and social components would significantly change the interpretive coordinates. On the other hand, Sovietisms are distinctive linguistic marks of the discourse that no longer exist and may cause difficulties in comprehension.

When speaking about translation strategies for translating Sovietisms, Vlakhov and Florin agree with Aleksander Shveitser, as follows:

> In the texts written for professionals and readers familiar with Soviet realities, translators usually use a transliteration and a calque (e.g. *агитпункт*-agitpunkt, *дружинники*-druzhinniki, *область*-oblast), while in texts that address a broader audience, we find explanatory translations (e.g. *agitpunkt* - an indoctrination and political propaganda centre in the Soviet Union, *druzhinniki* - volunteer patrols), and transliterations and calques are normally accompanied by comments. (1973: 251)

Though it is possible in most cases to transfer the denotative meaning of Sovietisms fairly closely, Vlakhov and Florin state that nothing guarantees that the connotative meaning will also be fully transferred, and the terms may be substituted with "a word or a formation with a zero connotation" (1980: 89). While in several cases, a connotative meaning is partly transferred, not all connotations attached to Sovietisms can be rendered within the text, and comments are usually required.

I would suggest that the original term be kept intact and explained in a footnote or an endnote. Otherwise it may be unclear why Mark is so relieved that his parents were not "otakazniks" but were granted the permission to leave the Soviet Union.

Another example of code-switching, introduced by a Sovietism, occurs in the story "The Second Strongest Man". The story opens with a weightlifting championship held in Toronto. Roman's former colleague and friend Gregory, who has stayed in the Soviet Union, comes with the Soviet team. Gregory is the trainer of the most famous Soviet weight-lifter, Sergei. Little Mark remembers that "his gratitude to my father for rescuing him from the army and the *kolkhoz* was absolute" (Ibid., 45). In order to understand why Sergei needed to be saved, the term "kolkhoz" needs to be explained. It was a collective farm that peasants often could not leave voluntarily without the required legal documentation.

Many kolkhozniks clearly left illegally, obtaining passports and urban registration by illegal means. According to Pikhurova, this Sovietism belongs to the lexical category: words and expressions that occurred or were coined in the years between the 1920s and the 1970s to describe elements of Soviet reality (бракодел, обезличка, подкулачник) (2005: 8–9). Pikhurova also states that lexical Sovietism are the most difficult to render in a translation.

It was because of Mark's father that Sergei could escape the kolhoz and go to Moscow to train as a weight-lifter. I believe that, in this case, the Sovietism may be transferred intact with an explanation provided in a footnote or endnote. If part calquing with "skupna farma" is used, no extra-textual explanations would be necessary.

Another example of a Sovietism in the same story is the car model Moskvich, which can be found in the part when Mark wonders how strong Sergei is, "Listen, faggot, if one of your boys can lift the *Moskvich,* we'll forget the whole thing." (Ibid., 43) I believe it is clear from the context that Moskvich is a car, though it could be modified as "the car".

There are numerous examples of code-switching introduced with culturally-specific elements. One of them occurs in the first chapter "Tapka," which tells the story of Mark's parents' neighbours Misha and Rita Nahumovsky, who are also Jewish immigrants. Their life in Canada turned out to be entirely different from what they had expected: "Our life was tough, we had it hard – but the Nahumovskys had it harder. They were alone, they were older, they were stupefied by the demands of language" (Ibid., 4). Isolated and helpless, the Nahumovskys find consolation in their precious dog Tapka and some everyday habits they share with their neighbours, such as playing a card game called "Durak": "As my mother reviewed sentence construction, Misha played hand after hand of *Durak* with me." (Ibid., 4) The function of code-switching is again referential, as Durak, which literally means "a fool", is one of the most popular and simplest Russian card games. In my opinion, the term should be modified as "card game", as there is a chance that the reader could get the impression that Misha played Mark as a fool. The term may also be substituted by cultural equivalence, which in the Slovenian language would be Črni Peter, though such an extreme domestication would neutralise the multicultural impact.

Another example occurs when Bezmozgis refers to *"Clonchik",* a red and yellow rag clown, Tapka's favourite toy. I believe the function of code-switching in this case is phatic, which is when code-switching is used to show a change in tone and emphasise parts of a conversation that are of importance. The Nahumovskys' obsession with the dog becomes a key issue in their interaction with the outside world, and Tapka's favourite toy is more important to them than anything else. In

my opinion, the term can be used intact. Additional explanations or expansions within the text seem unnecessary as the word is similar to the English "clown", and the suffixation with "chik" should not confuse readers.

Another term occurs in the story "Choynski", in which Mark recalls his visits to his grandmother and grandfather, when they talked about the pre-war period in Latvia and the old habits and traditions that vanished afterwards. Among other things, his grandmother recalls that "there was character called a sharmanka who went from town to town /.../ In Russian he was called a *katarinshik*, my grandfather interrupted"[5] (Ibid., 119). A *sharmanka* was a miniature portable barrel-organ usually played by a man, a vagabond, who wondered from town to town, earning his living by playing the device, doing tricks and predicting the future. The term is fully embedded in the Russian cultural consciousness, and occurs in numerous fictional and documentary texts.

Code-switching also has a "referential function". In my opinion an extra-textual explanation is necessary as I assume the term is unfamiliar to Slovene readers and evokes no association. The same is true for *Katarinshik*.

The last term discussed in this analysis is *Babushka,* which appears in the same story when mother tells Mark that "Babushka is gone, Misha." The term is then repeated at the end of the story when Mark gets to the cemetery and wails in Russian: "Babushka, babushka, g'dye tih, maya babushka?" (Ibid., 126). The function of code-switching is expressive when speakers use more than one language to stress their self-identity or feelings to others in the conversation. The author may have used code-switching to intensify his grief. There is a certain difficulty with keeping this word intact in Slovenian, as this is in fact a false friend. The same word in Slovenian refers to a typical Russian wooden nesting doll called a Matryoshka. To avoid any possible misunderstandings, I would translate the term as "babica" (grandmother).

4 CONCLUSION

Translating code-switched texts requires thorough knowledge not only of the source and target languages, but also of the language used in the switching, not to mention the pragmalinguistic functions of the code-switching texts. Clearly, there are numerous further research possibilities for coping with code-switching in literary translations. One of them, of course, is whether code-switching should be translated or explained at all, as, naturally, the author's primary intention is to

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5 The story of this name is associated with the fact that one of the first and most popular tunes played with this instrument was the French song "Charmante Catherine".

switch between codes in the narrative to illustrate the process of cross language transfer, even at the expenses of fluent, undisturbed reading for the audience. In any case, a careful study of the translation of such code-switched texts closely guided by the socio-cultural rules of communication in a given linguistic community can enhance our understanding of the translation process.

The findings of the current research merely suggest and by no means determine how code-switching may be rendered in a translation. Though the analysis here focused on only a few of the most illustrative examples of English-Russian code-switching in Bezmozgis's narrative, I believe it allows for an adequate assessment of the possibilities of the use of domesticating and, above all, foreignising strategies. Following advocates of the foreignising method, I suggested keeping most of the original terms intact to avoid minimising the foreignness of Bezmozgis's narrative and to retain the original referential function. Providing intra- or extra-textual explanations depends on the translator, and can be used in those examples that the translator assumes are unknown to the reading audience. Future translators of Bezmozgis's prose may, of course, opt for a different decision, as each translation is an individual and unique act of cultural transference.

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Translation as language enrichment: example of Francophone and Postcolonial Authors in Slovene translations

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Povzetek

V slovenščini prevod predstavlja možnost za obogatitev jezika že od začetka pisne kulture (Stanovnik, Kocijančič Pokorn, Gorjanc). Proces se še vedno odvija, predvsem v povezavi s prevzemanjem kulturnospecifičnih izrazov. Posledica je, da so izvorno usmerjeni prevodi v slovenščini pogostejši kot ciljno usmerjeni. Z analizo del dveh frankofonih (A. Maalouf, Y. Khadra) in enega postkolonialnega avtorja (Chinua Achebe) in njihovih prevodov v slovenščino skušamo predstaviti potek uvrščanja kulturnospecifičnih izrazov v original in strategije njihovega prevajanja. Radi bi tudi ugotovili, ali različno poreklo avtorjev vpliva na različne načine prevajanja oziroma prevzemanja kulturnospecifičnih besed. Običajno avtorji sami že v originalu nakažejo možnost za vključevanje kulturnospecifičnih besed s tem, da jih razložijo v pojmovnem svetu, ki ga opisujejo. V nekaterih prevodih je to upoštevano, v drugih ne.

Ključne besede: prevajanje kot bogatitev jezika, kulturnospecifični izrazi, frankofoni, postkolonialni, slovenščina

0 INTRODUCTION

In Slovene, translation has been seen as offering the possibility for language enrichment since the early days of the practice (cf. Stanovnik 2005, Kocijančič Pokorn 2008, Popič, Gorjanc 2013). This process is still ongoing, especially regarding culturally specific terms that are introduced into one language from another culture which, in this globalised world, happens daily.

In this article we try to show, based on some example translations, how some French and English postcolonial or Francophone authors' works are translated into Slovene, and what kind of innovation this brings into Slovene on the level of language but also that of ideas. Postcolonial and Francophone authors speak of a culturally different world, but nonetheless humanly universal. Their work is interesting for a reader as well as a translator, as it brings new horizons to a new language: apart from culturally common human relations and topics, such works introduce concepts that do not exist in Slovenian culture, so they have to be created.

Based on the analysis of some examples taken from three works of two Francophone authors (A. Maalouf, Y. Khadra) as well as of a postcolonial author (Chinua Achebe), and their translations into Slovene, we will first try to expose general procedures in the introduction of culturally specific terms into the original book, written in French or English, and how these influence the translation strategies for the introduction of a new word into Slovene. As the various translations are the work of different translators, we will be able to discuss different translation solutions.

Culturally specific words are usually taken as neologisms (or nonce words), as they are introduced for the first time into a language, and later, if they persist in that language, can also enter first into corpora and then into dictionaries. In this article we would like to discuss their introduction into a language and the possibility of their inclusion into Slovene vocabulary and possible naturalisation.

1 LANGUAGE SPECIFICITY OF POSTCOLONIAL AND FRANCOPHONE LITERATURE

The language of postcolonial literature is the language of the coloniser, so the novels examined in this work are written in English or French. N. Grahek Križnar argues (citing Ashcroft et al., 2002: 37-38) that: "The crucial means of representation of colonial and postcolonial reality in postcolonial literature is

language. Normally, the language framework is Standard English, whereas the language spoken by the (former) colonizer is influenced by local vernacular and speech customs. Non-standard language varieties symbolise cultural distinctiveness" (Grahek Križnar 2015: 320).

As Bandia states (2010: 264):

> "The study of postcolonial literatures is one of the fundamental areas through which the "cultural turn" made inroads into Translation Studies. By the very nature of this literature, written in colonial languages by postcolonial subjects, a host of issues often overlooked in the past, namely gender, ethnicity, sociology, linguistic alterity, identity, politics and ideology, became prominent in translation research."

He compares postcolonial literature to translation, as the authors use similar strategies as translators for depicting culture and culturally specific terms (Bandia 2010: 264). We are going to develop these thoughts later in this work on the basis of an analysis of the focal texts.

With regard to Francophone[1] literature, we could state the same as above for English with regard to French, but with a small exception: some writers choose to write in French not only because of the impacts of colonisation, but also because of cultural preferences, with a few examples being A. Makine, A. Maalouf, V. Alexakis, and Yasmina Khadra[2]. They are called Francophone authors, as in their works French is used as a vehicular language for culturally specific concepts from Arab, Lebanese, Russian or even Greek, as we can see from the example of the transcultural writer Vasilis Alexakis[3].

If postcolonial writers' language is called hybrid or vernacular in relation to English, Francophone authors tend to use standard French rich with culturally specific terms. But it is not the language that is determinative, it is the writers' origin. One can test this idea on the bookshelves of libraries[4]: Amin Maalouf figures among Francophone authors despite the fact that he is a member of Académie Française, the French Academy of Arts and Sciences. The example of French writers signing a petition[5] protesting against using the term *Francophonie* for authors writing in French but not of French nationality confirms this

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1 What is Francophone? Francophony represents a movement of all countries that have French past (with France as coloniser) or a sufficient number of speakers of French. The term was invented by Onésime Reclus, whereas L. S. Senghor (a Senegalese poet) appears to be the instigator (and vice-president) of the movement.

2 This author chose to write in French under a pseudonym or pen-name – his wife's maiden name, and chose to do so because of his former position as an army officer in the Algerian government.

3 Unfortunately we cannot fully take into account this author, because he has not been translated into Slovene yet.

4 The author's personal experience in libraries FNAC in Paris or elsewhere in France.

5 The petition can be found under the title *Manifeste des 44 pour la littérature –monde en langue française Pour une littérature-monde en français* (Le Monde https://www.lemonde.fr/livres/article/2007/03/15/des-ecrivains-plaident-pour-un-roman-en-francais-ouvert-sur-le-monde_883572_3260.html

attitude. The authors proposed the term *Littérature-monde en langue française* to include such writers, noting that many English literary prizes include the authors of non-British origin.

But the latter is also true for the Anglo-Saxon world, and not really specific to French speaking territories. For example, Hanif Kureishi, an author of English and Pakistani origins born in Kent, the UK (source Wikipedia), and living there in this country all his life, is still classified as a postcolonial author.

If we take this into account, we can claim that the problem of the status of postcolonial and Francophone literatures is above all a matter of perception. It seems that in the English or French centres, there is certain difference in perceiving postcolonial or Francophone authors as a part of their culture, it seems that, at least according to French authors,[6] that English-speaking world is more inclusive. Nevertheless, postcolonial and Francophone literatures seem to be less equal than other literatures in English or French. Slovene as a peripheral language has a different approach to translations of those texts – their exotic character appears to be an asset. We are going to discuss this question in detail using examples in the following sections.

2 THEORETICAL APPROACH TO TRANSLATION OF POSTCOLONIAL TEXTS

Postcolonial and Francophone writers introduce a new cultural space into literature. This is usually done by introducing a cultural element introduction and its explanation that follows directly (see examples below).

Bandia (2010) says that

> "It is now generally acknowledged that the "cultural turn" in the social sciences and the humanities that occurred in the 1990s changed Translation Studies (TS) forever. Culture had come to take center stage in translation analyses and discourses, rather than language viewed mainly in term of a system of linguistic exchange and communication. Language became subordinate to culture, both intertwined and often fused together in any serious discussion or analysis of translation. The ramifications were numerous for Translation Studies, as age-old notions and concepts such as equivalency, pure or standard language, distinctive binarisms and their implied hierarchy (original/translation; source-text/ target text; word-for-word/sense-for-sense, etc.) were thrown into disarray. The study of postcolonial literatures is one of the fundamental areas

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6   See the footnote 5.

through which the "cultural turn" made inroads into Translation Studies. By the very nature of this literature, written in colonial languages by postcolonial subjects, a host of issues often overlooked in the past, namely gender, ethnicity, sociology, linguistic alterity, identity, politics and ideology became prominent in translation research."

The problem of translation of Francophone and postcolonial texts does not lie only in culturally specific terms, although these are the most visible parameter for a translator. Usually, culturally specific terms have less problems of migration because of their uniqueness: a word introducing a culturally specific term goes hand in hand with its denomination and the explanation of it in the context.

In postcolonial and Francophone texts, these culturally specific terms are already paraphrased or even translated for the reader, and as such near a translation. But that is more an approximate explanation, as Tymoczko (1999: 20) argues that:

"Significant differences between literary translation and postcolonial literature are obvious and should be addressed from the outset. The primary difference is that postcolonial writers, unlike translators, are not transposing a text. As background of their literary works, they are transposing a culture – to be understood as a language, a cognitive system, a literature (…), a material culture a social system and legal framework, a history and so forth. In the case of many former colonies, there may even be more than one culture and one language that stand behind a writer's work."

Postcolonial and Francophone literatures mostly describe specific cultural environments, distant cultures that represent background for culturally specific mindsets that can be contemporary or historical (cf. Amin Maalouf, *Leo Africanus*, *The Rock of Tanios*). In this regard, they are language specific by introducing culturally specific elements in different languages, first English or French, and then also language or languages of the colonized culture. Different translation theories deal with this.

The traditional description of culturally specific elements is given by P. Newmark. He classifies cultural categories according to E. Nida (1964/2000) in terms of ecology, material culture, organization of social life, customs, gestures, etc. Translation processes depend on the target audience and the skopos (or function) of the translation (Newmark 2000: 165).

Today, in this context, we are also talking about "culturemes". According to Lungu-Badea, the term cultureme, created according to the phoneme model, morpheme, lexeme, etc., is a notion of packaging that goes beyond the ideas of a domain, touching all socio-cultural creations (Lungu-Badea 2008: 18-19).

The concept was also studied from the perspective of the transfer of cultural differences by H. Vermeer and H. Witte (1990), and reconsidered by Andrew Chesterman (2000) in terms of the meme (Lungu-Badea 2008: 18- 19).

What is a cultureme? According to Lungu-Badea (ibid.), this concept inherited from cybernetics contains the principle of measuring the amount of information or originality and is inextricably linked, not only by name, to culture. The cultureme is similar to the neologism, the borrowing or the traducteme, without being confused with these. Some neologisms or borrowings are either particular stylistic elements, or manifestations of literary snobbery, or instruments of personalization of the style of an author during translation (Lungu Badea 2008: 20).[7]

The first person to talk about the way the culture can be transposed was Venuti within his theory of the translator's invisibility. The notions of domestication and foreignisation of translations describe the attitude of a translator or even a language norm towards the text and its translation.

As Venuti points out (2008:13):

> "The concept of translator's 'invisibility' is already a cultural critique, a diagnosis that opposes the situation it represents. It is partly a representation from below, from the standpoint of the contemporary English-language translator, although one who has been driven to question the conditions of his work because of various developments, cultural and social, foreign and domestic."

