

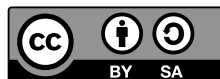
**Levente Borsos**

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade –  
Hungarian Diplomatic Academy Ltd., Hungary  
leventeborsos@yahoo.es

UDK 81'25:791(439)=521=163.6

DOI: 10.4312/vestnik.16.217-239

Izvirni znanstveni članek



**Tamás Kruzslicz**

Graduate School of Humanities, Osaka University  
Japan  
tamas.kruzslicz.hmt@osaka-u.ac.jp

**Mojca Nidorfer**

Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana  
Slovenia  
mojca.nidorfer@ff.uni-lj.si

**Chikako Shigemori Bučar**

Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana  
Slovenia  
chikako.shigemoribucar@ff.uni-lj.si

## **INTERCULTURAL RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION: HUNGARIAN, SLOVENIAN, AND JAPANESE IN CONTRAST**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

This article investigates various strategies for expressing interpersonal relationships (IPRs) in three languages – Hungarian, Japanese, and Slovenian – using a cognitive pragmatic linguistic approach. The research focuses on examining the (re)construction of IPRs in the three languages. It uses a contrastive analysis of selected scenes from the 1969 Hungarian film *A tanú* (*The Witness*) and its Japanese and Slovenian subtitles. The research analyses and compares the linguistic tools used for constructing IPRs in the three languages studied. It highlights the pragmatic strategies in different languages for the same situational settings with the same IPRs. The results of the analysis provide comparative qualitative data for these three languages in terms of the linguistic means used to construct IPRs.

The structure of the article is as follows: first, it introduces the theoretical background of IPR construction in language use within a cognitive pragmatic linguistic framework, and it introduces the dimensions of IPRs to be used in the analysis. It then presents the language-specific means of IPRs in all three languages, followed by an analysis of the linguistic constructions used for negotiating IPRs in a trilingual corpus. Finally, it summarizes the main findings of the analysis and discusses their implications for other fields of study.

## **2 INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS: A COGNITIVE PRAGMATIC APPROACH**

### **2.1 Adaptivity, negotiation, and interpersonal relationships in language use**

Human existence is essentially social – that is, people establish a wide range of IPRs, which are represented and shaped by both linguistic and non-linguistic social behaviour (Krauss & Fussell 1996, Fitzsimons & Anderson 2013). The expression of IPRs is not only an integral part of language use, but also one of the main functions of language, characterized by both cognition and interaction (Krauss & Chue 2016: 69–72.). When using a language, participants not only create and share perspectivized representations of the world, but also constantly represent and (re)shape their interpersonal relations. These two fundamental features of language use, which Tátrai (2011) refers to as the inter-subjective cognitive and interpersonal relational metafunctions of language, are present simultaneously in language activity and closely interrelated.

The linguistic representation of IPRs is a part of the dynamic adaptivity that generally characterizes language use. People's experience of the world can be construed in various ways, so that each utterance in a conversation implies a choice by the participants (i.e., choice making; Verschueren 1999: 55–58), allowing them to adaptively choose an option they consider the most appropriate, taking into account both their goals and the norms of the community. The same can be said for the participants' personal relations, and so IPRs are continuously reconstrued in the discourse within the context of social norms. Language use can thus be understood as a choice between discursive strategies that affect various domains of the linguistic system (Tátrai 2011). At the same time, language use is also characterized by negotiation between participants, in the sense that speakers try to impose their own choices on recipients, whereas recipients decide in each case whether to accept or challenge the speakers' choices based on their own expectations.

The norms of the community are (relatively stable) sociocultural rules that mark the appropriate utterances in a specific community under specific communicative circumstances (Tátrai 2011). Following flexible principles and strategies, participants try to

achieve their own actual goals within the context of these norms. This is made possible through the participants' metapragmatic awareness – that is, the ability to reflect on different linguistic constructions, cognitive processes, and the sociocultural expectations associated with them. The degree of awareness and markedness of the different linguistic choices may vary. Choices that are frequently used within a given situation tend to be unmarked, whereas those that are used less frequently are more marked (Schwartz 1980) and require more effort to process (Givón 1991). The higher awareness or markedness of a given choice also implies a higher level of reflection (Yang 2018: 202).

## 2.2 IPR dimensions in the analysis

In a specific communication scene, speakers take into account the full complexity of the cognitive, social, and cultural functioning of language (Verschueren 2009: 19). The options they choose from are highly determined by the social norms of each language community. These norms could be followed or neglected, and are part of a dynamic negotiation between the participants in the communication. Nonetheless, there are some basic dimensions that can be described.

The various dimensions of this dynamic process of conceptualizing IPRs in communication were first investigated based on the linguistic tools of expressing power (Holmes 1995, Locher 2004, Cutting & Fordyce 2020: 159–161.). The linguistic representations of IPRs were categorized into constructions of equality versus inequality. Although the expression of power is present in the context of language use, there are other linguistic representations of IPRs that are not only part of this pragmatic function (Haugh et al. 2013). Formal and informal linguistic elements (e.g., T- and V-forms – see Brown & Gilman 1960, Szarkowska 2013: 36–39), various lexical items used for addressing each other, and many other linguistic elements play a part in developing closeness or distance between the participants in a concrete communication scene (Locher & Graham 2010). Based on these two social dimensions (expressing power and expressing closeness vs. distance), the process of the sociocultural conceptualization of IPRs can be described within a pragmatic-linguistic framework (i.e. Duck & Usera 2014).

## 2.3 Hypotheses

This article uses a cross-cultural perspective to examine how IPRs are constructed in Hungarian, Slovenian, and Japanese. It presumes and investigates how conventionalized linguistic tools (e.g., T- and V-forms in Slovenian and Hungarian, forms of address, predicate styles in Japanese, etc.) impact the creation of meaning.

Furthermore, it presumes that the sociocultural aspects of using different strategies in communication take into account the sociocultural characteristics of a given culture and reconstruct them within the context of another sociocultural setting, such as a different

historical background. Notably, communist regimes were present in Hungary and Slovenia but not in Japan.

It is also presumed that the research will show the multimodal nature of IPRs – that is, how linguistic and non-linguistic tools (gestures, facial expressions, tone, etc.) are jointly applied to construct IPRs between participants.

## 2.4 Corpus and methodology

The analyses presented in the article are based on a trilingual parallel corpus containing excerpts from the 1969 Hungarian film *A tanú* (*The Witness*), directed by Péter Bacsó. The movie satirically depicts the communist dictatorship in Hungary in the 1950s, and it is considered one of the most significant and influential Hungarian films ever made, or “the number one Hungarian cult film” (Baski 2024).

The plot is set in the 1950s, a time when the regime consolidated its power by eliminating democratic forces, and the leader Mátyás Rákosi began to build his cult of personality by prosecuting his opponents within the Communist Party at show trials. The film tells the story of József Pelikán, an ordinary dyke keeper on the Danube River in rural Hungary. This genuine, somewhat outsider character eventually becomes the crown witness in the show trial of minister Zoltán Dániel, his old friend from the once illegal communist movement, who is accused of conspiring to assassinate a powerful leader, Comrade Bástyá.

The storyline presents a wide range of IPRs, from close, friendly relationships to characters separated by a large hierarchical gap that is appropriate to the totalitarian system depicted in the film. The relationships are constantly changing throughout the story, underscoring the importance of renegotiating them.

