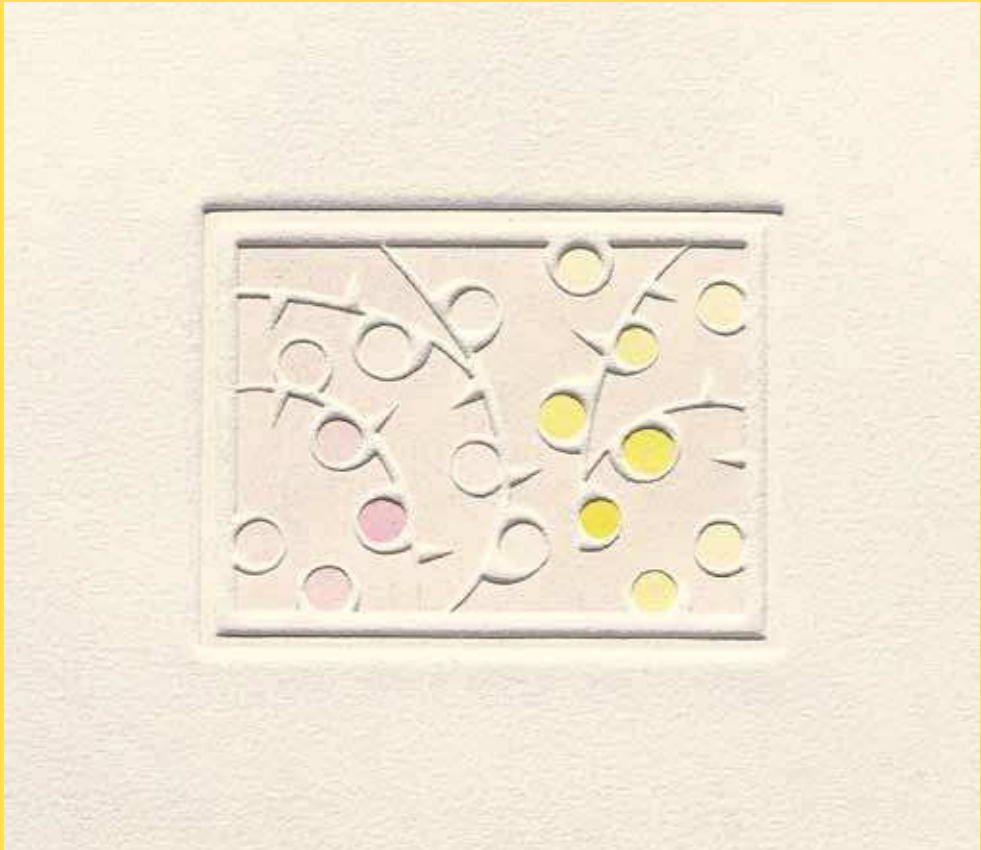


English
Language
Overseas
Perspectives and
Enquiries



Volume IX – Autumn

Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

Slovensko društvo za angleške študije
Slovene Association for the Study of English

Oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani
Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

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Sdaš

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I.

LANGUAGE

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Modulation as Variation in Target–Language Translation Equivalence: The Case of English and Slovene

Summary

Modulation in translation theory is usually observed as a procedure involving a change in point of view in the target–language text. The paper introduces a newly modified concept of perceiving the process as variation in two or more Slovene translation equivalents corresponding to a single English collocation of the source text. The reasons or conditions for such modulation can be sought in collocations representing a loosely fixed word combination and thus often allowing variation on the syntagmatic axis, collocations as a minimum context and extended minimum context, co–text as a whole, and TL situation.

Key words: modulation, collocation, co–text, English and Slovene languages

Modulacija kot variacija med enakovrednimi prevodnimi ustreznici ciljnega jezika: primerjava angleščine in slovenščine

Povzetek

Modulacija se je s prevajalskega vidika uveljavila kot postopek, pri katerem gre za spremembo stališča pri prevodu v ciljni jezik. Članek predstavlja nekoliko drugačen pogled na pojav, in sicer kot variacijo med dvema ali več slovenskimi prevodnimi ustreznici, ki izhajajo iz angleške kolokacije izhodiščnega besedila. Razloge ali pogoje za nastanek takšne modulacije je možno iskati v kolokacijah kot dokaj prostih ustaljenih besednih zvezah, ki dopuščajo variacijo na svoji sintagmatski osi, kolokacijah v vlogi minimalnih ali razširjenih kontekstov, sobesedilu ali kotekstu ter v okoliščinah ciljnega jezika.

Ključne besede: modulacija, kolokacija, sobesedilo, angleški in slovenski jezik

Modulation as Variation in Target–Language Translation Equivalence: The Case of English and Slovene

1. Introduction: The Issue of Modulation

Modulation in linguistics is a phenomenon found either in a monolingual framework, where it refers to the addition or removal of meaning within the text for easier or accurate interpretation of a particular sense (Cruse 2000, 120–3), or in a bilingual one, in which it is described as one of the translation procedures with a change in viewpoint, encompassing some typical properties adding to its specific position in translation theory and practice.¹

In this paper, however, modulation is assigned a narrower role than those just mentioned; it is not the method of translation I am focusing on, nor the features of each Slovene translation equivalent (e.g. as to their in/appropriate translation) of the source–language (hereafter SL) item, nor how and to what extent they differ from each other, but rather the plurality of target–language (hereafter TL) options – as it came to be and what caused it.

To be precise, modulation in this view represents a situation where a particular English collocation forming part of the SL text has been or can be translated by two or more Slovene translation equivalents; for example, the English collocation *had a profound effect* in the context of [..., *he was struck by how little most of us know about these years, which had such a profound effect on American political and social life...*] (McGrath 2010, 1) is translated by SL (...*leta, ki so imela (tako) globok učinek*,² but one might also suggest e.g. *imela velikl močan učinekl vpliv*.

The idea that springs to mind in this situation is whether two or more Slovene translation equivalents semantically corresponding to the English collocation of the SL text occur at least in part due to the **nature of the English collocation**, its **co–text**, or are simply part of the **TL** and its **processing**.

However, even if diverging significantly from my own interpretation of the concept above, some considerations of modulation regarded as a contextual phenomenon in a monolingual context or as a translation process perceived bilingually should first be introduced too.

2. Modulation: Contextual Modulation in a Monolingual Framework and as a Translation Procedure in a Bilingual one

2.1 Contextual Modulation

In a monolingual setting, modulation tends to be context–related and is indicative of the effects of

¹ This view of modulation is based mostly on the theory of Vinay and Darbelnet in their *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958).

² This Slovene translation equivalent constitutes a part of the draft Slovene translation (not proofread) based on an English publication in *The New York Times*.

context on the meaning of a word, in which case the focus remains on its semantic functions, and where it is also referred to as *sense modulation*. Several processes occur within the functions of sense modulation, particularly *selection*, *coercion* and *modulation* (Cruse 2000, 120). Selection is used to suppress all readings that might cause some sort of *semantic clash*³ with the context. The one that is not suppressed is the selected one and the speaker or hearer does not even consider any other possibilities. However, in the case where none of the readings of the word is compatible with the context, the speaker might make use of different meaning extensions, such as metaphor or metonymy. If such a reading is then found, it is recognized as the intended reading and the context has thus *coerced* a new reading. Contextual modulation involves contextual effects that do not go beyond the bounds of a single sense, in which case we are dealing with *enrichment* (adding meaning or making it more specific), e.g. *Our teacher is on maternity leave*, where gender is determined (ibid., 121), and *impoverishment* (removing meaning), e.g. *The children formed a circle around the teacher*, where context demands a vague use of the lexical item *circle*, since we do not expect children to form a geometrically exact circle and “the description is vague in the sense (a) that it covers a range of possible dispositions of the children, and (b) that it is not clear what arrangements are excluded” (ibid., 122).

2.2 Modulation as a Translation Procedure

My research stems from Vinay and Darbelnet’s *Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais* (1958), where modulation is “a variation of the form of the message, obtained by a change in the point of view” (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, 36) and is used when the direct translation into the target language would be considered unsuitable, unidiomatic or awkward (ibid.). The authors study modulation on three planes of expression: *lexicon* or *lexis*, *syntactic structure* and *message*.

The *LEXICON* covers the lexical properties of modulation (also called *lexical modulation*, 1995, 88–9) with a focus on how they affect our mental categories, e.g. (ibid., 41) FR↔EN: *Peu profond*↔*shallow*. Vinay and Darbelnet categorize modulation into several pairs of modulations which are summed up by Newmark (1988, 88–9):

- *negated contrary* or *positive for double negative* (and vice versa), which he claims can be applied to virtually any action (verb) or quality (adjective or adverb), e.g. FR *Il n’a pas hésité*=EN *He acted at once* and *Il n’est pas lâche*=*He is extremely brave*

³ As to semantic clash, units of meaning impose semantic conditions of some kind on their syntagmatic partners and, if they are satisfied, the result turns out to be well formed; however if conditions are not fulfilled, some sort of clash may occur causing a semantic transformation and producing a reading that does not abide by these conditions. Cruse terms them *co-occurrence preferences* and distinguishes two types – *collocational* and *selectional preferences* (ibid., 221–2). Later he refers to *selectional* and *collocational restrictions* (ibid., 228–34), both summed up by Gabrovšek (2000, 207–8), who states that they are essentially semantic; however “the former, traditionally stated in the form of semantic categories to which lexical patterns had to belong, are an inescapable consequence of the meaning of a word (e.g. the direct object of *to kill* must be capable of referring to something that is animate and alive at the time the action is carried out; not taking this into account is violating the selectional restrictions of *to kill*), while the latter are extraneous to the core meaning of a word (e.g. the oddness of *the Vice-Chancellor’s wages*, where the restriction violated does not arise logically from the concept of ‘earnings’, which in any case is common to both *wages* and *salary*; rather, it is attached as a kind of peripheral extra). Violating selectional restrictions thus leads to contradiction or incongruity, while violating collocational restrictions leads to inappropriateness”.

- **part for the whole** which consists of familiar alternatives, e.g. (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, 251) *La Palais Bourbon* for *the French Parliament*
- **abstract for concrete**, e.g. *sleep in the open*=*dormir à la belle étoile*
- **cause for effect**, e.g. *You're quite a stranger*=*On ne vous voit plus*
- **one part for another**, e.g. *from cover to cover*=*de la première à la dernière page*
- **reversal of terms**, e.g. *n'appellez pas du bas de l'escalier*=*don't call up the stairs*
- **active for passive and vice versa**, e.g. (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, 139) *You are wanted on the phone* translated by an active verb in French, *On vous demande au téléphone*.
- **space for time**, e.g. *as this in itself (space) presented a difficulty*=*cela présentant déjà (time) une difficulté*
- **intervals and limits** (Vinay and Darbelnet note here that “this modulation is important in ethnological matters” [1995, 253]), e.g. *No parking between signs*=*Limite de stationnement*
- **change of symbols** (Vinay and Darbelnet point out that symbolism used in French and English is based on rather different images [1995, 253–4]), e.g. *Trade followed the flag*=*Les soldats firent place au commerce*

Newmark (1988, 88–9) also points out that modulation is clearly necessary in some cases, especially where there is a lexical gap in an opposition, e.g. *shallow*=*peu profond*; however, in other cases the procedure is potentially available, but one should use modulation only if the chosen translation sounded unnatural without it.

Furthermore, on the level of the lexicon Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, 87–8) describe modulation also in relation to **memory associations** that are evoked by a word or an expression. They refer to it as **lexical modulation**.

Associations can be those of synonyms or antonyms and **parallel terms** as well (ibid., 87). Parallel terms are especially important when interpreting the process of modulation since they “share the broad aspects of a general idea or object” (ibid.). This parallel series is led by a generic word and consists of words on the same level of *generic–specific* hierarchy; their position is not invariable and can alter with modification in the order of concepts from time to time adopted by society; e.g. in 1914 aeronautics belonged to the same level as infantry, artillery, engineers and cavalry; however, over time it has gradually been promoted to the rank of aviation and is now parallel to the army and navy. Its generic superordinate became *armed forces*, substituting for the previous *ground forces*. This proves useful in a monolingual context, “but translators also find it important because it creates a mental context which permits the identification of the sense they are dealing with” (ibid.), e.g. where (American) English uses *swim*, the French would use either *nager* when *swim* is a part of physical activities such as *walk, jump, run*, etc., or *se baigner* when it refers to leisure activities as *go for a walk, read, play tennis*, and as such often has the form of *to go swimming* (ibid.).

In terms of *SYNTAX*, (ibid., 249) during modulation requirements of syntactic structures, besides those of metalinguistic information, need to be fulfilled as well (e.g. one word class changing into another). This points to its double motivation, for example, (ibid., 41) FR↔EN: *Donnez un peu de votre sang*↔*Give a pint of your blood*.⁴ If the focus is on grammatical changes, modulation might be viewed as transposition; in fact, Van Hoof perceives modulation as a type of transposition at a global level that involves categories of thought and not only grammatical categories.⁵ Overall, he suggests comprehending modulation as an extralinguistic phenomenon (1989, 126).

Vinay and Darbelnet believe that modulation is motivated by metalinguistic information and demands a skilful translator be able to recognize the need to change a point of view in the TL text. They assign these requirements to the level of the *MESSAGE* since it has to correspond to the source–text situation, e.g. FR *remplir* is not the appropriate translation of EN *to fill* when in relation to gastronomic satisfaction, as in *Coca-Cola refreshes without filling*, which cannot be translated literally, but has been skilfully translated into *La boisson légère, qui rafraîchit!* The authors emphasize that “these cultural taboos force translators into changes of the point of view which cannot be justified semantically or syntactically and which therefore are not felt by target language speakers with the same impact” (1995, 246–7).

Apart from modulations perceived through the three planes of expression, the authors also differentiate between *free* or *optional* and *obligatory* or *fixed* modulations. With fixed modulation the translator, being well–versed in both languages, shows his/her awareness of the expression’s frequency of use, its overall acceptance and the fact that it can be verified in a dictionary or grammar, e.g. *The time when...* is translated into French as *Le moment où...* as the only option available to coincide with the English original.

In optional modulation there are translation equivalents not fixed and limited by usage, e.g. apart from the EN *It is not difficult to show* translated by FR *Il est facile de démontrer* (the type of modulation which turns a negative SL expression into a positive TL expression) (ibid., 37), the word–for–word translation of FR *Il n’est pas difficile* is equally possible.

However, the fact that the translator is aiming at a single solution in the TL rendering and that this then becomes the only solution that translator can use makes the line between fixed and optional modulation somewhat blurry. In addition, when this solution is used often enough

⁴ Apart from modulation, Vinay and Darbelnet mention other translation procedures, such as borrowing, calque, literal translation, equivalence, adaptation and *transposition* (1995, 36). The last of these “involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message” and can be used in a monolingual setting, e.g. FR *Il a annoncé qu’il reviendrait* can be re–structured by transposing a subordinate verb with a noun, as in *Il a annoncé son retour*, or in a bilingual one, where transposition (as is modulation) is either obligatory or optional. An example of the former is FR *D s son lever* translated literally (but also transposed) into EN *As soon as he gets / got up*, while the latter can be observed in FR *Apr s qu’il sera revenu* either with no change in grammatical categories, as in EN *After he comes back*, or it can be transposed into *After his return*. The translation procedures can overlap in some cases, e.g. translation of *paper weight* by *presse papiers* is a case of fixed transposition as well as of fixed modulation (ibid., 40–2).

⁵ Salkie argues that many authors agree with the concept of different grammatical forms expressing the same meaning, while there are some who believe that a change in form may result in a change in meaning. With transposition, there is also a problem of identifying the same grammatical categories across different languages. While the English noun and French noun can fall into the same category, it might not be so in terms of e.g. auxiliary verb or subordinating conjunctions, let alone if compared to a non–European language (2001, 434–5).

to be recognized, for example, by comparing bilingual texts, or from discussions at linguistic conferences, it may become fixed (ibid.).⁶

There is also ‘a new look at modulation,’ as Salkie (2001, 433–41) entitled his article stemming from Vinay and Darbelnet’s theory, which is a step forward in terms of attributing some new qualities to this procedure. He perceives modulation as a situation in which a source text is translated in many different ways in the target text, and has adopted the position of perceiving modulation as types of relationship between two texts; he attempts to do so by focusing on features of texts instead of the activities that produced them. He draws on the principles of contrastive analysis based on corpus analysis of a large number of texts (of the chosen languages) where he examines modulation.

In order to aptly present modulation, he relies on the principles of *Relevance Theory*,⁷ modulation being perceived “as a relation between two texts such that they yield the same mental representation but via a different process of interpretation” (ibid., 439).

Salkie ponders over the issue of “change in viewpoint” and “the same situation” throughout his paper. He indicates that in some cases it is tempting to equate the same situation with the same meaning, as in: FR *Complet*. translated by EN *No vacancies*. He suggests that (*Cet hôtel est) complet* in a particular context entails (*This hotel has no vacancies*) and vice versa. However, it is not obvious that we have a two-way entailment in every case, as in e.g. EN *You can have it*. translated by FR *Ja vous la laissez*⁸ (ibid., 435–6).

Similar to Newmark, he lists the types of modulations mentioned by Vinay and Darbelnet, but adds two more presented by Chesterman (1997, 103–4)⁹ that are “good examples of a translator arriving at the same message using different means, which is one way of conceiving of modulation” (ibid., 436–7). These examples include:

- Converses, which represent the same state of affairs from opposing viewpoints, such as *buy* and *sell*.
- Paraphrase, in which certain elements of meaning are disregarded in order to capture the overall sense of a larger unit, as in GER *Wenn Sie sich entschließen, die Vorteile zu nutzen* ... translated into EN *If you decide to become a member of the scheme* ... (ibid., 436).

Another way in which Salkie (ibid., 437) interprets modulation is by placing it side by side with transposition. Transposition involves grammatical resources available in the target text and focuses on how the TL would naturally express a particular span of text, whereas “with modulation the principal consideration is the events or states of affairs that the words refer to” and the translator is interested in how a speaker of the TL would naturally conceive of it.

⁶ This is only possible when the expression can be codified in dictionaries or grammars and is regularly taught (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, 37).

⁷ Salkie points out that the theory was elaborated by Sperber and Wilson (1995) and discussed within translation theory by Gutt (1991).

⁸ The example is taken from Vinay and Darbelnet (1958, 238).

⁹ Cited in Salkie (2001, 436).

This idea certainly unveils a new approach to modulation and, when compared to Vinay and Darbelnet, is closer to the concept of modulation described in the next section.

Moreover, Salkie carried out an empirical research using translation corpora in order to further examine modulation and find parameters or patterns by which it could be recognized.

For him corpus is a means to observing or counting *inventive* translations where the expression of the SL is not rendered in the way that we would expect in the TL. In his view, inventive translations are divided into ***translationally unsystematic*** ones that are devised anew each time, and ***translationally systematic*** ones that may occur regularly with translation A being selected in particular contexts and translation B in others. Salkie is only interested in translationally systematic types, since by establishing which contexts regularly favour translation A as opposed to translation B, we can find out something about the linguistic systems of the compared languages.

To support his ideas, Salkie lists several examples from the INTERSECT corpus showing different ways of translating by:

- the expected equivalent, which is **NOT** the case of modulation as in, e.g. FR *Et puis d'abord quand il a **bien** bu et bien mangé le convive, il est facilement convaincu.* translated by *And anyway, when he has eaten and drunk **well**, the other fellow is easily convinced.*,¹⁰ where focusing on FR *bien*, we come across its EN expected translation equivalent of *well* (ibid., 438).
- modulation as **two-way entailment**, or equating the same situation with the same meaning, e.g. FR *Cette visite s'est déroulée par petits groupes, afin que tous puissent observer les diverses tâches qui sont accomplies dans ce laboratoire; le personnel de ce laboratoire a **bien** montré et expliqué les divers traitements de conservation et de restauration qu'il donne aux documents.* rendered as EN *The tours were conducted in small groups so that all could observe the various activities taking place, and the staff of the Laboratory **did an excellent job of** demonstrating and explaining the different conservation and restoration treatments they were performing.*,¹¹ where FR *bien* corresponds to EN *did an excellent job of* (ibid., 439).
- modulation as the same situation described from a **different point of view** (where it is difficult to establish the complete identity of meaning), e.g. FR *On me permettra de souligner que le Canada a **bien** rempli son rôle dans le vaste effort international...* rendered as EN *Let me stress that Canada has been playing a **full** role in the broad international effort...*,¹² in which case FR *bien* + verb correspond to EN adjective *full* modifying the object of the verb in English. The two versions do not appear to mutually entail each other, but still refer to the same state of affairs (ibid.).

This categorization leads to considering the impact of *relevance theory* where the translator's aim is to produce a text in the TL which, in the appropriate context, would make it possible for the reader to construct a mental representation that resembles the one created by the reader of the

¹⁰ [FICTION\CELINE]

¹¹ [MISC\CANLIB]

¹² [CANHANS\HANS1]

source text. Consequently, “two texts can have different semantic representations but yield the same mental representation”. This notion proves simple when applied to corpus examples where we are certain whether two texts are identical or different in meaning. However, when we have trouble in deciding on the meaning, *relevance theory* enables us to find support in the idea that the source text and target text are the same at the level of mental representations (ibid., 439–40). This gives way to a new concept of modulation.

Salkie has certainly come up with compelling ideas about modulation, and extended its use in order to define it in more detail or at a more abstract level. Modulation as such can no longer be taken merely as one of the translation procedures, but as a gradual process that owing to the translator’s knowledge and inventiveness leads to its place in a linguistic system.

3. Modulation: Plurality of TL Options

Even though Salkie furthered the existing theory on modulation, the difference between two interpretations and this one is quite obvious. The former is interested in finding one optimum translation equivalent and does not even suggest alternatives, whereas the latter depends on the existence and availability of at least two options for a single word combination (collocation in this case) of the SL. This modulation strives for an atypical manner of expression in language or contradicts to what is natural in language and uses a pragmatic approach rather than translational one.

Modulation of this type thus stands for a process where a particular English collocation forming part of the SL text is translated by two or more Slovene translation equivalents; for example, and as mentioned, the English extended collocation *had a profound effect* in the context of [..., *he was struck by how little most of us know about these years, which **had such a profound effect on American political and social life...***] (McGrath 2010, 1) has been/can be translated not only by SL *imela globok učinek*, but also *imela velik/močan učinek*, *velik/močan/globok vpliv*, and *so močno/globoko zaznamovala*, *pustila velik/močan/globok pečat*, *močno/globoko vplivala*.¹³ Appendix 1 consisting of the preceding Slovene translation equivalents shows search results for individual core or key words and their collocates in terms of how often they appear together. The Slovene noun *učinek* and its collocate *globok* are actually used together only in seven cases and when considered together as a unit (*globok učinek*) immediately preceded by *imela* in FidaPLUS (or the infinitive form of *imeti*¹⁴ in Slovene), it occurs only once. *Velik učinek* and *močan učinek* have a significantly higher frequency than *globok učinek*. Moreover, *velik vpliv* and *močan vpliv* are even more frequent. Overall, the adjective *globok* premodifying the nouns *vpliv* and *učinek* is the least frequent of the adjectives in the tables; however it proves quite frequent in combination with *pečat* (74 occurrences) and as an adverb of *zaznamovati* (61). These results could be explored even further and possibly lead to another linguistic research in relation to, for example, in/appropriateness or optimality measured among the Slovene equivalents. However, not in this case – the results obtained in FidaPLUS are here only to confirm the existence of the listed

¹³ All of which occur in FidaPLUS corpus of the Slovene language (see Appendix 1).

¹⁴ The extended units of *vpliv/učinek* with *imeti* and *pečat* with *pustiti* are also listed in the Appendix 1; in addition, some parameters had to be set for a reliable data representation, for example, excluding all comparative or superlative forms of adjectives (e.g., *globlji*, *večji*).

Slovene translation equivalents and to emphasize their number as generated from a single English collocation. This plurality of TL options is termed modulation and in order to find its source and outline how it functions, some parameters need to be set.

There are three ways in which such modulation can be interpreted, as it can be viewed as a result of either:

1. **collocation** as a (semantically) “scattered” unit allowing translation variation (more than one translation equivalent)¹⁵ in the TL that is also considered as *minimum context* (e.g. *to make a move*) and *extended minimum context* (e.g. *to make a sudden move*)
2. *co-text* and the collocation
3. *TL situation* based on the inventory of lexical choices as shown in existing resources (texts, dictionaries, grammars, corpora) or as a consequence of associations, accumulated skills, etc.

3.1 Collocation

This heading is intended to highlight the key concepts involved and processes that contribute to modulation in the TL.

Collocation is considered a multi-word unit that is “loosely” fixed, is mostly binary, occurs frequently and carries a literal (compositional) meaning (Gabrovšek 2000, 198). There are several interpretations of collocation, the most general being “any more or less common and grammatical co-occurrence of words and phrases” (ibid., 199). From the semantic point of view, collocation can be observed in terms of *lexical sets*¹⁶ to which the collocates constituting it belong. Lexical sets are “non-arbitrary strings of items characterized by a shared common range of meaning, a shared common factor of denotation, and by belonging to the same word class or having a similar grammatical function”, as in, for example, *She is riding a horse*, where horse belongs to a set that includes *bicycle, motorbike, scooter*, and also *hobby-horse, dolphin, camel, elephant* (Lord 1994, 79–80).¹⁷

Moreover, collocations have to abide by particular *selection restrictions* and *collocational (combinability) preferences* (cf. *semantic clash*). For example, we use *glacial lake* and not e.g. **glacial age*, where we cannot argue for semantic restrictions, as can be observed in the cases of *rancid* being combined with a limited set of nouns – *butter/lard/oil*, but perceive it as usage-based, possibly having to do with frequency also (Gabrovšek 2005, 211). This issue can also be discussed in terms of **lexical** and **semantic collocations**, the former being usage-based and the latter semantically motivated (ibid., 210).