Translator's invisibility (Venuti 2008:14) means that culturally one should be more compliant with the source. Venuti goes on to state the following:

> "To advocate foreignizing translation in opposition to British and American traditions of domestication is not to do away with cultural political agendas – such an advocacy is itself an agenda. The aim is rather to develop the theory and practice of translation that resists dominant values in the receiving culture so as to signify the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text." (Venuti 2008: 18)

He introduces the terms domestication and foreignisation that:

> "indicate fundamentally ethical attitudes towards a foreign text and culture, ethical effects produced by the choice of a text, and by the strategy devised to translate it, whereas the terms like fluency and resistency indicate fundamentally discursive features of translation strategies in relation to the reader's cognitive processing. Both sets of terms demarcate a spectrum of textual and cultural effects that depend on their description and evaluation on the relation between a translation project and the hierarchical

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7   Our translation

arrangement of values in the receiving situation at a particular historical moment." (Venuti 2008: 18)

His theory of domestication and foreignisation speaks mainly from the point of view of a central or hypercentral language (cr. Zlatnar Moe et al. 2017), as is English. French as a central language explains such relations in Ladmiral's *sourciers* and *ciblistes* (Ladmiral 2016). Languages of wide diffusion (central languages) are mainly target-oriented.

The problem of minor languages (Parianou 2009, studying Greek in translation) is more specific: in the globalised world, the translation of culturally specific literatures brings enrichment to the language. Thus we get either the peripheral or central position of a language: peripheral languages will tend to adapt and central ones will be more self-centred. But this attitude is taken into account even if a translation comes from other peripheral languages, not only central ones. Our example of Slovene language translations confirms her thesis: small or peripheral languages (Zlatnar Moe et al. 2017) were always conscious of enriching themselves via translation, and therefore more prone to foreignisation.

According to the theory outlined above, culturally specific terms are treated differently in target-oriented translation. They can be seen as vectors of culture and source of enrichment of target language. Newmark 1988 (94) defines culture "as the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression. More specifically, he distinguishes 'cultural' from 'universal' and 'personal' language."

Following Newmark and his theory of culture words in his *Textbook of Translation* (1988: 96),

> "a few general considerations govern the translation of all cultural words. First, your ultimate consideration should be recognition of the cultural achievements referred to in the source language text, and respect for all foreign countries and their cultures. Two translation procedures which are at opposite ends of the scale are normally available; transference, which, usually in literary texts, offers local colour and atmosphere, and in specialist texts enables the readership (some of whom may be more or less familiar with the SL) to identify the referent - particularly a name or a concept - in other texts (or conversations) without difficulty. However, transference, though it is brief and concise, blocks comprehension, it emphasises the culture and excludes the message, does not communicate; some would say it is not a translation procedure at all."

Regardless, this is often practiced in Slovene translation, as we are going to show in the next chapter, and has become a part of Slovene translation norms.

3 CASE STUDY - EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS

In the following section, we are going to discuss some of examples taken from postcolonial and Francophone authors and their translation into Slovene. On the basis of analyses of one work by Chinua Achebe, the novel *Arrow of God*, two works by Maalouf *Leon l'Africain* and *Le Rocher de Tanios*, and one of Khadra, *Les sirènes de Bagdad* and their Slovene translations, we will discuss the translation norms concerning culturally specific terms and their inclusion into the translation.

Achebe is a Nigerian writer who often expresses himself in English (although he is a native speaker of Igbo language). His language is denoted as a hybrid language, mixture of English, pidgin, and Igbo (Levačič 2017). His examples (Levačič 2017) contain words in Igbo language that denote culturally specific words from the Nigerian environment and cultural context. On a lexical level, culturally specific objects, nature, spiritual world, names of days and holidays, personal and geographical names and interjections were analysed, whereas on the text level expressions in pidgin and rhetorical figures were noted (Levačič 2017).

Some Igbo language words or expressions are introduced in a context; first the Igbo word is mentioned, and then explained with an English word, as shown in example 1:

1)   His **obi** was built differently from other men's huts.

1')   Njegov **obi** je bil drugačen kot druge koče. (Levačič 2017: 45)

We can see that the transference is accompanied by a paraphrase that allows us to understand the word without any translator's remarks. *Obi* can be interpreted as a sort of a hut; this technique is used for English and is also common in translating into other languages.

The same strategy is used in the example 2:

2)   This ***Okposalebo*** is a very old tree. It is called Disperser of Kindred because two brothers would fight like strangers after drinking two hornfuls of its wine.

2')   ***Okposalebo*** je zelo staro drevo. Imenuje se zdraha sorodnikov, ker se bratje pretepajo kot tujci, če popijejo dva roga tega vina. (Levačič 2017: 47)

The translation procedure is transference, and the context seems to explain the term by explicitation of it.

3)   Half a dozen young men ran up and down the different quarters beating their **ogene** and searching for the Mask.

3')   Fantje so tekali sem in tja med kočami, udarjali po **ogeneju** in iskali masko. (Levačič 2017: 45)

The context just gives the relation for understanding (as in the example 3), but not the exact meaning. We can imagine that *ogene* is a kind of an instrument.

The same strategy is used for denoting days (Levačič ibid.):

4)   It was **Oye**. Tomorrow will be **Afo**, and the next day **Nkwo**, the day of the great market.

4')   Danes je **oje**. Jutri bo **afo** in pojutrišnjem **nkvo**, veliki tržni dan.

The days of the week are not paraphrased but just enumerated, so we do not know which is the first, second or third day of the week, the only term paraphrased is *Nkwo– nkvo*, the day of great market.

As for the personal and geographical names, they are written as if they were spelled in the Slovenian way and follow the same pronunciation, as we speculate for transliteration: *Oduche* becomes *Oduče*, *Nwafo – Nvafo*, *Ogbanje – Ogbandže* etc. (examples taken from Levačič 2017: 52-53). More examples of this kind could be found, and in general their translation follows the same paradigm.

As the author of research into Achebe argues that some hybrid terms are difficult or even impossible to understand for the reader (Levačič 2017: 70), we can see that the Francophone author Amin Maalouf is more accurate regarding the introduction of culturally specific words. We could say he is more aware of the look of the Other's or better adapted to the central French culture, and thus presented things in such a way that French people would comprehend the newly introduced terms.

Amin Maalouf, a French or Francophone writer of Lebanese origin, has worked in France since 1976[8]. He is not a specifically Francophone author, as his novels and essays take into account the general human position in the world regardless of his origin or skin colour. The novel *Le Rocher de Tanios* / *The Rock of Tanios* deals with the Lebanese world, while the other one examined in this study represents Islamic culture. This is the pseudo-historical novel *Léon l'Africain* / *Leo Africanus* about a geographer Hasan-Al-Wazzan, later known as Leo Africanus.

Some examples from the books *Léon l'Africain* / *Leo Africanus*, and *Le Rocher de Tanios* / *The Rock of Tanios* are given below to show how the names or other words are transferred from one language to another:

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8   https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amin_Maalouf

5) Sellant sa meilleure monture, une jument alezane qu'il appelait <u>Bsat-er-rih, « Tapis du vent »</u>, accompagné par deux hommes de sa garde, excellents cavaliers, il prit la route sans s'être même lavé le visage, se coucha en rase campagne, plus pour reposer sa monture que pour lui-même, tant sa rage le tenait en éveil, et atteignit la résidence de son beau-père alors que l'équipage de son épouse n'était pas encore dessellé. (Maalouf 1993: 23)

5') Osedlal je svojo najboljšo jezdno žival, kobilo rdečkasto rjave barve, ki jo je imenoval <u>Bsat-er-rih, »Preproga vetra«</u>. Z dvema možema iz svoje garde, odličnima jahačema, se je odpravil na pot, ne da bi si sploh umil obraz, spal je na odprtem, bolj da bi odpočil živali kot sebe, saj ga je bes držal pokonci, in prišel je do rezidence svojega tasta, ko spremstvo njegove soproge še ni razsedlalo. (Maalouf 2010: 66)

We can see that both in original and in translation, the Lebanese name is given first and then the translation in French / Slovene.

6) Eux non plus ne voulaient pas déclencher un *thar*, un cycle de vengeance. (Maalouf 1993: 67)

6') Niti prišleki niso hoteli sprožiti *sara*, cikla maščevanj.[9] (Maalouf 2010: 57)

Here, a different pronunciation is taken into account, as *th* in French is transliterated into Slovene as *s*.

We can see that a transliteration can be done – since the original writings are not always in Latin script, and the Slovene orthographical norm is thus respected. See example 7 :

7) Il y avait aussi, bien entendu, les principales fêtes musulmanes : l'*Adha*, le plus grand *Aïd*, pour lequel bien des Grenadins se ruinaient à se procurer un mouton de sacrifice ou à s'acheter des habits neufs … (Maalouf 1988: 71)

7') Praznovali smo tudi, seveda, glavne muslimanske praznike: *adho*, največji *aid*, za katerega je veliko Granadčanov skoraj prišlo na kant, da so si priskrbeli žrtvenega ovna in nove obleke … (Maalouf 2012: 66)

Adha is known in Balkan cultures as *kurban bajram*, a Moslem Turkish rite. The Arab version of it is called *Adha*. Turning to SSKJ (a Slovene monolingual dictionary), the word *bajram* is found but *Adha* is not. A quick look for its status in the Gigafida corpus gives us the possible solution to this issue: *Adha* is used in Gigafida (with 46 occurrences), an indication that we can also use it in translation.

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9   /They did not want to trigger a thar, vengeance cycle. /

Maalouf's books are written in standard French, we can see no slips in register or set phrases that would be interpreted as colloquial – it is also true that the themes are mostly historical or general, mostly in narrative texts that do not including many dialogues. And they do not take into account locals from colonised countries or villages of lower class. His heroes are mostly educated and thus represent (or assume) the coloniser's culture (as for Tanios from *Le Rocher de Tanios* (*Rock of Tanios* in English translation) and *Leo Africanus* from the book with the same title).

If we look at the Yasmina Khadra's attitude towards the culturally specific words, the examples from the book *Les sirènes de Bagdad* (*The Sirens of Bagdad* in English translation), talking about the American occupations of Iraq and the Lebanon, translated into Slovene by Iztok Ilc and into English by John T. Cullen, follow various translation strategies. The text offers several expressions from the cultures mentioned above. Those expressions can already exist within the language of target culture, they can be widespread or ideologically marked, but some of them have to be introduced into the target language. Like in the translation of Maalouf's novels, the translator takes into account the transliteration of Arab words and names, for example *le souk – suk*, (Horvat Sardi 2017: 56).

As it was discovered by M. Horvat Sardi (2017: 54-56), while comparing the English and the Slovene translations of Yasmina Khadra's novel *Les sirènes de Bagdad*, the translation follows some rules that we enumerate as follows:

a) Obvious transliteration of names (from non-Latin script) the first term is French, the second English and the third Slovene: *jihad – jihad – džihad; mosquée – mosque – mošeja; djellaba – djellaba – dželaba; imam – imam.*

b) Adaptation to grammar and writing: *Sunnite – Sunnite – sunitsko.*

c) Introduction of a culturally specific term accompanied by a general term that is the most often a hypernym: *oiseaux d'Ababil – Ababil birds – Božje ptice, ptice ababil.*

d) Exchange of a word with a general term (description): *gourbi – shack –/ koliba, bajta.*

We cannot see a lot of difference in the English or Slovene translations. In general, we can see that the translation strategies for Francophone or postcolonial authors follow some rules. Moreover, the methods used to translated postcolonial English authors differ from those used with Francophone authors. We can explain this by the fact that Islamic culture is more common in Slovenia than African culture.

4 LEXICAL STATUS OF CULTURALLY SPECIFIC LOAN WORDS

Loan words first get the status of nonce words or occasionalisms. By definition, a nonce word (also called an occasionalism) it is a lexeme created for a single occasion to solve an immediate problem of communication. Its destiny is similar to a hapax; from corpus linguistics, a *hapax legomenon* (from the Greek ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, pl. *hapax legomena*; sometimes abbreviated to *hapax*, pl. *hapaxes*) is a word that occurs only once within a context, either in the written record of an entire language, in the works of an author, or in a single text. The term is sometimes incorrectly used to describe a word that occurs in just one of an author's works, but more than once in that particular work. *Hapax legomenon* is a transliteration of Greek ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, meaning "(something) said (only) once".

Later on, if those words become frequently used – by dissemination of culturally specific terms or adopting culture – they enter the corpora and thus become part of Slovene. The examples of Achebe (such as *obi*) – are not a part of Slovene culturally specific terms, as they appear only in one book or in several books from the same author. The case of culturally specific words used by Khadra and Maalouf is different, as Islamic culture and oriental loan words are already part of the Slovene language. They represent a bigger, more important and influential culture. But only some words can be found in the dictionary, for example *suna*, *nabob* – the translator used *nabab, Džin* for *djinn*, *hamam*, and *bajram* (Horvat Sardi 2017: 56), but not others not, such as *Chahid*, *Aid adha*, and *kefija*. However, the latter can be found in the Gigafida monolingual corpus.

A monolingual corpus can always give a translator a hint about the introduction of a culturally specific term with regard to the following issues: Was the word already mentioned? How was it spelled? Does it represent an adequate solution for the problem as described in the original?

While a Slovene corpus cannot give you the solution for nonce words, there are strategies that can be developed on the basis of several existing translation solutions. Here we note the solution that Francophone and postcolonial authors apply: as the culturally specific words were already introduced into French or English, we can take them as examples of foreign words that are not translated but naturalised. This is the usual practice that has entered Slovene translation norms, and can give a solution to a translator.

As for Maalouf, some examples from *Le Rocher de Tanios* come from Lebanese and they are used for the first time. Maalouf's narration strategy is in fact paraphrasing and explanation of certain culturally specific terms of the culture he describes (as we can see in the examples from 5 to 7). This strategy can be adopted by the translator.

The editors of the translation usually tend to insert, at the end, a list of culturally specific words and their explanations, which was not the case with the Maalouf's translation. In general, as we can see from the examples of the authors discussed in the article, the introduction of culturally specific elements representing a different reality does not present a special problem: translation strategies are already given in the source text.

5 CONCLUSION

As has often been stated, in Slovene translation has been seen as offering the possibility of language enrichment since the early days of the practice (cf. Stanonik, Kocijančič Pokorn, Gorjanc). This process is still ongoing, especially regarding culturally specific terms. In this regard, source-oriented translation solutions are more common in Slovene than target-oriented ones. Translators thus often opt for translations of foreign words that would bring a new concept into the language.

Translating postcolonial and Francophone literature does not present a problem for a translator, as translation strategies are already partly taken into account in the original, as shown in the examples of Maalouf and Khadra – even if the latter is not so explicit. As for Achebe, in his works contextual information is more important than explicitation (that is not always present). The process is ongoing and can be seen in the presence of new words in corpora (www.gigafida.net (*dželaba*, *hidžra*, *ababil*)). Different concepts are migrating from one language to another, culturally specific words appear in the language of translation. As translation can bring language enrichment, migration can bring social enrichment: the migration of words as well as migration of people. Translations are thus a vector of new cultures, culturally-specific concepts and terms for their denomination. Today Slovene takes loan words from various different languages – and this is due to the actions of journalists as well as translators. Corpora tend to be better way to observe such activity than official dictionaries.

And yet, the translation of the postcolonial and Francophone novels discussed in this work gives more importance to the origin of the writer than the language of the book. Translation in this case is seen as an intercultural exchange within the eternal frames of human existence. It is interesting that the publicity for Maalouf's and Khadra's books (cf. Bukla) gives importance to their origin and does not mention the language of the original. So Maalouf is presented as a Lebanese and Khadra as an Algerian author – although their publisher is based in France. This is one way in which peripheral languages cherish and sympathise with other peripheral cultures.

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Migration im Kontext der Literatur und des literarischen Übersetzens am Beispiel des Romans *Daldossi oder das Leben des Augenblicks* von Sabine Gruber

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Povzetek

Migracije so trenutno tudi v literaturi neizogibna tema. Tako je postala pomembna tudi tako imenovana migrantska literatura ali literatura, ki govori o migrantih, in je v številnih deželah dostopna v obliki prevodov. Prevodi literarnih del tako v veliki meri prispevajo k pomenu teme o migracijah.

V pričujočem članku se na primeru romana *Daldossi oder das Leben des Augenblicks* pisateljice Sabine Gruber lotevamo pojma migracij v sklopu vojne tematike in v nadaljevanju predstavimo prevod študentov magistrskega študija germanistike Univerze na Reki ter analiziramo določene izseke romana na sintaktični, leksikalni, semantični ter stilistični ravni, pri čemer se opiramo na lingvistično-semiotski model analize izhodiščnega literarnega besedila, ki ga je zasnovala Alena Petrova (2009).

Ker hrvaškega prevoda omenjenega dela ni, se študenti pri prevajanju niso mogli opreti na nobeno predlogo in pri tem primerjati svojih rešitev, kar je predstavljalo velik izziv.

Ključne besede: migracije, literarno prevajanje, prevodna problematika, begunci in razseljene osebe, vojna

1 MIGRATION ALS BESTANDTEIL DER GEGENWÄRTIGEN LITERATUR

Das Thema *Migration* ist heutzutage vor allem in den Medien sehr aktuell und gewinnt auch in der Literatur immer mehr an Bedeutung. Migration als Begriff bezeichnet die Bewegung über nationale Grenzen hinweg (Saleh 2011: 13). Viele Migranten verlassen aus unterschiedlichen Gründen, seien es politische, wirtschaftliche oder religiöse, ihre Heimat, um ein besseres Leben zu suchen. Auch Kriege verursachen Migration. Dadurch entstehen Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene. Im wissenschaftlichen Sinne setzten sich unterschiedliche Disziplinen mit diesem Thema auseinander. Darunter auch die Literatur- und Translationswissenschaft, was dazu beiträgt, Migration (und auch Migranten) im weitesten Wortsinne grenzüberschreitend bzw. länderweit im Rahmen anderer Kulturen besser zu verstehen, diese Menschen zu akzeptieren und die Mitmenschen zu sensibilisieren, denn:

> „Die Beobachtung dieser Phänomene allein hätte die Geschichte der Menschheit wenig beeinflusst, wenn sie nicht weitgehend als die einzig existierende Darstellung dokumentiert und in den Medien[1] weitergegeben worden wäre. Erst das dokumentierte Ergebnis einer Beobachtung gibt der Perspektive eine Dauerhaftigkeit." (Bavar 2004: 26).