For the purposes of this study, five scenes (ranging in length from 27 to 38 seconds) were selected from the film (see Appendix 1), where establishment, negotiation, and maintenance of IPRs between characters from different social backgrounds and in various relationships are represented illustratively.

In addition to the linguistic data, the film provides contextual information about the characters and situations, as well as the non-linguistic aspects of communication, such as intonation, body language, use of space, and so on. The Hungarian text was transcribed by the authors of this article, and the Japanese and Slovenian translations of the original Hungarian text were obtained from the subtitles created by Japanese and Slovenian learners of Hungarian.<sup>1</sup> The authors then analysed the data through detailed research and discussion of the corpus in all three languages.

The corpus has certain limitations. Subtitling, or audiovisual translation in general, is a special form of translation characterized by a number of constraints (most importantly,

<sup>1</sup> The film was translated into Japanese by students of Hungarian major at Osaka University in 2015 as a class project. The Slovenian text was prepared by general linguistics students at the University of Ljubljana in 2020 as part of a Hungarian language course. (The film has no officially published Japanese or Slovenian translations.)

the spatial constraint to fit the length of the target language text within the limits set by industry practices and rules; cf. Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007), which may have an impact on the target language text and therefore also on how the IPRs are presented (Levshina 2017). On the other hand, subtitlers often overcome these limitations by relying on contextual information available to the viewer (either from the plot, from common knowledge of the viewers, or from visual or other modes in the film), and they exclude these pieces of information from the subtitles. It is also important to emphasize that the corpus is based on a film produced in 1969 and set in the 1950s, which means that some of the results may be limited to this context because contemporary language use may be different in some situations.

### 3 AN OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC LINGUISTIC TOOLS FOR EXPRESSING IPRS

The participants in a discourse have a variety of means at their disposal to express and shape their IPRs. (Kato 2013: 43). These solutions, as well as the ways in which they are combined, are often conventionalized (from the point of view of the speech community) and routinized (from the point of view of the speakers), but they always work together in the discourse in a dynamic way, reinforcing or weakening each other's influence to represent and shape the relationships between the participants (Locher & Watts 2005, Debray & Spencer-Oatey 2022).

#### 3.1 Language-specific linguistic tools for expressing IPRs in Hungarian

Among the linguistic tools associated with expressing interpersonal relationships in Hungarian, the use of T- and V-forms, along with various phatic expressions (greetings, forms of address, etc.), stand out, but directness–indirectness, style, lexical features, elaboration of the text (Veres-Guáspiel 2017), and other factors, such as tone of voice and body language, are also clearly linked to constructing IPRs (see Gifford 2010).

Among the above, the speaker's choice between the use of T- and V-forms is particularly important and present throughout the discourse, because it affects not only the conjugation of verbs, but also the inflection of nouns and pronouns, and the choice of personal pronouns, greetings, forms of address, and other phatic elements available to the speaker.

The use of T-forms (*tegezés*, from the informal singular personal pronoun *te* 'you') is associated with more intimate IPRs. Morphologically, it is characterized by the use of the second-person singular and second-person plural forms (suffixes and pronouns).

T-forms are typically marked by an overt morpheme, except for the imperative, for which singular T-forms can also be marked by a null morpheme: *Várg!* ‘Wait!’. The use of T-forms is generally accompanied by typical choices in other areas of language use as well. For example, it is typical to use familiar greetings (*Szia! Szervusz! Sziasztok! Szervusztok!* etc. – different forms of ‘Hello!’) and, in terms of the forms of address, it is common to use first names and nicknames.

In Hungarian, there are several ways of using V-forms. The choice between them is associated with slightly different IPRs, but what they have in common is that the speaker uses third-person singular or third-person plural forms (in the case of inflections, usually marked by a null morpheme) to refer to the addressee. The use of these forms, prototypically used to refer to a person who is outside the speech event, metaphorically expresses the distance between the speaker and the addressee (Tátrai 2011). Different manners of using V-forms are characterized by the different personal pronouns that the speaker uses to refer to the addressee. Thus, contemporary Hungarian distinguishes between *önözés* (the use of the formal pronoun *ön* and its plural form *önök*), which implies respect for the addressee, and *magázás* (the use of the formal pronoun *maga* and its plural form *maguk*), in which the respect for the addressee is less emphasized.

Another typical way of using V-forms is when, instead of using the personal pronouns mentioned above, the speaker refers to the addressee by name, title, or occupation (e.g., *igazgató úr* ‘(male) director’, *tanárnő* ‘(female) teacher’, *doktor úr* ‘(male) doctor’, *elvtárs* ‘comrade’; Domonkosi 2002: 118). Another possibility, often used in discourses between children and adults, is *tetszikelés*, or the use of a construction with the auxiliary verb *tetszik* (lit. ‘like’) and the infinitive form of the verb instead of the conjugated verb form. The use of V-forms is associated with the use of formal phatic elements (e.g., greetings and forms of address).

Among people who know each other, the choice between using the T- or the V-forms is essentially determined by their relationship. That is, when speaking to the same addressee, the speaker will typically use the same forms, regardless of the situation, topic of conversation, and so on. There are socially conventionalized forms of switching from using V-forms to using T-forms (i.e., who can initiate this change, when, and how). Refusing to accept an offer to use the T-forms or switching back to V-forms is considered impolite.

Among strangers, the use of T- or V-forms is linked to the contextual features of the speech event. In this respect, parallel to the rapid changes in Hungarian society, language use has been changing rapidly over the last decades, leading to an increased use of T-forms (cf. Bencze 2005).<sup>2</sup> In a discourse, this makes negotiation between participants over the use of T- or V-forms particularly important (although this negotiation is rarely made explicit).

Because the choice between using the two forms has profound implications for

2 This also means that, in terms of the use of T- and V-forms, there have been significant changes in language use since both the time the film was made and the time in which it is set.

language use and IPRs, and also because the boundary between using one form or the other is rather sharp, speakers often use distinctive strategies to avoid making an explicit choice. Such strategies include the use of first-person plural forms, which involve both the speaker and addressee, which makes it possible to avoid the clear marking of IPRs.

### 3.2 Language-specific linguistic tools for expressing IPRs in Slovenian

Similarly to Hungarian, linguistic tools that explicitly mark IPRs in oral (and written) discourse in Slovenian include the use of V- and T-forms, forms of greeting and address, and the use of closeness and distance. These indicate the degree of formality or informality, social distance, and equality or a certain hierarchy among the discourse participants.

V-forms are used to express formality when there is a large social distance between the participants. Informality is expressed with T-forms. A verb in the second-person singular (e.g., *ti si* 'you are', *pridi* '(you) come') is used to address a person with a T-form in Slovenian, and a verb in the second-person plural (*vi ste* 'you are', *pridite* '(you) come') is used to address someone with a V-form. In addition to singular and plural forms, Slovenian also has the dual, which is used to refer to or address two people and it uses a second person dual with the verb in a dual form (e.g., *pridita* 'come', *napišita* 'write'). However, the dual (as well as the plural) forms do not differ between T- and V-forms. Nevertheless, the form of a verb also depends on the gender (feminine, masculine, and neuter) in the singular, dual, and plural forms of nouns. Personal pronouns that replace nouns (persons) also take different forms according to gender, number, and case, and according to V-, T-, or semi V-forms (Toporišič 2004).