¹⁵ One must be aware that not all English collocations cause variation in TL, e.g. (Krek et al. eds. 2005, 867) *heavy traffic=gost promet*.

¹⁶ Lipka (2002, 173) describes “*lexical set* as a cover term for all paradigmatically related groups of words which cannot be described by purely linguistic methods. On the syntagmatic level, this is paralleled by the term collocation. Lexical sets are based either on association and intuition, or on objectively verifiable extralinguistic relationships captured by encyclopedic knowledge. They are often highly culture-specific and closely connected with the modern notions of prototype and categorization” (cited in Gabrovšek 2005, 157).

¹⁷ Cited in Gabrovšek 2000, 199.

In pursuit of finding the connection between collocation and modulation, it is possible to compare *single-word units* to their synonymous *multi-word units* and related *extended multi-word units*,¹⁸ as in, for example, *to discover* vs. *to make a discovery* vs. *to make a chilling/startling discovery*=*Odkriti* vs. *priti do odkritja/priti do šokantnega nenadnega/srhljivega odkritja/z grozo odkriti...* The number of possible translation choices is increasing in proportion to the number of collocates being added to the base word on the syntagmatic axis. The same is observed in the case of *profound effect* above which needs a verbal category of *have (had)* in this context and thus acquires the status of an extended multi-word unit and allows variation on the syntagmatic axis, e.g. *have + a profound/significant/strong/dramatic/powerful/etc.*¹⁹ + *effect*.

Another distinction of modulation are considered to be *non-metaphorical multi-word units* (or collocations in this case) as opposed to *metaphorical* ones; the latter enable less variation in the TL due to their semantic restrictions (cf. idioms²⁰), e.g. (1) *keep up appearances*=*ohranjati (dober) videz/ugled*²¹ in comparison to, for example, (2) *physical appearance*=*zunanji videz/izgled, zunanost, videz, izgled* (Durjava 2008, 35).

Binary and extended collocations might also be regarded as presenting the *minimum context*²² (e.g. *profound effect*) and *extended minimum context* (e.g. *had a profound effect*) of the base that 'allows' modulation to happen. This concept stems from the assumption that the collocate/s of the base word create a situation from which TL variation might arise, there still being restrictions in terms of the pattern the collocates need to follow on the syntagmatic axis as well as the limited set which they can belong to.

However, the context of collocation might not suffice to explain modulation in full, and the answers could thus be sought in the co-text of collocation – textual exploration going beyond the minimum context or extended minimum context.

3.2 Co-Text

According to Halliday (1985, 76), a linguistic unit examined in a text is found in two environments – *the extra-linguistic* one or *the context*, which is important for the whole text, as well as in *the linguistic environment* or *the co-text*, defined as “the language accompanying the linguistic unit under focus”.

¹⁸ Gabrovšek (2005, 89) observes that in English there appears to be a sort of progression in certain cases from e.g. the “simple” collocation *to make a discovery* to the “composite” collocation *to make a chilling discovery*, the latter appearing also as part of a larger *pattern somebody + to make + a chilling discovery + that-clause*.

¹⁹ *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (Crowther, J., Dignen, S., Lea, D. et al. eds. 2002, 249).

²⁰ Gabrovšek (2000, 188) refers to idioms as “relatively frozen or fixed and semantically non-transparent – or, more technically, semantically *opaque, non-compositional, non-motivated* or *holistic* – word combinations of varying length”, e.g. *to move heaven and earth* – ‘to try hard to achieve something’, but also *to take place, at all, in fact*. Some can be taken in their literal sense, e.g. *to skate on thin ice, be my guest!*, in which case they are no longer to be considered as idioms but as collocations or even free combinations.

²¹ Krek et al. eds. 2005, 71.

²² A similar view has already been put forward by Gabrovšek (2005, 172), who states that “collocations should perhaps be regarded as instances of typical, recurrent minimum contexts, the smallest complex syntagmatic sequences showing vital combinability patterns in a language”.

For Dash (2008, 21–2), context is the “immediate linguistic environment” in which a particular word is found. He explores the role of context in meaning variation of a word when used in a piece of text. In order to examine this interdependence, he classifies context into four types and in the following order: *local*,²³ *sentential*, *topical* and *global context*. Local context (ibid., 23–5) involves “the immediate environment of the KW in a sentence where it has occurred, encompassing its immediately preceding and succeeding words”. KW stands for key word, i.e. a base word, preceded by LW1 (left word) and immediately succeeded by RW1 (right word), all together constituting a lexical block. Dash believes that local context reveals information of whether the key word has any idiomatic relation to its neighbouring members and that it proves “useful for understanding lexical collocation of words used in a lexical block.”²⁴ In this view, parallels between local context and collocation as minimum and extended minimum context could be drawn.

Furthermore, Dash argues that local context offers the most important information concerning the contextual meaning of a word; however, in most cases it does not provide enough information to capture the actual meaning of the key word. In such instances we resort to sentential context (ibid., 26–7) that refers to the sentence where the key word is found and assigns it syntactic importance in terms of the key word having implicit or explicit syntactic relations with the other words of the same sentence. This type of context enables us to explore whether there is any variation of meaning of the key word because of its relation to the other words located at distant places within the sentence.

The next step includes topical context (ibid., 27–8) that concerns “the topic of discussion and focuses on the content of a piece of text”. Dash believes that we ought to extract necessary information from the topic to keep track of the change in meaning of the key word.

Finally, we might have to refer to global context described as extralinguistic environment of the key word, (Allan 2001, 20)²⁵ the meaning of which can be obtained only by considering information from the external world, such as details about the place, time, interpretation, pragmatics, discourse, culture, society, etc. Seeing that global context is interpreted as building up the cognitive interface between language and reality, we consider it when dealing with questions of who says, what is said, when it is said, etc. (Dash 2008, 28–9).

This classification makes it easier to pinpoint which segment of context is affecting modulation and to what extent. However, as the title of this section suggests, only co-text is accounted

²³ According to Dash (2008, 22), the terms *local context* and *topical context* were coined by Miller and Leacock (2000).

²⁴ Dash (2008, 25) elaborates further on collocation, as he points out that local context enables us to “know if co-occurrence of any two words is caused by choice (to evoke an intended sense) or by chance (having no special significance)”. Through research in corpora he has found out that association of two different words next to the key word can express a specific meaning (idiomatic and/or metaphoric), which cannot be retrieved from the sum of separate literal meanings of these words (ibid.). This notion has already been discussed in different literature, e.g. in reference to collocational meaning, Baker (2011, 57) indicates that “what a word means often depends on its association with certain collocates”, supported by examples of *dry* in isolation meaning ‘free from water’ compared to *dry* in *dry sound*, *dry voice*, *dry humour*, etc. This idea is also captured in the concept of *semantic tailoring*, in which case the meaning of a collocator is contextually so highly restricted that it is considered different from what it denotes in collocation-free sequences, e.g. the neutral *it is heavy* compared to the rather specific *heavy drinker/smoker* (Gabrovšek 2007, 284).

²⁵ Cited in Dash (2008, 28).

for in reference to modulation, as can be examined and supported by evidence. The effects of everything beyond co-text, that is, extralinguistic knowledge or global context, as Dash refers to it, might contribute to modulation, but due to the large area it covers and the data it provides (usually) outside the realms of the written text, it remains disregarded throughout this study.

For practical purposes, let us return yet again to *had a profound effect* in the sentence of *Daniel Okrent, a former public editor for The New York Times, who has just published a history of the period, "Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition," said that when he began his research, he was struck by how little most of us know about these years, which had such a profound effect on American political and social life* (McGrath 2010, 1). The plurality of TL options (*imela globok učinek, velikl/močan učinek, velikl/močan/globok vpliv, and so močno/globoko zaznamovala, pustila velikl/močan/globok pečat, močno/globoko vplivala*) results from the local context or extended minimum context in this case, since, as can be observed, none of the equivalents in their semantic and syntactic character have been sought outside the context of collocation and its interpretation.

The co-text being a relatively difficult factor with reference to modulation, modulation could also result from the TL situation itself, being due to the translator's inventiveness on the one hand and his/her knowledge based on grammars, dictionaries and his/her professional training or experiences gathered throughout the years.

3.3 TL Situation of Two or More Slovene Translation Equivalents

The idea of modulation being entirely due to TL situation might work only from the viewpoint of the level of knowledge or expertise in mastering the Slovene language one possesses and intuition. The Slovene equivalent *pustila velik pečat*, for example, is more figurative than not and diverges significantly from the literal translation of *imela globok učinek*. Still, the equivalents remain restricted to the SL situation in terms of causing modulation; the TL situation might be perceived only as a process following modulation, where the translator is left with choices and is compelled to opt for the optimum one. This is no longer the issue of modulation.

4. Conclusions

According to Vinay and Darbelnet, modulation involves perceiving SL situation from a different point of view, usually necessary only if the translation appeared unusual or strange (1995, 36). While, though admitting to the change in point of view, Salkie points to the difficulty in trying to define it. Hence he provides examples supporting the various functions or roles of modulation, either as the two-way entailment, that is, the same meaning equated with the same situation, or with the same situation presented in a different way. His dilemmas of whether we are faced with the same situation or not are resolved with the help of *relevance theory* (2001, 439), which views modulation as a relation between two texts such that they result in the same mental representation, but by a different process of interpretation.

Salkie's view not only provides a profound insight into understanding modulation, but also highlights its potential to be applied to different concepts in linguistic research. In this study, modulation is interpreted as the occurrence of two or more Slovene translation equivalents

available for a single English collocation, as has been examined thrice in the example of *had a profound effect* translated by *imela globok učinek* and also *imela velikl močan učinek*, *velikl močanl globok vpliv*, and *so močnol globoko zaznamovala*, *pustila velikl močanl globok pečat*, *močnol globoko vplivala*.

In an attempt to pinpoint what exactly causes this, or brings it about, three potential inducers have been suggested: collocation as a semantic unit by itself, collocation in the function of minimum as well as extended minimum context, and finally the co-text and TL situation.

Translator's skills and knowledge of their mother language are the two elements of TL situation that might be related to modulation. The co-text and context, for example, are constant companions of any linguistic unit and to what extent they are taken to be a verifiable influence depends on the type of research we are conducting. If, however, collocation is considered a co-text,²⁶ its nature can be accounted for together with its loosely fixed structure allowing variation on the syntagmatic axis (e.g. *have everyl littlel nolsome confidence*, or *bolsterl boostl build (up)l enhancel improvel increasel liftl raisel confidence*²⁷) which can be observed in the progression from **single-word units** to **multi-word units** and **extended multi-word units**, as in e.g. *check* vs. *havel makel run a check* vs. *havel makel run a carefull close check*²⁸=*pregledl kontrolal preverjanje* and *natančnol pazljivo*²⁹ *preveritil pregledati*.³⁰

Another relevant modulation-related assumption is that non-metaphorical collocations can result in more variation in TL than the metaphorical ones, as in non-metaphorical e.g. *carefull close check*=*natančenl temeljit pregledl kontrolal preverjanje* vs. *to hold oneself in check*³¹=*obvladati se*.

Furthermore, if collocation is taken to be a minimum context or extended minimum context of a particular linguistic item under investigation and as such enough (i.e. the overall meaning can be discerned from collocation alone) to provide modulation, the effects of co-text as sentential, topical context and global context could be disregarded (as in *had a profound effect* above); this, however, does not imply that this should always be the case.

Collocation has been examined extensively in the literature, and there remain a number of issues either pertaining to its status in phraseology, its varying length, or how it affects translation. Modulation could thus also be perceived as one of the means that might contribute to clarifying the complex apparatus of collocation.

²⁶ Or local context (see above).

²⁷ *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (Crowther, J., Dignen, S., Lea, D. et al. eds. 2002, 149).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 112–3.

²⁹ Krek et al. eds. 2005, 261.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 291.

³¹ *Ibid.*

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APPENDIX 1

Učinek

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
472	globok	7	35514	2.055513	7.670223	9.313910
875	močen	129	204357	3.734754	17.757208	429.203388
2204	velik	297	1362407	2.200851	18.629489	441.316063

Globok učinek

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
1	imeti	1	2118296	7.231760	7.231760	8.038654

Močan učinek

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
4	imeti	19	2118296	7.894725	16.390580	170.103345

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
7	imeti	40	2118296	6.924331	17.568188	304.624374

Vpliv

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
67	globok	14	35514	3.673558	11.288268	45.486526
393	močen**	1252	204357	7.631590	28.211628	10746.746276
1043	velik	2189	1362407	5.700633	27.892746	13001.931954

Globok vpliv

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
1	imeti	4	2118296	8.231760	12.231760	37.673174

Močan vpliv

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
5	imeti	137	2118296	7.608693	21.804757	1172.455675

Velik vpliv

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
7	imeti	761	2118296	8.045289	27.188795	6971.029229

Zaznamovati

<i>NR.</i>	<i>COLLOCATE</i>	<i>FREQUENCY</i>	<i>ABS. FREQ.</i>	<i>MI VALUE</i>	<i>MI3 VALUE</i>	<i>LL VALUE</i>
53	globoko	61	38170	8.291927	20.153401	579.490579
103	močno	238	71737	9.345729	25.135364	2607.456934

Vplivati

NR.	COLLOCATE	FREQUENCY	ABS. FREQ.	MI VALUE	MI3 VALUE	LL VALUE
53	globoko	27	38170	5.164535	14.674310	140.795832
1	močno	1040	71737	9.521737	29.566472	11635.792796

Pečat

NR.	COLLOCATE	FREQUENCY	ABS. FREQ.	MI VALUE	MI3 VALUE	LL VALUE
52	globok	74	35514	9.156571	21.575478	791.439769
103	močen***	146	204357	7.612310	21.991959	1250.112827
293	velik	98	1362407	4.300201	17.529621	398.154128

Globok pečat

NR.	COLLOCATE	FREQUENCY	ABS. FREQ.	MI VALUE	MI3 VALUE	LL VALUE
3	pustiti	34	102432	11.782498	21.957424	487.364381

Močan pečat

NR.	COLLOCATE	FREQUENCY	ABS. FREQ.	MI VALUE	MI3 VALUE	LL VALUE
7	pustiti	38	102432	11.546072	22.041927	532.249025

Velik pečat

NR.	COLLOCATE	FREQUENCY	ABS. FREQ.	MI VALUE	MI3 VALUE	LL VALUE
5	pustiti	53	102432	12.307478	23.763319	798.268259

*NR.	COLLOCATE	FREQUENCY	ABS. FREQ.	MI VALUE	MI3 VALUE	LL VALUE
108	močan	68	22431	6.144754	18.319679	444.975736

**NR.	COLLOCATE	FREQUENCY	ABS. FREQ.	MI VALUE	MI3 VALUE	LL VALUE
906	močan	604	22431	9.754094	28.230903	6944.631837

***NR.	COLLOCATE	FREQUENCY	ABS. FREQ.	MI VALUE	MI3 VALUE	LL VALUE
4	močan	137	22431	10.694635	24.890699	1756.481317

As the result of a corpus research, the adjective *močen* is shown in the base form, which does not imply that this is the only form we can find it in. Therefore, the results for *močan* are included separately.

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An Honest Attempt to Grasp and Possibly Tame the Wild Animal of Punning Taxonomy

Summary

The paper addresses the issue of the English pun and its successful evasion of taxonomic organization throughout the literature. Many linguists have tried to ground this subject, some going about it with more or less attention to detail, others by dodging the matter altogether. How does one specify and categorize such a phenomenon that spreads its tentacles through so many fields of a language (or even more than one language)? Puns tend to overlap in structure and are therefore almost impossible to divide clearly, by means of providing an untainted example, without interferences of other possible categories. Therefore, some previous approaches to the matter will be presented, followed by an attempt to create a clear categorization of English puns on the basis of various sources and fundamental criteria, recognising a variety of mechanisms that are present in each assigned category. For a better taxonomical comprehension a visual depiction of the tree structure is added. Additionally, unintentional punning and a short circuit in discourse, or the misinterpretation of puns, will be presented and briefly discussed.

Key words: pun, wordplay, taxonomy, punning, language

Taksonomija besednih iger: kako ujeti in ukrotiti to divjo žival

Povzetek

Članek obravnava besedne igre v angleščini in njihovo uspešno izogibanje poskusom organizirane razporeditve in razčlenitve. Mnogi jezikoslovci so si prizadevali za jasno klasifikacijo besednih iger, si pomagali z najrazličnejšimi pristopi in pri tem bolj ali manj upoštevali podrobnosti; nekateri pa so se takšni klasifikaciji povsem odrekli zaradi nejasnosti in prekrivanja različnih kategorij. Kako lahko področe, ki razpreda svoje lovke skozi mnoge jezikoslovne principe in vidike jezika (ali celo več jezikov), sploh jasno razdelimo, ko pa se besedne igre tolikokrat prekrivajo v svojih lastnostih in je skoraj nemogoče najti primer, ki ni mešanica mnogih kategorij? Zaradi želje po trdnih temeljih lastne taksonomske ureditve, bom predstavila najrazličnejše pristope, ki so se jih lotevali avtorji pred menoj, nato pa bom na osnovi njihovih dognanj in po jasno zastavljenih osnovnih kriterijih poskusila ustvariti lastno jasno kategorizacijo angleških besednih iger in predstavila dodatne mehanizme, ki pripomorejo k njihovi uspešni izvedbi. Za preglednejšo klasifikacijo bom v članek vključila vizualno podobo klasifikacije in na kratko omenila tudi problematiko nenamernih besednih iger in napak v diskurzu, katerih posledica je napačno razumevanje besednih iger.

Ključne besede: besedne igre, kategorizacija, jezik

An Honest Attempt to Grasp and Possibly Tame the Wild Animal of Punning Taxonomy

1. Introduction

A pun may as well be described as a wild animal which cannot be tamed and kept in a 2-by-4 cage; it lives, evolves, adapts and roams the jungle of languages, ready to be glanced at, petted, or even studied for a short time – but never caught and tamed. In these overly analytical times, it is one of the few creatures that cannot be completely defined and this is what has always inspired the human mind: a mystery that cannot be solved, the untamable.

On several occasions puns were described as “language on vacation” (Redfern 1984, 14) or that they “illuminate language in general” (ibid., 11) and by this, they represent the vast playfulness of a language that successfully evades a complete systematic organisation of its elements. One can perceive and explore these promising possibilities of playful wormholes between the fields of language, which entwine, tangle and interlace in the creation of new puns, while manipulating and moulding the existent vocabulary for the sole purpose of entertainment and amusement.

Even though we encounter a broad spectrum of puns on a daily basis, we rarely let our mind wander beyond their applicative usage into the depths of the linguistic debates, where the true riddles of immense dimensions are uncovered. The boundaries of this linguistic feature are unclear, dazzling and of such great proportions that the observer is usually dumbfounded. It is of great importance to set at least approximate limits (though they may be vague and resemble walking on thin ice), as well as the basic terminology, for the sake of avoiding confusion, and to bind the immense field of punning into a somewhat reasonable enclosure.

The classification of puns is a very tricky business – elusive, unstable and slippery, it acts almost in the same nature as puns themselves. The perfect classification is hard to pinpoint, as the individual instances tend to overlap, simultaneously working on various levels of different linguistic fields.

Many prominent writers and scholars have tried to categorize them properly, but found the task either too confusing, or their typologies have differed greatly amongst themselves. In the words of Evan Esar:

“The variety of puns must be infinite. Years ago I began to write a book on the subject and had little difficulty with its history, literature and other phrases. But when I came to record the different types of puns, I gave up after identifying dozens of different species, for it seemed to be an endless task” (Esar 1954, 70).

In contrast, some scholars have abandoned the thought of punning taxonomy completely. In this spirit, M. Mahood (1968) in her research of Shakespeare’s wordplay renounces any attempt of classification by stating that “naming the parts does not show us what makes the gun go off” (ibid., 19; cf. also Culler 1988). Likewise, Walter Redfern elaborates his position vividly: “I am not infatuated with taxonomy, which shares more than its stem with taxidermy” (Redfern 1984,

5). Brian Vickers, too, shares such an opinion: “One doesn’t need to know all or indeed many of the names of the figures to appreciate their existence, for we use them in our everyday speech and writing” (Vickers 1970, 91–2). However true these statements may be, the curious mechanism of the human mind, nevertheless, does not work in such a way and tends to search for order in chaos. Thus, the taxonomy of puns is still very much being investigated by different means, methods, criteria and approaches, the researchers limiting themselves to specific fields of punning or grasping the notion as a whole.¹ In their paper *Visual Puns and Verbal Puns: Descriptive Analogy or False Analogy?* (2007), Hempelmann and Samson focus on visual puns (in contrast to verbal puns), placing them into six different categories – from perfect visual puns to no visual pun; Zwicky and Zwicky’s study of imperfect puns excludes, among other things, “perfect puns and also those imperfect puns involving stress, word division, languages other than English, speakers indicated as having nonstandard accents ...” (Zwicky and Zwicky 1986, 2). The viewpoints of taxonomical study of punning also differ in approach: Alexander (1997) defines the pun types as graphological, phonological and unintentional, further adding morphological and syntactic levels, and among other things, defining Pig Latin as a type of morphological pun; Chuandao (2005) lists them according to mental realization: the understanding, figurative and logic pun; Raphaelson–West distinguishes between types of jokes and lists puns as “linguistic [jokes]” (Raphaelson–West 1989, 130), the other two being cultural and universal jokes; whereas Eric Pinder, a novel writer, divides them according to their level of humorous effect and subtlety, though, this may be a very subjective criterion:

“...As a connoisseur of puns, I can say with authority that there are three types of pun [...] Category 3: Puns that are so witty, so clever, that you can’t help but admire the intellect of the punster. These puns are very rare. Category 2: These puns are so awful, tasteless and groan-worthy that upon hearing them you feel actual physical pain. You may double over in agony. These puns are also rare. Category 1: Puns that are neither particularly clever nor do they inflict much pain, and in fact should probably never have been spoken aloud. Sadly, category 1 puns are the most common.”²

Other, more common approaches, which most scholars agree upon, tend to analyse the pun species principally by homophony, homonymy and homography, soundplay and wordplay, visual and semantic characteristics.

The majority of basic nomenclature is borrowed from Dirk Delabastita (1993, 1994, 1996, and 1997), Zwicky and Zwicky (1986) and others. In this article, the terms *pun* and *wordplay* will be treated as synonyms, whereas *word game*, *non-pun* (Delabastita 1997, 2) and *spoonerism*.³

¹ The insight of Heibert (1993) casts a light on this chaos of possible approaches and typology by stating that “the linguistic and textual complexity of wordplay is such that a wide variety of descriptive categories offer themselves as potentially relevant ... Faced with this situation, the taxonomist of the pun has to choose between two evils: either ignore some of these categories to keep the typology down to a manageable size (at the price of reducing its descriptive force), or allow new categories to multiply the number of possible subdivisions (at the risk of at once rendering the classification unwieldy and blurring what the categories have in common)” (Heibert 1993, quoted in Delabastita 1994, 236–7).

² Website: Eric Pinder – Nature Writing – Children’s Books – Humor: <http://www.ericpinder.com>, accessed on: on 11 January 2011

³ The spoonerism is mostly considered a borderline case of paronomasia, as it derives from unintentional slips of the tongue due to neurologistic mechanisms. Even though they are nowadays employed deliberately in order to achieve a humorous effect, they fail to convey a second meaning in majority of cases and are, therefore, only scrambled letters or word games. That is why I have decided to exclude them from the classification.

which describe the games we play with words and their letters (anagram, palindrome, oxymoron, shiftgram, crossword, etc.) and do not carry double meanings, shall be excluded from the argument altogether. At the same time, the puns included in the following classification have to meet the basic criteria of (1) operating on 2+ semantic levels (paronomasia), (2) subjective intentionality of deliberation, ((3) possible humorous connotation) and are provided with additional mentioning of mechanisms that take place in each variety.

This is also the basis of my pursuit, where I will endeavour to establish a classification of puns by consulting various sources and authors, trying my best to merge these great minds in the sole purpose of finding the organisation, which somehow combines them all, and at the same time I will try to keep it as transparent as possible. At the beginning of the basic taxonomy, I will also present the mechanisms which the individual type of wordplay exhibits, varying from bare semantic shifts to subject (dis)similarities. Such an appendix to classification seems reasonable in order to interconnect the various approaches, along with keeping the matter simple and clear. However, I have no delusions that my attempt is anywhere near flawless, considering this marginal phenomenon, perhaps only casting the spotlight from a somewhat different, yet still versatile angle.

2. Methodology

For the purpose of classification, we first had to build up a database of puns. We tried to find as many different types of puns as possible and a result of this endeavour was a collection of more than 800 puns, paying no attention to their means of execution or appropriateness. This selection was thoroughly studied with regard to various literature on punning and it was handled appropriately for the purpose of the author's BA thesis (cf. Koren 2010) and later for the article at hand. Most examples that constitute the database originate from various humorous pages on the Internet, and some of the puns come from films, sitcoms and daily life.

The distinction between *puns* and *non-puns* is established on the basis of three criteria: (1) they operate on different semantic levels, (2) they are deliberate in nature and (3) they carry possible humorous undertone(s). Types of puns were then classified according to (1) their means of execution (basic division vs. visual puns), (2) by their nature of execution (wordplay vs. soundplay) and (3) sorted into groups sharing similar primary mechanisms that take place in a specific class.

3. Taxonomy

Upon theoretical and practical work numerous mechanisms were discovered, which function within an individual wordplay. This disclosure was the birth of the idea for a more precise taxonomy. In order to establish a semantic shift, which is necessary for a pun to work its course, nine mechanisms were successfully identified:

- 1 bare semantic shift: the change is invisible and comprehended only in a form of polysemy of a lexical item;
- 2 sound shift: slight or obvious change in the phonetic structure;

- 3 letter shift: changes in orthography;
- 4 dispersion or mergence of elements: division or unification of pun elements;
- 5 misplaced reference: lack of definite reference indication;
- 6 opaque deliberation stance: speaker's deliberateness is unclear;
- 7 inclusion of phraseological units: puns involve collocations, idioms, or relatively fixed phraseological units;
- 8 (cross-)cultural reference: (multi-)cultural background is present;
- 9 subject (dis)similarity: realization of pun elements shows unity or duality.