Literatur samt Übersetzung ist ein einflussreiches Mittel (kurzum Medien), welche das Thema Migration dem Leser nahe bringen, es in Frage stellen und auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen diskursivieren. In diesem Sinne hat die Literatur zum Thema Migration vieles mitzuteilen und zu veranschaulichen (Horst 2009: 76). Wie Homi K. Bhabha (1997: 139) feststellt, ist die (Migranten-) Literatur eine zeitgenössische Erscheinungsform der Weltliteratur, die im Alltag immer präsenter wird:

> „Während einst die Weitergabe nationaler Traditionen das Hauptthema einer Weltliteratur war, können wir jetzt möglicherweise annehmen, dass transnationale Geschichten von Migranten, Kolonisierten oder politischen Flüchtlingen- diese Grenzlagen- die Gebiete der Weltliteratur sein könnten." (Bhabha 1997: 139)

Im deutschsprachigen literarischen Raum wurde die Migrationsthematik zunächst im Rahmen der Gastarbeiterliteratur betrachtet. Mittlerweile haben sich Literaten (mit oder ohne Migrationshintergrund) durch drei Generationen schriftstellerischen Schaffens einen Weg in die Kulturproduktion des deutschsprachigen Raumes gebahnt und sich in die deutschsprachige Literatur eingeschrieben. Von der Öffentlichkeit wird diese Literatur oft als die der ´Anderen´,

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1   Unter Medien wird sowohl Literatur als auch die Literaturübersetzung verstanden.

´der nicht-deutschen Autoren´, bezeichnet. Im Laufe der Zeit hat sich diese Vielfalt unterschiedlicher, nicht selten widersprüchlicher Bezeichnungen vermehrt. Es entstand eine weitgespannte Typologisierung von Formulierungen wie ´Ausländerliteratur´, ´Gastliteratur´, ´Migrantenliteratur´, ´Minderheitsliteratur´, ´Interkulturelle Literatur´, ´Multikulturelle Literatur´, ´Literatur ohne festen Wohnsitz´, ´Literatur mit dem Motiv Migration´, ´Literatur der Fremde´, ´Migrationsliteratur´, ´Brückenliteratur´ usw. Zahlreiche Begriffe entstehen, um das *Migrationsthema* innerhalb der Literaturlandschaft näher definieren und beschreiben zu können (vgl. weiter Saleh 2011: 14). Allen hier angeführten Begriffen ist die Herangehensweise an das Thema gemeinsam, denn: „/.../ *der Blick von Innen auf ein Aussen, das Fremde, das als Bedrohung gesehen wird, als eine Entwicklung, die wohl oder übel akzeptiert werden muss*" (Horst 2007: 7) wird literarisch verarbeitet. Horst (2009: 76) spricht über die Migrationsliteratur als einer Literatur, die nicht „zwischen" sondern „über" den Kulturen besteht und ein prototypisches Produkt der Welt des 21. Jahrhunderts geworden ist. Die moderne Lebensweise wird durch Wanderung und Mobilität geprägt, wobei die Einteilungen in ´Innen´ und ´Außen´, ´Fremdes´ und ´Eigenes´ immer weniger ausgeprägt sind. Keine ausschließliche Zuordnung kann festgelegt werden. Die Migrationsliteratur schildert, die durch Migration veränderte Lebenswelt.

Bavar (2004: 23) versteht unter dem Begriff „Migrationsliteratur" Werke, die nach 1960 entstanden sind, die auf Deutsch geschrieben oder ins Deutsche übersetzt wurden, die sich mit dem Thema Migration befassen oder deren AutorInnen nicht-deutscher Herkunft sind. Es handelt sich um belletristische Literatur, deren Aufgabe es ist, nicht nur Ursachen und Folgen von Migration zu analysieren und zu dokumentieren, sondern auch Vorstellungen über Migration und Migranten neu und anders zu interpretieren. Damit leisten die Migranten - AutorInnen wie Rösch (1992: 9) erwähnt, einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Multikulturalisierung der Gesellschaft.

Die Themenschwerpunkte, mit denen sich die Migrationsliteratur allgemein befasst, sind nach Bavar (2004: 21) folgende: 1) die Begegnung der (zwei) verschiedenen Kulturen, 2) die problematische Beziehung zur Heimat und zur Fremde. Die Migration zeigt nämlich, dass es keine klare Grenze zwischen (der) Heimat und (der) Fremde gibt und 3) die Zerrissenheit zwischen zwei (oder drei) Sprachen und damit verbundenen Schwierigkeiten. Laut Horst (2007: 9) ist das Migrationsthema im Mittelpunkt literarischer Werke, aber auch die Migration an sich wird zum beispielhaften Bestandteil der Umgebung, in der die Literatur heute entsteht. Bestehende Realitäten werden anhand von Migrationsbewegungen verändert. Diese Veränderungen werden ausgelöst durch Multikulturalität, Transkulturalität, Interkulturalität, hybride Formen von Identität u. Ä. Abhängig sind diese Formen von dem jeweiligen sozio-politischen Umfeld, in dem sie sich entwickeln.

Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Migration in der Literatur ermöglicht einen differenzierten Blick, regt gemeinsame Handlungsperspektiven, sowie die Entwicklung einer multiperspektivischen Kulturkompetenz an (Rösch 1992: 39). Die Übernahme der fremden Perspektive ermöglicht, dass man ein Verständnis der anderen herausbildet.

2 MIGRATION IM KONTEXT DES ROMANS *DALDOSSI ODER DAS LEBEN DES AUGENBLICKS*

AutorInnen, die sich schon viel früher (bereits in den 1960ern, 1970ern und 1980ern Jahren) mit dem Thema Migration literarisch auseinandersetzen, sind heute (in der dritten Generation solcher Autoren) zum festen Bestandteil der deutschsprachigen Kultur geworden. Gemeint sind darunter sowohl Autoren mit Migrationshintergrund, als auch Autoren ohne Migrationserfahrung.[2] Literatur migrantischer Autoren oder Autoren, die sich in ihrem Werk thematisch mit Migrationsfragen auseinandersetzen, sind einst im Rahmen der s.g. ´Nischenliteratur´ betrachtet.

Generationen migrantischer Autoren haben unterschiedliche Identitätskonzepte in interkultureller Hinsicht entwickelt. So ist heute kaum noch die Rede von einer Literatur ´Dazwischen´. Die Postkoloniale Theorie bildet neue Begrifflichkeiten, die sich auf das Umfeld der Migrationsforschung stützen. Homi Bhaba entwickelt beispielsweise den Begriff des Hybriden und des Third Space (des Dritten Raumes). Diese Begriffe sind in der deutschsprachigen Kultur- und Literaturwissenschaft von immer größerer Bedeutung.[3]

Das Thema *Migration* berührt und inspiriert auch die österreichische Autorin Sabine Gruber. Man kann sie nicht als Migrantenautorin bezeichnen, doch geht es hier um eine Autorin, die sich mit dem Thema Migration im Kontext des Krieges in ihrem Werk auseinandersetzt. In ihrem unlängst erschienenen und preisgekrönten Roman *Daldossi oder Das Leben des Augenblicks* befasst sich die

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2   Gemeint sind darunter beispielsweise folgende Autoren: Franco Biondi, Zafer Şenocak, Daša Drndić usw. Franco Biondi gehört zur ersten Generation der sogenannten ´Gastarbeiterliteratur´. Als italienischer Fabrikarbeiter schildert er in seinem Werk das Alltagsleben eines Gastarbeiters in Deutschland in den 1970er Jahren. Zafer Şenocak wird im Kontext der ´Brückenliteratur´ diskutiert. Der Autor setzt sich in seinem Schaffen vor allem mit der Identitätsproblematik auseinander, im Sinne von ´doppelter Identität´ und der Zweisprachigkeit. Daša Drndić, eine kroatische, unlängst verstorbene Autorin mit Migrationshintergrund, beschäftigte sich vor allem mit der Thematik des Krieges und dessen Opfern. Bekannt ist sie im deutschsprachigen Raum vor allem anhand des Romans «Sonnenschein» geworden, der 2015 von Blanka Stipetić und Brigitte Döbert ins Deutsche übersetzt worden ist. Für dieses Werk erhielt Drndić den Leibziger Buchmessepreis.

3   Es wird in dieser Arbeit nicht weiter in die Deutung der Postkolonialen Theorie eingegangen, da es in thematischer Hinsicht den Rahmen dieser Arbeit überschreiten würde. Diese Arbeit richtet das Augenmerk vor allem auf die Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten und -schwierigkeiten, als auch auf die Bedeutung des literarischen Kulturtransfers durch Übersetzungen.

Autorin[4] in erster Linie mit dem Thema des Krieges. Dieses Thema greift sie vor allem anhand der geschilderten und mit einer Kamera aufgenommenen Kriegs-erlebnisse ihres guten Freundes und Kriegsfotografen auf eine realistische und authentische Art und Weise auf. Das Leben (und letztendlich der Verlust) ihres Freundes während der Kriegsaufnahmen im Krieg, bewegt sie zum Schreiben dieses Werks.[5] Dadurch entstehen Kriegsbeschreibungen, die sich dem Leser im Gedächtnis einprägen und Szenen aus dem Roman nicht vergessen lassen.[6]

Kriege und schwere Lebensumstände in Kriegsgebieten lassen Migranten ent-stehen, sowohl Flüchtlinge als auch Vertriebene. Flüchtlinge als Protagonisten im Roman sind auf der ständigen Suche nach einem besseren Leben und riskieren dabei (z.B. während sie die Wüste durchwandern oder mit ihren unstabilen und schäbigen Booten Lampedusa erreichen) ihr Leben. Auf dem Weg in eine bessere Zukunft ertrinken und verlieren wegen Nahrungs- und Wassermangel viele ihr Leben. Diese Szenen sind nicht realitätsentrückt, vielmehr formen sie unseren Medienalltag (im TV, Rundfunk, den Zeitungen). Festgehalten, dokumentiert und archiviert werden solche Szenen Dank der Kriegsjournalisten und -fotogra-fen, die oft, wie Daldossi, der Protagonist im Roman, ihr eigenes Leben aufs Spiel setzen.

Sabine Gruber schildert im Detail die Arbeit von Kriegsjournalisten und ist da-rum bemüht, diese der Öffentlichkeit darzubieten, um sie nicht vergessen zu lassen. Gruber stellt in diesem Roman nicht nur das schwierige Leben der Men-schen aus den kriegsbetroffenen Ländern dar, sondern und vor allem das Leben all derjenigen, die diesem täglich zeugen und aus erster Hand die Kriegssituation erleben und darüber berichten. Ob und wie ein Journalist nach diesen Kriegs-bildern ein normales Leben führen kann, stellt die Autorin in Frage. Ihre persön-liche Recherchearbeit und Freundschaft zu einem im Krieg gefallenen Fotografen zeugt davon, dass Kriegsreporter (ebenso wie Vertriebene oder Flüchtlinge) le-benslange psychische Schäden davontragen; Ehen und Familien zerfallen deswe-gen; viele leiden unter Schlafstörungen und greifen zum Alkohol. Reporter und Journalisten werden nach dem Krieg lebensuntauglich und ziehen sich meistens aus der Öffentlichkeit zurück.

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4   Sabine Gruber ist eine österreichische Schriftstellerin italienischer Herkunft. Sie ist in Meran/Italien (1963) geboren und ist in Lana aufgewachsen. Sie studierte Germanistik, Geschichte und Politikwissenschaft in Innsbruck und Wien. Zwischen 1988 und 1992 arbeitet sie als Lektorin für Deutsch an der Universität Cà Foscari in Venedig. Derzeit lebt sie in Wien, wo sie als freie Schriftstellerin arbeitet. Sie schreibt Romane, Gedichte, Erzählungen, Hörspiele und Theaterstücke: *Der Vogelfänger* (1993), *Bis daß ein Tod* (1997) und *Ein Täuschungsmanöver* (1997), Gedichte: *Fang oder Schweigen* (2002) und *Zu Ende gebaut ist nie* (2014), Romane: *Aushäusige* (1996), *Die Zumutung* (2003), *Über Nacht* (2007), *Stillbach oder Die Sehnsucht* (2011) und *Daldossi oder Das Leben des Augenblicks* (2016). Der Roman *Daldossi oder Das Leben des Augenblicks* wurde 2016 mit dem österreichischen Kunstpreis für Literatur ausgezeichnet.

5   Im Rahmen der in Rijeka organisierten Literaturlesung (2017) antwortete die Autorin auf zahlreiche Fragen, die vor allem die Themenwahl betrafen. Darunter auch die Frage, was sie zum Schreiben dieses Werkes veranlasst hat.

6   Vgl. dazu die im Beitrag angeführten Absätze.

Der Journalist und Fotograf Bruno Daldossi, Protagonist des Romans, wird zum Alkoholiker. Sein Leben verbringt er, nachdem er selbst die Kriegsfront aus unmittelbarer Nähe in unterschiedlichen Szenarien der Grausamkeit erlebt, heruntergekommen als Alkoholiker. Er bleibt nach dem Krieg alleine und von seiner Freundin verlassen. An der Kriegsfront und im ´normalen Leben´ ist er ständig darum bemüht, ´die´ Fotografie seines Lebens zu schießen. Alles, was ihn umgibt, betrachtet er mit einem Kameraauge. Den Schnappschuss seines Lebens schießt er nicht.

Mit Anfang sechzig versucht er sein eigenes Leben in Ordnung zu bringen, doch dabei scheitert er, da er sich von den gesehenen Grausamkeiten des Krieges nicht lösen kann. Die Bilder des Krieges, die er aufgenommen hat, an die er sich tagtäglich erinnert, und die zu seinem Lebensbegleiter geworden sind, ermöglichen ihm kein normales, sorgenloses Familienleben. Das normale Leben und die Welt des Friedens sind Daldossi fremd geworden. Das Leid der Kriegsbetroffenen formt sein Leben bis zu dem Maße, dass er sich mit ihnen identifiziert. Daldossi erlebt selbst das Leiden der Kriegsbetroffenen, deren Zuhause im Krieg zerstört wurde und die dazu gedrängt wurden, ihre Heimat zu verlassen. Die Arbeit als Kriegsfotograf, welche Daldossi jahrelang in höchst gefährlichen Gebieten ausübte, macht ihn ruhelos und lebensuntauglich. An jedem Kriegsort (darunter auch Bosnien) hat er einen Teil seiner selbst verloren.

3 ZUM ROMAN *DALDOSSI ODER DAS LEBEN DES AUGENBLICKS*

Der Roman *Daldossi oder Das Leben des Augenblicks* ist bisher noch in keine Sprache übersetzt worden. Aus diesem Grund übersetzten die Studierenden der Philosophischen Fakultät in Rijeka Teile des Buches zum Anlass des Besuchs und der Buchlesung von Sabine Gruber in Rijeka. Diese Übersetzungsbeispiele der Studierenden werden im Folgenden hinsichtlich der Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten analysiert. Die Geschichte des Romans dreht sich um den Protagonisten Bruno Daldossi, der als Kriegsfotograf für das Hamburger Magazin „Estero" gearbeitet und beim Fotografieren in Bosnien, Afghanistan, Tschetschenien, Libyen und im Irak viele Grausamkeiten gesehen hat. Diese Kriegsszenarien formen sein Leben. Seine Unfähigkeit, ein normales alltägliches Leben zu führen, beeinflusst immer mehr seine Beziehung zur Zoologin Marlis, die sich letztendlich dazu entschließt, Bruno Daldossi zu verlassen. Mit ihrer neuen Liebe, einem Universitätskollegen, zieht sie nach Venedig um. Bruno kann sich damit nicht abfinden und entscheidet, sie aufzusuchen.

Der Roman ist in untertitelte Absätze unterteilt. Jeder Absatz nimmt Brunos und Marlis unterschiedliche Erinnerungen in einer Prolepse vorweg. Authentische,

eingeschobene Kriegsbeschreibungen vertiefen das Verständnis von Kriegstraumata, denn „*Gruber übersetzt die Bilder in kleine Erzähl-Vignetten, die dem Liebesleben der Protagonisten einen doppelten Boden geben: Existenz und Geschichte*" (Magenau 2017).

Der Handlungsverlauf wird multiperspektivisch geprägt. Es handelt sich dabei um eine mehrsträngige Handlung, die sich zwischen verschiedenen Zeitpunkten und Handlungsorten abspielt und von unterschiedlichen Standpunkten und Ausgangswinkeln erzählt wird (vgl. dazu Petrova 2009: 8).

Was die Zeit- und Raumdimensionen angeht, so treten im Roman mehrere Zeit- und Raumebenen auf. Vergangene Ereignisse werden an verschiedenen Orten mit den gegenwärtigen Ereignissen verflochten. Orte der Gegenwart wie: Wien, Brunos Wohnort, Venedig und am Ende Lampedusa, wo Johanna eine Reportage über Flüchtlinge dreht, überschneiden sich mit Geschehnissen an Orten aus der Vergangenheit (Kriegsgebieten wie z.B. Bosnien).

Was die Sprache angeht, so treten innere Monologe meist in Form eines Gedankenberichts durch den Erzähler auf. Der Sprachstil ist durch Alltagssprache mit regionalen *österreichischen* Ausdrücken gekennzeichnet. Er dient dazu, das normale Leben im Unterschied zu den erlebten Grausamkeiten des Krieges, die durch Einsatz emotional gefärbter Ausdrücke dargestellt werden, welche die visuelle und akustische Wahrnehmungen einleiten, wie z.B. *das Schrecken*, *durchsiebt*, *herangezoomt, Sehwürmer, der Knall, antrommeln, das Donnern, das Krachen, explosionsartig, das Klirren der Fenster, Doppelknall, Mündungsfeuer, das Pfeifen,* usw. hervorzuheben.

4 ANALYSE DER KROATISCHEN ÜBERSETZUNG DES BUCHES *DALDOSSI ODER DAS LEBEN DES AUGENBLICKS NACH SYNTAKTISCHEN, LEXIKALISCHEN, SEMANTISCHEN UND STILISTISCHEN MERKMALEN*

In diesem abschließendem Teil des Beitrags wird die Übersetzung der Studierenden an der Germanistikabteilung der Universität in Rijeka herangezogen. Hervorgehoben werden Absätze des Romans, welche auf inhaltlicher, syntaktischer, lexikalischer, semantischer und stilistischer Ebene im Verlauf der Übersetzung den Studierenden die größten Schwierigkeiten bereiteten. Als Ausgangspunkt für die Analyse des Originaltextes und der Übersetzungen wird die Theorie *Linguistisch-semiotisches Analyseverfahren für literarische Ausgangstexte in der Übersetzerausbildung* der Translationswissenschaftlerin und langjährigen Übersetzerin Alena

Petrova aus Innsbruck verwendet. Das Übersetzungsmodell von Petrova geht von der Annahme aus, dass der Übersetzer zuerst den Ausgangstext verstehen muss, um ihn interpretieren, ihn übersetzen und daraufhin die Textstrukturen des Ausganstextes mit gleichwertigen Mitteln aus der Zielsprache wiedergeben zu können (Vgl. Petrova 2015: 7).