In central Slovenia, especially in the capital of Ljubljana, a semi V-form is often used – that is, the participle in a T-form (second-person singular) with the auxiliary verb in a V-form (second-person plural): *spoštovana, boste prišla?* 'madam, will you come?', *spoštovani, boste prišel?* 'sir, will you come?', instead of *prišli* 'come (formal)' in both examples. Semi V-forms were established and are used to build closer relationships with customers, and they are widely used in shops, services, and sometimes even in less formal interviews in the media. However, today T-forms are becoming more common in everyday communication.

To refer to a person who is highly respected in the society (e.g., due to their social status or profession), *gospod* 'Mr., Sir' or *gospa* 'Mrs., madam, lady' is usually used instead of the surname, combined with the profession in the masculine or feminine form (e.g., *gospa doktorica* 'Mrs. Doctor', *gospod predsednik* 'Mr. President', *gospod direktor* 'Mr. Director', *gospa dekanja* 'Mrs. Dean', etc.). When referring to large groups of people in public, it is usual to address these and any distinguished persons with the address *spoštovani* 'dear', followed by words denoting 'guests' (e.g., *spoštovani gostje* 'dear guests'), or 'Mr.', 'Sir', 'Madam', together with their full name or title; for example, *spoštovana gospa dekanja Filozofske fakultete* 'dear Madam, Dean of the Faculty of



Arts'. In slightly less formal situations, the greeting *pozdravljeni* 'greetings' or its variation *lepo pozdravljeni* 'warm greetings' is used.

The address *tovariš* (masculine) and *tovarišica* (feminine) 'comrade', contained in the corpus, was widely used in Yugoslavia during World War II and afterward, during the communist era, until 1991, when the political system changed. This form of address was used to express equality, even in clearly hierarchical relationships, and it also functioned as a standard address between colleagues.

Informal greetings used in Slovenian spoken discourse include the following: *dober dan* 'good day', *dobro jutro* 'good morning', *dan / živjo / zdravo* 'hello', and *hoj, ojala, čao* 'hi'. The greeting *zdravo* is preferred by speakers in eastern Slovenia.

### 3.3 Language-specific linguistic tools for expressing IPRs in Japanese

The most language-specific tool used to express IPRs in Japanese is the system of honorifics. The use (or non-use) of honorific expressions reflects the speaker's attitude toward other people (and even objects) in each specific context. They are manifested in morphology and syntax, especially in the pragmatics of greetings, addressing, and predicate formulation.

The main purpose of the system of honorifics is to express the speaker's respect towards the hearer or a third person, and to show his/her consideration of the content, setting and medium of the conversation. (Minami 1987, 12-16; Bajrami 2016, 26). To express his/her respect for the addressee, the speaker makes this distinction in two different ways. One is by using specific expressions referring to the actions and states of others (the addressee or others referred to), called honorifics. Another is by using specific expressions referring to the speaker's own actions (or actions of his family members or insiders) to express modesty, called humble forms. A similar distinction is made with adjectives and nouns when describing objects, specifically with the prefix *o-/go-* (e.g., *Kaban wo mochimasu* 'I will carry the bag', *O-kaban wo o-mochi shimasu*. 'I will carry your bag / Let me carry your bag'). In certain sentence structures, these prefixes are also used to refer to actions, expressing either an honorific or humble attitude. The appropriate use of honorifics is conventionalized in the community of speakers, and both a lack of their use and their excessive use may lead to misunderstanding (i.e., irony, rudeness, etc.) (Matsumoto 1989).

There are two main discourse styles (*buntai*) used in Japanese, characterized by different predicate forms: casual and formal. The casual style refers to everyday expressions used among family members or close friends in informal situations. The formal style is used with the elderly or persons higher in rank, as well as in formal situations. The distinction between the casual and formal styles may primarily be observed in the morphology and syntax, as well as in the individual choice of words. Both styles may be used among the same discourse participants: one may freely switch to the formal style if the situation becomes more formal (e.g., in front of a large audience on formal occasions).



In terms of forms of address, the use of the suffix *-san* is common in Japanese, but there are also other ways to address children, colleagues, teachers, one's superiors at work, and so on. The choice of not using any suffix when addressing a person would imply rudeness or a very intimate relation. Even though a personal pronoun for 'you' exists (*anata*), it is not frequently used and is usually avoided. In order not to be rude, it is more appropriate to use the person's name or a noun that refers to their social function in the situation. For example: *Anata no hon wo yomimashita*. 'I read your book'; *Sensei no hon wo yomimashita*. 'I read your book' (to a teacher / esteemed author); *Tanaka sensei no hon wo yomasete itadakimashita*. 'I had the pleasure of reading your book, Professor Tanaka.'

The rich system of honorific expressions also plays an important role in understanding IPRs in a specific situation because Japanese lacks the distinction between gender and number. A neutral sentence without a context is often and preferably interpreted as referring to the first person, whereas in an honorific (marked) sentence the subject may be inferred with the help of an honorific or humble formulation. In contrast to most European languages, there is no bipartite opposition between V- and T-forms in Japanese.

IPRs are also evident in the use of sentence-final particles, giving and receiving verbs, and the passive and causative infixes. Sentence-final particles stand at the end of a sentence and express modality (i.e., the speaker's subjective view of each concrete situation, such as a question, hope, expectation, prohibition, exclamation, affection, etc.). They may be attached to formal and informal forms of the predicate. These particles are typically used in spoken discourse (Pardeshi & Kageyama 2018; Shigemori Bučar & Žele 2024, 86).

Verbs of giving and receiving are used as functional verbs in combination with another action verb to express actions to someone else's benefit. The main verb is in the continuative form *-te*. If someone is in the position to give or receive some favour, it is essential that their viewpoint/position is expressed with the second (functional) verb (Shigemori Bučar & Žele 2024, 64-65). The verb *kureru* 'to receive', for example, may be used in the imperative form to express the speaker's wish for something to be done by the addressee. Such a formulation would be a slightly softer version of the direct imperative.

Passive and causative infixes are both important means to express the relationship between people and events, often with modal connotations. The Japanese passive infix *-(r)are-* may also be used with intransitive verbs and, in certain cases, the semantics of the passivized verb becomes modal, acquiring the connotation of nuisance, trouble, or inconvenience. The basic meaning of the causative is 'to make/let someone else act'. The Japanese causative infix *-(s)ase-* has various meanings depending on the context, but mainly coercion, permission, non-interference, and cause-and-effect relationships.

## 4 THE CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF CONSTRUCTING IPRS

### 4.1 Constructing distance and position

The corpus provides many examples of the negotiation and ongoing reconstruction of IPRs between participants, as well as varying degrees of explicitness of this negotiation. The first scenes (see Appendix, Scenes 1 and 2) of the film show how the incompatibility between the social and private contexts (e.g. distancing hierarchical status vs. personal familiarity between the characters) of a conversation can lead to the explicit negotiation of IPRs between the participants.