Even though the mechanisms appear quite simple and transparent, their manifestation is a far cry from the desired clarity, as they tend to overlap within individual puns almost without exception. However, as overlapping as they might seem, each of them works its way to adding a piece to this language puzzle and revealing a picture of this elusive creature called wordplay. In the course of the main taxonomy, they will be presented in square brackets ([]) due to better distinction.

The first stage of categorization is the distinction between *puns* and *non-puns* upon the basic criteria that they operate on different semantic levels, are deliberate in nature, and carry possible humorous undertone(s). This is followed by the basic division, which corresponds to puns transmitted by either written or spoken language, whereas visual puns are listed separately, as they do transmit the double meaning, however, not via written text or speech, but as a visual image alluding to the existent pun, or creating a double meaning by implying an act that is visually similar to the image. Therefore the visual puns do not fall into the basic division of perfect and imperfect puns/soundplay and wordplay. Unintentional punning and misinterpreted puns are presented as well, though separately, due to the failure of conveying a clear message or a proper recognition of the pun. The reasons for such errors in discourse are discussed briefly. For a better comprehension of this taxonomy I have also included an image of the taxonomic tree structure in the appendix.

A brief outline of the taxonomy is as follows: on the account of the basic criteria (as listed above) I have distinguished punning from a different group of word play (*non-puns*) and further divided them according to their (1) means of execution (basic division vs. visual puns), (2) nature of execution (wordplay vs. soundplay) and sorted them into groups which share similar primary mechanisms that take place in a specific class of punning. They were respectively divided amongst the basic division (puns in the form of written or spoken language), visual puns (realisation of the image component brought forward by an existent pun or some other visual imagery) and unintentional punning together with misinterpreted puns. The basic division constitutes of two major groups: perfect and imperfect puns, the latter segregated into two extensive classes of soundplay and wordplay, which are composed of six and seven subdivisions respectively. Each of these subdivisions may or may not further branch out into two interconnected sets of a word- or soundplay.

A name and appropriate mechanism(s) are assigned to each category of classification; it is accompanied by a short discussion and followed by examples from various sources of contemporary culture.

3.1 Basic Division

First, the basic division is divided into soundplay (sound alliteration, approximate homonymy) as seen in the example: *Be kind to your dentist, he has fillings too* and an actual wordplay (perfect puns: alliteration to a certain meaning, polysemy) (cf. Delabastita 1997), *the frustrated cannibal threw up his hands*. The puns are transmitted via written or spoken language. The puns listed in the soundplay category can also be referred to as imperfect puns, as they require additional changes to their environment rather than just a bare semantic shift, which is present in some instances of wordplay (perfect puns). However, needless to say, the mentioned classification acts like different shades of grey; puns are rarely purely black and white due to frequent overlaps of types.

3.1.1 Soundplay

1 A homophonic pun [letter shift] (also referred to as ‘polyptoton’) operates with word pairs that sound alike, though they are not synonymous. It occurs when the words taken into account for the wordplay have different spellings but the same pronunciation. Words that carry this possibility are *scent vs. sent, jeans vs. genes, buy vs. bye, flees vs. fleas, flu vs. flue vs. flew*, to name but a few.

Atheism is a non–prophet institution.

1a A homophonic pun with mergence of elements [letter shift, mergence of elements], where instead of using one word, a number of words are combined to convey another semantic level, employing altered spellings.

Bon A–Pet–Treat! (a pet bakery)

1b A homophonic pun with dispersion of elements [letter shift, dispersion of elements], where one vocabulary item creates a conceptual illusion of two separate words.

Two vegetables meet. One says to the other: “Hey salad, lettuce get married!”

2 A double–sound pun [sound shift] is a play on words, where the two lexical objects in question sound very similar, though they are not homophonic.

A music teacher not at home may leave a note on their door saying, ‘Gone Chopin, Bach in a Minuet’.

3 A homographic pun [sound shift] (also referred to as ‘antanaclasis’) makes use of different words, which are homographic, but acquire different meanings and pronunciation. A few of such pairs are: *bass (/beɪs/)* vs. *bass (/bæs/)*, *wind (/waɪnd/)* vs. *wind (/wɪnd/)*.

Q: What instrument do fish like to play? A: A bass guitar.

3a A homographic pun with mergence [sound shift, mergence of elements], where two lexical items merge to achieve a different semantic meaning.

You can tune a guitar, but you can't tuna fish. (Unless, of course, you play bass.)

3b A homographic pun with dispersion [sound shift, dispersion of elements], here a lexical item alludes to another by dispersing into two or more elements.

My Boring Career by A. Driller (imaginary book title), Miss Match (a TV series)

4 A compound pun [sound shift, letter shift, mergence/dispersion of elements] is a sentence, which contains a string of two or more words sounding similar to another lexical unit; it is usually constructed on the basis of phonological similarity.

Q: "Eskimo Christians who?" A: "Eskimo Christians Italian no lies."
(pun on the phrase "ask me no questions, I tell you no lies")

4a A knock-knock joke [all mechanisms are possible] is probably the most famous and the most common use of puns in everyday conversation. It functions on the basis of a dialogue, where the principle is always the same:

Speaker 1 begins with an opening line, which is invariably "Knock, knock."
Speaker 2 then asks "Who's there?"
Speaker 1 answers with the beginning of the pun (e.g. "Banana.")
Speaker 2: "Banana who?"
Speaker 1 finishes the joke: "Banana split so ice creamed!"

In this instance a perfect pun is present, showing the mechanisms of bare semantic shift in the case of *split* (a polysemous lexical item) and a compound pun based on homophony with mergence and partial dispersion of elements in *ice creamed* (> I screamed).

Sometimes the obligatory 'who' in the interrogative sentence of the second speaker is also used to make a pun.

"Knock-knock!" "Who's there?" "Dishwasher." "Dishwasher Who?" "Dishwasher way I ushed to shpeak before I got my falsh teesh".

The above example demonstrates a compound pun, based on homophony with letter shift and dispersion of lexical items (*dishwasher = this was the*).

5 A recursive pun [letter shift] is a unit that contains a symbol, letter, abbreviation or some other indicator that relates to a lexical element similar in sound. Such occurrences can be found with the letter 'P' (standing for 'pee' or 'pea'), K-9 (pronounced /'keɪnəɪn/, a police code for trained dogs); letter 'C' (standing for 'see' or 'sea'). It is debatable whether recursive puns should be listed under acronymic puns.

When two egoists meet, it's an I for an I.

6 An extended pun [sound shift, letter shift] (or ‘a pun sequence’) is a string of puns in a sentence, made in correlation to one subject. The elements are mostly in homophonic relation to existing lexical items which they allude to, or, as in the present case, to the existing European countries.

I like European food so I decided to Russia over there because I was Hungary. After Czeching the menu, I ordered Turkey. When I was Finnished I told the waiter ‘Spain good but there is Norway I could eat another bite.

3.1.2 Wordplay

1 Puns with a misplaced subject/object reference

1a A double entendre [misplaced reference, opaque deliberation stance] occurs when a spoken or written statement has the potential of having two meanings, with the exception that the author is either unaware of the second meaning, or has coined the phrase just for the purpose to confuse the receiver of the message, insinuating sexual connotation (or insulting remark) lurking behind the mask of pure coincidence. It is most common in everyday communication, as well as situational humour in movies and television series. Because of the dual nature of English words, simple sentences can be quickly manipulated into sexual innuendos. Most common words like ‘do’ and ‘come’ have dangerous ‘evil twins’ of meaning.

A teacher of English verb writes on the blackboard: “John was happy when Mary came.” After a couple of chuckles from the classroom, the teacher notes the double meaning, and with a smile, replaces came with a more harmless arrived.

1b Puns with a misplaced subject/object reference relating to idioms and collocations [misplaced reference, (cross-)cultural reference, inclusion of phraseological units] exploit the number of subjects or objects the anaphorical pronouns (he, she, it, they, them etc.) may refer to. Often we encounter a play on words which seems to lack the exact reference, or it is not clear what they refer to; however, this is the intentional and basic characteristic of the pun. At the same time an idiom or a collocation is present, which creates its double meaning.

I wondered why the baseball was getting bigger. Then it hit me.

The misinterpreted reference can also happen with certain collocations, where the verb applied can be adhered to various situations.

“Every time I get drunk, I see hundreds of green snakes in my dreams,” confided Ray to his friends. “Have you seen a doctor?” asked his friend anxiously. “No, only green snakes.”

2 Puns based on idioms [misplaced reference, (cross-)cultural reference, inclusion of phraseological units] (alliteration in meaning and formation) are the most common occurrence of pun-related humour. Punsters exploit the idioms and other established phrases with great pleasure, turning the opaque statement into a literal reference to a certain situation, or just to transmit an additional dimension. Veisbergs meditates on this subject:

“Wordplay based on idioms has a number of interesting peculiarities. It tends to consist of larger

chunks of text than other types of puns which play on a single word and therefore tend to be more compact. Also, the functional or deliberate nature of idiom-based wordplay is less likely to be a matter of interpretative ambiguity or controversy than with other types." (Veisbergs 1997, 157)

The pun is constructed by taking a well-known phrase or an idiom and applying semantic and/or structural changes to it (cf. Veisbergs 1997, 155). These puns mainly exploit the similarity between an image component (cf. Dobrovolskij and Piirainen 2005), which the conveyor of the pun makes advantage of, and the rest of the pun. The main element of this mocking statement *it's easy to distract people – it's a piece of cake* is an idiom *a piece of cake*, though without doubt carrying a well-known meaning of something being easy, conducted without effort, at the same time presenting an inner image of a slice of pastry. When the idiom is successfully inserted in the context of the pun, the strong image component enables its execution. This is also a good example of a semantic change: the idiom stays structurally unchanged, yet gains an additional, transparent angle. A structural change, on the other hand, can be observed in the film title *Over the Hedge*, where the established idiom 'over the edge' not only changes semantically, but also in its orthography, acquiring a new dimension in describing the film in two different manners – which is exactly what idiom-based puns are all about. Another example is the phrase often cited among punsters: *A day without wordplay is a day without punshine*. With the structural change of the idiom, we can visually perceive the difference that took place (orthographic change), whereas with the semantic change applied, it is only visible from the context. When an idiom is transformed into a phrase which acts as the wordplay, it may change its form, yet being so anchored in one's vocabulary (cliché) and at the same time sounding similar, it seems to stay unchanged; the actual transformation being merely noticed as a witty extension and another possible (additional) scope of meaning.

Different structural variations of a single pragmatic idiom (*a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*):

- *a bird in the hand and one in a bush* (a jargon expression for an intimacy avoidance disorder);
- *a bird in one hand is worth more than a bush* (Ice Cube lyrics);
- *a bird in the hand is not as good as a girl in the bush* (graffiti).

We could argue that what we frequently encounter in American sitcoms is a visual actualization of idioms – where the visual image creates the twist of the double meaning. The process of the materializing proceeds as an idiom or an established phrase is spoken by a character who immediately finds himself/herself in a situation portraying the phrase's literal meaning. Or the other way around – the character in a certain situation phrases his words in such a manner as to provide an idiom.

[A farmer tried to move the bucket with chicken food, when he tripped, fell, and died from the seriousness of the injuries.] As the medical team arrives, a paramedic remarks smartly: "He surely kicked the bucket."

3 A reinterpretational pun [dispersion of elements, (cross-)cultural reference] ('daffynition') involves a reinterpretation of an existing word by another word or a group of words which sometimes either define a separate part of the word, or merely sound similar.

decadent = possessing only ten teeth

4 A transpositional pun [(cross-)cultural reference, inclusion of phraseological (or rather, well-known) units] corresponds to rearrangement of words in well-known phrases and uses them as outcomes of reinterpretational puns. However, a transpositional pun is, again, a typical border case, as it is also classified as 'modification of idioms' in the field of phraseology. Where, in fact, they do stand is not completely clear and one could argue either way.

hangover = the wrath of grapes

5 An acronymic pun

5a Acronyms with lexical item > acronym formation pattern [mergence of elements, (cross-)cultural reference] are names of various institutions, organizations, titles, even fictive combinations of words, where the initial letter of each word constitutes a humorous word or its approximant (which, most commonly, is a taboo expression).

Account Service Specialist = ASS; Business Union for Training Teams = BUTT; Dedicated Infantry Combat Killer = DICK (used in combat training, US Army); F a r m i n g University of Central Kentucky = FUCK

5b Acronyms with acronym > lexical item formation pattern [letter shift, dispersion of elements, (cross-)cultural reference] operate by taking a familiar abbreviation and 'decode' it to show an individual stance or opinion.

IBM = I Blame Microsoft; BBC = Bye Bye Colonies; AI = Artificial Idiot; AUDI = Always Unsatisfied Driving It; PMS = Potential Murder Suspect

6 A zeugma [bare semantic shift, inclusion of phraseological (collocational) units, subject dissimilarity] portrays a 'double-realization' of the same verb (polysemous verb) which can take various objects to form miscellaneous phrases and exploit collocations along the way. Walter Redfern notes:

"Zeugma, like the pun, is economical: it contracts two sentences into one – it links unrelated terms – mental with moral, abstract with physical, high with low – and thus generates surprise." (Redfern 1984, 95)

We were so poor when I was young, we couldn't even afford to pay attention.

7 The Tom Swifty [bare semantic shift, subject similarity] is named after Tom Swift, a character from the American series of adventure novels for boys, where such plays on words are found in abundance. It describes a type of puns where the wit is based on the relationship between the way an adverb (mostly, though it can also be characterised by an adjective, collocation, idiom,

etc.) portrays the speaker, and at the same time alluding to the statement or the position which the speaker is in.

“It only looks like cocaine,” Tom snorted.

“Oops! There goes my hat!” said Tom off the top of his head.

8 A bilingual pun [(cross-) culture reference, subject dissimilarity] is made by taking similar lexical items or sequences of words from another language and transferring them into the original language of the sentence; in this spirit, it exploits false friends quite effectively. A few words that can be exploited for such wordplay are *dry* (En.) vs. *drei* (Ger. *three*); *nine* (En.) vs. *nein* (Ger. *no*); *gift* (En.) vs. *Gift* (Ger. *poison*); *fart* (En.) vs. *fart* (Sw. *speed*); *magazine* (En.) vs. *magazin* (Slo. *warehouse*); *photograph* (En.) vs. *fotograf* (Slo. *photographer*).

Young Mozart performs for the Emperor who offers him a plate of food and asks how many he would like. Mozart replies: “Nein, sir.” Emperor exclaims: “Very well then, give him nine. Musicians are like actors – they eat like pigs!”

3.2 Visual Puns

Visual puns [bare semantic shift, subject similarity, mержence or dispersion of elements] involve an image (sometimes more than one) with two or more associations or meanings i.e. share the same image component (cf. Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen 2005). They should not be mistaken for cartoon puns where also textual elaboration is present. James Brown (1956, 14) is quoted by Redfern (1984, 143) claiming there “is no such thing as perceptual pun”, but is that not also a play on certain aspect of our perspective with the dual identity? Can we claim that a visual pun is not only restricted to play on words but also expand it to say it is a play on images, where one visual notion apprehends two possible meanings? It seems easily acceptable, yet if so, we have to decide where we stand on optical illusions. Where do we draw the line? This is one more example of the blurry thin line between the wordplay and the mere play. I have further divided visual puns into two categories, depending on their core allusion:



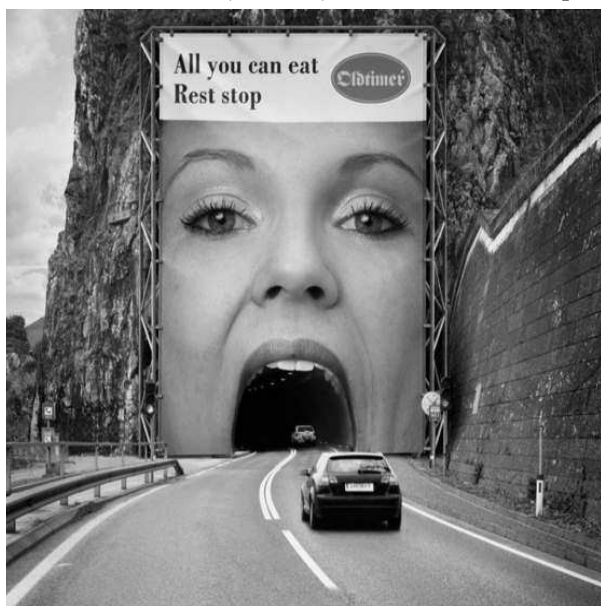
Picture 1. Shannon Calvert, *Visualize World Peas* (with permission of the author).



Picture 2. Mark Peters, *A Salt with a Deadly Weapon* (with permission of the author).

1 Visual puns alluding to existent puns are the purest form of a visual pun. They convey obvious reference to a wordplay which already exists in written form. Visual puns are usually based on a previous knowledge of an established pun, with the difference in transfer, which is also necessary for its decryption. The author uses means of visual images to convey the pun. Contests in visual puns are very popular and they are mostly superbly executed.

2 With visual puns alluding to various actions and states there is a question of whether or not these images which do not employ an existent written pun but are pure associations on their own should be incorporated into this taxonomy at all. We can see thousands of them in everyday life: in visual advertisements, implying sexual acts; in television series and motion pictures; and nevertheless, in our daily conversations, where we gesticulate in a certain way to insinuate another possible association during the conversation. Most famous examples of such visual puns are various associations to sexual acts or reproductive organs in motion pictures. In the Austin Powers trilogy, for example, such allusions to the male sexual organ and sexual intercourse are encountered basically in every scene of the motion picture and are the foundation of its humour.



Picture 3. Depiction of a pun alluding to the action of eating in an advertisement for a rest stop (open source).

3.3 Unintentional Punning and Misinterpreted Puns

1 Unintentional punning is a problematic subject, as the source (almost without exception) tends to convey a non-dubious message, without humorous undertones. The recipient, however, comprehends the pun instead of the core message. The most serious unintentional punning is present in e.g. road signs, as their main purpose is to convey a clear, non-dubious meaning in a limited number of words. Similarly, such cases can be found on other signs (a drug rehabilitation clinic green area sign *Keep off the grass*), store windows, restaurant signs (restaurant/gas station: *Eat here, get gas*), etc. They mostly occur due to the lack of language knowledge or punctuation, are written in a hurry, or – in some cases – are there to get attention (intentionally). However,

such double meanings are mainly unintentional and sometimes confusing for the observer, but nevertheless very humorous in some instances.

2 Misinterpreted puns, however, are problematic from the recipients' point of view. Punning being a play on words and meanings, it may sometimes happen that they are misinterpreted by the receiver due to an error in discourse.

This happens mainly for four reasons:

- 1 the receiver of the message has no knowledge of possible polysemy of a specific lexical item used in punning;
- 2 the receiver has difficulties understanding the vocabulary used;
- 3 the receiver misplaces the stress of the pun, placing it on the 'wrong' lexical item and searches for double meaning elsewhere than intended;
- 4 the recipient of the message chooses a different possible meaning of the lexical item.

While the first and second reasons occur due to a possible blind spot in the receiver's knowledge, the third and fourth reasons mostly occur with perfect puns, where there are more than one (possibly) polysemous items present. The consequences of misinterpreted puns may be absence of pun execution as in (1), poor and/or nonsensical execution of the pun as in (2), or a completely new pun.

(1) *I have a perfect body but it's in the trunk and beginning to smell.*

The core lexical item on which it is played upon is *body*, meaning either 'physical manifestation of a human being' or 'a body of a deceased person'. Therefore, the pun would evolve around a dead body in the trunk of a car. However, the pun may wrongfully focus on a polysemous item *trunk* as "a compartment in the rear of an automobile" or a colloquial expression for a human behind. Needless to say, the execution of the pun would be, putting it mildly, quite odd.

(2) *If it's called tourist season, why can't we shoot them?*

The recipient of the message is aware of the core lexical item the semantic change is based on, but fails to recognize which possible meaning fits the puzzle to make it a sensible pun. In this example the receiver links the polysemous word *tourist* to the lexical item *shoot* and is convinced that the pun is played upon the word *shoot* as in 'to shoot with a weapon' and 'to take photographs'. We could argue that the pun is executed, though poorly and lacking a humorous connotation. However, what the recipient failed to recognise is the link between *tourist season* (appealing to *hunting* or *open season*) and *shoot* as the act of 'killing with a weapon'. In explanation, the correct interpretation of the pun would disclose: if it is called a *tourist season*, why can't we *kill* the tourists?

4. Conclusion

Even though the taxonomy of puns is in itself a slippery slope, a wild animal to be tamed, taking into account their constant overlap, different viewpoints and more or less attention to detail, it is possible to bind them into reasonably enclosed groups with similar characteristics which may, nonetheless, interact and extend over the drawn line. This is how they most often intrigue the analytical minds of linguists, send them wandering in various directions and remain an

open debate for numerous possible solutions. Whether the introduced division is the utmost transparent means of the punning taxonomy still remains open to various interpretations and further research, as this article is but a tip of the iceberg. Additional research could, for example, focus on transpositional puns bordering modifications of idioms and, with proper instruments and approaches, position them within one or the other. Similarly, it seems plausible to further investigate recursive puns and whether they could be fitted within acronymic puns. Extensive empirical research of mechanisms functioning in different wordplays is needed in order to observe whether their co–appearance is as coincidental as it may seem at first glance. Puns based on idioms appear to be rich in possibilities as well, especially in terms of cross–cultural and cross–linguistic perspectives, studying their realisation in other languages, mechanisms that contribute to a successful transmission into other language(s) and changes that occur during the transmission.

All in all, this article is an attempt to grasp a single butterfly of punning taxonomy, which by itself seems a complete, whole and fairly complex organism; however, in this vast areas of language punning there are still tigers, birds, whales, flowers and entire ecosystems yet to be perceived and pondered. At this point, it seems reasonable to question, whether this wild animal is indeed to be tamed or left to wander freely through the jungles, nourishing our imagination and appreciation for the language, which fights back when tried to be fitted into a thoroughly analysed file cabinet.

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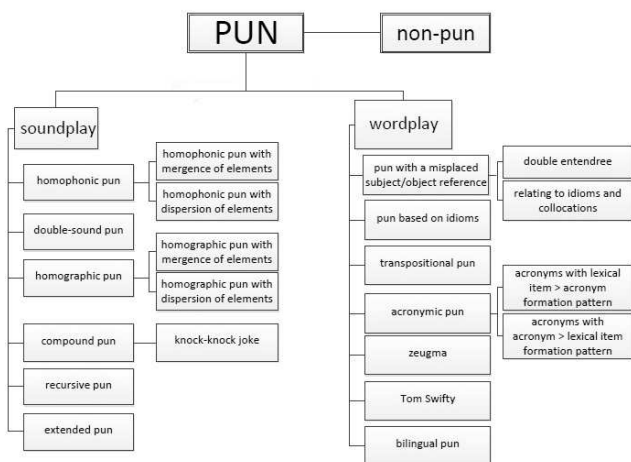
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Appendix



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Content Analysis of Advertisements in Different Cultures

Summary

Increasingly, advertising examples are being analyzed and used as yet another form of communication, on account of their ubiquity (e.g. billboards, Internet, television, magazines). Designed to compel us to purchase products, advertisements have the potential to greatly impact our lives. They show current trends in social preferences, they reveal cultural values and norms of the target audience and, finally, they can be the mirror of the times people live in. The purpose of this paper is to give a brief overview of the findings in previously carried-out research relating to cross-cultural content analysis of advertisements. The reports have addressed both linguistic and extra-linguistic features and trends in advertising and emphasized language- and culture-specific elements. This paper also gives ideas for future studies, since nowadays, due to international marketing and increasing globalization there are more cultural transfers to be explored, as cultures are coming in contact far more frequently.

Key words: advertising, cross-cultural analysis, content analysis

Analiza vsebine oglasnih sporočil v različnih kulturah

Povzetek

Oglasna sporočila so zaradi svoje prisotnosti v medijih (npr. oglasni panoji, Internet, televizija, revije) vedno pogosteje predmet analize kot primer še ene oblike sporočanja. Ker so oblikovana tako, da silijo k nakupu, lahko močno vplivajo na naša življenja. Odražajo trenutne smernice in družbene preference, razkrivajo kulturne vrednote in norme ciljne publike in nenazadnje zrcalijo čas, v katerem ljudje živijo. Namen tega članka je podati kratek pregled ugotovitev preteklih študij medkulturne analize vsebine oglasnih sporočil. Študije prikazujejo tako jezikovne kot zunajjezikovne značilnosti in smernice v oglaševanju s posebnim poudarkom na jezikovno in kulturno specifičnih elementih. V članku tudi podamo smernice za prihodnje študije, saj danes, v času mednarodnega trženja in rastoče globalizacije prihaja do več kulturnih transferjev, ker različne kulture pogosteje prihajajo v stik.

Ključne besede: oglaševanje, medkulturna analiza, analiza vsebine

Content Analysis of Advertisements in Different Cultures

1. Introduction

Cross-cultural analysis of advertisements has long been at the very centre of researchers' interest, since a thorough investigation into that matter leads to numerous and useful cultural data. In particular, such analysis may manifest current trends in social preferences, reveal cultural values and norms of the target audience and, finally, be a mirror of the times people live in.

This paper provides a brief overview of the findings in the previous research relating to cross-cultural content analysis of advertisements. Generally speaking, the idea of comparing and contrasting languages and cultures as reflected in advertisements comes from the interest in international marketing and increasing globalization. Nowadays, since cultures are coming in contact far more frequently, the question of cultural influences and, possibly, transfer, is yet again a current issue to be explored. Equally exploited is the aspect of cross-cultural comparison and contrast of advertisements from industrialized countries, on the one hand, and countries in transition, on the other.