Hinsichtlich syntaktischer Merkmale unterscheidet sich die Satzstruktur von Sprache zu Sprache. Während im Deutschen die Stellung der Satzglieder relativ fest bestimmt ist, ist diese im Kroatischen relativ frei. Besonders wenn es sich um stilistisch betonte zusammengesetzte Sätze handelt, ist die Wort- und Satzfolge flexibel und abhängig von den Satzteilen, die betont werden sollen. Im lexikalischen Sinne ist das passende Äquivalent nicht immer einfach zu finden, vor allem dann, wenn es in der Zielsprache nicht vorhanden ist. Gemeint sind dabei Fachwörter, Neuschöpfungen und Komposita, die in diesem Roman mit der Kriegsterminologie im Zusammenhang stehen. Diese stellen somit die größten Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten dar. Nur mithilfe verschiedener Methoden können diese überbrückt werden, wie z.B. anhand der Übernahme des ausgangssprachlichen Ausdrucks als Zitatwort oder als Lehnwort, Lehnübersetzung, wobei die am nächsten liegende Entsprechung gewählt wird, definitorische Umschreibung oder Adaptation (Avdić 2017: 217-223). Der semantische Aspekt der Übersetzung ist sehr wichtig, damit der Inhalt und Sinn des Ausgangstextes auch im Zieltext erhalten bleibt. Hinsichtlich der Semantik können Fehler auftreten, indem der Sinn des Ausgangstextes verändert wird, im Sinne von Kürzungen, Umschreibungen oder Abweichungen, die an die Wiedergabe der Reihenfolge von Informationen gebunden ist (Lercher 2008: 32).

Literatur übersetzen bedeutet, dass es mehrere Interpretations- und damit auch Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten gibt. Deswegen soll die Bedeutung eines Wortes aus dem Kontext erschlossen werden, um eine falsche Interpretation des Ausgangstextes zu vermeiden (Covelli 2015: 10). Die Übersetzungskompetenz geht unter anderem auch aus dem Sprachgefühl und dem Wissen um stilistische Merkmale in der Ausgangs- und Zielsprache hervor (El Gendi 2010: 89). Der Stil kann als *„Auswahl des Autors aus den konkurrierenden Möglichkeiten des Sprachsystems"*, sowie als *„Rekonstituierung durch den textrezipierenden Leser"* bezeichnet werden (ibid.: 90). Im Folgenden wird dargestellt, wie unterschiedlich die Übersetzungen ein und desselben Absatzes des Ausgangstextes sind und wie diese in stilistischer Hinsicht verbessert werden können:

Absatz 1

„Er hätte jetzt gerne ihre Neugierde in einem Bild festgehalten, die leichte Drehung ihres Kopfes, die vom Haar durchbrochenen Linien der Stirnfalten. Es wäre ein gutes Photo geworden, davon war er überzeugt, kein aufsehenerregendes, aber ein einprägsames. Um damit Erfolg zu

haben, hätte etwas Rätselhaftes dazukommen müssen, das die Einbil-
dungskraft der Betrachter in Gang setzt, ein Schatten im hellen Stoff des
Trenchcoats, der die Umrisse eines Männerkopfes zeigt, eine dunkle an-
geschnittene Figur, die unerkannt bleibt, die aber bedrohlich wirkt und
so das Bild zu einem begehrten Interpretationsobjekt macht." (Gruber
2016: 120)

Übersetzungsvorschlag:

Rado bi njenu znatiželju bio zadržao u slici, lagani okret njene glave, linije
bora na čelu prelomljene kosom. Bila bi to dobra slika, uvjeren je u to, ni-
kakva senzacionalna, ali upečatljiva slika. Kako bi to bilo uspješno, moralo
je još nešto zagonetno doći uz to, što pokreće maštu promatrača, sjena na
svijetloj tkanini kišnog ogrtača, koja prikazuje obrise glave muškarca, tam-
na odrezana figura, koja ostaje nepoznata, no koja djeluje prijeteće, i tako
sliku učiniti poželjnim predmetom za interpretaciju.

Übersetzungsverbesserung:

Sada bi njenu znatiželju, lagani okret njezine glave i **kosom prekrivene bore
njezinog čela** rado **ovjekovječio**. Bio je uvjeren da bi to bila dobra fotogra-
fija. **Ništa posebno**, ali upečatljiva. Da bi fotografija bila uspješna, potrebno
je još nešto **tajnovito**, nešto **što bi aktiviralo maštu promatrača**. Možda
sjena na svijetloj tkanini **balonera**, na kojoj se oslikavaju **konture muške
glave**. **Mračni obris lika** koji i dalje ostaje **neprepoznatljiv**, koji djeluje
zastrašujuće i koji sliku pretvara u **predmet interpretacijske požude**.

Dieser Absatz (1) weist eine komplexe syndetisch verbundene Satzstruktur auf,
bestehend aus mehreren Haupt- und Nebensätzen. Die Nebensätze fungieren
größtenteils als Appositionen und werden nach dem Satzteil, den sie beschreiben,
aneinandergereiht. Der zweite und der letzte Satz wurden in der Übersetzungs-
verbesserung in mehrere einfache Sätze durchbrochen, womit aneinandergereih-
te Relativsätze vermieden wurden. Noch eine syntaktische Veränderung wurde
vorgenommen, indem das Temporaladverb *sada* anstatt des Modalverbs *rado* am
Anfang und das Hauptverb ans Ende gestellt wurde.

Absatz 2

„Und wie angewidert war sie gewesen, als Daldossi von seinem Großonkel
erzählt hatte, der die Eichhörnchen in den siebziger Jahren gefangen, ge-
tötet und ausgestopft hatte, um sie dann teuer an die Herrischen in den
Städten zu verkaufen, die den Bauern erst ihre alten Stuben abgeluchst
und dann für diese heimeligen sentimentalen Rückzugsorte, die aus ab-
gelegenen Bergbauernhäusern in ihre Villen verpflanzt worden waren, de-
korative Tierpräparate gesucht hatten." (Gruber 2016: 201)

Übersetzungsvorschlag:

I koliko joj se gadilo kada je Daldossi pričao o svom praujaku, koji je 70-ih godina lovio, ubijao i preparirao vjeverice, kako bi ih potom skupo prodavao gospodi u gradovima, koja je najprije seljacima ukrala njihove stare sobe i potom za ta udobna sentimentalna mjesta za odmor, koja su od zabačenih kućica planinskih seljaka pretvorena u njihove vile, tražila dekorativne preparate životinja.

Übersetzungsverbesserung:

Gadilo joj se kada bi Daldossi pričao o svom praujaku, koji je 70-ih godina lovio, ubijao i preparirao vjeverice te ih kasnije skupo prodavao gospodi u gradovima, koja je seljacima **podmuklo oduzela njihove stare sobe u zabačenim planinskim kućama te ih pretvorili u udobna, sentimentalna mjesta za odmor i vile za koje su tražili dekorativne preparate životinja.**

In der kroatischen Übersetzung wurden einige Satzteile, die sich aufeinander referieren miteinander verbunden, wie z.B.: die *alten Stuben* und *aus abgelegenen Bergbauernhäusern*. Es ist nicht üblich, im Kroatischen den Satz mit der Konjunktion *i* zu beginnen. Deswegen wird sie in der Übersetzungsverbesserung ausgelassen und das Verb wird an den Anfang gestellt. Um den Ausdruck *abluchsen* stilistisch zu verstärken, ist das Modaladverb *podmuklo* zum Verb hinzugefügt. Der Relativsatz „*koja su od zabačenih kućica /.../*" wurde als Attribut für *stare sobe* vorangestellt. „*Sentimentalna mjesta za odmor*" wurde als Nebensatz ans Ende gestellt.

Absatz 3

„Als Kind hatte Daldossi mehrere Modellflugzeuge und einen Miniaturflughafen besessen, aber keine **Fluggastbrücken**, welche die Maschinen mit dem Terminal verbanden. Er war darüber betrübt gewesen. Flugzeuge hatten ihn von Anfang an fasziniert, aber auch beunruhigt. Denn die ersten wirklichen **Maschinen** waren aus dem Nichts gekommen, sie hatten ihn **aus seiner ruhigen Kindheit herausgerissen**, waren unangekündigt übers Tal gedonnert." (Gruber 2016: 118)

Übersetzungsvorschlag:

Kao dijete, Daldossi je imao više modela zrakoplova i minijaturnu zračnu luku, no niti jedan **most za putnike, koji je povezivao zrakoplove s terminalom**. Bio je tužan zbog toga. Zrakoplovi su ga oduvijek fascinirali, ali također i uznemiravali. Jer, prvi pravi **zrakoplovi** pojavili su se niotkuda, **istrgnuli ga iz njegova spokojnoga djetinjstva** i nenajavljeno tutnjali iznad doline.

Übersetzungsverbesserung:

Kao dijete, Daldossi je imao nekoliko modela zrakoplova i minijaturnu zračnu luku, no niti jedan **most za putnike, koji je povezivao zrakoplove s terminalom**. Bio je tužan zbog toga. Zrakoplovi su ga oduvijek fascinirali, ali također i uznemiravali. Jer, prvi pravi **zrakoplovi** pojavili su se niotkuda, **istrgnuli ga iz njegova bezbrižnoga djetinjstva** i nenajavljeno tutnjali iznad doline.

Was das Lexem *Fluggastbrücke* angeht, so gibt es im Kroatischen kein Äquivalent. Deswegen wurde das Explikationsverfahren verwendet: eine Beschreibung des Lexems nach seiner Bedeutung. Im Kroatischen könnte dieses als *most za putnike, koji povezuje zrakoplove s terminalom* erklärt werden. Der Ausdruck *aus seiner ruhigen Kindheit herausreißen* wurde im ähnlichen Sinne ins Kroatische übersetzt. Das Adjektiv *spokojan* erschwert inhaltlich den Kontext zur Kindheit (da es mit dem Tod konnotiert). Das Adjektiv *bezbrižan* eignet sich besser zur Beschreibung einer Kindheit.

Absatz 4

„Doch der **Spuk**, erinnerte sich Daldossi, war damit nicht zu Ende gewesen, denn das Donnern und Krachen hatten noch Sekunden später das Tal erfüllt und allen einen Schrecken eingejagt. Den explosionsartigen, wandernden **Doppelknall** und das Klirren der Fenster hatte man noch hören können, als die **Jagdbomber** bereits den Luftraum über dem Tal verlassen hatten. Alles war in Aufruhr gewesen: Der Nachbarshund hatte gejault, als sei er geschlagen worden, die Hühner im Verschlag waren **durcheinandergeflattert**, und die kleinen Kinder hatten ihre Köpfe eingezogen und waren zu den Erwachsenen gelaufen." (Gruber 2016: 118)

Übersetzungsvorschlag:

No **buka**, prisjeća se Daldossi, time još nije prestala, jer je grmljenje i tutnjanje još sekundama nakon toga obuzelo dolinu i svima utjeralo strah u kosti. Mogao se još uvijek čuti **putujući dvostruki prasak**, koji je zvučao poput eksplozije, i zveketanje prozora, nakon što su ´**lovci**´ već napustili zračni prostor iznad doline. Sve se uzbudilo: susjedov pas je cvilio, kao da ga je netko udario, kokoši u pregradku **zbunjeno su letjele** i djeca su pognula svoje glave i dotrčala do odraslih.

Übersetzungsverbesserung:

No **jeza**, prisjeća se Daldossi, time još nije prestala, jer je grmljenje i tutnjanje još sekundama nakon toga obuzelo dolinu i svima utjeralo strah u kosti. Mogao se još uvijek čuti **dvostruki prasak**, koji je zvučao poput eksplozije, i zveketanje prozora, nakon što su ´**lovci**´ već napustili zračni

prostor iznad doline. Sve se uzbudilo: susjedov pas je cvilio, kao da ga je netko udario, kokoši u kokošinjcu **zbunjeno su letjele** i djeca **su pognute glave otrčala k odraslima.**

Der Begriff *Jagdbomber* kann als *avion lovac* oder einfach *lovac* übersetzt äquivalent ins Kroatische werden. Für das Kompositum *Doppelknall* gibt es keinen äquivalenten Begriff im Kroatischen, deswegen muss das Lexem mithilfe der Komponenten *doppelt* und *Knall* beschrieben werden. Es lautet demnach *dvostruki prasak*. Das Kompositum *durcheinandergeflattert* wurde auf eine gleichartige Weise aus den Bestandteilen *durcheinander* und *flattern* übersetzt. Um den Begriff *Spuk* zu intensivieren wurde in der Übersetzungsverbesserung anstatt *buka* das Wort *jeza* verwendet. Das Modaladverb *pognute glave* wurde anstatt des Verbs *pognula su* verwendet, um die Reihe der Verben zu unterbrechen.

Absatz 5

„Als **Luftfahrtwunder** hatte die **Überschallbomber** niemand wahrgenommen; die sich durchs Tal ziehende **Knallschleppe** war sofort als Belästigung durch die Besatzer, als militärische Machtdemonstration der Italiener interpretiert worden." (Gruber 2016: 119)

Übersetzungsvorschlag:

Kao **čudo zrakoplovstva, nadzvučni avion** nitko nije primjećivao. Taj **praskajući trag,** koji se provlačio kroz dolinu, istog je trena tumačen kao uznemiravanje od strane okupatora, kao vojnička demonstracija moći talijana.

Übersetzungsverbesserung:

Kao **čudo zrakoplovstva**, **nadzvučni avion** nitko nije primjećivao. Taj **zračni trag**, koji se provlačio kroz dolinu, istog je trena tumačen kao uznemiravanje okupatora, kao **demonstracija vojničke moći** talijana.

Das Kompositum *Luftfahrtwunder* kann aus den Bestandteilen *Luftfahrt* und *Wunder* als *čudo zrakoplovstva* übersetzt werden. Das kroatische Äquivalent für den *Überschallbomber* ist *nadzvučni avion*. Die *Knallschleppe* kann im Kroatischen als *praskajući trag* übersetzt werden, doch in der Übersetzungsverbesserung wurde dies einfach als *zračni trag* ausgedrückt, was den weißen Streifen des Flugzeugs am Himmel (nach dem Vorbeifliegen) bezeichnet. Die Beifügung *od strane* zeigte sich in der Übersetzungsverbesserung als überflüssig und wurde ausgelassen. Die Wortfolge im Kontext der *militärischen Machtdemonstration* wurde in *demonstracija vojničke moći* geändert.

Absatz 6

„Ohrwürmer kann man verscheuchen, indem man Kaugummi kaut. So überlistet man das auditive Gedächtnis. Das Kauen täuscht dem Gehirn Sprechen vor und unterdrückt auf diese Weise Melodien und Musikstücke,

die sich hartnäckig festgesetzt haben. Und was ließ sich gegen **Sehwürmer** machen? Blinzeln? Die Augen schließen? Dem Gedächtnis suggerieren, dass man schläft?" (Gruber 2016: 202)

Übersetzungsvorschlag:

Bube u uhu može se rastjerati žvakanjem žvakaće gume. Tako se nadmudri auditivno pamćenje. Žvakanje zamijeni govor u mozgu i na taj način potisne melodije i glazbena djela, koja su se tamo tvrdokorno nastanila. Što se dalo poduzeti protiv **buba u očima**? Trepnuti? Zatvoriti oči? Sugerirati pamćenju da zaspi?

Übersetzungsverbesserung:

Bube u uhu mogu se rastjerati žvakanjem žvakaće gume. Tako se **nadigra** auditivno pamćenje. **Žvakanjem se zavarava mozak kao da priča** i na taj način potiskuje melodije i glazbena djela, **koja su se tamo usidrila**. **Što bi se dalo poduzeti protiv buba u očima**? **Žmirkati**? Zatvoriti oči? Sugerirati pamćenju da zaspi?

Die Neuschöpfung *Sehwürmer* kann nach der Analogie mit *Ohrwürmer (bube u uhu)* als *bube u očima (Augenwürmer)* übersetzt werden. Ein solcher Ausdruck ist im Kroatischen nicht üblich, doch in diesem Fall gibt er den Schreibstil der Autorin am besten wieder. In der Übersetzungsverbesserung wurde anstatt *nadmudriti* die gehobene Variante *nadigrati* verwendet, sowie das Passiv *žvakanjem se zavarava mozak*. Anstatt der Nominalisierung *govor u mozgu* wurde die Verbalisierung *kao da priča* vorgeschlagen. Da der Ausdruck *tvrdokorno su se nastanila* die Geräusche nicht passend beschreiben kann, wird das Verb *usidrila (verankern)* als eine angemessenere Variante ausgewählt. Das infinite Verb *žmirkati* wurde mit dem finiten Verb *trepnuti* ersetzt.

Absatz 7

„In den hohen Baumkronen hingen zwei Fallschirmjäger. Nein, sie hingen nicht dort. Doch Daldossi sah ihre herangezoomten, von Feindkugeln durchsiebten Körper, die in die Kronen gefallen waren; er dachte an das **erfrorene** Mädchen, das beim Klettern von Tschetniks getroffen worden war, an dessen dünne Beine, die von einem Apfelbaum hingen wie **gepelzte Äste**." (Gruber 2016: 18)

Übersetzungsvorschlag:

S visokih krošnja stabala visila su dva padobranca. Ne, nisu tamo visila, no Daldossi je vidio njihova ovamo zumirana, neprijateljskim mecima izrešetana tijela, koja su pala u krošnje. Pomislio je na **smrznutu** djevojčicu, koju su četnici pogodili dok se penjala, i na njene mršave noge, koje su poput **kalemljenih grana** visile s jabuke.

Übersetzungsverbesserung:

S visokih **krošnji** stabala **visjela** su dva padobranca. Ne, nisu samo tamo visjela, Daldossi je vidio njihova zumirana, neprijateljskim mecima iz-rešetana tijela, koja su pala u krošnje. **Sjetio se smrznute** djevojčice, koju su četnici pogodili dok se penjala, i njenih mršavih nogu, koje su poput **kalemljenih grana** visjele s jabuke.