In Scene 1, the dialogue mirrors a hierarchical relationship, although it is clear that the participants know each other well. Specifically, Dániel (the minister) asks about Pelikán's (the dyke keeper's) family, and therefore the scene is marked by a discrepancy in formality. The informal and intimate language used by Dániel (greetings such as Hu. *Szervusz*, Sln. *Živjo*, Jpn. *yā*, the use of T-forms, both verbal and pronominal / Japanese sentence-end particles for casual conversation, lexical items such as Hu. *az asszony* '[informal] the woman [i.e., the wife]') contrasts with the formal language used by Pelikán (greetings such as Hu. *Szabadság*, Sln. *Zdravo* – both forms were used also as the official greeting of the Communist Party – and the address form 'Comrade Dániel'). This asymmetry between the participants characterizes the negotiation of IPRs in Hungarian and Slovenian.<sup>3</sup> In Japanese, the strategy of negotiating IPRs is slightly different. The language that participants use in negotiating IPRs also depends on the actual situation, and so the same participants could use different registers based on their positions in different situations (Bajrami 2016, 25).

In Scene 1, Dániel leads the conversation. Pelikán replies in short and incomplete sentences, which is also a strategy: it causes tension. He avoids the use of grammatical personal markers to express a personal relationship in Hungarian, as well as in Slovenian. In Japanese, on the other hand, the translation reflects the rule that the addressee must be marked in terms of the honorific levels. Pelikán uses the formal style of predicates and the dialogue mixes formal and informal speech. However, this discrepancy, in contrast to Hungarian and Slovenian, is more common in Japanese, especially when starting a conversation. The social context, psychological distance between the speakers, and the specific situation of the conversation may lead to speech level shifts in both directions, formal to informal or informal to formal (*ibid.*).

The linguistic representation of IPRs becomes explicitly addressed by the participants in Scene 2: Hu. *Mi az, te magázol engem, Józsi?* Sln. *Kaj je zdaj to vikanje, Józsi?* Jpn. *Dōshite sonna katain da?* 'Why so formal with me, Józsi?'. In the utterance preceding this, Pelikán's formal treatment of Dániel is very pronounced: the explicit use of the V-pronoun (Hu. *maga*, Sln. *vi* 'you'), a verb conjugated in the V-form (Hu. *nőszült meg*, Sln. *niste*

<sup>3</sup> The visual mode also supports these observations: the difference in clothing (Dániel: formal, Pelikán: casual) and body language (Dániel: relaxed, Pelikán: somewhat confused) is noteworthy.

*poročeni* ‘you are not married’), and the form of address (last name + Hu. *elvtárs*, Sln. *tovariš* ‘comrade’). In contrast, in Japanese he does not use the addressee’s name but the formal and neutral “pronoun” *anata* truncating the sentence (and another truncation in the following utterance), which is a choice for no explicit formality. It rather shows Pelikán’s uncertainty about how to behave and talk to Dániel. In his response quoted above, Dániel replies with an equally strongly marked informal utterance: the T-pronoun (*te* ‘you’) and T-verbal form (*magázol* ‘you use the V-forms’) in Hungarian. In Slovenian, the closeness appears at the lexical level with the colloquial phrasal question: *Kaj je zdaj to . . . ?* ‘What is this now . . . ?’ which contains an accusation of inappropriate behaviour (a formal way would be *Zakaj me vikaš?* ‘Why are you using a V-form?’) and a familiar address (*Józsi*, nickname based on the first name *József*). At the lexical level, Dániel also chooses words in Hungarian that have a familiar stylistic value (*ugrat* ‘to tease’, *hülyéskedik* ‘to fool around’). Dániel’s reaction to Pelikán using the V-form can be explained by the fact mentioned in Section 3.1 – that is, in Hungarian it is considered impolite to use the V-form with someone with whom the speaker has already previously switched to the T-form.

Pelikán explicitly says that the reason for him using the formal expressions is their unequal social status. Dániel responds in a somewhat humorous tone (in the Hungarian text referring to their common past and camaraderie: *Mi ketten aztán igazán . . .* ‘The two of us really . . .’, in Slovenian with the intimate friendly manner of speech, repairing Dániel’s provocative manner of speech in his question before, whereas in the Japanese text this is not really reflected), encouraging Pelikán to use more familiar language with him, playfully threatening him (note the use of humour as a means of informality).

In Hungarian, Dániel uses the first-person plural forms in the next two sentences, and in Slovenian he even uses the very informal first-person dual (*zajebavajva* ‘two of us joke around’), also explicitly (and unnecessarily) the personal pronoun: *midva* ‘two of us’, to express their long (and friendly) acquaintance. The first-person plural cannot be explicitly seen or expressed in Japanese. Instead, *keigo wo tsukau na* ‘Don’t use honorific language!’ is uttered in the informal direct style. In the following lines, we see that the two agree on a certain relationship, and at the end of the scene Dániel even uses an imperative form with the giving/receiving verb *-te kure* ‘do me the favour of sitting down’.

At the visual level, the tension of the scene is finally eased by Pelikán patting Dániel on the shoulder, as well as their laughing together and sitting next to each other.

## 4.2 Maintaining established IPRs

In Scenes 1 and 2, as presented above, the negotiation of IPRs plays a central part, whereas later scenes serve as examples of how to maintain the IPRs between Pelikán and Dániel. In Scene 3, the interpersonal function of language primarily focuses on how the participants express a direct, informal, and equal relationship between them. In Hungarian and Slovenian, this is indicated by the use of the second-person singular T-form verbs

(Hu. *várj(ál)*, Sln. *(po)čakaj* ‘wait’; Hu. *öntsed*, Sln. *zlij* ‘pour it’; Hu. *fogd*, Sln. *drži* ‘hold it’; Hu. *vigyázz* ‘be careful’) and the use of Dániel’s first name (*Zoltán*), whereas in Japanese this is expressed through informal verbal constructions using the verb *kureru* ‘give’ (*matte kure* ‘wait’, *sosoide kure* ‘pour (on it)’, *mottete kure* ‘hold this’; the direct address was omitted from the Japanese translation). The use of interjections (Hu. *ejnye*, *hű*, *hajaj*; Sln. *hej*, *o*, *evo* ‘hey’, ‘oh’, ‘here you go’) and a discourse marker (Hu. *csak* ‘just’) in Hungarian and Slovenian, and the informal sentence final particles (*-yo*, *-zo*) in Japanese indicate both the emotional intensity of the scene and the close relationship between the participants (see also below). The visual component may reinforce the strength of the relationship between the two characters, as well as their equality (they are performing a task together, like members of a team).

Instructions play a major role in Scene 3. As a result of the negotiation in the previous scenes, Pelikán now instructs Dániel completely naturally, using direct requests that indicate their equal and close relationship. Second-person singular imperative forms (see above) are used in Hungarian and Slovenian, and the informal verbal construction *-te kure* is used in Japanese. In all three languages, these forms are conventionalized when giving instructions in such a relationship. However, in all three languages these imperatives are accompanied by mitigating devices (Hu. *egy pillanatra* ‘for a moment’, *egy kicsit* ‘a little bit’; Sln. *trenutek* ‘a moment’, *malo* ‘a little’; Jpn. *chotto* ‘a little’). In Hungarian, using the expression *csak*, literally ‘only, just’, with the imperative verbal forms may also be an indicator of a close relationship.

#### 4.3 Negotiating IPRs in the context of socially imposed power relations

In another part of the film (Scenes 4 and 5), socially imposed relations of power (citizen vs. police officers, police officers vs. the minister) are challenged by one of the participants (either voluntarily or due to a lack of information about the other participant). This can also make the negotiation of IPRs explicit in the conversation.