Reports in the previous research have addressed both linguistic and extra-linguistic features and trends in advertising and emphasized language- and culture-specific elements. Due to limitless potential for data collection when analyzing advertisements, researchers have both dedicated their work to *linguistic* strategies in the constructed text of the advertisement and its influential capacity to persuade future customers, and to *extra-linguistic* strategies in the images and the role they play in the overall message. The numerous studies have dealt with different product types and focused on different aspects, such as the investigation of images in advertisements aimed at men and women, the comparison of advertising strategies of the same types of products in different cultures, the exploration of the underlying messages and ideas in advertisements, to name just a few.

Further, this paper provides some ideas for future studies, since in the era of technological improvements, web advertisements have taken precedence over the earlier forms of advertising and these advertisements' impact cannot be ignored. Not only can such an analysis lead to insights into cross-cultural differences and similarities in advertising strategies and expressions, but it can also help understand what cultural values, norms and stereotypes are manifested in various advertising strategies and expressions across several countries.

2. Content Analysis - Definition

Virtually all disciplines within the humanities and social sciences are now concerned with the functions and effects of symbols, meanings and messages. In recent years, with the emergence of the information society, texts, contexts, images, interfaces, and, above all, information are now being widely researched (Krippendorff 2004, xvii).

One of the ways to approach the description of the *content* of any media text, such as advertisements, is *content analysis*. Krippendorff (2004, 18) defines it as "a research technique for making

replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use”. In other words, content analysis is an analytic approach based on the identification and quantification of significant categories of content within a text (both verbal and visual elements), but also the examination of the relationship among those categories. This basically means that a certain meaning can be assigned to the recurrent element, be it visual or verbal, and therefore it can reveal the underlying messages. Dyer (1982, 108) emphasizes that the basic assumption of this research procedure is that there is a relation between:

- a. the existence and frequency of certain content items in a text, most often verbally represented, and the intentions of the text producer on the one hand, and
- b. the responses of the audience, on the other.

As Krippendorff (2004, 58–9) points out, in mass communication research, analysts typically measure different indices to address extratextual phenomena, five of which have had a long history of use:

1. the presence or absence of a concept indicates the source’s awareness or knowledge of the object referred to;
2. the frequency of the occurrence of an idea in a stream of messages indicates the importance of that idea;
3. the numbers of favourable and unfavourable characteristics attributed to an idea indicate the attitudes held by the writers, the readers, or their common culture toward the object indicated;
4. the kinds of adjectives or hedges used in statements about an idea indicate the intensity or uncertainty associated with the beliefs and motivations that the idea signifies;
5. the frequency of co–occurrence of two concepts (excluding those that have grammatical or collocational explanations) indicates the strength of associations between those concepts in the minds of the audience.

This paper cites studies which have dealt with various variables and features, and hence they will be separately emphasized when mentioned, since they are not uniform in regard to the content, i.e. not all the research is restricted to the frequency of items in the text.

3. Types of Research

Broadly speaking, there are two types of research dealing with content analysis of advertisements in different cultures, one addressing possible cultural transfer and the other, cultural comparison.

3.1 Cultural Transfer

Modern multinational companies often market exactly the same product in a number of different countries. Cultural transfer implies transfer of that product along with its advertising strategies from one culture to another (e.g. international brands, such as Coca–Cola, Nokia, Volvo etc.), keeping in view cultural differences among nations.

Goddard (1998, 80) refers to this process as *copy adaptation* and defines it as the process of “adapting the text to fit the culture of its targeted group” with the aim of conveying the message properly and efficiently, because encoding of concepts may vary from culture to culture. Medawar (1979, 17) introduces the term *taste transfer*, which, according to him, does not imply any transfer, but is limited to the introduction of imported, high-technology and high-cost goods, usually of relatively poor value in relation to locally-available alternatives and very often unsuited to local needs.

Ahmed (2000, 13) points out that advertisements should not neglect cultural differences among nations, and that the advertising policy of standardization should be substituted by localized solutions which are more efficient in getting its communication across. Cultural factors may have a significant impact on the way the product and its advertising message would be perceived by the consumers of that culture.

One example of advertising failure, where the differences in cultural attitudes and values were ignored, was Volvo’s attempt in 1990 to market a car in the same way across the whole of Europe. The campaign was soon dropped through lack of response, and Volvo went back to some previously accepted traditions and market preferences, hence focusing in the UK and Switzerland on safety, in France on status, in Sweden on value, in Germany on performance (Brierley 1995, 18).

Even the knowledge of the textual system is cultural. In western cultures, texts operate from left to right and this way of reading represents the foundation stone for many ‘before and after’ sequences. However, unlike the west, the textual ordering is totally opposite in the Middle East. This simple difference was not taken into account when a large soap powder manufacturer from the West advertised in the Middle East without making any changes to the advert, apart from a verbal translation. Therefore, for Arabic readers, the product was offering to turn their clothes from snowy white to grimy grey, which consequently resulted in the disappointing sale of the product (Goddard 1998, 79). Cultural diversity and translation problems discourage standardization of advertising messages.

Goddard (1998, 80–4), further, thinks that the area of verbal translation is the clearest way in which cultural variations can be demonstrated and mentions brand names as examples of failures when companies go international or global with their products. The reasons for this are various, sometimes the brand name has negative and connotatively coloured associations in other languages (for connotations in perfume and car names and ads, cf. Cook 1992, 101–14). For example, some of the products that fail the connotation test for English speaking audiences are toilet paper *Kräpp*, lemonade *Pschitt*, creamy powder *Creap*, cereals *Crapsey fruit* and others. In addition, there are idiomatic mistranslations, as in the Pepsi slogan *Come alive with the Pepsi generation*, which was translated into Chinese as ‘Pepsi will bring your ancestors back from the dead’ or Kentucky Fried Chicken’s *finger licking’ good* translated in Chinese as ‘eat your finger off’. The sound system of a language can also play its part in the creation of meaning. For instance, sequences of syllables in one language may be different words in another, as was the case with the British car model The Vauxhall Nova, which bemused its Spanish audience, for whom ‘no va’ means ‘won’t go’.

Apart from the analysis of cultural transfer, there is another type of research centred around finding cross-cultural similarities and differences.

3.2 Cultural Comparison

Cultural comparison presents the process of finding similarities and differences in advertisements of the same type of products in different cultures (e.g. food and drinks, cosmetic products, cars, mobile phones, bank services, insurance, etc.). Both verbal and visual elements are interpreted and compared, sometimes separately, sometimes as the combination which constitutes the message. Cultural comparison leads to the identification of advertising strategies and norms, which can, further, result in better understanding of (a) aspects of advertising shared across several countries – *standardization* and (b) aspects of advertising that need to be adapted to local cultures – *customization*. Cross-cultural understanding must be imperative since it can formulate effective localized advertising that would reflect the cultural values and norms of its intended audience (Ahmed 2000, 13).

In the following part of the paper, the studies discussing cultural comparison will be presented in more detail. Especially interesting are the papers and discussions which revealed specific similarities and differences between one western industrialized country and one eastern country in transition, so they will be addressed separately.

4. Types of Approaches

The approaches to the analysis of advertisements in the same or different culture can be roughly divided into linguistic and semiotic approaches. Some of the most quoted and appreciated linguistic approaches are Leech (1966), Dyer (1982), Cook (1992), Myers (1994), to name just a few; whilst the best-known semiotic approaches to advertising are Barthes (1972), Williamson (1978), as well as Creedon and Cramer (2007) and McCracken (1993) who focused on representation of women in mass communication. Vestergaard and Schröder's (1985) research is more sociological and less linguistic, and the authors illustrate the range of techniques advertisers use to achieve emphasis and particular effects.

However, not always is there such a clear-cut distinction between two approaches, even in the aforementioned works, as they merge within one research. Another example is Tanaka's analysis (1994) of British and Japanese print advertisements with the focus on metaphors, puns and images of women.

4.1 Linguistic Approach - Analysis of Verbal Aspect

Linguists have dealt with the analysis of language of advertising from the linguistic point of view and specified linguistic means and devices used in advertising texts: Leech's (1966) work on English-language advertising in 1960s Britain highlights the extensive repertoire of linguistic choices available to copywriters when creating advertising material; Rees (1982) shows how slogans have been used; Cook (1992) focuses on parallelism, metaphor, metonymy, homophones, puns, parody and rhyme, and Myers (1994) includes alliteration, assonance, rhyme, homophones,

question forms, ellipsis, parallelism and puns. In a general survey, Brierley (1995) lists language games, repetition, similes, parallelism, paradox, omission and ambiguity, while Tanaka (1994) concentrates on the use of puns and metaphors, etc.

These studies reveal some common characteristics and structures of advertisements across cultures:

- at the phonological level: alliteration, rhythm and rhyme, repetition, sound symbolism,
- at the orthographical level: deviations in spelling, capitalization,
- at the lexical level: trigger words, brand names, slogans, catch phrases,
- at the grammatical level: structural simplicity, ellipsis, superlatives,
- at the semantic level: metaphors, metonymy, word plays, ambiguity,
- at the pragmatic level: direct appeal to the recipients, speech acts of persuasion.

This list does not attempt to be exhaustive, but only tries to emphasize the fact that some features are uniform and present the culture. Advertisers also often use inflated language or even invent the new language ('word magic'). All of these characteristics of advertising language have the same functions – catching our attention and imagination, increasing recognition and enhancing the memorizing effect, making the advertisement easy to repeat and remember (Dyer 1982, 140; Leech 1966, 29).

In addition to textual analysis and interpretation of verbal content, the important visual elements have been analyzed, since images are also important in reference to the text, as the combination of these two constitutes elements of the message in advertisements.

4.2 Semiotic Approach – Analysis of Visual Aspect

Apart from verbal analysis, the data collected can be examined in terms of the visual constituents, their features and the way they construct certain ideas alongside verbal text. When analyzing the visual aspect of advertisements, it is important to identify the constituents of a picture and relate these to themes and concepts and wider cultural meanings (Dyer 1982, 94). She, further, adds that even the simplest images are interpreted and reproduced differently in different cultures. In other words, what we see is greatly influenced by our previous knowledge, cultural traditions and experience, which shape our reality and constrain our perception.

The picture in the advertisement first attracts the reader's attention and usually has more impact than words, which are often used merely to reinforce it. Positive feelings and attitudes can be provoked when associating a product with happy families, dreams and fantasy, successful romance, celebrities, beautiful women, childhood, nature, etc. Images are used to construct the messages, which would, if verbally expressed, sound silly. As Myers (1994, 136) vividly explains it:

We would laugh at the claim that a soap would make anyone beautiful, if this claim were put in words, but if it is implied by a picture of a beautiful woman holding the soap, our sceptical faculties are not invoked.

Concerning the visual aspect, gender stereotyping was one of thoroughly-examined research topics, in particular the question of whether and to what extent gender stereotypes are reinforced through images.

Gender is routinely portrayed according to traditional cultural stereotypes: women are shown as ‘sex objects’, housewives or mothers, while men are shown in situations of authority and dominance over women (Dyer 1982, 97–8). Among the most typical stereotypical portrayals of women, the following are most notable: the women should be at home, they depend upon men, they cannot make any important and responsible decisions, they are rarely shown in their working environment or are shown doing jobs belonging to lower social status, they are seen as sexual objects (Creedon 1993, 202).

The problem lies in the fact that repeated exposure to such stereotypical portrayals reinforces traditional roles in the society, which should be, conversely, re-examined and reconstructed according to the changes in social values brought about by the women’s liberation movement. Otherwise, advertising will continue to symbolically degrade women.

The findings about gender role portrayals in advertising may reveal how gender roles are changing in the societies, and to what extent the images of gender in advertising are keeping pace with social change (Ahmed 2000, 12). Although the USA was boasting about the women’s liberation movement, Klassen, Jasper and Schartz (1993) examined how men and women are portrayed in magazine advertisements in that country and found that a high number of adverts portrayed women in traditional poses relative to adverts that featured men and women together as equals. However, the traditional portrayals of women have been decreasing since the early 1980s and “equality portrayals” are increasing.

5. Examples of Cross-Cultural Analysis of Advertisements

5.1 Comparison Between Industrialized Countries

Most often the analyzed comparison is made between US advertisements and those of another industrialized country. Weinberger and Spotts (1989) analyzed the information content of television advertisements in Britain and the USA and found that British advertising contained far less information content than American. Biswas, Olsen and Carlet’s study of print advertisements from the United States and France in 1992 revealed that French advertisements made greater use of emotional appeal, humour and sex appeal, while the US adverts contained more information cues.

Furthermore, Cutler and Javalgi (1992) conducted cross-cultural analysis of the visual components of print advertising from the U.S., France and the UK. Some of the differences were: the size of the visual, the use of black and white visuals, the size of the product in the visual, the product comparison, while the similarities found were: product portrayal, minority portrayal and elderly portrayal. Therefore, the advertising agency should pay attention to the elements in the adverts which can be standardized and uniform and the elements which have to be localized, if the proper message is to be conveyed.

Frith and Wesson (1991) examined the manifestation of cultural values in advertising of the United States and England. The study found that American magazine advertisements portrayed characters in more individualistic stances than British ones, while, on the other hand, British advertisements made social class differences more evident.

All of the aforementioned research papers focused on individualistic societies, i.e. the societies and cultures that place emphasis on individual's goals and values that benefit the individual person (cf. Neuliep 2008). Despite that, it is evident that because of cultural differences uniform international advertising cannot be effective.

However, there are many studies between the USA, the representative of the individualistic society, and Japan, the collectivistic, in which group goals are more important than the individual's. Mueller (1991) examined the usage of advertising appeals in magazine advertisements of the United States and Japan and concluded that appeals such as product merit and status appeal are universal. Hong, Muderrisoglu and Zinkhan (1987) examined the information content of US and Japanese magazine advertising to determine how advertising expressions and content differed in the two cultures. The analysis showed that Japanese advertisements were more emotional and less comparative than the US adverts. Cultural differences may also be reflected in the ways different countries emphasize different types of information cues in their advertising, because consumers may value various attributes differently. In Japanese magazine advertising, for example, price information is more often emphasized than in the US advertising.

Tanaka (1994) offers the analysis of the language of written advertising in Britain and Japan. Applying the notions of relevance theory to specific adverts, she revealed how language is used to persuade, convince and manipulate others. The particular emphasis is placed on the use of puns and metaphors, as well as on images of women in Japanese advertising. Through numerous examples, she shows that pun and metaphor are two frequently exploited linguistic devices for attracting attention in both cultures. Besides, the frequent use of words such as *intelligent* and *individualistic* suggest new images of women in Japanese society. However, she concludes, the increased use of these concepts does not reveal a shift to Western values, as may be assumed, but a closer examination, on the contrary, reveals the reinforcement of traditional role models in Japan.

Motley and Perry (2010) compared advertisements for home loans in Saudi Arabia and the United States. The results of this cross-cultural analysis suggest that lenders in these two countries utilize similar themes when promoting home loan products, as owning one's own home is something all individuals regardless of culture hope for. However, as a result of interest rates and mortgages, which are prohibited in Islamic law, Saudi Arabian home loans present far less information about the actual costs, while, at the same time, US banks use the interest rate as a key selling point.

5.2 Comparison Between Industrialized Countries and Countries in Transition

The majority of cross-cultural content analysis of advertisements compared either two or more western industrialized countries or two or more western and eastern industrialized countries. However, not many analyses have concerned themselves with cross-cultural advertising studies about countries in transition and highly industrialized countries. There is a great need for a more comprehensive approach, since such comparison may reveal specific similarities or differences in cultural values, norms and stereotypes in different cultures and show how advertising reflects, reinforces and affects cultural values of its target audience (Ahmed 2000, 12). In addition, findings about gender portrayals in advertising may reveal whether and to what extent gender

roles are changing in these societies, and whether and to what extent the images of gender in advertising are keeping pace with social changes.

In Medawar's study (1979) on advertising of British food in the third world, there is a clear example of taste transfer and localization of advertisements of products from a developed country (Britain) in undeveloped or developing ones (India and Malaysia). In that survey, Medawar (1979, 42) emphasizes 3 different approaches to need-creation, which were evident in Indian and Malaysian adverts:

1. Advertisements which create 'need' by suggesting new – and sometimes silly or unnecessary uses of products.
2. Advertisements which create 'need' by getting at people's more vulnerable spots.
3. Advertisements which create 'need' through needless product differentiation and related tactics.

In other words, British advertisements create false need in low-income consumers, who, by purchasing usually functionally useless products, get considerable psychological satisfaction and pretend to live another, better life (Medawar 1979, 57). They actually try to convince consumers that what is offered is better than what they use now (e.g. breast-fed milk should be replaced by milk formula, convincing women that such a formula has more nutrients than their milk).

Since the idea for this paper stems from the interest in comparison of an industrialized country, on the one hand, and a country in transition, on the other, the rest of the paper will give a detailed overview of two such studies: Ahmed (2000) and Silaški (2005).

5.2.1 Cross-Cultural Content Analysis of Advertising from the USA and India

This cross-cultural content analysis (Ahmed 2000) compared advertisements for consumer products in nationally circulated news and business magazines in the USA, a representative of a highly individualistic and low-context culture, and India, a representative of a highly collectivist and high-context culture. In a high-context culture, most of the information is either in the physical context or is internalized in the person, very little is in the explicit verbal messages, since the audience is likely to derive meaning from the context. In contrast, in a low-context culture, messages must be explicitly and directly stated through words containing most of the information to be sent; otherwise the communication may fail to be effective (cf. Neuliep 2008).

The focus of this analysis was on linguistic codification (informational, directive, poetic, and expressive speech acts), visual codification (iconic stance of characters, indexical value transfer, iconic image of women) and combined verbal/visual codification (direct and indirect comparative approach). Based on the statistical approach and quantification of these elements, this study revealed significant differences in the way the two cultures produced advertising messages and reflected cultural values in their advertising expressions. The findings could be summarized as follows:

1. **The use of speech acts.** The US adverts used both expressive and directive speech acts more often, while the Indian adverts utilized poetic speech acts more frequently. These

findings are expected, taking into consideration that India is a high–context and the U.S. a low–context culture.

2. **The visual stance of human characters.** The US adverts were more likely to use an individualistic stance, and Indian adverts tended to favour a collective stance for human characters.
3. **The stereotypical portrayal of women.** A greater percentage of the Indian ads contained stereotypical images of women, while a greater number of the US ads used physical exploitation of women and portrayed women as sex objects. As India is a comparatively more socially conservative and traditional country, these findings could be anticipated.
4. **The roles of men and women.** Indian culture is high on power distance, meaning that power is more unequally distributed, the roles of men and women are more clearly distinguished and the pressure to maintain these distinctions is rather strong.

This cross–cultural study suggests that international advertising cannot be standardized in all countries due to the differences in cultures. In order to formulate effective localized advertising, advertisers first need to understand cultural values and norms of its intended audience.

5.2.2 Cross-Cultural Genre Analysis of Advertisements in Serbian and English

This doctoral dissertation (Silaški 2005) describes the rhetorical structure of advertisements in women's magazines in Serbian and English and establishes similarities and differences in their semantic and linguistic realizations by using genre analysis as a theoretical and methodological framework. The obtained results show that there are many more cross–cultural differences than similarities. Silaški points out the following similarities: adverts in Serbian and English have a very similar rhetorical structure and similar lexical and grammatical features. Besides, they reinforce stereotypical images of women as housewives, mothers and 'vamp' women.

The differences are, as expected, more numerous. Here listed are only the most distinguishable ones:

1. The **confessions** of known and unknown consumers with the details from personal life (alcoholism, overweight, illnesses in the family etc.) occur only in Serbian adverts. Even anonymous confessions are not characteristic of Anglo–Saxon culture.
2. In English adverts rarely do we find the statements that refer to **lower prices** of products as one of the main features of the advertised product, unless it is the special price for only a limited period of time. In Anglo–Saxon culture, it may suggest lower quality. In Serbia, advertisers think that low prices represent one of the main advantages in relation to other similar products and services.
3. The **mitigating devices**, such as 'please', are present only in English adverts, since it collocates with the verbs in imperative *phone / send / call* + a telephone number (e.g. *Please call 0800 for more information*). In the corpus of Serbian adverts there is not one occurrence of *molim* ('please').
4. Advertisers in English have a more responsible attitude towards potential buyers, since there are **strict laws** to be obeyed. Those regulations prohibit the use of unsupported

and unsubstantiated claims, which can mislead customers about the features, quality or positive effects of the advertised product.

In connection with the fourth difference, it could be added that in Great Britain there is greater market competition amongst producers and a longer tradition of advertising. As a consequence, the average buyer is protected by the law, but is also more informed about their consumer rights. In Serbia, at the time the original research on which much of this paper is based was finished (2005), there were still no consumer protection laws or strict regulations. However, nowadays, there is the law on advertising, but very few consumers feel protected by it.

Silaški concludes that the genre of advertisements has the same rhetorical structure with the easily recognized components regardless of the language, which reflects the global communicative intention of this genre.

6. Ideas for Future Research

As was exemplified, many topics have been researched regarding advertisements in different cultures. Nowadays in the era of the internet, the focus has switched to the analysis of web advertisements (e.g. Zeff and Aronson 1997; Armstrong 2001; Janoschka 2004). When compared with static print media, the web medium is rather specific, with dynamic content and prone to instant changes, since no one can guarantee that the advert would be the same in a day or even less. The readership is larger, not always specific and the information cannot be always re-read, unless saved beforehand. This poses the challenge to the researchers who over time observe the changes in web advertising.

In addition, it would be of great interest to see whether the linguistic patterns used and employed in other media have been transferred to the language of the web, whether globalization has influenced the web discourse and to what extent. The innovations are due to affect not only the language use, but also its users.

Furthermore, the future studies could focus on specific web adverts, namely cosmetic products, cars, perfumes, bank services, insurance, package holiday tours etc. and possibly compare them in two cultures. Due to an apparent lack of such research on industrialized countries compared with countries in transition, the study should also be extended to include newly industrialized countries and to explore the linguistic / extra-linguistic methods of attracting future customers and buyers and different cultural assumptions and values. The research questions could address the following issues: (a) is globalized advertising expanding? (b) are lines of appeal, persuasion techniques and other linguistic methods broadly similar? and (c) how do communicative intentions tend to be realized in those cultures?

7. Conclusion

Advertisements are experienced as part of cultural communication and hence can reveal cultural values and norms of the target audience. When carefully analyzed, they can uncover any prevalent or recurring pattern as well as discover its possible meanings and messages. Cross-

cultural analysis of advertisements therefore can highlight cultural similarities and differences in advertising as well as reveal how different elements of an advertising campaign are impacted by culture.

As was seen, the heterogeneity of content analysis is evident in numerous papers on advertisements. However, further research and investigation should be encouraged, because in today's world, advertising seems to have become universal, or some would say, Americanized. In the climate of increasing globalization, it is vital to notice the social and cultural diversity of the world as reflected in advertisements. For that reason, comparison between two languages and cultures should be foremost, since in that way one can conclude which features of adverts are universal and which are language- or culture-specific.

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Slovene Nominal Diminutives and their English Equivalents: A Comparison

Summary

A contrastive analysis of nominal diminutives in Slovene and English clearly shows that diminutive formation and use of diminutives in Slovene is tied to the morphological characteristics of nouns and, consequently, their morphological–lexemic features, whereas the focus of diminutive formation and use in English remains bound to the syntactic use, or rather, the respective syntactico–semantic use of a given lexeme. In all languages, diminutiveness is a basic meaning–forming element, which can, however, be realized predominantly morphologically, as is the case in Slovene, or predominantly syntactically, as is the case in English. As a meaning–forming element it also plays a crucial role in the development of terminology – in this case the diminutive as language metaphor gains semantic independence and becomes a technical term.

Key words: nominal diminutive, word–formation, syntax, connotation, denotation

Slovenske samostalniške manjšalnice in njihove ustreznice v angleščini: primerjava

Povzetek

Protistavna analiza samostalniških manjšalnic v slovenščini in angleščini jasno kaže, da sta tvorba in raba manjšalnic v slovenščini vezani na oblikoslovne značilnosti samostalnikov in posledično njihove morfološko–leksemske lastnosti, medtem ko ostaja težišče manjšalniške tvorbe in rabe v angleščini vezano na skladnjo oziroma skladijsko–pomensko rabo določenega leksema. V vseh jezikih je manjšalnost ena osnovnih pomenotvornih prvin, ki jo lahko izražamo predvsem morfološko, kot na primer v slovenščini, ali predvsem skladijsko, kot na primer v angleščini. Kot pomenotvorna prvina manjšalnost pomembno vpliva tudi na razvoj terminologije – v tem primeru se manjšalnica kot jezikovna metafora pomensko osamosvoji in postane strokovni termin.

Ključne besede: samostalniška manjšalnica, besedotvorje, skladnja, konotacija, denotacija

Slovene Nominal Diminutives and their English Equivalents: A Comparison

1. Introduction

The present article deals with various ways diminutiveness can be expressed in Slovene and English respectively; the focus is on word-formational and syntactic properties of diminutive structures in the two languages concerned. While these two languages can to some degree express diminution, which is a language universal, in similar ways from the word-formational point of view, a more detailed analysis shows that because of language-typological differences between English (analytic language) and Slovene (synthetic language) diminution should be studied beyond mere lexical word-formation, surpassing the boundaries of single words or syntactic phrases.