Es ist unklar, ob *erfrieren* im Sinne des *Absterbens durch Forsteinwirkung* oder *starr werden* betrachtet werden soll. Genau der gleiche Fall trifft auf die *gepelzten Äste* zu. Im Duden wird *pelzen* als *pfropfen; veredeln* erklärt, was im Kroatischen als *cijepiti, kalemiti, oplemenjivati* übersetzt werden kann. In diesem Sinne wurden *gepelzte Äste* als *kalemljene grane* übersetzt. In der Übersetzungsverbesserung wurde der Plural Genitiv *krošnji* anstatt des Singulars *krošnja* verwendet. Der 3. Person Plural *visila* wurde mit *visjela* ersetzt, da im Kroatischen der standardsprachliche Infinitiv *visjeti* lautet, während *visiti* eher in der gesprochenen Sprache verwendet wird. *Sjetio se* wurde in stilistischer Hinsicht als entsprechender empfunden, obwohl *pomislio je* auch korrekt ist.

Absatz 8

„Marlis hatte geahnt, was es für ihn bedeutet haben möchte, stundenlang zu warten, nichts zu hören, keine Bewegungen wahrzunehmen, ausgeliefert zu sein. Wenn dann eine Granate abgefeuert worden war, deren **Mündungsfeuer** keinen sichtbaren Ausgangspunkt hatte, wenn sie mit diesem Pfeifen, das immer in seinem Gedächtnis bleiben würde, plötzlich neben ihm einschlug, war sie ebenso still gewesen wie er." (Gruber 2016: 200)

Übersetzungsvorschlag:

Marlis je slutila što je za njega značilo satima čekati, ništa ne čuti, ne primjećivati nikakve pokrete, biti izručen. Kada je tada ispaljena granata, čiji **otvor paljbe** nije imao nikakvu vidljivu polazišnu točku, kada bi je s tim pištanjem, koje bi uvijek ostalo u njegovom pamćenju, odjednom kraj njega pogodila, bila je jednako mirna kao i on.

Übersetzungsverbesserung:

Marlis je slutila što je za njega značilo satima čekati, ništa ne čuti, ne primjećivati nikakve pokrete, biti izručen. **Kada bi ispaljena granata,** čija **paljba** nije imala vidljivu polazišnu točku, kada bi je s tim **fijukanjem**, koje bi uvijek ostalo u njegovom pamćenju, odjednom kraj njega pogodila, bila je jednako mirna kao i on.

Der Begriff *Mündungsfeuer* bezeichnet einen „*durch brennende Pulvergase entstehenden kurzen Feuerstrahl, der beim Abgeben eines Schusses aus der Mündung der Waffe entweicht*" (Duden.de). Im Kroatischen gibt es dafür kein Synonym.

Deswegen wird dieser Begriff seiner Bedeutung nach als *otvor paljbe* oder einfach *paljba* erklärt/übersetzt. In der Übersetzungsverbesserung ist der Ausdruck *abgefeuert worden war* ebenso im Konjunktiv Perfekt anstatt wie im Übersetzungsvorschlag im Perfekt ausgedrückt. *Das Pfeifen* wurde als *fijukanje* anstatt *pištanje* übersetzt, womit das Geräusch der abgefeuerten Granate ´hörbar´ verdeutlicht wird.

> Absatz 9
>
> „Wer hatte Daldossi von den Flüchtlingen erzählt, die nichts mehr zu essen und zu trinken hatten, die ihren Kindern die leeren Wasserkanister vorsetzten, damit sie im Meer ohne Wasser **gegen die Stille antrommelten**? **Den Regen herbeitrommelten**?" (Gruber 2016: 203)
>
> Übersetzungsvorschlag:
>
> Tko je Daldossiju pričao o izbjeglicama, koji nisu imali ništa više za jesti ni piti, koji su svojoj djeci ponudili prazne kanistre vode, kako bi u moru bez vode **stupali protiv tišine**? **Ovamo dozvali kišu?**
>
> Übersetzungsverbesserung:
>
> Tko je Daldossiju pričao o izbjeglicama, **koje** nisu imali za jesti ni piti, koje su svojoj djeci **davali** prazne kanistre vode, **kako bi razbili tišinu u moru bez vode? Prizvali kišu?**

Die Ausdrücke *antrommeln* und *herbeitrommeln* können nicht wortwörtlich übersetzt werden. Im Sinne des *Trommelns (bubnjati, lupati, udarati)* ist die Pointe ein Geräusch ´zu erzeugen´, welches die Stille unterbricht. Im Kroatischen wurde dies poetisch als *razbili tišinu u moru bez vode* übersetzt. Der Ausdruck *den Regen herbeitrommeln* wurde als *prizvati kišu* übersetzt. Das Relativpronomen *koji* muss mit dem Genus des Substantivs *izbjeglice* kongruieren, weshalb die richtige Form *koje* lautet. *Nichts mehr* wurde als Beifügung in der Übersetzungsverbesserung ausgelassen und *vorsetzen* wurde als *davati* übersetzt.

5 SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG

Schlussfolgernd kann behauptet werden, dass Werke und deren Übersetzungen, die sich mit dem Thema Migration auseinandersetzen, vor allem einen großen Beitrag zur Grenzüberschreitung und zum multikulturellen Verständnis einer Gesellschaft leisten können. Vor allem ist darunter die Sensibilisierung und das zwischenmenschliche Verständnis innerhalb einer Gesellschaft zu verstehen. In dieser Arbeit ist das Thema Migration anhand von Literatur und im Kontext des Übersetzens aus mehreren Blickwinkeln betrachtet worden. Hervorgehoben und

exemplarisch veranschaulicht wurde vor allem die Schwierigkeit des Übersetzens. Als Korpus für die Übersetzungsanalyse diente der Roman *Daldossi oder Das Leben des Augenblicks*, der im Rahmen der Lehrveranstaltung *Literatur und Medien* aus einer literaturwissenschaftlichen Sicht bearbeitet und im Rahmen und zu Zwecken der Literaturlesung ins Kroatische für ein breites Publikum übersetzt wurde.

Der Roman schildert, wie bereits erwähnt, äußerst realistisch die Kriegsthematik und die damit verbundene Migration, indem Kriegsflüchtlinge und -vertriebene durch das ´Kameraauge´ des Kriegsfotografen Bruno Daldossi festgehalten wurde.

Die Analyse der kroatischen Übersetzung, vor allem der hier in dieser Arbeit dargestellten problematischen Absätze aus dem Roman, wurde nach syntaktischen, lexikalischen, semantischen und stilistischen Merkmalen durchgeführt. Die Analyse der Übersetzungen zeigt letztendlich, was für Studierende schwer übersetzbar war und auf welche Weise sie es vorläufig (in Form von Übersetzungsvorschlägen) übersetzt haben.

Hinsichtlich der syntaktischen Analyse kann bemerkt werden, dass die deutsche Syntax (lange Sätze) schwer ins Kroatische übersetzbar ist und deswegen in kürzere bzw. in mehrere Hauptsätze aufgeteilt werden.

Im lexikalischen Bereich zeigten sich Fachbegriffe, Komposita, Neuschöpfungen und Lexeme, die kein kroatisches Äquivalent haben, als problematisch. In diesem Fall wurden Methoden, wie z.B. die Lehnübersetzung, Wahl der am nächsten liegenden Entsprechung, Explikation oder definitorische Umschreibung verwendet.

Im Bereich der Semantik ist sichtbar geworden, dass der inhaltliche Sinn des Originals beibehalten werden sollte, und im Rahmen der ursprünglichen Bedeutung zu übersetzen ist. Fehler auf semantischer Ebene entstehen, wie die Analyse zeigt, vor allem anhand falscher Interpretation des Ausgangstextes. Aus diesem Grund wird außer guten sprachlichen Kenntnissen auch ein gutes Leseverständnis (im Sinne von Literaturinterpretation) gefordert. Empathie und Mehrdeutigkeit oder Homonymie stellen nur einige der häufigen semantischen Schwierigkeiten dar. Vor allem Lexeme dürfen kontextgebunden übersetzt werden, falls es dafür keine Bestimmung in der Zielsprache gibt. Hinsichtlich stilistischer Merkmale ist aus den Übersetzungsvarianten ersichtlich, dass die Übersetzungen stilistisch variieren, und dass verschiedene unterschiedliche Interpretationen des Ausgangstextes zu unterschiedlichen Übersetzungen führen können.

Letztendlich kann in Bezug auf das Thema *Migration* hervorgehoben und betont werden, dass nicht nur literarische Werke ein ´Migrationsverständnis´ leisten, sondern dass es vor allem die Übersetzungen von Literatur sind, die zur Sensibilisierung für Fremdes, die Anderen, eine andere Kultur im Sinne von Grenzüberschreitung, Völkerverständigung, Mulitkulturaliät, Inter- und Transkulturalität

führen. Literaturübersetzung wirft die Fragen um das Thema Migration auf und verdeutlicht sie, indem sie vom Leser eine Stellungnahme fordert und an das Verständnis für das Fremde appelliert.

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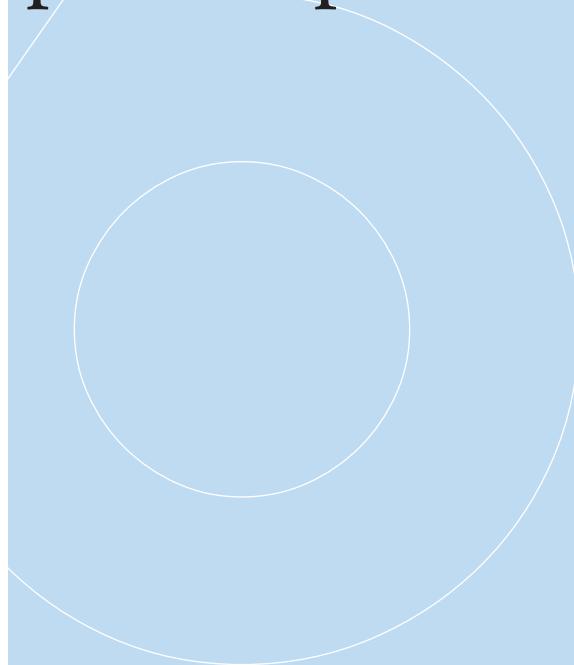
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IV

Migration through the Prism of Law / Migration durch das Prisma des Rechts / Migracije skozi prizmo prava

European Transcultural Law Clinics for Migrants and Refugees: Possibilities and Perspectives for Interpreters and Translators

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Povzetek

Pravne klinike zagotavljajo pomoč marginaliziranim in socialno šibkejšim članom prebivalstva, ki nimajo možnosti za uporabo drugih oblik pravne pomoči in ne razpolagajo z informacijami, kako in kje pridobiti pravni nasvet. Ob tem se pojavlja vprašanje, ali tovrtstne klinike zagotavljajo ob pravni podpori tudi prevajalske in/ali tolmaške storitve, namenjene priseljencem, beguncem, prosilcem za azil ali kateri koli osebi, ki ne razume ali govori slovenskega jezika. Ranljive družbene skupine nikakor ne bi smele ostati brez brezplačne pravne pomoči in /ali tolmaško-prevajalskih storitev. V obstoječih slovenskih pravnih klinikah, ki nudijo *pro bono* tolmaške storitve, osebe nimajo ustrezne tolmaške izobrazbe. Članek se osredotoča na možnosti zagotavljanja strokovnih prevajalskih in/ali tolmaških storitev v obliki inovativnih transkulturnih pravnih klinik na univerzitetni ravni, upoštevajoč dejstvo, da je evropska večjezičnost edinstven vidik kulturne raznolikosti. Transkulturne pravne klinike bi pomenile novost v slovenskem visokošolskem izobraževalnem procesu, študentom bi jih lahko ponudili kot izbirni ali obvezni predmet.

Ključne besede: pravna klinika, tolmačenje, prevajanje, univerzitetni predmetnik, Slovenija

1 CLINICAL LEGAL EDUCATION AND TRANSLATING/INTERPRETING SERVICES

The European Network of Clinical Legal Education (ENCLE)[1] provides the following definition of clinical legal education[2]:

> Clinical legal education is a legal teaching method based on experiential learning, which fosters the growth of knowledge, personal skills and values, while promoting social justice at the same time. As a broad term, it encompasses varieties of formal, non-formal and informal educational programs and projects that use practical-oriented, student-centred, problem-based, interactive learning methods, including, but not limited to, the practical work of students on real cases and social issues supervised by academics and professionals. These educational activities aim to develop professional attitudes and foster the growth and practical skills of students with regard to the modern understanding of the role of the socially oriented professional in promoting the rule of law, providing access to justice and peaceful conflict resolutions, and solving social problems.[3]

According to Wilson, the key is not teaching, but learning; the teacher is not the "sage on the stage" but "the guide on the side". Learning occurs when the students are more active than passive, and teaching techniques can be arrayed along a spectrum from most passive (lecture and case method) to most active (the live client clinic) (2009: 829)

Law clinics in general provide aid to marginalised and underserved parts of the population who do not have the means to seek other forms of legal aid, and often lack the information to do so. According to Bartoli, the term "clinic" is in fact borrowed from medical training, in which learners, alongside their teachers, participate in the treatment of real patients. Clinical legal education was born in the early twentieth century in the United States during a serious rethink of teaching and curricula of the law schools (2016: 22). In fact, the practice of law clinics is still very efficient in the US where, according to Wilson, clinical legal education is now a mainstay of legal education, with well over 800 in-house clinical programs operating in US law schools and an average of six clinical subjects in each school. Around 600 clinical teachers attend the annual meeting of clinical teachers sponsored by the Association of American Law Schools (AALS), and hundreds more attend regional meetings sponsored by

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1   European Network for Clinical Legal Education (ENCLE) established in 2012/2013.

2   Law clinics have their roots in the United States. Although there had been calls for clinical legal education to complement theoretical academic education as early as the 1920s, and "a few isolated experiments with law school clinics at Denver, Duke, and Southern California universities during the 1920s and 1930s" (Wizner 2002: 1933), the idea was initially slow to spread.

3   ENCLE, Definition of a legal clinic, in http://encle.org/about-encle/definition-of-a-legal-clinic.

the same organization or by the Clinical Legal Education Association (CLEA) (2009: 827)

According to a report by the Center for the Study of Applied Legal Education's (CSALE) for 2016-17, (187 schools in the Master Survey reported) a total of 1,433 distinct law clinics were offered during the 2016/17 academic year (with clinics offering more than one semester counting as only one class credit). All but four schools offered at least one law clinic (Kuehn & Santacroce 2017: 8).

Since the early 1960s and 1970s the "idea" of the law clinic has spread to many other countries, such as Canada, Australia, and Great Britain, where unions of students, driven by a strong motivation to give concrete solutions in the name of social justice, started centres for free legal assistance. Today, there is a "global clinical movement" confirming the success of this legal education methodology. As Bartoli (2016: 22) finds, "the different definitions agree that the legal clinic programs have a dual nature (educational and pro-social) and dual benefits (to the students and clients)".

Law clinics first emerged in Central and Eastern Europe in the latter half of the 1990s in the wake of the massive changes after the fall of the Iron Curtain, when new societal, governmental and legal structures were forming. There was a need for a form of hands-on legal education that could support such changes, as well as a high demand for legal aid. Many of these local efforts received financial support from American organisations, such as the Open Society, leading to the creation of legal clinics in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland (Romano 2016: 30f.) as well as in Russia[4] and Ukraine (Rekosh 2005: 44). Poland, in particular, has developed a strong tradition of clinical legal education, with 26 law clinics in 15 cities (Hannemann & Dietlein 2016: 49).

It was only following the adoption of the Bologna Declaration (aimed at the creation of a common European area for higher education), the European integration process and the growing competition between public and private universities that clinical legal education began to take hold in Western Europe (Romano 2016: 34). In a survey of European law clinics, Romano (2016: 15) found that the vast majority of clinics in the EU are no more than 15 years old, and many are less than five. The survey encompasses over 100 clinics, but the author notes that it is not a complete census of all clinical legal programmes. Among the countries with the largest number of clinics are Italy, Poland, Germany and the UK. Most have a very low budget (50% have less than €10,000 a year), and are funded mainly by the university, but this differs even within countries, and Poland is the only country with a uniform system. Polish law clinics are centrally coordinated by a

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[4] For more information on clinical legal education in Russia, see Oleg Anischik, "The State of Clinical Legal Education in Russia and the Foundation for Clinical Legal Education (CLEF)".

consortium and are a fully recognised part of the country's reform of legal education (Zielinska 2005: 14).

Currently, only two universities in Austria offer legal clinics: the University of Vienna and the University of Graz. The numbers are much higher in Germany, where, according to Kilian and Wenzel, sixty-four law clinics are currently operating (2017: 963). There are thirty-four legal clinics in Italy, while in Belgium only four law clinics are offered as a part of the higher education curriculum.

One of the main problems is that most law clinics in European countries operate with a very low budget: more than 60% of clinics draw their budget from university funds. Twenty-six per cent of clinic budgets are sponsored by foundations and private entities. Only 13% receive funding from local or national government agencies (Bartoli 2016: 49).

The scope is very different as well. In the US, law students may represent their clients in court with a supervising lawyer under the Student Practice Rules[5] (Hannemann & Dietlein 2016: 46f.), while in Germany, it only became possible to set up law clinics with the 2008 amendment to the Legal Services Act (Rechtsdienstleistungsgesetz), which regulates the provision of legal services by non-lawyers. Such services have to be provided free of cost (Hannemann & Dietlein 2016: 2) and supervised by a lawyer (ibid: 10). In Slovenia, students are not allowed to provide any legal services in court, even if supervised.

Law clinic services, practical legal education and legal aid, are generally provided *pro bono,* but while some law clinics are open to everyone, others may only accept clients who meet certain criteria, e. g. are indigent, poor, or belong to a certain population group.

According to Bloch (2008: 111), legal education is going global, and "what makes clinical legal education a global phenomenon is the worldwide importance of its ultimate goal: preparing future lawyers for high-quality, ethical law practice grounded in a legal profession dedicated to social justice".

Naturally, law clinics are neither the only kind of clinical legal education nor the only form of *pro bono* student activities. Other non-governmental organisations may provide legal aid similar to that provided in law clinics, but lack the aspect of legal training.

While in general the objectives and goals of law clinics are clear, the question that we, as translators and interpreters, cannot help asking is how do clinics guarantee not only legal aid but also translating/interpreting services when assisting

5   For details, see http://www.law.georgetown.edu/ library/research/guides/studentpractice.cfm (last accessed 12 February 2018)

immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers or any other person who does not speak the language of the majority? These, often marginalised, groups should by no means be denied *pro bono* legal aid, but with such low-cost services how can we guarantee fluent and clear communication? Who usually provides these services? Is there any feedback on their quality? In which languages is the legal aid offered? The scientific literature does not offer any insight into these issues.