In Scene 4, power relations are challenged by the use of informal language in a formal situation – that is, Pelikán’s constant refusal to engage in a socially conventionalized linguistic behaviour in this kind of situation, which prompts one of the police officers to show his power in a way that does not follow the conventions either. The tools that both participants use for these strategies are similar in all three languages; for example, Pelikán’s provocative direct request for the police officers to be quiet, using the colloquial imperative interjection *Ssss . . . / Šššš . . . / Shī!* ‘hush’ (accompanied by body language also showing a lack of respect for the officers). In his reply, one of the police officers uses colloquial lexical choices (Hu. *szöveg* ‘manner of speech’, *vagy* ‘approximately’). In Japanese, all the sentences are informal and direct. The officer replies with a deictic (interrogative) sentence and a threat that his kindness will be over.

Pelikán challenges the police officers' authority once again, using a direct request. In Japanese, a casual request *ochitsuite kure* is used (with the giving/receiving verb 'do me the favour of calming down'), mentioning the third party (Dániel) by referring to him as *daijin* 'minister' and using the honorific address *sama* (directly and cynically indicating Dániel's existence). In Hungarian, Pelikán uses colloquial lexical items, but formal verbal conjugation. The (possibly ironic) use of *elvtárs* 'comrade' as a form of address is another sign of formal speech. The police officers reply even more angrily, however, preserving the V-forms and a formal style, using vulgar words (*se zajebavate* 'you're fucking with me') in Slovenian. They directly accuse Pelikán of disrespecting the authorities. The tension and uncertainty in negotiating IPRs is made more obvious by the visual component. Nevertheless, for the Japanese viewers, the relationship between Pelikán and the police officers might be puzzling because they might not be familiar with the background of the communist regime.

In Pelikán's last reply, Hu. *Csinálják! Érdekel engem? Sln. Naredita, kakor želita! Briga me!* Jpn. *Dōzo go-jiyū ni!* 'Do as you like! I don't care', the Japanese version is more polite than the Hungarian original and the Slovenian translation due to the use of the word *dōzo* 'please', and the prefix *go-* (see in Section 3.3).

Scene 5 presents the reestablishment of the relationships among the participants. It begins with the negotiation of power when Dániel, the minister, enters the room. The expected equality/inequality among the participants (i.e., the representatives of the system and Pelikán) is challenged by Dániel's use of formal and informal language. Dániel addresses Pelikán with his nickname *Jóska* and the police officers with Hu. *elvtársak*, Sln. *tovariša* 'comrades', but in a friendly way. However, Dániel does not use the name *Jóska* in the Japanese translation, and so the sentence at the beginning of the scene may be understood as him addressing everyone in the room (Pelikán and the policemen).

The police officers do not recognize Dániel at first and, trying to maintain control of power, do not respect the power relations. Visually, they do not look at Dániel at first, and one of them asks him Hu. *Az elvtárs kicsoda? Sln. Kdo ste pa vi, tovariš?* 'And who are you, comrade?' They use a formal tone and the V-form.

Dániel gains control, manifesting his power by using an authoritative and formal tone with the police officers, including direct orders and the second-person plural imperative in all three languages: Hu. *Jelentést kérek!* Sln. *Poročajte!* Jpn. *Hōkoku seyo!* 'Report!'. In Hungarian, one of the police officers replies by struggling to use formal language (*Miszerint feljelentés érkezett Pelikán József ellen, miszerint . . . feketevágás alapos gyanúja miatt.* 'József Pelikán has been reported for illegal pig-slaughtering'). This is not present in the Slovenian and Japanese translations, although Jpn. *kakatte masu* is shorter and more colloquial than the standard formal form (*kakatte imasu*).

Both officers stand at attention in front of Dániel, obeying his orders, using a formal tone in Hungarian and in both translations. The officers reply to him in the affirmative:

Hu. *Értettem*, Sln. *Razumem* ‘Understood’, Jpn. *Shōchi shimashita* ‘(formal) Noted, Acknowledged’. Overall, there is a marked contrast between the language the two police officers use before and after they realize that Dániel, the minister, is also there, which in the Japanese is clearly indicated by a switch from informal to formal sentences.

## 5 SUMMARY

This article provides several examples of the linguistic representation of IPRs within a cross-linguistic framework. The analysis proved the constantly changing, dynamic character of IPRs within a specific context. It also showed that this dynamicity is historically, socially, culturally, and linguistically bounded – and this boundedness is realized differently in different languages.

The construction of IPRs was observed in several situations: the negotiation, establishment, and maintenance of IPRs in private and public settings. The scenes portray rather universal personal and social relationships (friendship, citizen vs. police officer, superior vs. subordinate), but it was established that some specific sociocultural factors may have a significant impact on the linguistic expression of IPRs. Notably, the socio-cultural background related to the communist era is more difficult to access from the Japanese perspective, and the IPRs related to this context are also more difficult to express in the Japanese translation. Both cases of development confirmed the authors’ previous overview of linguistic tools and led to the following findings:

- A shift to a closer/informal relationship greatly increases the use of interjections and modal particles in all the languages studied and the choice of T-forms;
- The speaker’s tension and doubt are expressed with short or truncated sentences in all the languages;
- Expressing sarcasm in the opposite directions: formal to informal/vulgar in Hungarian and Slovenian, versus informal to formal in Japanese;
- There is a spatial constraint in subtitling, but the film’s audial and visual elements may compensate for any missing linguistic means in an individual language.

The variety of linguistic tools used for constructing IPRs shows the complex network of linguistically constructed relationships on the one hand, and the differences in the linguistic representations of the same IPRs in different languages on the other. The findings above can be applied in translation theory (terminology, metalanguage, translation strategies, equivalence of each term in another language) and subtitling methodology. A translation and multilingual perspective can offer insights for instructors and learners regarding their own native language and the language they are learning, and thus increase their language awareness (Borghetti 2011), which has an impact on general language competences. The research also has implications for further research in foreign language teaching and cross-cultural pragmatics.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A tanú* (The Witness) (1969) Film directed by BACSO, Péter (subtitled by students at Osaka University in 2015 and at the University of Ljubljana in 2020).
- BAJRAMI, Jasmina. (2016) Speech level shift in Japanese and Slovene. *Acta Linguistica Asiatica*, 6(2), 23–51.
- BASKI, Sándor *The Witness*. 25. june 2024. <https://nfi.hu/en/core-films-1/films-3/feature-films-1/the-witness-a-tanu.html>.
- BENCZE, Lóránt (2005) Politeness in Hungary: Uncertainty in a Changing Society. L. Hickey/M. Stewart (ed.), *Politeness in Europe*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 234–246.
- BORGHETTI, Claudia (2011) Intercultural Learning through Subtitling: The Cultural Studies Approach. L. Incalcaterra McLoughlin/ M. Biscio/M. A. Ni Mhainnin (ed.), *Audiovisual Translation: Subtitles and Subtitling*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 111–137.
- BROWN, Roger/Albert GILMAN (1960) The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity. In: Sebeok, Thomas A. (ed.) *Style in Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 253–276.
- CUTTING, Joan/Kenneth FORDYCE (2021) *Pragmatics: A Resource Book for Students* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- DEBRAY, Caroline/Helen SPENCER-OATEY (2022) Co-constructing good relations through troubles talk in diverse teams. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 192, 85–97.
- DIAZ CÍNTAS, Jorge/Aline REMAEL (2007) *Audiovisual translation: Subtitling*. Manchester: St Jerome.
- DOMONKOSI, Ágnes (2002) *Megszólítások és beszédpartnerre utaló elemek nyelvhasználatunkban*. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Intézet.
- DUCK, Steven W./Daniel USERA (2014) Language and Interpersonal Relationships. In: Holtgraves, Thomas M. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 188–200.
- FITZSIMONS, Gráinne M./Joanna ANDERSON (2013) Interpersonal Cognition: Seeking, Understanding, and Maintaining Relationships. In: Carlston Donal (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Cognition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 590–615.
- GIFFORD, Robert (2010) The Role of Nonverbal Communication in Interpersonal Relations. In: Horowitz, Leonard M./Strak, Stephen (ed.), *Handbook of Interpersonal Psychology*. New York: Wiley. 171–190.
- GIVÓN, Talmy (1991) Markedness in grammar: distributional, communicative and cognitive correlates of syntactic structure. *Studies in Language* 15, 335–370.
- HAUGH, Michael/Daniel Z. KADAR/Sara MILLS (2013) Interpersonal Pragmatics: Issues and debates. *Journal of Pragmatics* 58, 1–11.
- HOLMES, Janet (1995) *Women, Men and Politeness*. London: Longman.