2. Patterns for Expressing Diminution in Slovene

Since Slovene is a synthetic language, synthetic formation of diminutives by means of affixation is the most common way of expressing diminution. While diminutives in Slovene mainly belong to the word-class of nouns, diminution can also frequently be observed in verbs, adjectives and their adverbial derivatives, rarely also interjections and numerals (see an overview in Černe 2010, 24). Numerous suffixes are used to produce nominal diminutives, which are attached to either masculine, feminine or neuter bases. The exact number of affixes used for diminution may vary in different linguistic sources consulted; thus Toporišič (2004, 143–4) enumerates seventeen diminutive suffixes for masculine, feminine and neuter diminutive nouns (*-(an)ec*, *-ič*, *-(č)ek*, *-e*, *-i*, *-ko*, *-če* for masculine diminutives; *-ca*, *-(i)ica*, *-(i)ka*, *-i* for feminine diminutives; *-e*, *-(e)ce*, *-(i)če*, *-(e)ca*, *-ko*, *-ica* for neuter diminutives), while Bajec (1950, 127) lists eleven for all three genders. However, some of the suffixes mentioned either by Bajec or Toporišič are dated, dialectal or extremely rare (e.g. *-če* for masculine, *-iče*, *-če*, *-ko*, *-ica* for neuter diminutives). A study by Vidovič Muha (1995, 160), however, itemizes nineteen diminutive suffixes, six for masculine diminutives (*-(e)k*, *-č(e)k*, *-(e)c*, *-ič*, *-ic*, *-et*), six for feminine diminutives (*-ica*, *-ka*, *-ca*, *-ice*, *-ce*, *-ke*), and seven for neuter diminutives (*-ce*, *-ece*, *-ko*, *-iče*, *-eca*, *-ca*, *-ka*). All diminutive nominal formations, however, regardless of the original declension-type of their base, enter the first nominal declension pattern of their respective gender, the only exception being feminine diminutives ending in *-i* (e.g. *mami*, *babi*), which follow the third feminine declension pattern.

[majhen] grič[-∅] > -ek, grič- > grič-ek	(hillDIM)
[majhen] bik[-∅] > -ec, bik- > bik-ec	(bullDIM)
[majhna] hiš[-a] > -ka, hiš- > hiš-ka	(houseDIM)
[majhno] jezer[-o] > -ce, jezer- > jezer-ce	(lakeDIM)

Far less frequently, clipping, compounding and reduplication are used to produce synthetic diminutive nouns in Slovene. Thus, for example, clipping is used in the production of diminutive

pet forms from personal names; similarly, reduplication can occasionally be found in names in children's literature or facetious (nick-)name forms:

Vladimir > Vlado > Lado > Ladko/Ladi	(clipping, often further combined with affixation)
Žogica Marogica	(reduplication)
Tonček Balonček	(reduplication)

Compounding, however, is to be encountered in nouns beginning in *mikro-* or *mini-* (e.g. *minikrilo*, *minigolf*, *mikroprocesor*, *mikrofilm*). While Slovene grammarians strictly consider the two elements *mikro-* and *mini-* as compound elements (Stramljič Breznik 2007, 36), English grammarians tend to treat them as prefixes rather than elements of a compound (Bauer 2002, 1678). It is also worth noting that most of these formations in Slovene have been imported from foreign languages (usually English, often via German) as anglicisms or have been partly calqued (e.g. *miniskirt* > *minikrilo*).

Another type of expressing diminution connected with nouns in Slovene is the analytic type; these formations normally contain nouns preceded by the adjectives meaning 'small' or 'little' (usually *majhen*, *droben*, etc.), as in:

majhen kos	(a small piece)
majhna hiša	(a small house)
drobna deklica	(a small girl)

Interestingly, analytic diminutives and synthetic ones are practically always interchangeable in Slovene; thus, for example, *majhen kos torte* (a small piece of cake) can be replaced by *košček torte* without any change in meaning.

Another interesting feature of Slovene is the fact that the language quite often produces multiple diminution. In these structures, the two types, analytic and synthetic, are often combined:

hči > hčer ka > hčer kica	(daughterDIMDIM)
hiša > hiš ka > hiš kica	(houseDIMDIM)
<i>majbno</i> jezer ce	(a small lakeDIM)
<i>majcena</i> punč ka	(a littleDIM girlDIM)

3. Patterns for Expressing Diminution in English

While in the Slovene language diminutiveness is mostly expressed by means of suffixal endings within a lexeme, the English language only occasionally expresses diminutiveness in this same, synthetic, way. More often, expressing diminutiveness in English demands going beyond the borders of a lexeme and stretching over an entire syntactic structure or even sentence. Traditionally, linguists have considered English a language with hardly any diminutives, if any at all (Schneider 2003, 75). Even more recent works on English word-formation seem to deal somehow perfunctorily with diminution; thus, for example, Plag (2003, 13, 120–1) comments

on diminution only in terms of pet forms where clipping is combined with suffixation. Adams (2001, 55–8) covers diminutives in more detail, listing eight nominal suffixes with (partly) diminutive meaning. Further, Bauer (2002, 1677–8) lists five regular suffixes, two prefixes, and a few “irregular” or historical forms. Schneider (2003, 78), on the other hand, enumerates as many as 86 different formatives that can be classified as diminutive suffixes of English, but, admittedly, many of these are only rarely used or are decidedly foreign in origin. Schneider therefore analyzes the following fourteen suffixes as present-day diminutive English suffixes (Schneider 2003, 85 ff): *-a, -een, -er, -ette, -iel/-yl/-eyl/-ee, -kin, -le, -let, -ling, -o, -peg, -poo(h), -pop, -s*. Like in Slovene, the suffix is attached to a nominal base to produce a diminutive form:

[small] kitchen > kitchen-ette	(kitchenDIM)
[baby] boot > boot-ee	(bootDIM)

Occasionally, prefixation, clipping, compounding and reduplication are used to produce synthetic diminutive nouns in English (Schneider 2003, 8, 84; and Bauer 2002, 1678):

microwave, minicab	(prefixation)
sec (< second)	(clipping)
baby lion, dwarf conifers	(compounding)
Annie-Pannie	(reduplication)

As already mentioned, it is far more common to express diminution by means of analytical formations in English; in these diminutive expressions we encounter nouns preceded by the adjectives *small*, *little*, and the more specific *diminutive*, *tiny*, *wee*, etc.:

a little girl
 small children
 his diminutive kitchen

Of these, the two adjectives *small* and *little* are frequently used; however, it needs to be noted that while *small* used in its literal meaning appears in neutral contexts, *little* carries with it an additional emotional component (Schneider 2003, 126; Klinar 1996, 199). Thus, for example, a *small house* is more appropriate in neutral and/or technical texts, while the syntagm *a little house* is more readily encountered in literary texts (Klinar 1996, 199).

Multiple diminution seems to occur very rarely in English, and in the rare examples when it is used, the emotionality of the context is clearly visible:

Once upon a time in a *tiny little cottage* lived the three bears;
 One was the papa bear, one was the mama bear, one was the wee bear [...]
 (taken from: *Goldilocks and the Three Bears*)

4. The Semantics of Slovene and English Diminutives

The basic, prototypical semantic meaning of a diminutive is denotative and refers to the (small) size of the referent (Schneider 2003, 10). The feature [small] is added to the base, indicating that

the referent is smaller than the average of the category that the referent belongs to. This applies to both Slovene and English diminutives:

kuhinja + [majhen] > kuhinjica kitchen + [small] > kitchenette (kitchenDIM)

Quite often, however, the semantic feature [small] may not be restricted to size only, but may also be slightly extended to denote the age of the referent, adding the semantic feature [young] to the base:

raca + [mlad] > račka	duck + [young] > duckling	(duckDIM)
prašič + [mlad] > prašiček	pig + [young] > piglet	(pigDIM)

Additionally, however, most diminutives also seem to express some connotational value (Schneider 2003, 1; Adams 2001, 13). In these cases, a semantic feature carrying some kind of relative evaluation is added to the base, expressing the speaker's emotional attitude towards the referent, which can be either positive or negative in connotation:

mama + [drag, ljub] > mamica	mum + [dear, sweet] > mummy (motherDIM)
predavanje + [ničvreden] > predavanjce	lecture + [worthless] > lecturette (lectureDIM)

It should be stressed, however, that the connotative values of individual diminutives may vary considerably, depending on the situational contexts and linguistic factors. Another point to bear in mind is the frequent overlapping of the denotative and connotative elements within the same diminutive; it is often difficult, if not impossible, to draw a division line between denotation and connotation.

Another group of nominal diminutives deserves special attention as to its semantics. These nouns are diminutive in form only, but their semantic meaning has specialized so that they no longer express any diminutiveness. Quite often, they seem to have been formed on the basis of metaphoric association with the diminutive or its base form:

metulj (butterfly) >	metuljček (little butterfly) >	metuljček (bow-tie)
steklenica (bottle) >	steklenička (little bottle) >	steklenička (baby bottle)
copat (slipper) >	copatek (child's slipper) >	copatek (ballet shoe)
brada (beard) >	bradica (little beard) >	bradica (goatee)

In some other examples, however, the analogy has been completely lost or has never existed at all, and these lexicalized diminutives are simply used as neutral forms filling lexical gaps; the bases they are supposedly derived from carry a different meaning altogether or are non-existent:

marelica (apricot)
 babica (midwife)
 vrtec (kindergarten)
 spominek (souvenir)

Often, these lexicalized diminutives are to be found in technical language, thus acquiring the status of technical terms:

bobnič (eardrum) /anatomy/

rakec (small crab) /zoology/

matica (nut) /engineering/

lepi čveljč (lady's slipper orchid) /botany/

5. Comparison of Contexts with Diminutives in Slovene and English - An Analysis

The following Slovene contexts with their English translations aim to illustrate how the diminutive meaning of the Slovene original (whether denotative or connotative) often needs to be distributed along an entire syntactic structure in English if diminution is to be expressed. While some contexts can indeed be translated “directly” with English diminutives, in most translations (quoted from Černe 2010; translations into English mostly provided by Černe himself) diminution exceeds word and phrase boundaries of the Slovene originals.

Betnava je res bila “čudovit baročni *dvorec*”, kot je 17. t.m. na TV rekel minister Školč, vendar kot pravijo domačini, le do konca 2. svetovne vojne. Zdaj je le še za silo obnovljen in vzdrževan *gradič*, in še to ne po zaslugi države, ampak predvsem po zaslugi Lipe iz Ajdovščine in nekaj tudi lokalne skupnosti. (*Delo*, 1.7.1999)
Betnava used to be a “wonderful baroque *manor*”, as Minister Školč put it on the 17th of this month in a TV programme; however, according to the local people, that was only until the end of the Second World War. Now Betnava is nothing but an *insignificant little castle*, poorly restored and barely preserved, with no funds from the state, on top of everything, and kept up mostly by Lipa from Ajdovščina and partly by the local community. (Translation by Černe)

The two nominal diminutives in this context, *dvorec* and *gradič*, illustrate the denotative and connotative meanings respectively, while the referent remains the same. The semantically neutral diminutive (*baročni*) *dvorec* is thus translated as (*baroque*) *manor* (an even more frequent English collocation to use would be *baroque mansion*), while the slightly pejorative *gradič* demands a different translation. The translator opted for the phrase *insignificant little castle* to convey the sense of negative connotation.

Resda domača zmaga niti za *hipec* ni bila ogrožena, a tako tekoče igre kot v lepem drugem delu le ni bilo. (*Delo*, 20. 3. 2007)

Although the victory of the home team was not jeopardized even for *a second*, the game was not as smooth as in the exciting second part. (Translation by Černe)

The Slovene text uses the diminutive *hipec* (momentDIM) although the base form *hip* (moment) could be employed instead with practically no change in meaning. Although the translator decided to use a non-diminutive form *a second* in his English translation, the meaning of the entire Slovene context is correctly rendered into English, even though it lacks the diminutive form.

“Bi prišla naprej ti, s *čopki* ... lahko tudi z *mamica*. Boš *bombonček*?” je prvo gostjo spodbudila voditeljica. (*Delo*, 10. 8. 2005)

“You, with *pigtails* ... yes, you can bring your *mommy*, too. How about some *candy, sweetheart*?” the hostess encouraged her first guest. (Translation by Černe)

This Slovene context includes three diminutives and is taken from child-oriented speech in which diminutives are commonly used. The first diminutive noun *čopki* suggests that the little girl addressed was a small child wearing her hair plaited into pigtails, and in the English translation *pigtails* has been used but nothing diminutive to suggest the child's small size. The diminutive *mamica* has been translated by using the corresponding English diminutive *mommy*, which is one of the rare examples where the two languages correspond in the use of diminutive equivalents. The third diminutive *bombonček* (candyDIM) has again been translated using a neutral non-diminutive noun in English (*candy*). However, the translator here added the noun *sweetheart*, inserting in the translation some further positive connotative value with which to enhance the English context, compensating for its lack of diminutiveness in *pigtails* and *candy*. Another possible translation for the diminutive *bombonček*, however, could be found in the English synthetic diminutive *sweetie*, which would again establish exact formal equivalence between Slovene and English.

“Oj, pa si že vstala? Zgodaj je še in ti bi še lahko spančkala v *posteljici*. Pa zakaj si tako zgodaj vstala?” (Vandot: Kekec na volčji sledi)

“Up already? It's still early, *angel*, you could've slept in your *little bed* a little longer. Why did you get up so early?” (Translation by Černe)

The above context is again an example of child-oriented speech, but has been taken from children's literature. Again, the translator rendered the synthetic Slovene diminutive *posteljica* (bedDIM) into English analytically by using *little bed*. However, he again added a noun to address the small child (*angel*), probably to compensate for the diminutiveness expressed in the Slovene verb *spančkati* (sleepDIM).

Kdo misli, je nabijal Adam z vrčem po mizi, kdo misli, da bo ta smrkavi *cesarček* s svojim podkupljivim uradništvom, s samovoljnimi stanovi, s pogoltno duhovščino, s svojo dobro voljo in s svojim slabištvom napravil red v tej prekleti zmedeni deželi? (Jančar: *Galjot*)

Tell me who could think, Adam was slamming his mug against the table, who could possibly think that this *little brat of an emperor* is capable of setting things straight in this goddamn messed-up country with his corrupted officials, disobedient classes, greedy clergy, with his positive spirit and his spinelessness? (Translation by Černe)

In this context taken from a literary text, the Slovene diminutive form clearly expresses pejorativeness; *smrkavi cesarček* (emperorDIM) could literally be interpreted as *this snotty little emperor*. The translator opted for *this little brat of an emperor*, which fully conveys the meaning intended by the author; the Slovene diminutive is in this case expressed by using an analytical diminutive phrase in English.

To pa pomeni, da je naše morebitno članstvo odloženo za nekaj let ali kar ad *calendas graecas*. Po drugi strani pa bomo v teh nekaj letih najbrž vendarle sprejeti v EU in tako bo odpadel tisti **argumentek**, ki pravi, da je za našo varnost dobro, da smo vsaj v Natu, dokler ne bomo v Uniji. (*Delo*, 4.8.2001)

This, however, means that our potential membership will be postponed for a few years, or even “ad *calendas graecas*”, so to speak. On the other hand, we will probably become a full member of the EU in the next few years after all, which will discredit that **piffling argument** supporting the belief that it would be safer for us to be at least a NATO member until we finally obtain EU membership. (Translation by Černe)

Here another pejorative journalistic context shows how easily the Slovene language forms a synthetic diminutive from practically any nominal base (*argument* > *argumentek*); English, on the other hand, although having several pejorative suffixes at its disposal (e.g. *-ette*, *-so*), prefers an equivalent formed analytically to render the same meaning: the noun *argument* is premodified by the slightly informal adjective *piffling*, which adds the necessary pejorative tone to the English translation. Less informal, but still pejorative, would be the phrases *trifling argument* or *trivial argument*.

Našemu sodelavcu Mitji Šumaku je na eni največjih kasaških dirk na svetu, Elitloppu na Švedskem, uspelo fotografirati nagca, ki je na progo hušknil med 4. in 5. dirko. Vsega hudega vajeni varnostniki ga sploh niso zaustavljali, očitvidci pa so mnenja, da je bil **debelušček** tudi zmerno okajen. (*Delo*, 7. 6. 1999)

During Elitlopp, one of the biggest horse racing events in the world that takes place in Sweden, our correspondent Mitja Šumak managed to take a shot of a man who jumped onto the tracks stark naked between the 4th and the 5th race. The security guards, who are probably used to all sorts of eccentricities, did not even make an attempt to stop him, and the eyewitnesses claim that **the chubby prankster** appeared to be rather “merry” too. (Translation by Černe)

The diminutive *debelušček* (fat manDIM) used in the above context is again connotative in meaning and adds a decidedly jocular note to the text. The translator decided to convey this same meaning in English by using the phrase *the chubby prankster*; thus, the component [fat] is expressed in the adjective *chubby*, and the humorous, jocular quality of the fat man's action in the noun *prankster*. Another option in English would be to use the diminutive noun form *fatty*, which, according to Schneider (2003, 111), is positive in connotation; yet another solution, *fatso*, would be clearly wrong as it conveys a pejorative shade of meaning which the source-language item lacks.

Za prihodnje leto je najprej predvideno čiščenje usedlin iz kanala za dovod morske vode, očistiti bo treba preliv med **malim jezercem** in večjo vodno laguno, z območja zatoka pa se bodo morali umakniti tudi **mali vrtičkarji**. (*Delo*, 15. 12. 1998)

The schedule for next year includes clearing the sediments for the seawater supply channel, clearing the passageway between **the little lake** and the bigger water lagoon; also, **garden owners** will be asked to leave the area around the inlet. (Translation by Černe)

This context brings two Slovene diminutives, *malo jezerce* and *mali vrtičkarji*; both are double diminutives in which analytical and synthetic diminutives are combined to enhance the expressive force of diminution. This kind of gradation is nearly impossible to render in English, *malo jezerce* (little lakeDIM) is therefore translated as *little lake*, while *mali vrtičkarji* (owners of little gardensDIM) can only be rendered as *garden owners*.

Na glavi ima **majbno**, visoko **čepico** iz črnih čipk, ki so tako trdo naškrobljene, da je videti, kakor bi bile izrezljane iz starega lesa in ne stkane iz rahlih nitk. Njen **drobčkani obraz** je ves naguban in zarjavel od žgočega južnega sonca. (Kosmač: *Težka nedelja*)
 She is wearing a **small**, tall **hat** with black lace starched so heavily that it seems as though it had been carved out of an old piece of wood rather than knitted with delicate yarn.
 Her **tiny face** has wrinkled and burnt under the southern sun. (Translation by Černe)

The above context taken from a literary text contains two analytic diminutives in Slovene, which are both rendered analytically into English. The more neutral combination *majbna čepica* is translated as *small hat*, while the more expressive *drobčkani obraz* is transferred as *tiny face*. Another nominal alternative to *hat* that could be used by the translator in the above context is *bonnet*.

Ljudje z začudenjem spremljajo, kako lahko **drobcen virus** pahne ves svet v svetovno računalniško krizo. Te pa niso lansirali veliki računalniki, temveč običajni PC z domače pisalne mize. (*Delo*, 20. 5. 2000)
 People find it incredible that **a tiny virus** can cause a global computer crisis which is usually started not by super computers, but an ordinary PC on a desk in somebody's home. (Translation by Černe)

In this context, the analytical diminutive *drobcen virus* is translated into English by means of another analytical formation *a tiny virus*.

In Bjork? Fino je bilo videti, kakšna **majčkена** bledolična **smrklja** je. In kakšen glas! (*Delo*, 23. 6. 2001)
 And what about Bjork? It was nice to see what **a teeny** pale **brat** she is. And what a voice! (Translation by Černe)

The above context again illustrates how an analytical diminutive formation in Slovene can be rendered into English directly by using a corresponding analytical diminutive. Such a direct, literal rendition of Slovene diminutives into English seems to be mainly possible in the case of Slovene analytical diminutive formations (whether denotative or connotative) and synthetic formations denoting primarily family relationships.

When Slovene lexicalized diminutives are to be translated into English, it is very rare that corresponding English terms also have diminutive suffixes, as in the pairs *bradica* – *goatee*, *kipec* – *statuette*. The equivalents in English are in most cases lexemes with no diminution expressed in them, as for example in:

Marelice izvirajo iz Kitajske. (www.mojirecepti.com/sadje/koscicasto/marelice-sveze.html)
Apricots have their origin in China. (Translation by Sicherl)

Nekateri so odšli v cerkev, nekateri pa so [...] **kupovali spominke**. (www.rihpovec.si/index.php/dogodki.html)

Some of them went into the church, the others walked around buying souvenirs. (Translation by Sicherl)

However, the translation of such diminutive forms into English is the least demanding, although the translation equivalents in English practically never have a diminutive form.

6. Concluding Remarks

While in Slovene it often seems to come to hyperproduction of diminutive formations, the English language is more reserved and less productive in this respect. Slovene uses both synthetic and analytic formations, often combining the two, as well as gradation of diminutives, which is a feature that the English language with its word–formational means cannot cope with accordingly. However, diminutiveness as one of language universals is expressed in English as well, albeit at other levels of language structure. Based on the typology of the language, English seems to use fewer synthetic diminutive forms in comparison to Slovene, but the production of analytic diminutives does not seem to lag behind in any respect. Within monolingual Slovene diminutive research it is therefore possible to remain limited to the lexemic–morphological level and analyze Slovene diminutives exclusively in terms of word–formation. As soon as the research becomes bilingual, including English, the analysis must expand to syntax and context, as diminution in English can often be expressed only beyond the borders of single words. Semantically, however, diminutives in both languages can express either denotative or connotative meanings, with frequent overlapping of both; in these cases the context again plays a crucial role in assigning either primarily denotative or connotative value to a lexeme. A special group of Slovene diminutives is lexicalized diminutives. These are diminutive in form only, but are semantically neutral, and often (as extended metaphors) play a role in the formation of terminology. Their English equivalents only rarely display diminutive forms (e.g. *bradica* – *goatee*; *rakec* – *small crab*).

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On Omissions and Substitutions in the Medieval English Translations of the Gospel

Summary

This paper provides the data on the omissions and substitutions of Latin text fragments made in the Old and Middle English translations of St. John's Gospel. It aims to explore how frequently and for what reasons one or the other translator, or occasionally both of them, turned to these deviations in the process of rendering, and to find out whether there were some significant differences between the translations concerning these procedures. As the translations were composed over a span of more than 300 years, some of the evidence certainly reveals changes in the understanding and experiencing of biblical and other terms that occurred over the course of time, as reflected in language. These changes are first and foremost what we wish to discuss in this paper, but other matters will be also considered, such as the authors' priorities in translation and specific features of their language.

Key words: omissions, substitutions, translations, Latin, Old English, Middle English, culture, society

Izpusti in zamenjave v srednjeveških angleških prevodih evangelija

Povzetek

V članku obravnavamo izpuste in zamenjave delov latinskega besedila v staro in srednje angleških prevodih Evangelija po Janezu. Ugotavljamo, kako pogosto in zakaj sta se prevajalca odločala za ta odstopanja pri prevajanju besedila ter ali je zaradi tega prišlo do bistvenih razlik med prevodoma, ki sta nastala v razmiku 300 let. Nekateri podatki nedvomno nakazujejo spremembe v razumevanju in doživljanju bibličnih ter drugih izrazov, do katerih je prišlo v tem obdobju in se odražajo v jeziku. Poleg tega v članku namenimo pozornost tudi avtorjevim prevodoslovnim prednostim in posebnim jezikovnim značilnostim.

Ključne besede: izpusti, zamenjave, prevodi, latinščina, stara angleščina, srednja angleščina, kultura, družba.

On Omissions and Substitutions in the Medieval English Translations of the Gospel

1. Introduction

Biblical translators today generally follow the trend of the so-called dynamic equivalence, that is sense-to-sense or thought-to-thought translation, at least in the USA, judging from the examples found in Nida and Taber (2003). When necessary, they adapt the content and the form of the Bible to the modern time and language, and in doing so perform numerous and various deviations, chiefly in order to make the biblical events or circumstances intelligible and close to present-day readers. Opposite to modern trends, during the Middle Ages the translators endeavoured to translate the Bible or its parts as faithfully as possible, according to the dominant attitude of the Western Church, so most medieval translations belong to the so-called formal equivalence or word-for-word translations.

We may discuss now which way of translation proves to be better and for what reasons, but apart from this, it is certain that the medieval, literal style of translation enables us to research accurately the Old and Middle English vernaculars in which the biblical translations were composed. If in the medieval biblical translations we find deviations such as omissions and substitutions of the source text fragments, we may reasonably guess that the translators simply had to perform them because there was no word in the target language for the concept from the source or there was a word but it was unknown to most of the authors' contemporaries. It is equally possible that the meaning of the available word was only partially equivalent to that of the word used in the source language.

However, sweeping generalizations about such a complex topic are not what we need. In order to come to any conclusion about omissions and substitutions it is necessary to examine medieval translations carefully and thoroughly, each one as a separate entity, and each as written by an individual author with specific attitudes and original approach, along with the purpose of translation, the audience at whom it was aimed and the context in which it was written. The context, that is, historical, ecclesiastical, cultural and social circumstances existing in the time and place of composition, certainly left traces on translations. The reverse is true, too, since translations were not only affected by contemporary culture, they actually "created it" (Liuzza, 2002).

In view of this we carried out research on two English medieval translations of John's Gospel, believing that their comparison would not only reveal differences in the perception and experience of biblical concepts (expressed through language), but also those in culture, society and cognition that occurred in the period between their occurrence. We took the *West-Saxon Gospels* (1967) from the 11th ct. as the first target text (called in this paper the Old English (OE) translation), and the second version of *Wycliffe's Bible* (2006) (from the beginning of the 15th ct., as the second target text (called the Middle English (ME) translation). Both were composed after the same source text, St. Jerome's *Vulgate* (2006), dating from the beginning of the 5th ct. The period of more than three hundred years that had passed between the target

texts seemed sufficiently long to produce various changes in language and therefore convenient for the study. Generally speaking, this was the longest period of interruption in the Gospel translating in the history of English. On the other hand, the temporal and spatial distances between the source text and each target text had been considerable, too, and we expected them to have affected the translations, especially in the field of culture-specific words.

We aimed to explore the:

1. motives that forced the authors to omit or replace the source text fragments,
2. frequency with which they performed these procedures,
3. translators' priorities in the process of translation
4. general differences between the translations considering the two deviations.