It is our strong opinion that in today's global world, offering professional translating/interpreting services on a regular, organised and supervised basis is crucial for any legal clinic. There is a great need for legal interpreters with knowledge of complex processes and the legal system, as well as the social skills needed to build trust and rapport, and the respective language combinations required to provide these services. Unfortunately, in Slovenian legal clinics, providing interpreting/translating services for migrants, refugees and any person who does not speak Slovenian is not to be taken for granted, as in most cases, people providing the *pro bono* interpreting services are bilingual students who lack either legal training, interpreter training, or both, which can have detrimental consequences.[6]

Thus, the implementation of a translation/interpreting (transcultural) legal clinic at the university level may significantly reduce costs, offer students of translating and interpreting some much needed practical experience, and build connections and mutual trust between students and legal professionals and legal interpreters. We define a *transcultural legal clinic* as a legal clinic that makes *pro bono* legal aid accessible to people of various cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, combining the elements of legal aid and practical legal and interpreting training.

2 LAW CLINICS IN SLOVENIA

The terms "law clinic" or "legal clinic" do not exist in the Slovenian legislation. Therefore, there is no legal basis for the establishment and operation of a law clinic. Even the term "clinic" (imported from the US) should be used very carefully, as in the Slovenian legislation it is only applied to the field of healthcare. If a legal clinic is offered as an extra-curricular or inter-curricular activity for students under the supervision of a mentor, all services should be offered *pro bono* and students are not allowed to offer any legal aid or interpreting/translating service in court, even if supervised. This can only be done by lawyers and court interpreters.

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6 Despite EU Directive 2010/64/EU on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings and related directives, interpreting at police interviews and in court is often at the bare minimum level, and may not be available for conversations with the public defender.

As in many other European countries, the tradition of law clinics in Slovenia is relatively new. The Slovenian Bar Association might have opposed the provision of legal services by students because of strict rules of admission to the bar and ethical standards forbidding non-lawyers from practicing law, and, perhaps most basically, a clinic might be "taking bread from the table" from the perspective of the practicing bar.

The Legal Clinic for Migrants and Refugees (*Pravna klinika za begunce in tujce*) was only established in 2000, as an extra-curricular activity at the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana, in cooperation with PIC (Legal-Informational Centre for NGOs - *Pravno-informacijski center nevladnih organizacij*) as a mentor organisation to strengthen their knowledge and gain practical insights. Additionally, PIC is a partner / mentor organization for two other legal clinics, established at the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana, i.e. Legal Clinic for Environmental Protection (*Pravna klinika za varstvo okolja*), and Legal Counselling for Protection against Discrimination (*Pravna svetovalnica za varstvo pred diskriminacijo*).

The Legal Clinic for Migrants and Refugees empowers law students in the field of international protection procedures. Students participating in the legal clinic obtain in-depth knowledge of asylum legislation and asylum procedures in Slovenia, and offer legal assistance to refugees and foreigners. Each year, approximately 10-15 senior year students take part in the programme, benefiting from introductory seminars held by practitioners from the field and from the opportunity to get involved in the everyday work of one of the partner institutions of the Legal Clinic. All students who are completing at least their 3rd year in the Faculty of Law can apply. Knowledge of English, at least, and good communication skills, are required. The selection procedure usually involves both a written application and a personal interview. If more students apply than there are places available, a preliminary selection is made after the interview, taking the following criteria into account: motivation, average grade, foreign language skills, choice of the appropriate study course, possible previous experience and the candidate's suitability according to his/her personal interview.

There is also a law clinic called "Law in Sport" registered as an extra-curricular activity at the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana.

In addition, the subject "Law Clinic" was introduced as part of the curriculum (before the Bologna reform) at the Faculty of Law at the University of Maribor. Supervised students provided *pro bono* legal advice for the PIP Institute (*Pravo, Informacija, Pomoč*)[7], which took full responsibility for the legal advice given. With the Bologna reform and the new accreditation of the study program, the subject "Legal Clinic" was replaced by "Legal Methods, Skills and Informatics".

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7   Law, Information, Help.

Law students conduct study-based credit-rated clinical work, which is carried out in cooperation with the Humanitarian Society's "The Law for All", organised as an online platform. Hence, the Faculty of Law also offers an opportunity for direct customer services.

When we approached the law clinics in Ljubljana and the Humanitarian Society in Maribor with questions on translating/interpreting services, their brief response was that translating/interpreting services are usually provided by bilingual students or members of the society who are not professional translators and interpreters. The issue of translating/interpreting is not seen to be crucial, as the emphasis is on providing legal aid. However, how can legal aid be properly provided to people who may not understand even English, not to mention Slovene? There is no need to elaborate on the importance of providing quick and professional translating, and especially interpreting services, in cases when legal aid is offered to a person who does not speak Slovene, and perhaps not even English.

This sensitive issue is, in fact, very important, considering the fact that Slovenia has traditionally been a transit country for migration. In 2016, migrants amounted to 6.6% of the Slovene population (based on valid residence permits: 24,687 citizens of European Union Member States and European Economic Area States, and 110,849 third-country nationals held a valid residence permit in Slovenia)[8]. Slovenia has mostly been a destination country for labour-led migration, followed by migration for the purpose of education and family reunification. Asylum-seekers and international protection beneficiaries traditionally represent a small share of immigration to Slovenia, but their number increased with the recent refugee crisis in 2015, which reached Slovenia in September 2015 as a consequence of Hungary closing its border with Serbia and Croatia. From October 2015 to January 2016, 422,000 refugees and migrants crossed Slovenia, since it was a transition country on their way towards other European countries to the west and north. After closure of the so-called Balkan route (with the conclusion of the EU – Turkey agreement), Slovenia's efforts shifted from providing humanitarian assistance during the transit emergency to refugee integration. The goal, in terms of the European solidarity scheme, is to relocate 567 asylum-seekers from Italy or Greece, and to resettle 20 persons from third countries (with a commitment to resettle an additional 40 Syrian citizens from Turkey).

One possible solution to the problem with interpreting/translating for legal aid could be implementing a translating/interpreting legal clinic as a compulsory/elective course at the Department for Translation Studies. Supervised students of translating or/and interpreting can provide *pro bono* services to refugees, asylum seekers and migrants. In this way, students will be offered valuable practical experience, while existing law clinics (and also various governmental and

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8   Source: Ministry of Interior.

non-governmental organizations) will be able to provide supervised interpreting/translating services.

3 IMPLEMENTING A TRANSLATING/INTERPRETING LEGAL CLINIC

We believe that a realistic and relatively short-term possibility for implementation of a translating/interpreting legal clinic occurs within the project "TransLaw. Exploring Legal Interpreting Service Paths and Transcultural Law Clinics for persons suspected or accused of a crime", which received funding from the European Union's DG JUSTICE programme, JUST-JACC-PROC-AG-2016.

This project "is an innovative and valuable response to the current refugee crisis, which, since 2015, has increased the demand for legal interpreting in Europe, especially in German-speaking countries and the Alps-Adria region.[9] The main objective of the project is to discover and implement new pathways to secure the rights of persons suspected or accused of a crime quickly and in mutual cooperation with legal professionals in the form of Transcultural Law Clinics as intra- or extra-curricular activities at the university level. Universities have played a vital role in developing the field of training in legal interpreting, but joint intersectoral cooperation between legal professionals and legal interpreters as well as offering practical experience to students, is still rare.

Considering the fact that the European Union has twenty-four official languages and five hundred fifty-two language combinations, professional interpreting is much needed in all fields of legal services. European multilingualism is a unique aspect of the region's cultural diversity and the basis for freedom of speech and expression, access to information, and equality in criminal proceedings. According to the UN-Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Art. 5/6), all persons have the right to a fair trial in a language they understand.

Europe is undergoing a steady progression in the diversity of its (criminal) population, and a steady progression of language-requirements in the respective trial phases. Unfortunately, the economic situation puts financial pressure on judicial services in charge of hiring interpreters, and an increasing number of persons suspected or accused of crimes undergo very complex processes in the pre-trial, trial, and post-trial phases, which require an interpreter. However, persons suspected

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9   The partners in the project are Universitat Wien, Universita Degli Studi di Trieste, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and Univerza v Mariboru. Austria, Italy, Belgium and Slovenia have traditionally been either transit countries or final destinations for migration.

or accused of a crime are not usually assigned only one interpreter, but oftentimes many interpreters in the pre-trial, trial, and post-trial phases, which makes the process even more complex. An efficient solution for integrating qualified legal interpreters into these complex criminal proceedings is therefore crucial to ensuring judicial efficiency and strengthening the rights of EU citizens suspected or accused of a crime.

The project "TransLaw" will produce four innovative TransLaw Clinics in four European countries (Austria, Belgium, Italy and Slovenia) and will explore the functioning of this format in each country. Additionally, it is considered a new approach to train both interpreters and legal professionals in one joint programme, preparing them for their daily work together in service paths in criminal proceedings (process innovation).

The project's aim is for students to gain increased knowledge about the complex service paths of persons suspected or accused of a crime, as well as revealing the possibilities and constraints of qualified legal interpreters in this pathway. The project hopes to strengthen the efforts to help the refugee crisis in the Alps-Adria region by applying a coordinated and transferable approach and with a specific regional approach (geographical added value).

In the frame of the project "TransLaw", we will implement the translating/interpreting clinic at the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor as an elective subject entitled "Multilingual and transcultural communication in criminal matters" in the second cycle (MA) programme of Translation and Interpreting at the Department of Translation Studies, in cooperation with the Faculty of Law.[10] The subject will comprise thirty hours and will be held in both English and German. Later an introduction of other languages, i.e. Russian, Macedonian, Croatian, Serbian, Albanian, Turkish or Farsi, may also be considered. At this stage, due to financial constraints, the course will only be offered in two languages. The outline syllabus covers the following topics:

- Introduction to international criminal procedural law and European criminal law.

- Communication in foreign languages and serving of documents in national criminal law.

- Human rights in an international environment.

- Translating and interpreting for non-Slovene speakers who are suspected or accused of a crime as a special means of offering free services of translating and interpreting, in cooperation with students from the Faculty of Law.

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10 The course will be offered to students in the 2019/2020 school year.

- Cultural values and social norms in the context of international criminal law.

- Analysis of the current state of interpreting and/or translating services with a special emphasis on translating and interpreting for non-Slovene speakers suspected or accused of a crime.

- Legal terminology in the field of criminal and international public law.

- Cultural, social and legal aspects of translating and/or interpreting for foreigners accused of committing a criminal offence

- Practice in a real environment, i.e. in governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions.

The Faculty of Law undertook to provide a qualified person to cooperate with this project. The seminar will be followed by practical work, which will constitute approximately 2 to 4 hours per week according to a timetable agreed upon by the students and the mentor. The students will be offering *pro bono* interpreting and translation services to refugees, asylum seekers and migrants, primarily to persons accused of criminal offenses, on request. Students will be supervised by mentors from various non-governmental organisations (the Sloga platform), the Legal-Informational Centre for NGOs (*Pravno-informacijski center nevladnih organizacij – PIC*) as well as the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman of Slovenia, the Slovenian Ministry of the Interior and the Administrative Court of Slovenia and (sworn) court interpreters.

There is another possibility for the implementation of the project's goals. At the University of Maribor, students in second cycle study programmes who, for the purpose of increasing the level of cooperation between the university and employers, get practical work experience at a company, are granted six ECTS points for one month of practical work experience. These points are then recorded in their diploma supplement as an additionally completed requirement that is not part of the study programme in which they are enrolled (in the section titled 'Additional Information'). Students can complete no more than four months of practical work experience and it must be carried out during their full-time studies. Only practical work experience that has been confirmed in advance and for which the content of the student's work in the company is defined will be recognised. Following the completion of the practical work experience, students should submit a summarised report (up to two pages) that clearly states what skills and knowledge, related to their field of study, they obtained during their practical work experience. Thus the theoretical contents of the new subject "Legal Interpreting and Translation Clinic"[11] may be offered as an elective/compulsory

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11 Currently, there is no translating/interpreting (transcultural) legal clinic registered as an intra-curricular or extra-curricular activity at any university in Slovenia.

course, while practical work at the Legal and Translation/Interpretation Clinic or Consultancy for Foreign Citizens and Migrants (which includes *pro bono* work) may be offered to students as an extracurricular activity that will be evaluated with ECTS points. In cases when the project work amounts to a month, it can be treated as practical work experience.

As for clinical models, students may work in teams and deal with one case at a time. They may do a monitored intake interview with a start-up to assess its needs. Afterwards, they would draft letters of advice, including memos, terms and conditions, or privacy policies, which would be supervised by a professional translator or interpreter. Students may also provide telephone interpreting to clients on the basis of queries submitted to a translating/interpreting law clinic website.

"Simulated advice" may also be integrated into the course, being similar to the idea of a moot court when a fictitious problem exists for a fictitious client, with role-playing, and students interpreting in this situation.

We had certain concerns about evaluation, but while evaluation may be difficult, ongoing self-assessment (e.g. personal portfolios) by students may aid in the process. Clinics may also choose to adopt individual or team assessment. Outside external partners, such as law firms, can also assist with evaluation, depending on university rules.

4 CONCLUSION

We firmly believe that the implementation of a new "Legal Interpreting and Translation Clinic" will increase knowledge about the employability of refugees, migrants, and students with prior legal or language skills, and thus strengthen the trust of the (refugee) population in the justice system.

Practice in real or realistic situations is generally regarded as important in interpreter training, and many universities require students to participate in an internship or other form of practical training. Interpreting at a law clinic offers an opportunity for public service or legal interpreting students to work in a setting where their interpretation matters, as opposed to interpreting in mock trials and roleplay exercises at university or simply observing real trials. Working on real cases, with real clients and law students, allows students to reflect on their role and the ethics and dynamics of such interpreter-mediated interactions, and to acquire a better understanding of law and legal terminology. Of course, this presents an opportunity for law students as well. They will learn how to work

with interpreters: addressing the client directly rather than asking the interpreter to ask the client something, waiting for the interpretation to be completed before responding, keeping utterances to a manageable length, providing the interpreter with the material they need to prepare, etc. They will also learn what they can and cannot expect from an interpreter, how important cultural background, dialect and nuanced communication can be, and learn to value the difficulty of the interpreter's task.

Transcultural law clinics address various problems by providing interpreting services by students under the supervision of an interpreting trainer or professional, thus allowing both law and interpreting students to help particularly vulnerable people, become sensitised to their needs, gain empathy and an understanding of the ethics and social responsibility involved in their respective professions.

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Behind the Scenes of Legal Discourse

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Povzetek

Kot je izpostavil Mellinkoff (1963: vi), je pravo disciplina, ki temelji na imanentni moči pravnega jezika. Ta moč izhaja predvsem iz trojne narave pravnega jezika - iz njegove normativne, performativne in strokovne razsežnosti (Cao 2007:13), pa tudi iz nekaterih manj konkretnih lastnosti, kot je na primer občasna nedoločnost, ki lahko zbuja negotovost, in včasih hotena nejasnost, ki vliva strah in spoštovanje. Poleg tega nekatera pravna dejanja obdaja slovesno, skoraj mistično vzdušje, katerega ključna sestavina je pravni jezik. Ta učinek slovesnosti je ustvarjen z rabo diskurza, ki je pogosto delno ali pa povsem nerazumljiv laikom, ki so udeleženi v pravni komunikaciji, dodatno pa ga še podpirajo in krepijo neverbalni elementi, kot je na primer raba značilnih simbolov, ki označujejo pravno okolje, stroga porazdelitev prostora v sodni dvorani in pa uporaba za sodno okolje značilnih pripomočkov in ceremoniala. Le če se v celoti zavedajo teh izrecnih, pa tudi manj očitnih razsežnosti pravnega diskurza, bodo pravni prevajalci in tolmači lahko opravljali svojo vlogo v interesu udeležencev v pravni komunikaciji, še posebej tistih šibkejših in bolj ranljivih.

Ključne besede: pravni diskurz, besedilni kulturem, vizualna slovnica, zgodovinsko in ideološko ozadje

0 INTRODUCTION

In "The Language of Law" Mellinkoff pointed out that "the law is a profession of words" (1963: vi), i.e. a discipline relying on and deriving its force from the intrinsic power of legal language. Legal language as it is used in legal discourse in the form of spoken or written texts with the purpose of realising legal acts, is informed by several factors and produces effects which reach far beyond its merely linguistic dimensions. In order to envisage these extra-textual dimensions, we suggest viewing legal texts in the light of the *text-cultureme model* (Kocbek: 2014), developed on the basis of Oksaar's concept of *cultureme* (1988*).* The concept of *text-cultureme* has been designed from a translational perspective and structured to accommodate different textual levels shaped by culturally bound text norms and conventions, as well as the extra-textual factors affecting the text. We thus suggest examining legal texts in spoken and written form by considering their verbal dimension, but also their para-verbal and non-verbal aspects specific to legal communication, as well as their extra-verbal dimension (the legal system and the broader culture underlying the text and providing its communicative framework).

When examining spoken and written texts used in legal discourse in different legal settings, some universal traits come to the fore. The language used to produce legal texts, but also to interpret and enforce them, is marked by some common features, which function as the common denominator of legal languages in general, irrespective of the legal systems in which they are embedded. The most prominent universal characteristics of legal language are its normative, performative and technical nature, but also its inherent indeterminacy and opacity. In legal discourse, these aspects of legal language are often supported and enhanced by para-verbal and non-verbal elements, which are specific to legal communication and legal settings. On the other hand, it also needs to be considered that every legal language is system-bound and that each of its dimensions (lexical, syntactic, stylistic, pragmatic) needs to be viewed in the context of the legal system and the wider legal culture to which it is bound (de Groot 1998: 21).

We will thus first discuss the universal features of legal languages supplemented by the para-verbal and non-verbal aspects involved in legal discourse, which stem from the specific nature of law as a discipline and its function in society.