- KATO, Sumi (2013) Mechanism of Interpersonal Relationship Construction Observed by Mapping Linguistic Evaluation of Family Therapy Interview Texts Quantitative Analysis. *Japanese Journal of Family Psychology* 27(1), 29–43.
- KRAUSS, Robert M./Chi-Yue CHIU (2016) Language and social behavior. In: Fiske, Gilbert S./Lindsey, G. (ed.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4th ed.), 2, Boston: McGraw-Hill. 41–88.
- KRAUSS, Robert M./Susan R. FUSSELL (1996) Social psychological models of interpersonal communication. In: Higgins, E. T./Kruglanski A. (ed.), *Social psychology: A handbook of basic principles*. New York: Guilford. 655–701.
- LEVSHINA, Natalia (2017) A Multivariate Study of T/V Forms in European Languages Based on a Parallel Corpus of Film Subtitles. *Research in Language*, 15(2), 153–172.
- LOCHER, Miriam (2004) *Power and Politeness in Action: Disagreements in Oral Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- LOCHER, Miriam A./Sage L. GRAHAM (2010) Introduction to Interpersonal Pragmatics. M. Locher/ S. Graham (ed.), *Interpersonal Pragmatics*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1–13.
- LOCHER, Miriam A./Richard J. WATTS (2005), Politeness Theory and Relational Work. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1(1), 9–33.
- MATSUMOTO, Yoshiko (1989) Politeness and Conversational Universals: Observations from Japanese. *Multilingua* 8, 207–221.
- MINAMI, Fujio (1987) *Keigo*. Tokyo: Iwanami.
- PARDESHI, Prashant/ Tarō KAGEYAMA (ed.) (2018) *Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- SCHWARTZ, Laura (1980) Syntactic markedness and frequency of occurrence. T. Perry (ed.), *Evidence and argumentation in linguistics*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 315–333.
- SHIGEMORI BUČAR, Chikako/Andreja ŽELE (2024) *Japonska skladnja za slovensko govoreče*. Ljubljana: ZZFF (the Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts).
- SZARKOWSKA, Agnieszka (2013) *Forms of Address in Polish-English Subtitling*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- TÁTRAI, Szilárd (2011) *Bevezetés a pragmatikába. Funkcionális kognitív megközelítés*. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó.
- TOPORIŠIČ, Jože (2004) *Slovenska slovnica*. 4th ed. Maribor: Obzorja.
- VERES-GUŚPIEL, Agnieszka (2017) *A személyközi viszonyok konstruálásának kognitív pragmatikai vizsgálata a magyar és a lengyel nyelvű kérésekben*. (doctoral dissertation) [https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10831/33370/dissz\\_veres-guspiel\\_agnieszka\\_nyelvtud.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10831/33370/dissz_veres-guspiel_agnieszka_nyelvtud.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y) (13.10.2024)
- VERSCHUEREN, Jef (1999) *Understanding Pragmatics*. London: Oxford University Press.
- VERSCHUEREN, Jef (2009) *Handbook of pragmatics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

YANG, Jianhong (2018) Linguistic Status of Markedness and Its Defining Criteria. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 151, 400–406.

## POVZETEK

### MEDKULTURNA REKONCEPTUALIZACIJA MEDOSEBNIH ODNOSOV V AVDIOVIZUALNEM PREVAJANJU: MADŽARŠČINA, SLOVENŠČINA IN JAPONŠČINA V KONTRASTU

V pogovornem jeziku so prisotne govorčeve strategije pri pogajanju in vzdrževanju medsebojnih odnosov s sogovorniki: iskanje želene razdalje in vzpostavljanje ustrezne hierarhije. Gre za stalno dinamičen proces, izražen z različnimi jezikovnimi sredstvi.

Podlaga za raziskavo, ki jo predstavljamo v prispevku, je bil madžarski satirični film “A tanú (Priča)” in prevodi podnapisov v japonščino in slovenščino. Primerjani jeziki so tipološko različni, zato so bila podrobno analizirana jezikovnospecifična sredstva v posameznih jezikih, ki so najpomembnejša pri oblikovanju medosebnih odnosov:

- **oblike povedka:** Zaradi razlikovanja osebe in števila je v madžarščini in slovenščini relevantna izbira med vikanjem in tikanjem, posledično rabo zaimkov ter drugih elementov. V obeh jezikih je zaslediti tudi možnost izbire polvikanja. Ustrezno razlikovanje v japonščini je možnost izbire med več oblikami povedka, in sicer med formalnim in neformalnim slogom z dodajanjem spoštljivosti.
- **pozdravi in izrazi naslavljanja:** Njihova raba je običajno konvencionalizirana v vsaki družbi ali skupnosti. V slovenščini je še posebej prisotno razlikovanje po spolu. Uporaba (ali neuporaba) različnih nazivov pri naslavljanju je pomembna v vseh treh jezikih.

V naslednji fazi raziskave smo analizirali jezikovno rabo v madžarskem izvirniku in v prevodih podnapisov v japonščini in slovenščini ter analize smo tudi primerjali.

Opazili smo razvoj oblikovanja medsebojnih odnosov v več situacijah: v **pogajanju** in v **vzpostavitvi in vzdrževanju medsebojnih odnosov**, v zasebnih in javnih govornih položajih. Analiza rabe jezikovnih sredstev v procesu razvoja pogovora je v obeh primerih potrdila zaključke iz predhodnega pregleda jezikovnih sredstev v vseh obravnavanih jezikih in nas vodila k nadaljnjim ugotovitvam. Ugotovitve kontrastivne raziskave bodo uporabne v teoriji in metodologiji prevajanja in podnaslavljanja, medkulturne pragmatike in poučevanja tujih jezikov.