In the following lines we provide all the evidence of omissions and substitutions of the source text segments found in the translations. They are not presented in the order they occur in the texts but according to the underlying causes of their performance – as we perceive them. As Nicholas Howe (1997, 85) remarks, it is not easy to enter the imaginative and cognitive world of past periods, and we can not be too certain that we know what the Anglo-Saxons or the 15th ct. English population thought and felt about the biblical message. Therefore the following text represents just an effort to better understand the past and to reconstruct the culture and biblical knowledge of the past through language.

In section 1 we analyse eleven distinct motives of omissions, and in section 2 nine motives of substitutions, each illustrated by one or more examples from the translations. These are presented thus: we first quote the Latin fragment, then the corresponding OE or ME translation, or occasionally both of them, depending on where the deviation actually occurred.¹ The AV quotation is subsequently provided within quotation marks for those readers that find the medieval texts difficult to understand. Almost all the evidence is accompanied by comments.

2. Omissions

2.1 Omissions Leading to Suspicion or Dilemma

docens in templo

8:20 haec verba locutus est in gazofilacio **docens in templo**

458 Ðas word he spræc aet ceapceamele

“these words spake Jesus in the treasury, as **he taught in the temple**”

According to etymological dictionaries the word *temple* existed in OE, which means that the concept denoted by it was present in the mind of the Anglo-Saxons, too. At present, however, it is hard to say in what way they perceived the concept and whether they imagined a temple to be just a place of prayer and religious service or as a place where money was changed and kept, business made and cattle traded, as it indeed had been in the biblical times. If the temple were

¹ The numerals assigned to the OE fragments completely deviate from those assigned to Latin and ME segments, since the WSGs are written densely as a whole, with no chapter or line division.

meant only as a house of prayer, a dilemma might arise about where Jesus actually had taught and spoken – in a temple or in a vault, and the difference in conception might lead to disbelief in the whole statement. So, to avoid such a possibility the OE translator just dropped the expression.

qui erant dispersi

11:52 non tantum pro gente sed et ut filios Dei **qui erant dispersi** congregaret in unum
677 na synderlyce for Paere Peode. ac Paet he wolde gesomnian togaedere godes bearn
“not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children
of God **that were scattered abroad.**”

The expression from Caiaphas’s proclamation of Jesus’ death refers to the Jews who had been living outside of Israel in many countries of the East from the time of the Babylonian and Egyptian exiles. Indeed, the Jewish people had a long and rich history, but it was most probably almost completely unknown to the Anglo–Saxons, and, having no great meaning for them, the fragment was dropped.

2.2 Omission of the Unfamiliar Hebrew and/or Aramaic Names

Caiaphan

18:24 misit eum Annas ligatum ad **Caiaphan** pontificem
1003 Pa sende annas hyne to Pam bysceope gebundenne
“now Annas had sent him bound unto **Caiaphas** the high priest”

Hebrew proper names usually appear in the OE translation as slightly modified Latin loans (with rare exceptions, such as the name of Jesus). We may rightly assume that they were unfamiliar to the Anglo–Saxons and difficult to remember, too. As known, the OE translation was aimed to be read aloud in front of the listeners, since most of them were illiterate. In these circumstances the translator decides to simplify the text by omission of the name of *Caiaphas* since it is immediately after denoted by the apposition *bishop*.

quod interpretatur Missus

9:7 in natatoria Siloae **quod interpretatur Missus**
521... on syloes mere
“in the pool of Siloam, (**which is by interpretation, Sent**).”

The word *Siloae* might have been omitted for the same reason as mentioned above or, even more likely, because the translator believed that it originally had some other meaning than that stated in the Latin text that was, unfortunately, unknown to him. Admittedly, *Sent* is a rather strange name for a bath.

super Probatca

5:2 est autem Hierosolymis **super Probatca** piscina quae cognominatur hebraice
Bethsaida

223 On Hierusalem ys an mere. Se ys genemned on ebreisc bethsaida...

5:2 And in Jerusalem is a waissyng place, that in Ebrew is named Bethsaida...

“there is at Jerusalem **by the sheep market** a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda”

In the quoted Latin fragment there are three proper names in the sequence. Both translators hold this to be a burden for their listeners and readers and determine to dismiss the word *Probatice* as less important for the message of the sentence. Actually, the word *Probatice* is also one of uncertain meaning. As seen, the AV reads it as the *sheep market*, while the Croatian edition (Kaštelan and Bonaventura 1969) brings it as the *sheep door*.

qui dicitur Didymus

11:16 dixit ergo Thomas **qui dicitur Didymus** ad condiscipulos

633 Þa cwæþ thomas to hys geferum

“Then said Thomas, **which is called Didymus**, unto his fellowdisciples”

In this case the clause is certainly not left out because the OE translator does not know that in Latin *Dydymus* means a *twin*, since we can read later in 20:24 *Thomas... qui dicitur Didymus* > 1133 *thomas... Þe ys gecweden dydimus. Þæt ys gelycst on ure geþeode*. It seems that at first the author hesitates to translate the clause with the noun *Didymus*, but realizing that it was repeated in the text, decides to incorporate it with the extra-explanation *that in our language means – a twin*.

2.3 Omission of the Abstruse Term that is Explained Further in the Text

procedent

5:28 omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem eius et **procedent**

260 ealle gehyraþ his stefne þe on byrgenum synd

5:28 alle men that ben in birielis, schulen here the voice of Goddis sone

“all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and **shall come forth**”

Procedere, go forth, go out, refers here to *resurrection*, one of the fundamental Christian concepts. Despite of this, both translators omit the word as abstruse and unnecessary in this position, since the next line explains in detail what is meant by it (*they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation*).

2.4 Omission of a Contradictory Expression

et baptizat

4:1 quia Iesus plures discipulos facit **et baptizat** quam Iohannes

152 Þæt he hæfde ma leorningcnyhta þonne iohannes

“that Jesus made **and baptized** more disciples than John”

It is clear that *et baptizat* is released here as already the next line reads *Iesus non baptizaret sed discipuli eius* (even though Jesus himself did not baptize, but His disciples).

2.5 Omission of What is Implied

et mansit

4:40 rogaverunt eum ut ibi maneret **et mansit** ibi duos dies

203 hig baedon hyne Ðaet he wunede Ðar twegwn dagas maere

“they besought him that he would tarry with them: **and he abode** there two days”

The translator presumes that the very fact that the disciples asked Jesus to stay two more days implies his stay.

exivit

19:17 baiulans sibi crucem **exivit** in eum qui dicitur Calvariae locum

1054 he silf baer hys rode myd hym on Ða stowe Ðe ys genemned heafodpannan
stow

“he bearing his cross **went forth** into a place called the place a skull”

The verb *baiulare*, *carry*, *bear*, implies motion and therefore the OE translator drops the verb *ire*, *go*, but in doing so ignores what is expressed by the Latin verbal prefix *ex-*, *out*, which here may either mean that Calvary was outside the city or that there was a clearing. Obviously he assesses this irrelevant for the message of the sentence and mentions just the place of Calvary, wherever it was.

manducare

6:31 panem de caelo dedit eis **manducare**

322 he sealde hym hlaf of heofene

“he gave them the bread from heaven **to eat**”

The OE translator considers the expression *panem de caelo dedit eis* as self-explanatory and finds it unnecessary to elaborate what bread is for. Nevertheless, it is also possible that he understands the expression metaphorically, as *food for the soul*.

habens, eum

18:10 Simon ergo Petrus **habens** gladium eduxit **eum**

980 wytodlice symon petrus ateah hys sweord

“then Simon Peter **having** a sword drew **it**”

By the introduction of the possessive *hys* instead of the omitted Latin present participle *habens* and personal pronoun *eum*, the OE author creates undoubtedly a simpler sentence than the original one is, and in this way what is explicitly said in Latin becomes implied in OE, namely that *Peter had a sword*. However, by using the participial construction the Latin author might

have intended to emphasise the fact that Peter usually didn't carry a sword (after all he was a fisherman), except in the described situation when he was afraid of what was going to happen, as seen from the context. These connotations are lost in the OE translation.

venientem

10:12 mercennarius... videt lupum **venientem** dimittit oves et fugit

577 Þonne he Þone wulf gesyhþ. Þonne flyhþ he 7 forlaet þa scep

"... an hireling ... seeth the wolf **coming**, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth"

It is understood that a hireling flees not because he sees a wolf but because the wolf comes towards him, so there is no need of further explanation, especially not in the sentence containing four consecutive verbs.

ubi erat David

7:42 quia ex semine David et Bethleem castello **ubi erat David** venit Christus

422 Þæt cryst cymþ of dauides cynne. 7 of bethleaem ceastre

"that Christ cometh of the seed of David, out of the town of Bethlehem, **where David was?**"

The OE translator obviously takes it for granted that the audience can conclude directly from the phrases *of dauides cynne 7 of bethleaem ceastre* that King David derives from Bethlehem.

quia hic est Filius Dei

1:34 et ego vidi et testimonium perhibui **quia hic est Filius Dei**

43 7 ic geseah 7 gewytnesse cyþde

"And I saw, and bare record **that this is the Son of God.**"

At first sight it seems quite impossible that the OE translator could omit the most important part of the sentence, as we witness in line 1:34. However, if we analyse the wider context of the sentence it becomes clear that the omitted clause does not bring any new information or content, but summarizes the guiding thought of the preceding lines. Namely, the whole prologue of John's Gospel and the first 33 lines of the Chapter 1 bring John's testimony of Jesus as the only *Son of God*, so the translator believes there is no need to repeat it.

2.6 Omission of Pleonasm

dicens

1:26 respondit eis Iohannes **dicens**

30 iohannes hym 7swarode

"John answered them, **saying**"

Similar instances are found also in 7:37 > 414, 8:42 > 489 and 4:51 > 217, where the OE

translator omits one of two semantically similar and juxtaposed verbs in the following pairs: *clamare – dicere*, *procedere – venire* and *nuntiare – dicere*.

2.7 Omission on Account of the Risk of Losing the Sense Due to the Text Length

et continuo clarificabit eum

13:31 Nunc clarificatus est Filius hominis et Deus clarificatus est in eo 13:32 si Deus clarificatus est in eo et Deus clarificabit eum in semet ipso **et continuo clarificabit eum**

795 nu ys mannes sunu geswutelod. 796 7 god ys geswutelod on hym. gyf god ys geswutelod on hym. 7 god geswutelaþ hyne on hym sylfum

“now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him. If God be glorified in him, God shall also glorify him in himself, **and shall straightway glorify him.**”

In the given example the omission is due to the author’s fear that the true meaning of the message could be lost by repetition of the words *God, glorify, in him*, in a series of sentences. The fear was justified since the translation was aimed to be heard, and not read, as already pointed out. In these circumstances a listener could not reconsider the text if something of its meaning was eventually lost.

2.8 Omission of a Minor Word to Highlight a Major One

Simonis

13:26 ... dedit Iudae **Simonis** Scariotis

789 he hyne sealde iudas scariothe

“gave it to Judas Iscariot, **the son of Simon**”

Despite biblical and medieval customs of adding to a person’s name his father’s name, in this instance the OE translator drops the name of Judas’ father, because in his opinion what essentially determines Judas is not his origin, but his traitorous role. The omission of *Simonis* for the same reason is found also in 6:72 > 368 and 13:2 > 758.

ex

16:17 dixerunt ergo **ex** discipulis eius ad invicem (quid est hoc quod dicit nobis)

904 Ða cwaedon hys leorningcnyhtas

“then said **some** of his disciples among themselves”

The preposition *ex, out, from*, in the quoted Latin fragment has a partitive meaning, denoting that *some* of Jesus’ disciples spoke between themselves about the meaning of his words. However, according to the OE translation, it seems that *all* the disciples discussed the topic. Obviously the translator holds the number of the involved disciples irrelevant for the message.

2.9 Omission of a Typical Evangelical Expression Where it Does Not Fit in the Text

amen amen dico vobis

8:58 dixit eis Iesus **amen amen dico vobis** antequam Abraham fieret ego sum

511 se haelend cwaeÐ to hym. Ic waes aer Abraham waere

“Jesus said unto them, **Verily, verily, I say unto you**, Before Abraham was, I am.”

This expression regularly appears in the Gospel in instances where Jesus either tries to explain the essence of his divine nature or to give people the most important guidelines to achieve salvation. It often comes as a kind of conclusion at the end of Jesus’ speeches, as, for example, in 3:3 *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God*; 5:19 *Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do*; 5:24 *Verily, verily, I say unto you, that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath everlasting life* etc.

The quoted Latin sentence is not of that kind. It is a statement which involves Abraham, and therefore does not stylistically fit the usual conception.

2.10 Omission of the Expression without New Semantic Content

quid ergo

1:21 interrogaverunt eum **quid ergo** Helias es tu

24 hig acsodon hyne eart Ðu elias

“they asked him, **What then?** Art thou Elias?”

The reduced sentence *quid ergo* does not bring any new semantic content, but merely expresses the current Jewish dilemma about John and his mission. It is a speculation typical of spoken language, not written. But although the OE translation was aimed at listeners, it had to be used on a formal level, and therefore the aforementioned fragment was dropped.

2.11 Omission of Emphatic Repetition

manifestavit

21:1 postea manifestavit se iterum Iesus ad mare Tiberiadis **manifestavit** autem sic

1150 eft aefter Ðam se haelend hyne geswutelode Ðus aet Ðaere tyberiadiscan sae

“after these things Jesus shewed himself again ... at the sea of Tiberias; and on this wise **shewed** he himself”

The OE translator also avoids repeating *pedes eius* (12:3 > 690) and *amen* (1:51 > 66), while both translators omit *nescimus* (9:21 > 538 > 9:21), *de terra est* (3:31 > 145 > 3:31) and *et* (11:48 > 673 > 11:48) since these expressions in the given context are purely emphatic. In OE, unlike Latin, the immediate repetition of a word has no emphatic function but rather a grammatical or lexical one, as seen, for example, from *swa swa*, meaning *so as, just as*, and *Ðaer Ðaer* meaning *where*.

Having presented all the data on omissions, we summarize them in the following table:

	OMISSIONS OF	OE instances	ME instances
1.	what is implied from the context	7	
2.	emphatic repetitions	6	3
3.	unfamiliar and strange Semitic names	4	1
4.	pleonasm	4 ²	
5.	expressions that might confuse	2	
6.	minor words	4 ¹	
7.	a phrase continuously repeated in the text	1	
8.	a contradictory expression	1	
9.	an abstruse term	1	1
10.	a typical evangelical expression (where it does not fit in the text)	1	
11.	an expression with no semantic content	1	
	TOTAL:	32	5

Table 1. Types of omissions according to frequency in the OE & ME translations.

3. Substitutions

3.1 Substitution of a Word Because:

- a) the concept it refers to does not exist in the target culture,
- b) the concept it refers to exists in the target culture, but neither it nor the word for it is widely known

piscina > OE mere > ME waissyngre place

5:2 est autem Hierosolymis ... **piscina**

223 On hierusalem ys an **mere**

5:2 and in Jerusalem is a **waissyngre place**

“there is at Jerusalem by the sheep market a **pool**”

Piscina denotes in Latin a *pond* and a *swimming pool*. Very likely most people of the OE period did not know what these concepts meant and therefore the translator replaced the word with semantically the nearest one, *mere*, a *sea*, which was apparently well-known. The same may be assumed for the ME period, since in its translation a quite vague phrase was used, *place for washing*, describing the purpose of the denoted object.

natatorium > OE mere > ME watir

9:7 in **natatoria** Siloae

² Three out of four instances display the omission of the same word, Simonis

521... on syloes **mere**

9:7 in the **watir** of Siloe

“in the **pool** of Siloam”

Latin *natatorium* also meant a *pool*, literally a *place for swimming*, and for the aforesaid reason was rendered as a *sea* into OE and *water* into ME respectively.

crucifigere > OE **hon**

19:6 **crucifige crucifige**

1036 **hoh** hyne. **hoh** hyne

“**Crucify** him, **crucify** him”

The equivalent verb of Latin *crucifigere* in OE did not exist, and therefore *hon*, *hang*, was used instead (just as the word *rood*, meaning *pole*, *gallows*, was used instead of the word *cross*). The lack of an equivalent is not surprising since nailing to the cross as a means of execution had stopped being practised in Europe in the 4th century AD, long before the OE translation was composed.

recumbere > OE **sittan** > ME **sitten to mete**

13:12 cum **recubisset** iterum ...

771 7 Ða he **saet**

13:12 whanne he was **set to mete** ayen

“and **was down** again”

During the Last supper, after Jesus had washed the disciples' feet, he sat down again, but since the table was probably low, as is usual in the East even today, he must have lolled. That is why the Latin author did not employ the verb *sedere*, but *recumbere*, *lie*, *loll*, *drop*. Both English translators in this instance employed *sit*, either because the equivalent verb for *lolling* was missing in the language or because they interpreted the scene as *sitting* (intentionally or not) according to the customs of the time. Indeed, the Last supper was represented alike in the medieval and Renaissance paintings.

The ME translator complemented the verb *sitten* with *to mete* (*mete* meaning *food*, *meal*), which suggests that he might understand Latin *recumbere* only as denoting *sitting/lolling in order to eat*, thus contradicting the statement from 13:2 where we read: *et cena facta ... surgit a cena, and supper being ended ... he riseth*.

cohors > OE **folc** > ME **cumpenye of knyytis**

tribunus > OE **ealdor**

18:12 **cohors** ergo et **tribunus** et ministri Iudaeorum comprehenderunt Iesum

985 Paet **folc** 7 se **ealdor** 7 Paera iudea Pegnas namon Þone haelend

18:12 the **cumpenye of knyytis**, and the **tribune**, and the mynystris of the Jewis,

token Jhesu

“the **band** and the **captain** and officers of the Jews took Jesus”

The Romans had a whole range of well-organized military formations and a specific hierarchical order of officers that greatly differed from English ones. The word *cohors*, denoting a tenth part of a Roman legion, had no equivalent in the language and hence was replaced in the OE translation with more general *folc*, *army*, and in the ME translation with the *of-phrase* composed of OE *knytyts* (*cnihtas*) and French loan *cumpenye*, *a military band*.

The title of *tribunus*, a cohort commander, was likewise replaced with *ealdor*, which in OE denoted both *a civil and religious authority*, *chief*, *leader* etc.

praetorium > OE domern > ME moot halle

18:28 non introierunt in **praetorium**

1009 ne eoden into þam **domerne**

18:28 thei entriden not in to the **moot halle**

“they themselves went not into the **judgement hall**”

Praetorium is another Latin word strictly related to the Roman authorities and military organization. It denotes the *main place within the Roman camp*, *the Roman war council* and *emperor's guard* among many other meanings. In the absence of an equivalent, the OE translator employs the word *domern*, meaning a *judgement-hall*, *tribunal*, as *praetor* is also a *judge*. Indeed, in the context in which the word appears, this meaning is the most important, because it is at that place Pontius Pilate condemns Jesus.

The ME translator renders the word as *moot-halle*, where *mot* means the *assembly*, *meeting*.

discere > OE sittan > ME sitten at the mete

21:12 nemo audebat **discentium** interrogare eum

1168 nan þara **þe þar saet** ne dorste hyne acsian

21:12 no man **of hem that saten at the mete** durste axe hym

“none **of the disciples** durste ask him”

Discentes, the pl. present participle of *discere*, *learn*, *hear*, *get acquainted with*, functions in this context as a noun and has obviously a broader meaning than the noun *discipuli*, which is commonly used in the source text. That is, in the given scene of Jesus' apparition on the Sea of Galilee *discentes* refers not only to Jesus' disciples, listed one after another at the beginning of the chapter, but to all those people who were there and saw the miracle of Jesus.

By analogy with Latin, here the OE translator does not use the noun *learningcnihtas* as usual but introduces the relative clause *þe þar saet*, *who sat there*, for lack of a more suitable expression. Similarly, the ME translator uses *that saten at the mete*, *that sat to eat*. The complement *at the mete* is probably added because previously Jesus invited his disciples and others to come and eat.

cena > OE gebeorscipe

12:2 fecerunt autem ei **cenam** ibi

688 hig worhton hym Þar **gebeorscipe**

“there they made him a **supper**”

Cena, a dinner, is rendered into OE as *gebeorscipe*, which meant a *feast, banquet*. The substitution of the term could happen for two possible reasons. Firstly, we can well assume that the daily distribution of meals as we know today did not exist in the OE period, at least among ordinary people, so dinner was not common. The very fact that the words *dinner* and *supper* were borrowed from French in the ME period when the upper class members began to imitate the French behaviour, supports this argument. The word *breakfast*, on the contrary, is of Germanic origin, but denotes a humble meal, which is taken after a certain period of *fast*. Therefore, it might have been so that during the OE period all occasions when people met and ate together in the evening were perceived as an unusual and outstanding event, a real *feast*. Considering the composition of the word *gebeorscipe*, namely its prefix *ge-*, which is a typical marker of collectiveness, then *beor*, *beer*, *mead*, and *scipe*, *shape*, it seems that in such occasions more was drunk than eaten.

Nevertheless, in the given context the word *feast* is possibly used for a special treat, as the event took place in the house of Maria, Martha and their brother Lazarus whom Jesus had raised from the dead, so the translator might assume that the family arranged a thanksgiving dinner for Jesus and his disciples. If so, this example of non-literal translation could be classified into the following subchapter.

3.2 Substitution Due to the Translator’s Assumption

sedere > OE ridan on

12:14 invenit Iesus asellum et **sed**it super eum

704 se haelend gemette anne assan 7 **rad on** uppan Þam

“Jesus, when he had found a young ass, **sat** thereon”

The fragment concerns Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem before the Passover. Although the Latin text says only that Jesus found a donkey and sat on it as well as that it was written in the Scriptures *Behold, thy King cometh, sitting on ass’s colt*, the translator believes this is quite sufficient to conclude that Jesus came riding into Jerusalem.

in sua > ME in to his modir

19:27 accepit eam discipulus **in sua**

19:27 the disciple took hir **in to his modir**

“that disciple took her **unto his own home**”

Accipere eam in sua is used figuratively to mean *take care of her* (i.e. *Mother of God*), but the ME translator interprets it as *take her to his mother*, probably lead by Jesus’ prior words to John: *ecce mater tua > Lo! thi modir*. He believes that John acted according to Jesus’ words and treated Mary as his own mother.

We may say that the instances of substitutions given above are due to the founded translators' assumptions about described evangelical scenes. But we also found one which is obviously based on an unfounded assumption:

revertere > OE crudan

7:53 **reversi sunt** ... in domum suam

432 hig **crydon** ealle ham

“every man **went** unto his own house”

Here the Jews, gathered around Jesus, were divided among themselves under the influence of the Pharisees who charged them with disobeying the Law. So, they began to diverge toward their homes. But the OE translator writes here: *hig crydon ham, they rushed home*, although there is no basis for such an interpretation. The Latin text reads simply *they returned to their homes*. At that moment there was yet no reason for fear or haste, since according to 7:44 *no man laid hands on him* (i.e. Jesus), and certainly not on the others. The translator obviously anticipates the future events, being fully familiar with the evangelical text.

3.3 Substitution of a Word with Another, More Specialized One

cantare > OE crawan > ME crawen

13:38 non **cantabit** gallus

806 ne **craewþ** se cocc

13:38 the cok schal not **crowe**

“the cock shall not **crow**”

The verb *sing* was the direct OE and ME equivalent of Latin *cantare*, but both translators replaced it by the more specialized *crow* as it referred here to a cock.

domus suus > OE ham

7:53 reversi sunt... in **domum suam**

432 hig cyrdon ealle **ham**

“every man went unto **his own house**”

Apparently, the noun *ham* already in OE denoted one's own house, a *home*, and therefore there was no need to determine it additionally by the possessive adjective.

3.4 Substitution of a Word for its Antonym

a) stylistic, emphatic reasons

tenebrae > OE leoht

20:1 Maria M. venit mane cum **adhuc tenebrae essent**

1097 seo magdalenisce maria com on mergen **aer hyt leoht waere**

“cometh Mary Magdalene early, **when it was yet dark**”

pater > OE bearn

8:44 vos **ex patre** diabolo estis

491 ge synd deofles **bearn**

“you are **of your father** the devil”

In the examples above the conceptual structure of the Latin and OE sentences is practically the same, but the surface structure differs. Admittedly, *she came when it was dark* and *she came before it was light* mean the same, just as *you are of your father, the devil* and *you are the children of the devil*, the only difference being in the choice of terms that are meant to emphasise what is particularly important.

b) grammatical reasons

In Latin only one negation was allowed in the sentence, while in OE it was quite normal to use two or more negations.

omnis > OE nan

12:46 ut **omnis** qui credit in me **non** maneat...

747 **nan** Ðæara Ðe gelyfÐ on me. **ne** wunaÐ...

“that **whosoever** believeth on me should **not** abide in darkness”

3.5 Rejection of Latin Metaphors and Metonymies to Simplify the Message

caro > OE mann

17:2 sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis **carnis**

932 swa Ðu hym sealdest anweald aelces **mannes**

“as thou hast given him power over all **flesh**”

Caro literally means *meat, a piece of meat, human flesh, body*, which implies also *physical passion*. The OE translator simplifies the expression and uses *mann, man*, probably because he finds the Latin metonymy abstruse.

domus > OE hywredden

4:53 credidit ipse et **domus** eius tota

220 he gelyfde 7 eal hys **hywredden**

“himself believed, and his whole **house**”

Domus is a *house, residence*, and in that meaning it is usually rendered into OE and ME as *hus* and *hous*, respectively. However, in the instance above *domus* symbolizes a *family, kin*, so the translator rather uses the word *hywredden*, which literally means a *family, folks*.

brachium > OE strençÐ

12:38 **brachium** Domini cui revelatum est

738 hwam waes dryhtnes **strencP** geswutelod
“to whom hath the **arm** of the Lord been revealed?”