1 UNIVERSAL FEATURES OF LEGAL LANGUAGES

As noted by Mellinkoff (1963: vi), law is a discipline that relies on and operates through the power of legal language. This power essentially stems from the

threefold nature of legal language – its normative, performative and technical dimension (Cao 2007:13), but also from some of its less palpable features, such as its occasional vagueness that may generate uncertainty, and its at times intentional opacity, which can instil fear and respect. Moreover, certain legal acts are surrounded by a somehow mystic and solemn atmosphere, of which legal language is an essential component. Participants in legal communication, but especially legal translators whose role is to enable legal communication across the boundaries of legal languages and legal systems, need to be aware of all these aspects in order to be able to best render justice to all the explicit and implicit facets of legal discourse.

1.1 The normative, performative and technical character of legal languages

As regards the normative nature of legal language, Cao (2007:13) states that the basic function of law in society is "guiding human behaviour and regulating human relations". Similarly, Jenkins (1980: 98) sees law as "a set of prescriptions, having the form of imperatives, defining and enforcing the arrangements, relationships, procedures and patterns of behaviour that are to be followed in a society" (Jenkins 1980: 98). In the various arenas of law, legal texts of all kinds, spoken and written, are formulated, interpreted and enforced primarily through language which thus takes the form of medium, process and product (Maley 1994:11). To fulfil these functions, i.e. essentially creating, producing and expressing norms, the language in its normative dimension needs to be highly prescriptive, directive and imperative, and generally uses modals, such as the English *shall, must*, full lexical verbs such as *bind, obligate, undertake, forbid*, etc. and nouns, such as *order, sentence, ruling* (and their equivalents in other languages).

The normative nature of law and legal language basically depends on the performative power of language as described by the speech act theory proposed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). In its performative dimension, legal language is used to impose obligations, confer rights, express prohibitions and grant permission. More precisely, by using legal language, people perform acts such as accepting public and private legal responsibilities, assuming legal roles and qualities, obtaining and/or transferring legal rights and imposing or discharging obligations (Jori 1994:2092). Legal texts, such as statutes, contracts, wills are speech acts *per definitionem,* and one of their distinguishing linguistic features is the use of performativity markers, such as the use of the modals *shall* and *may* in English and performative verbs, such as *declare, adjudge, pronounce, undertake, bind oneself,*

assume (the obligation/liability), *grant, confer* (rights), etc., and their corresponding translations in other languages.

Legal language is also a technical language, which presupposes the existence of a legal system and particular rules of law against the background of which the terminology and lexicon it uses acquire their full meaning. As Jackson (1985:47) points out, the technical nature of legal language is conditioned by the fact that it has "a lexicon constituted in a manner different from that of the ordinary language, and involving terms related to each other in ways different from those of ordinary language". The words used in a legal text only make sense within the legal system underlying the texts, which is thus critical to their understanding. Accordingly, legal language is likely to be incomprehensible to those who lack the knowledge of the corresponding legal system, although they have a sound knowledge of the natural language concerned (Jackson 1985:47). This feature may be strongly felt by laypersons involved in legal proceedings of any kind who may feel intimidated by the unintelligible nature of certain legal texts. Being aware of and familiar with the technical dimension of legal languages is of particular importance to legal translators who, in order to be able to translate between different legal languages, need to be acquainted with the legal systems involved in a translation, or as stated by de Groot are "obliged to practice comparative law" (1998: 21).

1.2 The indeterminacy and opacity of legal language

A further feature of legal language, which may generate intimidating effects, is the fact that, in contrast to its prescriptive nature, which presupposes absolute exactness and precision, legal language in general is characterised by a certain amount of indeterminacy, or as described in Cao (2007: 19), some of its expressions have "a core of settled meaning" surrounded by "a penumbra of uncertainty". Legal languages often contain terms, such as the English terms "in due course" (*pravočasno/v ustreznem času; a tempo debito; rechtzeitig, zu gegebener Zeit*), "reasonable" in all its collocations, such as e.g. "reasonable compensation /doubt/ endeavours" (*ustrezno plačilo / upravičen dvom/ razumna prizadevanja, po najboljši moči; compenso/indennizzo ragionevole /congruo, dubbio/sforzo ragionevole; angemessene Entschädigung/ berechtigter Zweifel / angemessene Anstrengung*), "diligence of a prudent businessman" (*skrbnost dobrega gospodarja; diligenza di un buon commerciante/di un operatore prudente; Sorgfalt eines ordentlichen Kaufmanns*), "in good faith" (*v dobri veri; in buona fede; nach Treu und Glauben)*, the interpretation of which is often uncertain and ambiguous.

An area of language use which may generate indeterminacy and opacity is the area of evocative language. There are some metaphorically generated terms, which are

universal to legal language, and are found in the vocabulary of different legal cultures, prevailingly with the same meaning (e.g. *small print/ Kleindruck / drobni tisk*; *third parties/ Dritte/ tretje stranke/terzi*; *force majeure/ höhere Gewalt/ višja sila /forza maggiore*), and are thus less likely to create uncertainty, especially with participants in communication who have some knowledge of law. Others, however, are highly culture-bound, such as *lifting/piercing the corporate veil, yellow dog clause/contract,* transactions *made at arm's length, Faustpfandrecht* (dead pledge), *po črki zakona / secondo lo spirito e la lettera del regolamento* (following the letter of law*), offerta sottobanco* (private offer, offer given underhand); *dare/ricevere il nulla osta* (grant/receive a permit, approval), and might give rise to doubts as to their exact meaning, especially when they need to be translated. When rendering evocative language, literal translations are, as a rule, to be avoided as they would create novel metaphors which are contrary to the static nature of legal language.

A further manifestation of the hermetic nature of legal language, as it is perceived by participants in legal communication, especially in court proceedings, is the use of a language which is strange and partly or totally incomprehensible to the laypersons involved in the proceedings. Legal language in its most status-bound and hermetic form, i.e. *legalese,* is often used by court officials, practising lawyers, and legal scholars, to display their professional knowledge, distinguish themselves from other professionals and non-initiated laypersons, and strengthen their professional authority. Latin terms and phrases, archaisms, acronyms, jargon elements are some of the most obvious components of the various national varieties of *legalese*.

In the Middle Ages, court proceedings throughout Europe were often conducted in Latin and judgements were pronounced in Latin until the beginning of modern times, although in most of the cases this language could not be understood by the parties to the proceedings (Mattila 2006:48). Nowadays, Latin still maintains this estranging and status-conferring role, as Latin terms and phrases, including the so-called brocards (e.g. *in dubio pro reo, pacta sunt servanda*, etc.) are still an important part of the vocabulary of legal languages. Learning Latin thus continues to be an obligatory requirement for law students worldwide. Contemporary English, German, Italian and Slovene legal texts still show influences of Latin as the legal lingua franca of the past. Some Latin terms are universal, i.e. used in different legal systems with (prevailingly) the same meaning (e.g. *bona fides, pro bono, ex officio, onus probandi*), while others are strictly system-bound, as is the case with a number of Latin expressions used in Legal English (e.g. *affidavit, stare decisis, subpoena)* which are not genuine Roman legal terms and are only used in the context of Common Law.

Other languages have been used in legal settings with a similar role to that of Latin. As discussed in section 4.4 below, Law French was used in the English courts not only during Norman rule, but also long after French disappeared from

other walks of life. In what is now the territory of Slovenia, German was the official language used in courts throughout the Middle Ages until the middle of the 19th century, when communication started to be partly conducted also in Slovene (Kocbek 2011: 140). The German language used in court not only inspired respect in the Slovene parties involved in the proceedings, but had a clearly intimidating effect on them.

As noted by Lemmens (2011: 88). in the era of globalisation English is replacing Latin not only as the legal lingua franca, but also in its status-bound and status-conferring role. Thus, new generations of Slovene, Italian and German lawyers are extremely fond of using English "buzz words", e.g. *deal, due diligence, merger, takeover*, etc. emblematically as role markers to demonstrate their skills and underline the international dimension of their activities.

Cao (2007: 19) points out that the ambiguity, generality and vagueness of certain terms generates both intralingual uncertainty (within a given legal language), but also interlingual uncertainty arising from the necessity to translate them into another legal language.

The normative, performative and technical dimensions of legal language and its status-conferring role are often supplemented and enhanced by para-verbal, non-verbal and extra-verbal aspects, and circumstances that confer an aura of solemnity and mystical nature to legal discourse and thus turn it into an extraordinary instrument of power.

1.3 Solemnity and rituality of legal language

Legal language has an important role in creating the atmosphere of solemnity, which surrounds certain legal acts and is meant to strengthen the authority of law and of those who exercise it, while at the same generating respect or even fear in those to whom law is administered. As shown by Mattila (2006: 45 – 46), in the past, but in some parts of the world even today, law has been attributed a sacred character and this aspect is reflected in language where in preambles to some significant laws and very often to Constitutions, reference is made to the fact that the legislator has been empowered by a deity. Similarly, witnesses in some countries (the USA, the UK), and also persons appointed to an office, still swear on the Bible. In this respect it needs to be mentioned that in Legal Italian some of the verbs typically used in legal proceedings are actually called "verbi liturgici" (liturgical verbs) as they are typically used either in the context of religious ceremonies or in legal communication (e.g. *adire, celebrare un processo, dedurre, lamentare, escutere, presentare ricorso /istanza, pronunciare).*

A feature illustrating the solemn character of legal language is also the fact that in texts, such as judgements, rulings, court orders, etc., through which legislative power is exercised, the institutions issuing them declare to act on behalf of the people (i.e. personifying the nation), or the highest authority (e.g. in United Kingdom, but also in some of the Commonwealth countries, in the name of H.M. the Queen). When studying legal documents of this kind from the period of the Austrian-Hungarian rule in Slovenia, references to the Emperor and King as the highest authority exercising its power are frequently found.

Another aspect through which the solemnity of legal language is achieved is its ritual character. As described by Mattila (2006:47), in the past the power of legal language was also based on the hypnotic rhythm and on the performing of established rites which, apart from language, involved specific gestures, clothing and special settings, all of which strengthened the authority of law and were meant to inspire fear in those inclined to break it. Archaic law was thus often expressed in ritual formulas which relied on para-verbal aspects such as an expressly rhythmical and melodious structure, with an extensive use of repetition, alliteration, binary formulas, strings of synonyms or quasi synonyms (some of these structures are still used at present in Legal English as discussed in section 3.4 hereof).

In Slovene legal history an example of such ritual use of language for legal purposes is provided by the ceremony of the enthronement of the Dukes of Carantania. Carantania is considered the first state formation of the Slovenes and was located in the present-day Austrian province of Carinthia. Until the 13th century, its inhabitants were called Karantanci (Carantanians). They elected their dukes at a special ceremony, during which the duke had to swear to all the assembled free people that he would respect the people's will and defend their rights. Only after having heard this oath, a peasant sitting on the Duke's Stone (*knežji kamen)*, acting as a representative of the Kosezi, a particular social class, originally the military escort of the princes, abandoned his seat and delivered it to the duke, for which he received a horse and a specked bull from the duke. The striking feature of this rite is that it was conducted in Slovene, following a strictly prescribed formula, and it was preserved into the late Middle Ages, even at times when the Slovenes had lost their political independence and the Dukes enthroned were representatives of the German ruling aristocracy. These rulers did not speak Slovene, but nevertheless had to learn and pronounce the ritual formula in a language that thus acquired a mystical force. The ceremony was deemed so interesting and unique that Pope Pius the Second mentioned it in his writing in 1509, and the French lawyer and philosopher, Jean Bodin, described it in his Treatise on Republican Government (1576) as a unique democratic act of inaugurating a ruler. Bodin's work was followed by Thomas Jefferson, third president of the USA and Father of the American Constitution, who is thus believed to have known of this ceremony (Prunk et al.: 2000).

The solemnity of legal discourse is also supported and enhanced by a series of non-verbal aspects which mark the settings where legal communication takes place. For example, in courts and buildings where law is administered, we often find a series of symbols referring to justice, such as the scales (a symbol originating in ancient Egypt and referring to the scales used by Osiris to weigh the souls of the dead), the axe and the sword (going back to Ancient Greece), the lictor's fasces (adopted from Ancient Rome, where it symbolised a magistrate's power and jurisdiction guarded by the lictor, an attendant who accompanied the magistrate and carried the fasces; this symbol also gave origin to the name of the Fascist movement in Italy) and the blindfold (typically worn by Justice represented by a statue) (Mattila 2006: 49). While the aforementioned symbols are used internationally, national symbols, such as a crest, the national flag, and sometimes images of national leaders are also to be found in courtrooms around the world. In Slovenia, for example, the national crest usually appears on the wall above the judge's rostrum, while in the times of ex-Yugoslavia, a photo or a portrait of the then Yugoslav president Tito was an indispensable feature of every courtroom (with all its ideological implications).

The solemnity of legal communication is also evidenced by the requirement for the participants in the courtroom to comply with the established allocation of space (i.e. the judge's rostrum, the prosecution and defence benches placed on opposite sides of the room, the jury box, the witness stand), and the use of the typical courtroom paraphernalia, such as the gowns/robes and in some countries caps worn by the judges and counsels, the wigs worn by English judges, the gavel used by the magistrates and judges to silence the audience. As a rule, having to comply with the rules regarding allocation of space and being aware of the external signs of power displayed by the legal professionals, inspires respect or even fear in the laypersons involved in court proceeding.

In contemporary courtrooms, para-verbal aspects, such as a formal tone of voice used by the judge and the counsels, their use of pauses in discourse to increase the dramatic effect of their utterances or to attract attention, the requirement for the public to remain silent during the proceedings, all significantly contribute to the effectiveness and power of legal discourse.

In written communication, the para-verbal and non-verbal dimensions are expressed by the highly conventional form of legal documents. Legal texts are not only shaped by norms and conventions applying to the use of the legal language, but also by a rather rigid, often very traditional page layout and text format. Moreover, they are often adorned with seals and stamps of the legal institutions issuing them. Sentences, rulings and court orders issued by Slovene courts of all instances, for example, have a special letterhead featuring the Slovene crest, and usually bear the stamp of the institution issuing the document, which, again, has

the Slovene crest at its centre. Even a relatively pragmatic document, such as the extract from the company register, may sometimes bear extremely solemn traits and symbols. In the UK, for example, the certificate issued by the Companies House, which is equivalent to a Slovene or German extract from the company register, bears the royal coat of arms of the UK, with the motto of the English monarchs (i.e. "Dieu at moin droit" /God and my Right) and of the Order of the Garter (i.e. "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*"/ Shame on him who thinks evil) in French. In comparison, the functionally equivalent certificates issued by the Agency of the Republic of Slovenia for Public Legal Records and Related Services (AJPES) or by the German company register (*Unternehmensregister*) look indisputably plain and simple, although they fulfil the same communicative purpose.

The above mentioned symbols and objects used in legal settings, together with the typical design of written legal texts with emblems, logos etc. actually form a kind of specialised visual grammar (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 1996), which underlies and permeates legal discourse and needs to be learned and understood by all those who wish or need to participate in legal communication as fully-fledged interactants.

Having discussed the universal traits of legal language and the para-verbal and non-verbal elements supporting its power, in the following chapter we will look at some aspects of selected legal languages, i.e. Slovene, English, Italian and German. From the point of view of legal professionals, legal translators and court interpreters, but also of parties generally involved in legal interactions of any kind in Slovenia, these are the languages (besides the languages of ex-Yugoslavia) most frequently used in Slovene legal settings. To better grasp their characteristic features, we suggest studying and comparing them by adopting the perspectives of translation studies, comparative law and legal linguistics, which can help us gain a better understanding of each of the legal languages discussed and their roles in legal discourse.

2 TERMINOLOGY MINING IN LEGAL TEXTS

In line with the structure of the *cultureme-model* (Kocbek 2014: 111-132), legal texts are viewed as culture-specific textualisations of legal contexts and relations. Within this model, examining the terminological level of the text from multiple angles, both in mapping the source text, as well as in formulating the target text, is suggested as a crucial stage of the translation process. This stage involves terminology mining, which, when carried out thoroughly, i.e. by extracting, analysing, comparing and structuring the terms used in legal texts, enables the identification of terms which indicate the legal genre, such as for example the terms

"agreement", "sentence", "indictment", etc. Moreover, detailed terminology mining may provide deeper insights into the legal system and the broader culture underlying the text, by revealing legal norms and historical circumstances that led to the creation of certain terms.

To laypersons, just as to legal translators, some terms may serve as landmarks allocating a text to the relevant area of law. Terms such as *equitable remedies / rights*, for instance, function as a signpost for *equity* as one of the fundamental areas of Anglo-American Law, while the term *consideration* may mark a text as a contract or agreement and enable its allocation to Contract Law. On the other hand, the term *Prokurist* in a German or Slovene text will help allocate the text to company law (*Gesellschaftsrecht/ statusno pravo*), and e.g. the term *de cuius* ('the deceased') in an Italian legal text, to probate law (*diritto ereditario).*

Such landmark terms will also draw the attention to specific legal concepts, (e.g. *cause* in continental law, *estoppel* in English), areas of law (e.g. *Tort Law* in the Anglo-American legal system, the *Law of Obligations* in continental law, etc), which have the status of *memes* (cf. Chesterman 1997), i.e. concepts, ideas, established practices, specific to a given culture, which may only be transferred across the boundaries of languages and cultures with the aid of translation. In order to be able to identify these *memes,* it is fundamental to be acquainted with the findings of comparative law regarding differences and similarities between legal families and systems, and with their impact on legal languages. As pointed out by Zweigert and Kötz (1998: 21), comparative law opens a new dimension from which respect for legal cultures of other nations can be learnt, and a deeper understanding of how rules of law are conditioned by social facts and shaped into different forms gained. This perspective also provides significant insights into the history of legal systems, their development and evolution, and thus sheds light on aspects of legal languages that can only be grasped when viewed against a broader cultural background.

3 HISTORICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LEGAL LANGUAGES

As pointed out by Sandrini (1999a: 104), legal language reflects the moral values predominant in a particular society, and the way in which specific real life situations are managed by regulating the interaction of humans and controlling people's behaviour at a particular point of time. These extra-linguistic aspects can modify the meaning of terms and add new elements to the knowledge depository accessed through the relevant term. Hence, to fully grasp the evolution of legal terms, they need to be studied in a diachronic perspective

(Temmerman 2000: 230). As shown below, legal language often holds up a mirror to history in a very eloquent way (cf. Kocbek 2013).