**Ključne besede:** medsebojni odnosi, medkulturna pragmatika, podnaslavljanje, prevajanje, kulturna konceptualizacija

## ABSTRACT

**INTERCULTURAL RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION: HUNGARIAN, SLOVENIAN, AND JAPANESE IN CONTRAST**

In conversation, the participants' language use manifests their strategies when negotiating and maintaining interpersonal relations: seeking the intended distance between conversation partners and setting up a suitable hierarchy. It is a constantly dynamic process expressed with various linguistic tools.

This research is based on a 1969 Hungarian satirical film, *A tanú* (*The Witness*), and its Japanese and Slovene subtitles. The three languages are typologically diverse compared to each other. Based on our overview of language-specific linguistic tools for interpersonal relationships (IPRs), the most prominent are:

- **predicate forms:** The choice between V- and T-forms, pronouns and other elements in Hungarian and Slovene, because of the person and number distinction. Both Hungarian and Slovene have an additional semi-formal choice. The corresponding distinction in Japanese is the choice among several predicate forms, formal / informal with the addition of honorifics.
- **greetings and forms of addresses:** Their use is usually conventionalized in each society or community. The gender distinction is particularly present in Slovene. The use (or non-use) of various titles in addressing people is important in all three languages.

The language in the original film in Hungarian and the subtitles in Japanese and Slovene are analysed linguistically, and the analyses further compared. We can observe the development of constructing IPRs in several situations: **negotiation, establishment and maintenance of IPRs** in personal and public environments. All cases of development confirm our previous overview of linguistic tools, and lead to further findings.











The findings can be utilized in the theory and methodology of translation and subtitling, cross-cultural pragmatics, and foreign language teaching.

**Keywords:** interpersonal relationships, cross-cultural pragmatics, subtitling, translation, cultural conceptualization

**Appendix 1. Trilingual corpus used for the analysis.** The Japanese translation is from the subtitles created by students of Osaka University, the Slovene translation is from subtitles by students of the University of Ljubljana. The English translation is from the DVD edition of the film, published by the Hungarian National Digital Archive and Film Institute (Magyar Nemzeti Digitális Archívum és Filmintézet) in 2013.

**The Witness – Scene 1**  
07:00–07:37




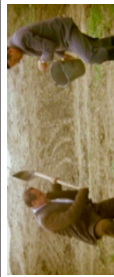

**Description of the scene:** Minister Dániel is fishing on the banks of the Danube, dressed in a suit, when he is approached by dam-keeper Pelikán, his long-lost friend from the illegal communist movement. Dániel greets Pelikán like an old friend, but Pelikán seems rather surprised and replies with caution.

	Hungarian (SL)	Slovene (TL1)	Japanese (TL2)	English	Image	Note
<b>Dániel</b>	Szervusz, Fickó!	Živjo, Fickó!	Yā, Fickō.	Hello Fickó!		Pelikán's dog, Fickó, runs up to Dániel. Dániel cheerfully welcomes the dog.
<b>Dániel</b>	Szervusz, Józsi!	Živjo, Józsi!	Yā.	Hello Józsi!		Pelikán also arrives to Dániel.
<b>Pelikán</b>	Szabadság, Dániel elvtárs!	Zdravo, tovariš Daniel!	Konnichiwa, Dānieru dajjin.	Hello, Comrade Dániel!		
<b>Dániel</b>	Na mi az, mit csodálkozol? Kijöttem egy kicsit horgászni. Négy éve nem voltam a Dunán.	Kaj si tako presenečen? Prišel sem malo na ribolov. Štiri leta nisem bil pri Donavi.	Nani ni odoroitte iru? Tsuru ni kita dake sa. Yonen buri no Donau gawa da.	Why so surprised? I've come to do a bit of fishing. I've not been here for ten [sic!] years.		They continue talking, Dániel sitting on a tree trunk, and Pelikán standing a few steps away.
<b>Pelikán</b>	Észrevettem.	Ja, opazil sem.	Naruhodo.	So I noticed.		
<b>Dániel</b>	Mi újság nálatok? Az asszony?	Kako ste kaj? Žena?	Kawari nai ka ne? Okusan wa?	How's life? How's the wife?		
<b>Pelikán</b>	Megszökött egy uszályossal. Egy románál.	Zbežala je z nekim mornarjem. Romunom.	Senchō to nigete ikimashita. Rūmania-jin deshita.	She ran off with a sailor, a Romanian.		
<b>Dániel</b>	Hát igen...	Aha...	Sōka...	Oh, well.		
<b>Dániel</b>	És a gyerekek?	Kaj pa otroci?	Kodomotachi wa?	How about the children?		
<b>Pelikán</b>	Jól vannak.	Vse v redu.	Mondai nai desu.	Fine.		

**The Witness – Scene 2**  
**07:38–08:04**







**Description of the scene:** Pelikán asks Dániel about his marriage, using the formal style. Dániel is surprised, then playfully threatens him, and asks him to use the informal style, referring to their old friendship. By the end of the scene the tension present since the beginning of the conversation is released, the two men laugh and Pelikán pats Dániel on the shoulder, who invites Pelikán, still standing, to sit down next to him.

	Hungarian (SL)	Slovene (TL1)	Japanese (TL2)	English	Image	Note
<b>Pelikán</b>	Maga nem nősült meg, Dániel elviars?	A niste vi že poročeni, tovariš Daniel?	Anata wa dokushin de?	Aren't you married yet, Comrade Dániel?		Pelikán moves one step closer to Dániel.
<b>Dániel</b>	Mi az, te magázol engem, Józsi?	Kaj je zdaj to vikanje, Józsi?	Dōshite sonna katain da?	Why so formal with me, Józsi?		
<b>Pelikán</b>	Hát hogy beszéljek egy miniszterrel?	Ja no, kako naj se obračam do ministra?	Sonna, daijin ni dō hanaseba yoika?	How should I speak to a minister?		
<b>Dániel</b>	Na ne ugrassuk egymást! Mi ketten aztán igazán... Szóval ne hülyéskedj ezzel a magázással, mert megharagszom!	No, ne zajebavajva se! Sekiralo bi me, če bi se midva vikala. Tako da nehaj s tem neumnim vikanjem, ker me bo razjezilo.	Nara jōdan wa yameyo! Kongo, keigo wo tsukau na. Hara ga tatsunda.	Let's forget the ceremony. I'll get angry if we of all people, stick to formalities.		Dániel threatens Pelikán in a playful tone. After a few seconds of silence, Pelikán pats Dániel on the shoulder, they both laugh.
<b>Dániel</b>	Ülj le!	Sedi!	Suwatte kure!	Take a seat!		Pelikán sits down next to Dániel.