Brachium Domini, *The Lord's arm*, is a symbol of God's power, strength, authority. The OE audience would certainly understand this metaphor if it were literally transferred. Yet the translator obviously prefers a realistic expression, so he employs *strencP*, *strength*.

video > OE me PyncP

4:19 **video** quia propheta es tu
175 Ðaes Ðe **me PyncP** Ðu eart wytega
“I **perceive** that thou art a prophet”

Video, *I see*, meaning *I understand*, appears commonly in the source text. The OE translator drops the metaphor and uses the impersonal expression *me PyncP*, *I think*.

gustare mortem > OE beon dead

8:52 non **gustabit mortem**
504 ne **byP** he naefre **dead**
“he **shall** never **taste of death**”

If we find previously mentioned metaphors quite common, the last one, *taste death*, definitely sounds unusual. Probably the OE translator held it too poetic for the simple biblical language, so he replaced it with more realistic *beon dead*, *be dead*.

tollere anima > OE gaelan lyf

10:24 quousque **animam nostram tollis**
592 hu lange **gaelst Ðu ure lyf**
“How long dost thou **make us to doubt?**”

When the Jews required of Jesus to say openly whether he were the Messiah, they asked him literally *How long will you take our souls?*, thinking therewith: *How long will you keep us in suspense?* The OE translator dropped the metaphor and interpreted it in the way he understood it, as *How long will you hinder our lives?*

pascere > OE healdan > ME feden

21:15 **pasce** agnos meos
1174 **heald** myne lamb
21:15 **fed**e thou my lambren
“**feed** my lambs”

Both translators apparently found the Latin sentence too metaphorical, and therefore replaced the verb *pascere*, *lead to pasture*, with OE *healdan*, *keep*, *guard*, and ME *fed*e*n*, *feed*, respectively,

while the second part of the metaphor *agnos meos, my lambs*, denoting *the faithful*, left intact. In that way the sentence became partially simpler.

As shown in this subchapter, it was the OE translator who usually rejected the Latin metaphors and symbolism. However, he was not always consistent in this. We notice that he sometimes replaced the original metaphors with new ones, either those created by himself for the purpose of translation or those conventional in his time, as appears from the following:

mittere in corde > OE faran on heortan

13:2 cum diabolus iam **misisset in corde** ut traderet eum...

758 Ða **for** se deofol **on iudas heortan** ... Ðaet he hyne belaeowde

“the devil having now **put into the heart** of Judas Iscariot ... to betray him”

Both the Latin and the OE translators metaphorically describe the scene in which the Devil incited Judas to betray Jesus, but in doing so they use different metaphorical expressions. The former depicts the event by the phrase: *the Devil put into Judas' heart...*, and the latter by: *the Devil moved in Judas' heart...* So basically both of them conceive of the human heart as a material object, only in the Latin perception it is conceptualized as a container into which emotions, thoughts and intentions can be inserted from outside, whereas in the OE perception as an object in which already existing, stirred emotions cause certain decisions, even of betrayal.

resuscitare > OE aweccan

6:39 sed **resuscitem** illum

332 ac **awecce** Ðaet...

“but should **raise it up**”

Latin *resuscitare*, meaning *resurrect*, is usually literally transferred into OE as *arysan*, but sometimes also metaphorically as *aweccan, wake up*, since human death is commonly conceived of as a sleep.

daemonium habere > OE deofol stycaÐ on

7:20 **daemonium habest**

392 **deofol** Ðe **stycaÐ on**

“thou **hast a devil**”

Stician means *prick, stab, stick to, adhere*, so the OE translation literally reads *the Devil sticks on you*, which conveys a typical medieval experience of the Devil as a parasite or a leech which does not leave man alone until he tires to death.

incipere mori > OE licgan aet forÐfore

4:47 **incipiebat** enim **mori**

213 soÐlice he **laeg aet forÐfore**

“for **he was at the point of death**”

Incipere mori, *start dying*, conveys the fact that death is in progress. The OE translator probably found the expression strange since it described dying more as an action than as a state and therefore replaced it by *lie at departure*. The word *forþfor* was actually an OE metaphor, composed of *forþ*, *forth*, *forwards* and *for*, *departure*, *travelling*, which reveals that death has been always perceived in the mind as a journey to the post mortal world.

3.6 Substitution of an Ambiguous Latin Concept

fratres > OE magas

7:5 neque enim **fratres** eius credebant in eum

375 ne hys **magas** ne gelyfdon on hyne

“for neither did his **brethren** believe in him”

The OE translator apparently wants to avoid confusion or scandal which might arise from the literal translation of the word *fratres*, since in this case it refers to *Jesus’ brothers*. So he renders it as *magas* which has a more general meaning, including both *brothers in blood* as well as *sons*, *descendants*, *young man* or *man* in general. Thus he uses the word *brothers* in a typical Christian meaning, the one Jesus uses while addressing his disciples and followers.

parentes > OE magas > ME eldris

9:3 necque hic peccavit necque **parentes** eius

516 ne syngode he ne hys **magas**

9:3 nether this man synnede, nether hise **eldris**

“neither hath this man sinned, nor his **parents**”

In the scene in which the disciples notice a man born blind, they ask Jesus: *Who sinned, that man or his parents, that he was born blind?* and Jesus answers: *Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.* Both translators understand Jesus’ use of *parents* as referring not only to the blind man’s mother and father, but to his extended family. Therefore the OE translator renders it as *magas*, *relatives*, and the ME translator as *eldris*, *ancestors*.

3.7 Double Translation or Extra-Explanation of a Single Concept

in monumento habentem > OE forþfaren 7 bebyrged

11:17 et invenit eum quattuor dies iam **in monumento habentem**

634 7 he waes **forþfaren**. 7 for feower dagum **bebyrged**

“he found that **he had lain in the grave** four days already”

The OE translator probably feared that the Latin expression *have in grave*, if literally translated, might have sounded to his contemporaries rather strange and unnatural. So he explained it by means of two common OE verbs, *die* and *be buried*, instead of one.

succingere > OE don on 7 begyrdan (21:7 > 1160)

Succingere means *clothe*, but also *gird oneself*. We assume that the OE translator could not find an equivalent term in the language and, holding both Latin meanings equally important, reached for two available verbs to express the meaning of the Latin one, i.e. *put on* and *gird*.

3.8 Substitution of Latin Units of Measurement by English Equivalents

The Latin units of length and weight as well as monetary units were substituted in both English translations by more or less equivalent English units:

stadiis > OE **furlang** > ME **furlongis** in 11:18 > 636 > 11:18,

libras > OE **boxam** > ME **pound** in 19:39 > 1090 > 19:39,

denariorum > OE **penega** > ME **pans** in 6:7 > 290 > 6:7

However, in the OE translation we perceive interesting differences in the measuring the daily time and human age. The Roman way of giving the time, as for example *hora sexta*, corresponding to our 12 o'clock, is replaced with OE *midday* (4:6 > 157). Similarly, *habere 50 annos*, *be 50 years old*, is replaced by *beon 50 wintre* (8:57 > 511).

3.9 Substitution of a Common, Everyday Word by a Poetic Image

fur et latro > ME **a nytt thief and a dai thief**

10:1 ille **fur** est et **latro**

10:1 ... is a **nytt thief** and a **dai thief**

“ ... is a **thief** and a **robber**”

As shown throughout the paper, the ME author usually translated the Latin text word-for-word. However, in the example above, instead of literal translation of the common Latin words for *thief* and *robber* he employed the phrases *a night thief* and *a day thief*. Perhaps the Latin expression reminded him of the one from Matthew 24:43 (*at what time of night the thief was coming*), and on that basis he created the expression *a night thief*, and as a contrast, *a day thief*, too.

The table below summarizes the data on omissions in the two translations provided so far:

	SUBSTITUTIONS OF	OE instances	ME instances
1.	Latin metaphorical expressions a) by words of literal meaning b) by conventional metaphors in the target language	7 4	1
2.	source words by their nearest equivalents, (because a) the concepts they referred to did not exist in the target culture, b) the concepts they referred to existed in the target culture, but were not widely known)	9	6
3.	Latin measurement units by their English equivalents	5	3

4.	source words by their antonyms a) for emphatic reasons b) for grammatical reasons	2 1	
5.	source words of general meaning by more specialized ones	2	1
6.	ambiguous source words by unambiguous ones	2	1
7.	single source words by double-translations	2	
8.	source words by more appropriate ones according to a) translator's founded assumption b) translator's unfounded assumption	1 1	1
9.	a common source word by a poetic expression		1
	TOTAL:	36	14

Table 2. Types of substitutions according to frequency in the OE & ME translations

4. Conclusion

The research provided the evidence of 32 omissions and 36 substitutions in the OE translation but of only 5 omissions and 14 substitutions in the ME translation. Apparently, the OE translator had more frequent recourse to both deviations than his ME posterior. Furthermore, in both translations substitutions were performed more often than omissions, although, admittedly, in the OE these were done in roughly equal proportions.

Both deviations in the OE translation were performed chiefly for cognitive reasons. On the other side, the omissions in the ME translation were mostly due to cognitive, while substitutions were most due to stylistic causes.

The data presented indicate that the OE translator had definitely greater difficulties in rendering some biblical concepts, ideas and thoughts than the ME one either because it was difficult or impossible to find equivalents in the language or because he was concerned about eventual mis-reception if the text were translated literally.

Opposite to that, the ME translator found direct or near equivalents in the language quite easily, and rarely omitted the source segments. This proves that the ME culture and society reached the level on which most biblical terms were almost completely clear in the mind and the words for them were available in the language. What was unknown, unconceivable and inexperienced, hence unexpressed in the OE period, became clearly understood and conveyed by means of old or newly-created vocabulary in the ME period. As a result, previously existent translator's fear about possible misunderstandings of the text if literally translated gradually disappeared in the period which had passed in between.

Therefore, although both translations belong to the so-called formal equivalency, the research has shown that the ME one was nearer to the ideal, completely faithful translation, at least when omissions and substitutions are considered.

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II.

LITERATURE

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Cultural Studies and the Subaltern: Theory and Practice¹

Summary

My article discusses the theoretical and practical implications of applying the methodology of cultural studies, as it is delineated by Stuart Hall, in the East-Central European context. Despite the celebrated “internationalization” of the discipline as well as “de-Eurocentrizing” initiatives, a number of scholars, such as G. C. Spivak and Hall himself, claim that research taking a cultural studies approach has offered little innovative intervention in recent years, and the discipline remains defined by a Western, (post)modern theoretical framework. I argue that scholars in Hungary (and Slovenia) have an unprecedented opportunity to contribute to the field, yet in order to avoid falling into the trap of repeating obvious claims and conclusion, we need to take an approach that Spivak associates with the toleration of uncertainty and paradox, and Jessica Benjamin calls intersubjective interaction.

Key words: cultural studies, East-Central Europe, subaltern, intersubjectivity

Kulturne študije in *subalternost*: teorija in praksa

Povzetek

Članek obravnava teoretične in praktične implikacije uporabe metodologije kulturnih študij po zasnovi Stuarta Halla v vzhodnoevropskem in srednjeevropskem kontekstu. Kljub znameniti internacionalizaciji discipline ter pobud za evropsko decentralizacijo številni učenjaki, kot na primer G.C. Spivak in Hall, ugotavljajo, da so raziskave s pomočjo kulturnih študij v zadnjih letih naredile skromen inovativni korak naprej in da disciplino še naprej določa zahodni (post) moderni teoretični okvir. Avtorica prispevka dokazuje, da imajo učenjaki na Madžarskem (in v Sloveniji) prvič priložnost, da prispevajo k razvoju tega prostora, vendar pa se morajo pri tem izogibati pasti, ki bi pomenila ponavljanje očitnih ugotovitev in sklepov. To je mogoče tako, da se zavzame pristop, ki ga G.C. Spivak povezuje z dopuščanjem negotovosti in paradoksa, Jessica Benjamin pa ga imenuje intersubjektna interakcija.

Ključne besede: kulturne študije, Vzhodna in Srednja Evropa, *subalternost*, intersubjektnost

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Cultural Studies and the Subaltern: Theory and Practice

1. Introduction

Cultural Studies is one of those relatively new disciplines which critics either advocate with an unprecedented enthusiasm or consider outdated and shallow. Though there are more and more studies being published that take a cultural studies approach, and several scholars are talking about the “internationalization” of the field as well as “de-Eurocentrizing” initiatives,² Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, for instance, argues that cultural studies remains trapped in a stereotypical and narcissistic framework:

Playing in such a ‘structured ideological field,’ in the academic workplace in the United States, the ‘Cultural Studies’ style of work in literature is today encouraged to remain narcissistic, question-begging, ridden with plot summary and stereotypes, citing sensational detail without method, a quick-fix institutionalization of heroic beginnings in Birmingham. (Spivak 2012, 352)

Spivak’s ironical language is suggestive of the problems the field faces: driven by a profound political aim, a great number of studies taking the cultural studies approach simply use cultural phenomena to prove a point. Stuart Hall, who is often considered the “founding father” of the Birmingham school (though he would probably not put himself into such a category) often gives voice to his concern about the theoretical fluency of cultural studies, especially in the United States. Instead of “fighting off” theory, and “wrestling with angels,” which are his preferred methods (Morley 1996, 265), we can observe the rapid institutionalization of the discipline, which leads to simplified statements and precludes theoretical innovation.

Another difficulty that haunts cultural studies is the question of the subaltern. Can the subjects of cultural studies speak, and, even more importantly, can they talk back to the critic carrying out the investigation? Even Spivak, whose celebrated term I use in this article, which, to put it simply, refers to the silenced voices of marginalised groups, seems to take a dubious position concerning her subject of analysis.³ She claims “I find myself insisting on restoring rhetorical reading practices because I believe, in an irrational, utopian, and impractical way, that such reading can be an ethical motor that undermines the ideological field” (Spivak 2012, 352). In other words, Spivak chooses to analyse the tropes of literary texts, arguing that they reveal a hidden, unconscious dimension repressed by hegemonic discourses. An ideal method for the skilful literary critic, no doubt (which I also used in my book on Salman Rushdie’s fiction), yet it invites the question: to what extent is the critic analysing a repressed, hidden phenomenon, and to what extent is s/he constructing a speculative theory? When Spivak reads *Jane Eyre*, for instance, and claims that Bertha Mason’s death is “a borrowing from the Hindu practice of *sati*” (Childs 1997, 168), despite her remarkably skilful analysis, one cannot help voting for the second option.

² See, for instance, the anthology edited by Ackbar Abbas and John Nguyet Erni. For “de-Eurocentrizing” cultural studies see Robert Stam and Ella Sohat’s article.

³ For Spivak’s definition of the subaltern see Spivak 1993; also Childs and Williams 1997.

To further complicate the issue, when it comes to cultural texts, which are far less complex than classical novels or outstanding contemporary fiction, can we still apply this method? Is there anything that these texts “hide” apart from the critics’, no doubt politically correct, assumptions? When cultural studies is becoming international, and there is both an institutional demand for more and more scholars practicing it and a political (or humanitarian) reason for using a theory that is sensitive to minorities and difference, what would be the best method for a cultural studies scholar to apply? My article offers an introduction to these complexities that haunt cultural studies and proposes a tentative step towards finding a methodology that keeps the political edge of the discipline yet does not silence its subject of analysis. I still believe in the possibilities that rhetorical reading offers, yet I do not think that such analyses reveal a hidden dimension that discourses of power repress. I trust, with Donna Haraway, that being self-conscious about the ideologies that are at work in our own discourses helps us to avoid falling into the trap of producing a redundant, predictable theory as well as a speculative construction that supposedly unveils the unconscious of the text, but, in fact, silences its subject of analysis.⁴ In other words, I do not claim that there is no need for a firm theoretical stance, yet I believe that the framework we rely on should be as open as possible to enable the discourses of the non-English speaking world to emerge in dialogue with the all too assertive claims of cultural studies, and argue that it is the intersubjective approach, as it is defined by Jessica Benjamin, that helps to find this balance. Foucault once claimed that when he starts writing a book he has no idea what he will think at the end;⁵ I think it is this attitude that a cultural studies scholar should keep in mind, both in the classroom and in the scholarly texts s/he produces.

2. Cultural Studies in Hungary

These issues are particularly significant in the East-Central European context. In Hungary, the Bologna system is applied to students who started their education in or after 2006, which means that, apart from a few majors, the former five-year-programmes were redesigned, and Hungary adopted the Bachelor/Master division. Simultaneously, more and more courses have been offered that take a cultural studies approach: scholars previously lecturing on literature have started teaching film and popular culture; new programmes and specializations were set up; Media Studies departments opened, and so on. Though there is no institutionalised cultural studies programme in Hungary, the approach has an impact on academic institutions; the English Department at the University of Debrecen, for instance, offers the BA course “Introduction to Literature and Visual Culture” at the beginning of the second year, which introduces students to the theory of Stuart Hall at an early stage of their studies. In other words, we are in the middle of appropriating this theory, and I believe that this historical period brings an unprecedented opportunity for scholars to rethink the models they apply.

In 2011 a volume titled *Comparative Hungarian Cultural Studies* was published by Purdue University Press, edited by Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and Louise O. Vasvári. The editors argue that we need a comparative framework for Eastern European cultural studies in order to renew

⁴ See Haraway 1991, chapter on Situated Knowledges, 183–202.

⁵ “If I had to write a book to communicate what I’m already thinking before I begin to write, I would never have the courage to begin” (Foucault 2000, 239).

Hungarian literary criticism, which is still often characterised by a positivist approach as well as a parochial stance. A comparative framework, as they claim, would help to resituate Hungarian literary and cultural criticism in a larger context, helping to incorporate repressed voices of ethnic minorities, the experience of women, and so on. Though I think that literary criticism is no longer insular in Hungary, especially if we take publications of scholars working in foreign language departments into account, I do believe that a flexible comparative approach would be beneficial for appropriating cultural studies in the Eastern European context.

One of the reasons why there might still be some resistance to cultural studies in Hungary stems from its affiliation with Marxism. Though the Birmingham school redefined classical Marxist terms, and Hall often calls himself “post-marxist,” arguing that he uses “marxist concepts while constantly demonstrating their inadequacy” (Morely 1996, 25), the primary interest in ideology and the politics of literary texts might seem like a step backwards for scholars for whom Marxism was the only approved interpretative model during the communist era. Nevertheless, it is much easier for (a younger generation of) critics working with theories of the postmodern, hermeneutics, or Foucauldian social theory to identify with the main assumptions of cultural studies; these scholars, taking the political/ideological nature of literature for granted, instead of resisting the approach in the name a purely aesthetic view of literature, would rather claim that theoretical assumptions of cultural studies are too shallow.

English Departments obviously play a significant role in introducing the approach in Hungary. A number of scholars have some form of “double consciousness,” and work both with English and Hungarian primary texts, which can lead to very productive analyses. I think cultural studies, or comparative cultural studies, is one of the theoretical frameworks that could help Hungarian scholars rethink literary history and the trauma of communism. Obviously, there are many other approaches available: trauma studies, psychoanalytic literary criticism, oral history, and so on; the list is long. Yet one thing is for sure: no matter which model one adopts, it is of primary importance to be aware of the fact that a theoretical school rooted in Western (post)modernity might not be entirely suitable to interpret the culture of the Second World. That is why we need to be “completely without innocence” (Haraway 1991, 151), as Haraway claims, and instead of passively accepting the truth-claims of these models, try to construct a theory that is conducive to the local context of analysis and is sensitive to subaltern histories and voices.

3. Cultural Education and the Subaltern

In her recent collection that includes writings of at least twenty-three years, Spivak uses the term “double bind,” borrowed from Derrida to address the question of the rupture between race and class, body and mind, self and other, among other opposites as well as affinitive categories. The term originally comes from Gregory Bateson (1972), who used it to understand childhood schizophrenia; applied to the contemporary cultural scene, and endowed with a positive sense, Spivak argues that

“we can call this the double bind of the universalizability of the singular, the double bind at the heart of democracy, for which an aesthetic education can be an epistemological

preparation, as we, the teachers of the aesthetic, use material that is historically marked by the region, cohabiting with, resisting, and accommodating what comes from the Enlightenment” (Spivak 2012, 4).

Spivak’s insistence on harmonizing the contemporary double bind with the legacy of the Enlightenment might have something to do with her view of herself as “a white liberal feminist” (Childs and Williams 1997, 172), i.e., with the fact that she is aware of the discourses that empowered her to speak. The “aesthetic education,” which, as I understand it, includes cultural studies as well, prepares the student to grasp the contradictions involved in political categories such as democracy, and, in general, to have an open-minded, flexible attitude and the ability to tolerate opposites without intending to reduce them to either/or categories.

As for culture, Spivak defines it as “a package of largely unacknowledged assumptions, loosely held by a loosely outlined group of people, mapping negotiations between the sacred and the profane, and the relationship between the sexes” (Spivak 2012, 120). In other words, according to Spivak, there is a double bind in culture as well; though it might not be entirely clear what she means by negotiations between the sacred and the profane in this context (perhaps the phrase refers to the tension between a transcendental vision of culture as opposed to its experience as the practice of the everyday), it is clear that she perceives culture as an inherently paradoxical entity. While anthropology focuses only on the self-conscious part of cultural systems, Spivak claims that culture is, in fact, irreducible and “alive.” It contains an “incommensurable part” that lodges either in the academic notion of society, which is different from that of the practitioners, or in “the moving wedge of the metropolitan culture into which s/he has entered as a participant” (Spivak 2012, 120). In other words, the cultural studies scholar is able to perceive the complexities of culture in two ways: either in the gap that exists between academic discourse and culture as practice (a gap we have to be aware of, yet cannot really erase), or, in a more empirical sense, in the culture of the metropole, which s/he inhabits as an insider.

The stakes are high for Spivak: she does not talk about cultural education per se, but an aesthetic principle to be found in the humanities, claiming that we need this ivory tower of paradoxes and opposites in order to be receptive to political systems, cultures, and so on. Otherwise “the mind-numbing uniformization of globalization” (Spivak 2012, 2) and knowledge will minimize contradictions and transform the objects of knowledge into trivial, didactic categories. If there is a double bind for Hungarian critics lecturing on English culture, it does not only consist in the discrepancy between the language of the academy and culture as practice per se, but also in the tension between the models and paradigms we rely on and the culture we live. Yet this gap is not an infertile terrain to occupy, to use Salman Rushdie’s phrase (Rushdie 1991, 15); a number of essays in Tötösy de Zepetnek and Vasvári’s volume that investigate the metropolitan culture of Budapest from the perspective of gender, race, or cultural citizenship, i.e., with the help of theoretical models stemming from the Western academia, present, though, unfortunately, quite often miss, excellent opportunities for an insightful analysis.

Though Spivak has been influenced by psychoanalysis, primarily Lacanian theory, she might not be aware of the correlations between her notion of the double bind and theories of intersubjectivity,

in the sense in which Jessica Benjamin uses the term. Similarly to Spivak, who relies on the aesthetics of Romanticism as well as the Enlightenment (Kant, Wordsworth, etc.), Benjamin uses Keats' famous term, "negative capability," to illuminate her notion of intersubjective interaction. To persevere in the approach of intersubjectivity, she argues, "requires of theory some of that quality which Keats demanded for poetry – negative capability. The theoretic equivalent of that ability to face uncertainty 'without any irritable reaching after fact and reason' would be the effort to understand the contradictions of fact and reason without any irritable reaching after one side at the expense of the other" (Benjamin 1993, 10). In other words, the toleration of uncertainty, paradox, and incongruity is not only theoretically desirable, but psychologically as well: it is an approach, as well as an attitude, that ensures mature intersubjective interaction and a non-narcissistic, non-ego centred perception of the outside world.

Hall's theory of culture is, I think, based on assumptions that go hand in hand with Spivak's theoretical framework and the intersubjective attitude. He argues that "[t]he only theory worth having is that which you have to fight off, not that which you speak with profound fluency" (Morley 1996, 265–6), suggesting that there is a double play between resistance (holding on to what one thinks) and openness (letting the ideas have an impact on one's thinking) whenever one articulates a genuine theoretical stance. He describes his fight with Althusser in detail: "I felt, I will not give an inch to this profound misreading, this superstructuralist mistranslation, of classical Marxism, unless he beats me down, unless he defeats me in the spirit" (ibid., 266). Evoking the biblical story of Jacob's wrestling with the angel gives a transcendental dimension to the cultural critic's fight, and it also implies that there is a balance s/he needs to achieve between his presumptions and the new (hostile, alien, other) theory, which is, again, similarly to Benjamin's notion of intersubjectivity, based on the balance between submission (giving in to the new, to the ideal) and domination (imposing our views on others).⁶

Hall, similarly to Spivak, is not afraid to use terms reminiscent of Romantic aesthetics (Althusser has to defeat him *in the spirit*), which suggests that despite the Marxist (or "post-marxist") aspects of his theory, he does not simply think that individualism is an ideology, but pays attention to the distinctive, irreducible aspects of human subjectivity. When articulating his view of culture, he uses a similar rhetoric:

If you work on culture, or if you've tried to work on some other really important things and you find yourself driven back to culture, if culture happens to be what seizes hold of your soul, you have to recognize that you will always be working in an area of displacement. There's always something decentred about the medium of culture, about language, textuality, and signification, which always escapes and evades the attempt to link it, directly and immediately, with other structures. (Morley 1996, 271)

A view of culture seizing hold of one's *soul* reminds one of Shelley's view of poets as "the unacknowledged legislators of the world." Making sense of the insensible, the irreducible chaos that is called culture: this is the task of the critic who is defined as an "organic intellectual" (ibid., 267). What we witness here is, I think, another paradox between Hall's terminology recalling

⁶ Benjamin claims that "domination and submission result from a breakdown of a necessary tension between self-assertion and mutual recognition that allows self and other to meet as sovereign equals" (Benjamin 1991, 12).

the romantic belief in individual uniqueness, and the profoundly materialist view of cultural discourses his theory is based on.