3.1 Legal Slovene

When studying the Slovene legal language and its origins, it can be observed that it has, to a large extent, been created through translation, i.e. in the course of so-called secondary term formation (cf. Kocbek 2011: 140-151). Many basic terms are recognizable as calques from German (which in turn were calqued from Latin), e.g. *pravni posel* (from *Rechtsgeschäft* – legal transaction), *izjava volje* (from *Willenserklärung* – declaration of intent), *predpis* (from *Vorschrift* – regulation). Slovene law as an independent legal system has only existed since Slovenia gained its independence in 1991, while in the past, the Slovene legal language was used to express concepts and contexts pertaining to legal systems in which Slovene was not an official legal language, or, as was the case in ex-Yugoslavia, was one of the several official languages. Some basic legal terms, such as *pravo* (law), *soditi* (to judge), *sodba* (judgement) stem from Old Slavonic, but there are no written records of a fully-fledged Slovene legal language, although for centuries the spoken communication in courts did also occur in Slovene, while legal documents were drafted in German. The Slovene legal language was only systematically created when, during the reign of the enlightened Habsburg empress, Maria Therese (1740-1780), after the reformation of the state administration, the so-called patents (statutes and laws) began to be translated into all the languages of the Habsburg empire, including Slovene. Numerous translations of legal acts were also published in the period of the Illyrian provinces (1809-1813), an autonomous province of the Napoleonic French Empire, when official proclamations in French, German and Slovene appeared in the journal *Télégraphe officiel des Provinces Illyriennes*. But it was only in the aftermath of 1848 that codes and statutes (e.g. the Austrian Civil Code – *Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*) of the Austrian Empire began to be methodically translated into the various languages of the Empire, including Slovene. To systematically address the problems resulting from the lack of a fully-fledged Slavonic legal terminology, the Royal and Imperial Ministry of Justice in Vienna established a special commission and entrusted it with the compilation of a legal dictionary of the juridical and political terminology of all the Slavonic languages of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy in 1849. Members of this commission were some of the most prominent names in Slavonic linguistics and juridical science, e.g. the Serbian linguist Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić, and the Slovene scholars, Fran Miklošič, Matija Dolenc and Matej Cigale. As a result of their efforts, the first publication dedicated to Slovene and German legal terminology, i.e. *Juridish-politische Terminologie für die*

slawischen Sprachen Österreiches, appeared in 1853. A significant aspect of the activities referring to legal translation and the creation of a Slovene legal language is the fact that renowned Slovene writers and linguists, such as Anton Tomaž Linhart, Valentin Vodnik, Franc Metelko, and later Ivan Tavčar, participated in them from their very onset. The organized translation activities headed by the commission continued, but specialized law journals (*Pravnik slovenski* published between 1870-1873, and as of 1881 *Slovenski pravnik)* also encouraged Slovene lawyers to use Slovene for their professional work and furthermore published lists of legal terms, inviting their readers to comment on them and suggest improvements. These activities culminated in the publication of the first German-Slovene legal dictionary (*Nemško-slovenska pravna terminologija – Deutsch-slowenische Rechtsterminologie*), authored by Janko Babnik in 1894 (Kocbek: 2002).

In 1918, the Slovene territory became part of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia). As the Slovene legal terminology developed in the framework of this monarchy, but also in the period after the Second World War, which saw the emergence of the new Socialist Yugoslavia, it was exposed to the influence of Serbo-Croatian. Some loanwords from Serbo-Croatian were incorporated into Slovene terminology and are still in use, e.g. *zaključek* (conclusion/closure/discharge), *tajnost* (secrecy/confidentiality), while others were later abolished as Serbo-Croatisms (e.g. *glasom* – in line with/pursuant to, *potom* – through/by means of). In a similar way to other European legal languages, Legal Slovene shows influences of Latin, as in somes cases it directly uses Latin terms (*bona fides, pro bono, ex aequo*), along with terms of Latin origin (*kodeks* – 'code', *derogacija* – 'derogation') or calques (*lastnoročno* – 'manu propria'). For the contemporary Legal Slovene, the most productive source of new terms of foreign origin is undoubtedly English (including Euro-English). Some terms are maintained in the original form, e.g. *know-how, goodwill, joint-venture, due diligence*, etc. while others are adapted to Slovene morphology and spelling, e.g. *franšiza* ('franchise'), *lizing* ('leasing').

3.2 Legal German

Legal German is of particular importance for the Slovene legal language, because, as mentioned above, Legal Slovene has largely been created through translation from the Austrian variety of German in the period when most of what is now Slovenia was part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. When Legal German is studied and its Austrian and Swiss varieties compared to the legal language used in Germany, what comes to the fore is that many terms of foreign (mostly Latin) origin, which are still used in Austria and Switzerland, have been abandoned in

the German variety. As shown by Mattila (2006: 155-173), the reason for this linguistic feature is again historical. Many legal terms of Latin origin entered the German vocabulary in a first wave (mostly in the form of loanwords) as the laws of the German tribes were drafted in Latin after the fall of the Roman empire, and subsequently translated into German, and then again, through a second wave of adopting Latin based terminology at the end of the Middle Ages, in the period of the Reception of Roman law. In the period of the Enlightenment, in line with the belief that legal language should be understandable to common people, they were at first substituted by German equivalents and then underwent a further systematic Germanisation in the process of the so-called *Eindeutschung,* which also involved the creation of new pure German legal terms. A special role in the development of German legal terminology is held by the codifications, especially the Civil Code (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch – BGB*, 1900), which laid the foundations for modern German legal language. The language of this Code is characterised by conceptual hierarchisation, and its highly abstract nature, relying on some basic concepts expressed by terms such as *Rechtsgeschäft* (legal transaction), *Willenserklärung* (declaration of intent), *Schuldverhältnis* (obligation), and similar.

In the course of these developments, words of foreign origin were substituted with German terms, such as *Unterhalt* instead of *Alimentation*, or *Ladung* instead of *Citation*, *Abschrift* instead of *Kopie.* The terminology used in the Code was highly abstract and somehow artificial, which earned this language the name of *Papierdeutsch*, but was nevertheless gradually accepted as the standard for legal communication. Nowadays, German terminology is characterised by its lexical richness, the ease of creating terms in the form of sometimes extremely complex compound words, the often highly condensed meaning, and the high level of abstractness of its terms and structures, which makes it extremely difficult to follow for laypersons and might be a source of problems in translation.

Unlike the language variety in use in the German legal system, the variety used in the Austrian Empire did not undergo any systematic linguistic cleansing (*Eindeutschung*), and even nowadays uses a great number of terms of foreign origin (cf. Lohaus 2000). Similarly, the legal German used in Switzerland shows a considerably higher percentage of terms of foreign origin than the German variety (e.g. the Swiss Civil Code is called *Zivilgesetzbuch*). Legal terms of foreign origin may thus serve as a sign for allocating the text to Austrian or Swiss law.

3.3 Legal Italian

Legal Italian has a special role in Slovene legal history, not only because parts of the Slovene territory were under Italian rule (the Primorska region, including

Slovene Istria, and during World War II, the whole southern part of Slovenia), but also because Italian is one of the official languages in the territories where the Italian national minority resides. Thus, since the creation of Socialist Yugoslavia and presently in independent Slovenia, legal texts of all kinds have to be translated into Italian. This process is particularly sensitive from the translational point of view, because these texts, although drafted in Italian, have to be embedded in the Slovene legal system and occasionally terms have to be created which do not have equivalents in the Legal Italian used in Italy, as they refer to institutions and concepts of Slovene law.

More than any other legal language, legal Italian shows influences of Latin, not only at the terminological level, but also in its morphological and syntactic features. For historical (Latin prevailed in Italian legal settings, especially in legal science, and it only became less influential in the period of the codifications, i.e. in the transition from the 18th into the 19th century), as well as for historical-linguistic reasons (i.e. the fact that Italian developed from Vulgar Latin), Legal Italian uses considerably more Latin terms or terms of Latin origin than other legal languages, which makes it hard to comprehend, even for native speakers, and represents an additional difficulty in legal translation into and from Italian.

Many legal terms are actually loanwords of Latin origin (e.g. *contumacia, fideiussore, erario, pena, usufrutto*), but there is also a large number of Latin words and phrases (*brevi manu, contra legem, res judicata, de cuius,* etc.), which are commonly used in legal communication. There are some highly specialised terms which are used exclusively in the legal language (*abigeato, rogatoria, sinallagma, usucapione),* and set phrases and collocations which are considered stereotypical of the legal language (e.g. *associazione criminosa*, *reato contravvenzionale*, *udienza dibattimentale*, *prova documentale, ai sensi di, a titolo di).*

In the period of the codifications in the 19th century, but mostly with the translation of the Napoleonic Code, loanwords from French entered the Italian legal vocabulary *(aggiotaggio, emendamento, giurato, misura, prefetto)* and some now commonly used legal terms were actually introduced as loanwords from German (*negozio /rapporto giuridico, datore di lavoro, diritto soggettivo).* Nowadays, the majority of new terms that become part of the Italian legal lexicon, comes from English, including Euro-English (e.g. *impeachment*, *privacy, budget).*

3.4 Legal English

As the contemporary legal lingua franca, Legal English is the language in which most of the legal translation in Slovenia presently occurs. As discussed in Kocbek

(2008: 63), however, when English serves as lingua franca, the potential problems deriving from the discrepancy between Common Law and Continental Law should be considered. When English is used to describe specific aspects and concepts of the European Law or of the Slovene legal system (belonging to the continental legal family), the terms used might be tainted by the meaning attributed to them within the Anglo-American legal system. It also needs to be considered that in Legal English, there are categories of terms, which are strongly historically-conditioned, and as such require special attention in translation and would better be avoided when using English as a legal lingua franca.

Legal English, for example, uses Latin terms which are only used in Anglo-American law, and in spite of the fact that Latin used to be the legal lingua franca of the past, have no direct (Latin) equivalents in other legal languages (e.g. *affidavit, amicus curiae, stare decisis, habeas corpus, subpoena*). They were actually introduced in the period following the Norman Conquest, when the foundations of Common Law were laid, and legal documents were drafted in Latin as the language used by the Normans in important circumstances. Moreover, there is a large number of legal terms of French origin (e.g. *agreement, arrest, damage, felony, bailiff, bar, judge, summons, verdict*, etc.), which stem from the period starting at the end of the 13th century, when Latin was gradually ousted by French and Law French prevailed as the language of legal drafting and in the courts, maintaining its position even after French disappeared as a language of communication from other walks of life. Examples of Law French terms, which are still in use today and whose meaning has no relation to modern French, are for example *laches* (a legal doctrine that an unreasonable delay in seeking a remedy for a legal right or claim will prevent it from being enforced or allowed if the delay has prejudiced the opposing party), *metes and bounds* (a surveyor's description of a parcel of real property), *voir dire* (a formal examination of a prospective juror under oath to determine the suitability for jury service or of a prospective witness under oath to determine competence to give testimony).

A further influence of Law French is traceable in terms ending in *-ee* (to denote the person obtaining something or being the object of an action), e.g. *arrestee, condemnee*, or in *-or* (denoting the doer), e.g. *vendor, trustor*.

An interesting, historically conditioned feature of Legal English are word pairs (e.g. *bind and obligate, deemed and consider*) and word strings (e.g. *all taxes, levies, duties, imposts, charges and withholdings of any nature whatsoever*). Word pairs represent a special case of synonymy or semi-synonymy, which originates in ancient Anglo-Saxon legal formulae, and consists of two words with closely related meanings, often alliterative, used in specific legal rituals. In medieval English law this doubling continued as Law French was introduced and it often involved paring an English word with its French equivalent (e.g. *acknowledge and confess*). This

tradition was later expanded into word strings (lists of near-synonyms) which are also a clear manifestation of the striving for *all-inclusiveness*, a prominent feature of Anglo-American legal drafting, i.e. the need to cover every possible situation, every conceivable event, especially in documents of contractual nature. When translated into a target language, which may lack a similar variety of corresponding terms with similar meanings, word pairs /strings are often rendered by a single term or shorter structures.

4 THE POWER OF LEGAL LANGUAGE - POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Besides purely historical influences, legal language is characterised by features which stem from the socio-political and/or ideological circumstances in which specific legal text were drafted. Analysing legal language in the light of historical circumstances may sometimes reveal its darker side. Examples of usage of highly ideologically charged legal terms are found in German, in the case of terms used in Nazi Germany by the regime to denote unlawful acts under the Racial Laws, such as *Rassenschande* (racial defilement) or *Rassenverrat* (racial betrayal), used to refer to sexual intercourse or resp. marriage between a citizen of pure German blood and a Jew or a member of any other impure race, under the Nazi laws. Similar terms were also introduced into Legal Italian within the so-called *leggi razziali* (Racial Laws) in the Fascist period.

A similarly negatively charged term is *verbal delict*, which was used in ex-Yugoslavia to denote written or spoken criticism of the authorities, the system, of individual politicians or of the Yugoslav army and was prosecuted under criminal law. In Slovenian legal history, an example of a highly ideologically tainted term is *the Dachau trials (Dachauski procesi)*, which refers to 10 political processes held between 1948 and 1949 in Slovenia against former prisoners of concentration camps (of which thirty-one were prisoners of the Dachau concentration camp), who had been unjustly accused of being Gestapo agents, of collaboration in war crimes, and of underground acts of sabotage against the new people's authorities. Eleven of these defendants were sentenced to death and shot, while twenty were sentenced to long-term imprisonment in the then Yugoslav internment camps, especially on the infamous island of Goli otok. The sentences were reversed in April 1986 at the Tenth Congress of the then League of Communists of Slovenia, but the term maintained its dark and menacing power (Nećak: 2009).

Sometimes a single term can shed a different light on the text as a whole and lead to a different understanding and interpretation of it, i.e. it can function as a clue to hidden or obliterated facts and events in the background of the text.

For example, in the preamble to a real estate sales contract that the author of this chapter translated from Italian in the context of a civil case heard in one of the courts of Slovene Istria (which at the time of the making of the contract was part of Italy), one of the parties to the contract (i.e. the Vendor) is defined as non-Aryan (*di razza non-ariana*). This term, together with the date of the contract, which was indicated as *….giorno dell'era fascista* (…day of the Fascist era), was interpreted by the court as a sign that the content of the contract was conditioned by the Racial Laws (*Leggi razziali*) then in force in (Fascist) Italy, and that the party concerned might have been forced to enter the contract under duress, a fact which could make the contract voidable.

A less drastic and dramatic example of politically conditioned terminology can be noticed when consulting and/or translating extracts from company registers in Slovenia, in which terms can be found, which point back to the times of Socialist Yugoslavia when the Slovene economy was organised according to the system of self-management (*samoupravljanje)*, which developed its own terminology. This terminology was originally generated in the languages of the SFRY and later translated for the purpose of international legal and business communication. For example, the most common organisational form of economic enterprises in that period was the *TOZD – Temeljna organizacija združenega dela*, translated into English as *BOAL, i.e. Basic Organisation of Associated Labour*, into German as *SOAA, Stammorganisation der assoziierten Arbeit* and into Italian as *OBLA Organizzazione di base di lavoro associato*. All English and German terms were actually neologisms which could only be understood by receivers who were familiar with the socio-economic and political context underlying the terminology, while the Italian terms were actually used in the bilingual areas of the then Yugoslavia. As the self-management system was abolished and modern company law was introduced, the terms referring to concepts and structures of the self-management system also disappeared from the Slovene legal lexicon. In order to name the newly introduced company forms the terminology, which had been in use in the interwar period when Slovenia was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, was resuscitated, with minor changes (e.g. *družba z omejenim jamstvom* – a limited liability company – was changed to *družba z omejeno odgovornostjo*).

In order to fully understand the information implied in such ideologically tainted terms, members of younger generations in Slovenia, and especially non-Slovenians who may not be familiar with the historical and political circumstances underlying such terms, will need additional explanations or comments, which, in the case of intercultural legal communication, may be provided by legal translators or interpreters.

5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have suggested using the structure of the the the *text-cultureme model* to gain a full picture of the complex and multifaceted nature of legal discourse, as well as of the para-verbal, non-verbal and extra-verbal aspects supporting and boosting its power. Such a holistic view of legal discourse reveals that the features which confer spoken and written legal texts a special, at times intimidating power, are often the result of a unique interplay of a targeted use of the legal language, combined with para-verbal and non-verbal elements, such as the use of symbols, status-bound objects and a rigid division of space in legal settings, which build up a special visual grammar characterising legal texts. Besides these universal traits of legal texts, we showed how individual legal languages, i.e. those which are of particular relevance to legal communication in Slovenia, developed their extra-verbal dimension – how they evolved through history, by absorbing influences of other languages and cultures and being moulded by historical events until reaching their contemporary status. In this way, we tried to provide explanations to why legal discourse is often perceived as estranged and hermetic, as if it was not meant to be understood by non-initiated parties, and also why spoken and written legal texts generate uneasiness and even fear in their receivers, especially in those who lack specialised legal knowledge. We believe that the aspects envisaged by the *text-cultureme model* reflect the competences and knowledge needed by participants in intercultural legal communication, but mostly by legal translators and interpreters in their work, who, in order to successful function as mediators in legal settings, need to develop an awareness of the legal language as an instrument of power, as well as of the ethical issues and responsibility implied in legal translation.
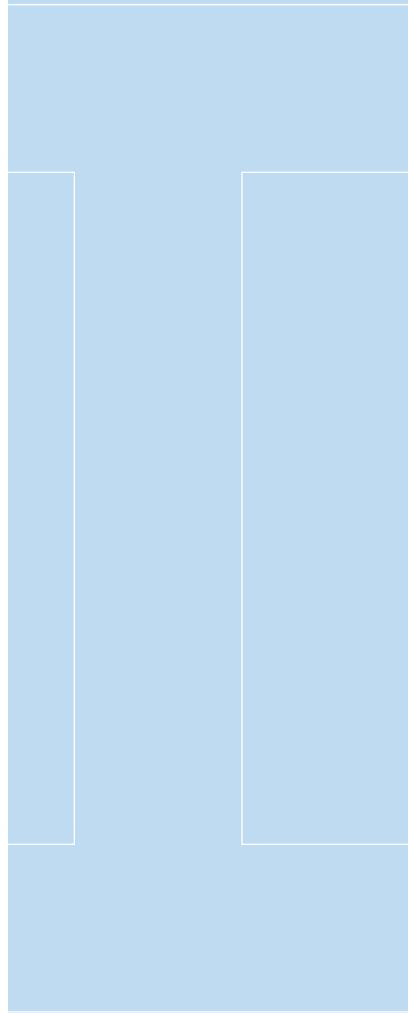
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