The Witness – Scene 3 08:19–08:56						
<b>Description of the scene:</b> Pelikán and Dániel are walking on the dam when Pelikán suddenly spots the hole of a ground squirrel. He runs to a nearby stall and fetches a bucket of water and a shovel. He gives the water to Dániel who has been looking at the hole in amazement. As Dániel pours the water into the hole, two animals emerge from the hole and Pelikán beats them with the shovel. Pelikán then asks Dániel to hold the animal, so he can cut off its tail (since the children get a cash reward for presenting the cut-off tails of the animals damaging the dam).						
	Hungarian (SL)	Slovene (TL1)	Japanese (TL2)	English	Image	Note
<b>Pelikán</b>	Ejnye csak, várj egy pillanatra!	Hej, čakaj trenutek!	Matte kure!	Hold on!		Pelikán runs to the hole, followed by Dániel.
<b>Dániel</b>	Mi az? Mi történt?	Kaj? Kaj se dogaja?	Dōshita?	Why, what happened?		
<b>Pelikán</b>	Várájál csak! Hát az ürge a gát legveszedelmesebb ellensége! Egy pillanatra várájál csak!	Počakaj! Tekunica je nevarna za nasip!  Počakaj trenutek !	Jirisu wa teibō no teki da! Isshun dake matte kure!	Gophers are the dike's most dangerous enemies. Wait a moment.		Pelikán runs to the stall, while Dániel stays next to the hole, watching it with curiosity.
<b>Dániel</b>	Ez egy ürgelyuk?	A je to njena luknja?	Kore ga suana ka?	Is that their hole?		
<b>Pelikán</b>	Öntséd csak, Zoltán! Fogd csak meg! Hű, hogy örülnek majd a gyerekek ennek! Két forintot kapnak a farkukért a MEH-ben, te! Hajaj!	Zlij to v luknjo, Zoltán! O, kako bodo otroci srečni! Dva forinta dobijo za vsak rep v zbirnem centru.	Sosoide kure! Tsukamaerun da! Aa, kodomotachi mo yorokobu yo. Ippiki ni-forinto no kasegi da!	Pour it down, Zoltán. The kids will be pleased, they get 2 forints for a tail at the depot. Oh my...!		Pelikán runs back to the hole with the water and the shovel, gives the water to Dániel. Dániel pours the water into the hole.
<b>Pelikán</b>	Vigyázz, jön!	Evo jo!	Hora, dete kita zo!	Watch out it's coming!		Pelikán hits the animals coming out of the hole with the shovel.
<b>Dániel</b>	Itt a másik!	Še druga!	Nihikime da!	Here is another one!		
<b>Pelikán</b>	Fogd csak meg egy kicsit!	Drži jo malo!	Chotto mottete kure!	Hold it up for a moment.		Pelikán takes out a knife, picks up one of the animals from the ground, asks Dániel to hold it, and Dániel does so.

**The Witness – Scene 4**  
11:04–11:30

**Description of the scene:** Two police officers enter Pelikán's house to search it, suspecting a pig has been slaughtered without official permission. Meanwhile, Dániel, the minister, is sleeping in another room. Pelikán seems relaxed and tries to calm the officers by referring to the sleeping minister. The policeman does not believe him and threatens him. Finally, Pelikán gives up and tells the policemen to search the house.

<b>Pelikán</b>	<b>Hungarian (SL)</b>	<b>Slovene (TL1)</b>	<b>Japanese (TL2)</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Image</b>	<b>Note</b>
	Ssss..	Ššššš..	Shi!			Pelikán is sitting at a table, smoking and reading a newspaper. Two policemen enter.
<b>Police officer</b>	Mi az, hogy ssss? Mit bizalmaskodik velem? Hol az a disznó? Most már aztán vége minden finomkodásnak!	Kaj ššš? Kako (pa) govoriš z mano? Kje je svinja? Zdaj bo moje prijaznosti konec.	Nanda, narenareshii! Buta wa doko da? Himitsu wo abaitte yaru!	What do you mean, »shush«? Where's that pig, or I'll get rough.		
<b>Pelikán</b>	Csendesebben, elvtársak! A miniszter elvtársat ne költsek fel!	Tišje, tovariša! Prebudila bosta tovariša ministra!	Ochitsuite kure! Daijin-sama wo okoshite shimau.	Not so loud, comrades, or you'll wake the comrade minister.		Pelikán stands up and confronts the policemen.
<b>Police officer</b>	A miniszterelvtársat! Már ez a szöveg is megér vagy másfél évi börtönt. Nem elég, hogy feketevágást hajtott végre, még a legfelső kormányt is káromolja, maga szerencsétlen!	Tovariša ministra! Tako govorjenje bi vas lahko stalo leto in pol zapora. Ni vam dovolj, da na skrivaj zakoljete prašiča, z vodilno administracijo se zajebavate, ničvreden ste!	Daijin sama? Sono kotoba mo shikei ka, rōgoku-iki ni atai suru. Buta wo koroshita dake de sumanai, kuni no naikaku sae nonoshittan da!	»Comrade Minister«! Talk like that will land you in jail. Isn't illegal slaughtering enough, without abusing leading comrades?		One of the policemen is shouting at Pelikán, insulting him for his behaviour.
<b>Pelikán</b>	Csinálják! Érdekel engem?	Naredita, kakor želita! Briga me!	Dōzo go-jiyū ni!	Do as you like!		Pelikán waves his hand and leans back.
<b>Police officer</b>	Házkutatás! Indulj!	Preiskava! Takoj!	Kataku sōsaku da! Hajimero!	It is a house search.		



**The Witness – Scene 5**  
11:51 – 12:25

**Description of the scene:** Waking up to the noise made by the police officers, Dániel, the minister, enters the room where a loud argument between Pelikán and two police officers takes place. He calms the situation and regains power and control when he presents himself and orders policemen to start the search of the house.

	<b>Hungarian (SL)</b>	<b>Slovene (TL1)</b>	<b>Japanese (TL2)</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Image</b>	<b>Note</b>
<b>Dániel</b>	Mi az, Jóska? Mi folyik itt elvtársak?	Kaj je, Jóska? Kaj se dogaja, tovariša?	Nan no sawagi da? Nani wo shite iru!	What's going on, comrades?		The policemen search the apartment making a loud noise.
<b>Police officer</b>	Az elvtárs kicsoda?	Kdo ste pa vi, tovariš?	Doko no dare da?	Who are you, comrade?		The policeman asks without turning back (he does not see Dániel).
<b>Dániel</b>	Még sose láttak engem? Jelentést kérek!	Me niste še nikdar videl? Poročajte!	Watashi wo shiranai no ka! Hōkoku seyo!	Have you never seen me before?		Dániel speaks authoritatively, raising his voice.
<b>Police officer</b>	Miniszter elvtársnak jelentem, házkutatás. Miszerint feljelentés érkezett Pelikán József ellen, miszerint... feketevágás alapos gyanúja miatt.	Tovariš minister, poročam, da izvajamo preiskavo.  Dobili smo prijavo, da je József Pelikán brez dovoljenja zaklal prašiča.	Dajjin-sama, hōkoku itashimasu. Katakū sōsaku desu. Kare ni taisuru mikkoku ga kimashita. Buta wo koroshita yōgi ga kakatte masu.	Report, if you please.  Comrade Minister, it's a house search. József Pelikán has been reported for illegal pig-slaughtering.		The policeman stands at attention.
<b>Pelikán</b>	Kutasanak, elvtársak! A feljelentés szent dolog!	Kar prejšiča, tovariša! Prijava je sveta zadeva!	Tsuzukete kure! Mikkoku wa fukahi da!	Proceed with your search, comrades, reports are sacred.		Pelikán speaks calmly.
<b>Dániel</b>	Tegyenek mindent a helyére!	Vse pospravite spet na svoje mesto!	Subete moto ni modose!	Put everything back in place.		Dániel speaks with authority.
<b>Police officer</b>	Értettem.	Razumem.	Shōchi shimashita.	Understood!		