The term he uses to describe this role is, however, somewhat misleading. “Organic intellectual” is a phrase coined by Antonio Gramsci in his influential essay *The Formation of the Intellectuals*, referring to the fact that the intellectual is “organically” determined by the class into which he is born (Leitch 2001, 1183). Hall claims that “[t]he problem about the concept of an organic intellectual is that it appears to align intellectuals with an emerging historic movement and we couldn’t tell then, and can hardly tell now, where that emerging historical movement was to be found” (Morley 1996, 267). Jon Stratton and Ien Ang argue that Hall’s use of Gramsci’s term suggests that he mythologizes British cultural studies, since the historical conditions he outlined when assessing the birth of the Birmingham school (the growth of the mass media and consumer society) are by no means uniquely British phenomenon (ibid., 372). Their point is that this rhetoric, despite Hall’s repeated claim that cultural studies did not emerge at the moment when he first met Raymond Williams, reveals that he presupposes a pure, original British version of the discipline (ibid., 372).

Though it is true that Hall is nostalgic about the Birmingham School, I think he has never implied that cultural studies has a pure, uncontaminated origin. What he argues for is rather the need to have a genuine theoretical perspective, as opposed to producing articles and anthologies that apply an all too familiar framework. When speaking about the popularity of cultural studies in the US, he claims that “I don’t know what to say about American cultural studies. I am completely dumbfounded by it” (ibid., 273), adding that “my own feeling is that the explosion of cultural studies along with other forms of critical theory in the academy represents a moment of extraordinarily profound danger” (ibid.). In a recent interview quoted by Michael Bérubé he gave an even more disappointed response: “I really cannot read another **cultural-studies** analysis of Madonna or The Sopranos” (Bérubé 2009). Perhaps this is the reason why Stratton and Ang perceive a romanticising impulse in his argument: a desire to posit a pure, genuine version of cultural studies as opposed to its institutionalised, “fluent” adaptation in the US. What Hall misses is, nevertheless, rather that ambiguous dimension created in the gap between openness to the other and holding on to one’s theoretical convictions. Perhaps his judgement is too harsh (cultural studies is, obviously, done in a number of different ways in the US), but his point is clear: there is no sense in reproducing arguments the conclusions of which we are able to predict after reading the title. If there is a future for cultural studies it lies in the gap between holding on to a theoretical paradigm and being attentive to the other *as other*.

4. Theory and Practice

As for more practical questions, let us take a look at what academics in English departments can do with the available cultural material. I already referred to the “double consciousness” these scholars tend to have, i.e., to the tension between teaching English culture, literature, and cultural theory, and the local context which inspires scholars to analyse, compare, and develop approaches that help to understand East-Central European perspectives as well. Therefore, we have to differentiate between what we can do in the classroom and what we can accomplish as

researchers, publishing both on English and Hungarian (or Slovenian) literary and cultural texts. The following considerations rely on an empirical basis, which is, obviously, a rather narrow terrain; I offer these insights as a tentative step towards understanding the Hungarian context of cultural studies. To put it very simply, my suggestions are the following: in the classroom we should keep the theoretical considerations of the double bind in mind but should not assign texts dealing with it to the group; as for the potentials concerning research, I think the most productive approach is to target the paradoxes as much as possible.

In the past few years, as I have already mentioned in the section on Hungarian cultural studies, new departments, specializations, and courses were designed that integrated the approach of the Birmingham School: the Media and Communications Studies Department at the University of Debrecen, for instance, or the Information and Communication Specialization offered by the Institute for English and American Studies. This latter is a two-year programme that BA students can take to supplement their education in English and American literature, culture, and linguistics. The courses on film, advertising, communication technologies, and the media are rather practical; their primary aim is to provide a relatively marketable degree for students working towards their BA in English Studies. I taught two courses in this programme, one on advertising, and another on the intersections of gender and media studies; while I consider the first a success, I had a number of problems with the second one, most of which were due to the difficulties of finding the balance between theory and practice.

For my course on advertising, I found Judith Williamson's *Decoding Advertisements* (1978) the most helpful book. Even though her work can by no means be considered a recent contribution to the field, I think Williamson is one of the few authors who managed to construct a theory that is insightful, sophisticated and applicable at the same time. Her terms such as differentiation, referent system, and ideology are very helpful for students to become familiar with the language of advertising, and the theoretical approach is both accessible and thorough: her work draws on semiology and psychoanalysis, using a Lacanian framework to examine the manipulative strategies of images. Claiming that ads create a lack in order to be able to fill it, Williamson takes a leftist standpoint and claims that these images interpellate the audience. The group does not need to read Althusser, or even Stuart Hall, to become familiar with the main principles of ideological interpellation, i.e., the impact of cultural discourses on the subject. The book helps them give up their insistence on the freedom of choice (i.e., "if I do not want to buy a product I simply ignore the ads") and recognise that images speak to us in numerous ways apart from the obvious. Furthermore, since Williamson relies on semiology and reads advertisements as complex networks of signs, her theory is also helpful for students who intend to work in the advertising industry, since she gives obvious clues concerning the psychological impact of ads.

It is usually enough to mention a few examples: an ad from 1975, for instance, which depicts Catherine Deneuve, the French actress who often portrayed aloof and mysterious beauties in the late 60s is one of the favourite examples of Williamson, and much liked by students as well. The viewer, of course, has to be familiar with Deneuve and the femininity associated with her roles, but even if students do not recognize the famous actress, it is easy for them to identify the cold

beauty she embodies. I first show the image to the class for a few seconds, and ask them what they remember; it is usually the smile, the gaze, her beauty, and the overall impression of the ad. Then we analyse the image using the conceptual framework of Williamson, decoding the signifiers (the gaze, colours, positioning of objects, etc.), and point out how the transfer of meaning takes place from actress to object, how the object acquires meaning. Third, we try to guess what kind of audience the ad targets, how it invites the potential customer to construct a narrative of aloof feminine beauty, and how it manufactures lack in the process in order to be able to fulfil some kind of psychic need. Williamson does not believe that the audience is absolutely victimized by images, and claims that we participate in the construction of their meaning, which is an idea that is appealing to students; even though they tend to have a negative attitude towards the media, they usually do not see themselves as victims, and very seldom accept the Marxist concept of ideology as false consciousness either. With the help of Williamson's theory, then, it is possible to encourage students to think about advertising not simply as a detrimental industry which we can either avoid or be the victim of, but also help them see images as texts to decipher; the book makes them receptive to the double bind in culture without explicitly referring to Spivak's or Derrida's theory.

In other words, Williamson is able to find the right balance between theory and practice, which makes her book an excellent choice for introducing the main assumptions of cultural studies. Those writings that tend to focus on theory, even if they are more explicit about methodological questions, were not successful on this level. I tried to teach Donna Haraway's seminal article titled *Situated Knowledges* (from 1988, published in the volume *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, 1991) as an introductory piece to my "Gender and media" course, presuming that her profound methodological guidelines would be useful as a starting point. The article addresses an issue that students of media studies need to redefine, namely: objectivity; it is concerned with the visual field; and the methodology it offers correlates with the considerations I outlined in the previous section of my paper. Still, it failed, and I think it failed for two reasons. First, her theory is too complex, and deliberately so (she attempts to parody post-structuralist approaches and uses intricate terms to ridicule their rhetoric), and second, her terms are confusing since she departs from their commonsensical meaning. "Partial perspective," for instance, which means an inevitable condition in her text (we cannot avoid having a specific perspective, which should be reflected on) was persistently misunderstood by a number of students, who presumed that it is something we have to correct in order to offer a more objective standpoint. All in all, it might be even more challenging to find the right theoretical texts to introduce cultural concepts than to choose the most suitable novels for literary courses; though it is inevitable to help students perceive the ideology of visual images, it is the image itself that should be the starting point, not the theory.

As for our role as researchers in Eastern and Central Europe, I think we have an unprecedented opportunity to contribute to the field of cultural studies, and it is only a question of time (and finance, of course) whether we will be able to accomplish in-depth cultural analyses. I wrote a book chapter a few years ago on the Hungarian classic the *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* (*Egri csillagok*) by Géza Gárdonyi, which was published in 2007 in a new series titled *The Histories of Hungarian Literature*. *Eclipse* is probably the most famous Hungarian novel depicting the victory

of Hungarians over the Turks in 1552; it is taught in primary schools, and was voted most popular novel in 2005. My primary aim is to understand the somewhat irrational admiration of this text, and the contradiction (or double bind) between its popularity and the relative lack of scholarly interest in it. After its publication in 1901, *Eclipse* was read as a national epic, comparable to Homer's works; following the second world war, Marxist aesthetics had an impact on its reception, which was the compulsory theoretical framework of literary studies during communism, and critics saw it as the story of a peasant boy becoming a national hero; and recently, since 1989, most scholars researching the legacy of Gárdonyi argue that we need to reveal the worldview of the "real" author and get rid of "impurities" of ideological interpretations. In other words, there are hardly any analyses that treat the novel as a cultural phenomenon and attempt to understand the position it came to occupy over the past one hundred years. Instead, the books on Gárdonyi are still preoccupied with issues concerning authorial intention, assuming that it is possible to produce a text devoid of ideological assumptions.

5. Conclusion

I think it is a must to understand the post-Marxist concept of ideology in Eastern Europe, and, instead of attempting to reveal a pure, objective "worldview," as if it were possible to erase the traumas of the twentieth century by going back to uncontaminated ordinary ideas, reflect on the ideologies that are at work in our own discourses. Cultural studies provides an excellent theoretical framework for this, but if we are to offer a lasting contribution to the field, we have to find the balance between holding on to theoretical convictions and letting primary texts alter these. In order to avoid producing yet another cultural-studies analysis on Madonna or The Sopranos, we need to look for ways to transform the very models we are applying. Obviously, this is hard work, since instead of simply reading a few texts with the help of smart critical terms we have to study a great number of primary texts, the reception of novels, the history of books, among other issues. The methodological options are numerous, and I also believe that we should not refrain from offering our own readings of these texts, but cultural theory should only remain a tentative guideline for analysis; without being conscious of the ideologies we are (re)producing, and attempting to construct a paradigm that the local context itself induces, there is hardly any sense in doing cultural studies. It is my contention that the methodology outlined in this article makes it possible, though does not guarantee, that we remain attentive to subaltern voices.

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Living in Two Languages: The Challenges to English in Contemporary American Literature

Summary

Recognizing the importance of English in (re)negotiating culture and identity in U.S. society, numerous contemporary American authors have explored the issue of cultural and linguistic competence and performance in their writing. Supported with examples from literary texts by Sandra Cisneros, Julia Alvarez, Junot Díaz, Amy Tan, and Kiran Desai, this paper discusses the complex role of the English language in the characters' struggle for economic and emotional survival. Frequently based on the authors' own family background and bicultural experiences, the selected literary texts offer a realistic representation of the life lived by predominantly working-class immigrants and how they cope with the adoption and use of a new language in order to overcome language barriers, racist attitudes and social exclusion. Such an analysis ultimately highlights how a new literary thematic focus on living in two languages has affected English Studies.

Key words: English language, English Studies, intercultural dynamics, ethnic American writing, identity

Življenje v dveh jezikih: izzivi angleščini v sodobni ameriški književnosti

Povzetek

Spoznanje o pomembnosti angleščine pri (ponovnem) definiranju kulture in identitete v ameriški družbi je spodbudilo številne sodobne ameriške avtorje k proučevanju problema kulturne in jezikovne kompetence. S primeri iz literarnih besedil Sandre Cisneros, Julie Alvarez, Junota Díaz, Amy Tan in Kiran Desai članek obravnava zapleteno vlogo angleškega jezika pri prizadevanju pripovednih oseb za ekonomsko in čustveno preživetje. Besedila se pogosto opirajo na izkušnje iz družinskega okolja njihovih avtorjev ter njihovo dvojno kulturno ozadje in tako ponujajo realistični vpogled v življenje priseljencev iz pretežno delavskega razreda, ki se spopadajo z novim jezikom, rasističnim odnosom ter družbeno izključenostjo. Analiza tematizira in osvetli literarno ukvarjanje z življenjem v dveh jezikih in njegovim vplivom na angleške študije.

Ključne besede: angleški jezik, angleške študije, medkulturna dinamika, etnična ameriška pisava, identiteta

Living in Two Languages: The Challenges to English in Contemporary American Literature

1. Introduction

In recent decades, the centrality of English in (re)negotiating culture and identity in U.S. society has gained new meaning and importance in literary texts by numerous American authors. Although the issues of cultural and linguistic competence and performance hardly constitute a new idea in literary writing, my discussion will be dedicated to some aspects of English language dynamics related to the rise of ethnic American literature since the 1980s. Taking into account the post-colonial positioning of English as a global language and the globalization of literary studies, this paper also examines the implications of ethnic writing in the United States upon the conventional role of English studies. As a discipline, English Studies have, according to Paul Jay, on one hand, departed from a limited focus on literature alone as they increasingly pay more attention “to a range of cultural forms, and on the other hand, we have come to realize the inadequacy and even arbitrariness of studying literature and culture within the restrictive and distorting borders of nation-states” (Jay 2001, 44). Such a transformation process in the traditional structures of literary study is of particular significance within the realm of considering the English language used by contemporary ethnic writers in the United States.

On account of its impenetrable complexity and fragmentation, language has never constituted a facile or definite means of communication. Far from being neutral, language inscribes the struggles and suffering of a whole culture, and acts as a mnemonic repository, encapsulating and passing on the history of a people, as well as the cultural subtext shared by the members of a community. Language represents one of the fetters of identity, and speaking of American identity, along with race, language is, in the words of Román de la Campa, one of “[t]he two most resistant anchors of the American identity, [...] elements that consistently define the path to ethnic assimilation, but it is becoming increasingly clear that the ever expanding search for markets leaves nothing untouched or unchanged, including a cultural identity based on racial and linguistic substrata” (de la Campa 2007, 466). On this background of the interdependence between culture, language and the globalized economy in both the literary and real world around us, the increasing polyglot nature of the American society, its vibrant nature and assimilative traits of language cannot be ignored. Since hegemonic oppression in society is exercised through control over language, that language becomes a means of maintaining and reinforcing dominant power structures. However, writings by contemporary American ethnic or diasporic writers seem to undermine conceptions of a monolingual, English-only, US common culture. In more specific terms, ethnic American authors tend to demonstrate their bilingual poetics and awareness of socially conditioned language dynamics by describing linguistically liminal fictional characters and highlighting how English contributes to the (re)construction of identity, often resulting in a crisis of belonging to a single-language society. Simultaneously, such narrative strategies signify the efforts of the ethnic writers toward finding innovative expressiveness in order to avoid conforming to the standards of the center and its prescribed code of English.

2. Challenging English

The way in which the dominant discourses in society construct identity and position subjects in relation to language is tied to mechanisms of constructing and evolving personal and group identities. Some contemporary authors of American fiction present characters who are not necessarily affected by a conflict between languages or the traumas of a multilingual society, but for many other characters presented in these texts it is necessary to retreat toward their mother tongue and reject English as the pressures of U.S. society force them into silence. Almost invariably though, for many the literary protagonists, language and culture are so closely intertwined that their identity is profoundly shaped by the language they use and by its related sociolinguistic and cultural paradigms. The English language as a reflection of the economic, social and political reality in the characters' lives becomes, therefore, a persistent challenge in their efforts to survive economically and emotionally. It comes as little surprise that the selected literary texts are often grounded in the authors' personal history and bilingual/bicultural experiences, as these authors are of immigrant (frequently working-class) background whose representation of the American linguistic reality stems from their experiences of using English as a new language in their struggle for economic, social and cultural acceptance.

Each of the texts by the authors selected in this paper offers examples of language politics affecting the characters' subjectivity and agency that have their roots in different hybrid cultural traditions. The main thrust of the argument is that the so-called "hyphenated writers" (Aaron 1964) appropriate language forms in different ways for different purposes, predominantly leading toward emancipatory strategies and thus refusing to gather around the dominant discourse as an emblem for nationalistic identification and essential identity. These authors depart from an intercultural experience that bestows on them a double allegiance, as they do not solely belong anywhere and may belong to two or three cultures at the same time. Thus such writers are in-between languages, representing two identities (or more) which they are not willing to give up, placing emphasis on tensions between the multiple cultural traditions interacting with the English language in the United States. A particularly salient example of such dialogic interplay between English and other coexisting languages resulting in the creative fusion and cross-cultural energy is provided in Mexican-American and other Latina/o literature written in the United States.

3. Chicana Language Strategies

Among the most extensive and imaginative examples which demonstrate such strategies of language politics are literary texts by U.S. Latina/o writers, more specifically by Chicana/o authors. One of the major characteristics of its fictional expressiveness which permeates their sense of identity in the United States is the creative use of interlingualism, a term coined by Chicano critic Juan Bruce-Novoa (1990) to describe creative fusions of grammar, syntax, or cross-cultural allusions. In other words, "[i]nterlingualism is a linguistic practice highly sensitive to the context of speech acts, able to shift add-mixtures of languages according to situational needs or the effects desired" (Bruce-Novoa 1990, 50). Such language is generally labeled and usually in negative terms as "slang", "Spanglish," or "Tex-mex", but it is typical of the Chicana/o speech, in which words and grammatical patterns from both Spanish and English are mixed and

merged, resulting in cross-cultural idioms. It is a language that comes naturally to Chicanas/os who “do not function as constantly choice-making speakers; their language is a blend, a synthesis of the two into a third. Thus they are interlingual, not bilingual. The codes are not separate, but intrinsically fused” (ibid., 29).

Like many Chicana/o writers, Sandra Cisneros avails of such language strategies in an effort to reconcile her language with those of her ancestors and to reconfigure perceptions of identity for her community. She strives to negotiate an identity that encapsulates both cultures by writing texts exclusively in Spanish or by code-switching, the application of an extensive interlingual phenomenon which makes use of untranslated words. In the latter strategy, English becomes decentered and through switching between codes, the author constructs a dialectic relationship between two cultures. As a linguistic strategy, code-switching has special import for the Chicana/o authors since it defies the border that seeks to separate the Indian, Spanish, and Anglo in Chicana/o identity and therefore is designated as “linguistic terrorism” by Gloria Anzaldúa (Anzaldúa 1987, vii). Cisneros also resorts to the inclusion of untranslated Spanish words in her writing, actually capitalizing on the idiom of the gritty, inner-city, mainly Spanish-speaking neighborhood called the *barrio* and its hybrid reality to highlight that language and literacy are sites of cultural and class conflict. As Naomi Quiñonez points out, “[t]he use of untranslated language functions to inscribe difference, since it makes the non-Spanish speaker the ‘other.’ In postcolonial writing, the use of untranslated words is a political act” (Quiñonez 2002, 143).

Cisneros’s first novel *The House on Mango Street* (1984) is set in a Chicago *barrio* and includes a character named Mamacita, who is new not only to Mango Street but to the USA. Mamacita who recently joined her husband in the U.S. is the center of the story “No Speak English”. The title designates the character’s own issue of not being proficient in the language spoken in her new surroundings, which marginalizes her and consequently, “she won’t come down. She sits all day by the window and plays the Spanish radio show and sings all the homesick songs about her country in a voice that sounds like a seagull” (Cisneros 1984, 77). She much prefers to stay in her apartment because she cannot reconcile herself with the fact that the US is her home now. But it is her child’s development that causes her greatest sorrow as “the baby boy, who has begun to talk, starts to sing the Pepsi commercial he heard on T.V.” (ibid., 78). The title becomes an imperative sentence addressed to her boy: “No speak English, she says to the child who is singing in the language that sounds like tin. No speak English, no speak English, and bubbles into tears. No, no, no, as if she can’t believe her ears” (ibid., 78). For Mamacita, her mother language and home coalesce to create safety, and language is territorialized on both sides of a door that constitutes the dividing line between two different languages and experiences. By wishing her boy to speak Spanish, Mamacita tries to preserve one of the most important ethno-cultural aspects and a crucial marker of cultural identity.

In her more recent novel *Caramelo* (2002), Sandra Cisneros capitalizes on the colorful blending of English with Spanish expressions that is typical of both the bilingual character and of the vibrant nature of contemporary Chicano/a speech. Such a strategy reflects the hybrid existence of the characters and their sense of dislocation due to their immigrant and subaltern status among the dominant monolingual English speakers. In this novel, Cisneros makes the Spanish text

understandable through context or direct translation, as demonstrated in the following example when the Mexican-American narrator Celaya recalls a childhood memory: “They’ve forgotten about me when the photographer walking along the beach proposes a portrait, *un recuerdo*, a remembrance literally” (Cisneros 2003, 3). Throughout this inventive word play English structures are subverted and Spanish forms are evoked, often to a humorous effect: “Estás deprived?” (ibid., 238). Celaya keeps coming back to her father’s birth home in Mexico every summer. She recognizes, however, that the two languages she speaks serve different purposes due to the emotional association attached to her Spanish. This partiality toward Spanish for describing and expressing internal emotional states permeates the novel, as does the attitude toward English as the dominant, i.e. “master” discourse, evident in Celaya’s explanation of how her Mexican-born father went to Chicago and tried to learn English: “Spanish was the language to speak to God and English the language to talk to dogs. But Father worked for the dogs, and if they barked he had to know how to bark back” (ibid., 208). Hence, Spanish is considered relegated to the zone of the private, while English is public. The importance of being able to switch between English and Spanish and thus take control of the language they are using gives Chicana authors such as Sandra Cisneros the power to oppose Anglo domination and assimilation demands.

4. Losing the Accent, Losing Oneself/One’s Self

Understanding pressures to assimilate amid the personal struggle to maintain one’s own identity marked by language politics is also the focus of Julia Alvarez’s work. For this Dominican-American author, language is crucial in the search of individual identity and collective belonging. Her novel *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents* (1991) is centered on the experiences of four sisters and their exile from Trujillo’s regime in the Dominican Republic to the United States where the Garcías struggle to become fully assimilated, middle-class Americans. But the García sisters are trapped between languages and cultures – Spanish and English, Anglo American and Latin American – leading to feelings of dislocation, linguistic and cultural inadequacy. With their arrival in the United States they are forced to prioritize English language acquisition and “lose their accent,” in a traumatic process suppressing their native Spanish. English becomes the emblem of the characters’ struggle to become integrated and accepted within the mainstream American society. One of the sisters, Yolanda, is an avid learner of English, but irrespective of her perfect English skills, she still feels displaced in the United States. At the same time Yolanda’s success at mastering English comes at a high cost as she loses fluency and confidence in her mother tongue, manifested during her visit to the Dominican Republic: “In halting Spanish, Yolanda reports on her sisters. When she reverts to English, she is scolded, ‘¡En español!’ The more she practices, the sooner she’ll be back into her native tongue, the aunts insist. Yes, and when she returns to the States, she’ll find herself suddenly going blank over some word in English or, like her mother, mixing up some common phrase” (Alvarez 1992, 7). It becomes evident that the interaction of the different languages and cultural traditions deeply affects the characters’ identity, caught between feelings of exile nostalgia and the pressures of immigrant adjustment.

Latina/o writers nearly always resort to Spanish as the language of their emotional life, of family values and cultural heritage. It is the language of passion, whereas English is reserved for the practical, the necessary, prompting Norma González to make the following conclusion: “English

as the medium of functional communication, of professional development, and of economic mobility. But with Spanish, the roots of feeling, of emotion, and of identity pull me back and tie me to a social memory” (cited in Mermann-Jozwiak and Sullivan 2009, xix). In an episode of the novel, Yolanda has an important conversation with a Spanish speaking poet she meets at a party that leaves her wondering about the primacy of Spanish as her native language. Namely, he “argued that no matter how much of it one lost, in the midst of some profound emotion, one would revert to one’s mother tongue. He put Yolanda through a series of situations. What language, he asked, looking pointedly into her eyes, did she love in?” (Alvarez 1992, 13) Yolanda’s inability to answer this question reflects the confusion her bicultural identity continues to evoke. Therefore, “English and Spanish are more than tools for communication; they represent different ways of ordering reality” (Mermann-Jozwiak 2005, 101).

Yolanda ponders her own language strategies and preferences, clearly privileging Spanish for her romantic involvement, substantiating the conclusion that “[w]e develop different speaking selves that speak for different aspects of our identity” (Gómez-Peña 1995, 156). Yolanda’s relationship with men mirrors her attitude to Spanish and English, specifically the gap that exists between them. Silvio Sirias (2001, 34) points out that Yolanda’s relationship with her lover John is destined to fail exactly because of their linguistic differences, and this is shown in the episode when Yolanda plays the rhyme game with John as an indicator of his inability to match her poetic sensibilities in either language. Alvarez clearly shows the lovers’ linguistic and emotional incompatibility:

Yolanda becomes frustrated with his inability to rhyme “Yo,” she reaches into her mother tongue to find the word *cielo*, in English, “sky.” “Yo rhymes with *cielo* in Spanish.” Yo’s words fell into the dark, mute cavern of John’s mouth. *Cielo, cielo*, the word echoed. And Yo was running, like the mad, into the safety of her first tongue, where the profoundly monolingual John could not catch her, even if he tried. (Alvarez 1992, 72)

Yolanda’s realization that John will not be able to bridge the gap between the two languages and sensibilities leads to her final breakdown into nonsensical babble and institutional care, making her lose more than just her accent.

5. “Revenge on English”: The Subaltern Linguistic Resistance and Creativity

While Julia Alvarez’s narrative reflects her status of an upper-class Dominican woman, her fellow contemporary Dominican-American writer Junot Díaz tells the story of the oppressed, the silenced, and the underprivileged. Thus he gives voice to those who do not have access to political power, nor the written word, while also deconstructing the narratives of empire in both the U.S. and Dominican hegemonic contexts. Díaz uses contemporary language that surpasses mere mimicking of spoken Dominican Spanish – he has created a style all his own, mixing Spanish, hip-hop slang, and Standard English into a descriptive new language. Such language allows for the opening of a transformational space from which to interrogate unequal power relations based on race and class, and therefore functions as a site of resistance in relation to mainstream American norms of language.

With an epigraph from a poem of Gustavo Pérez Firmat, Díaz's first text, the collection of stories entitled *Drown* (1996), announces the problematic role of English in telling these stories: "The fact that I / am writing to you / in English / already falsifies what I / wanted to tell you. / My subject: how to explain to you that I / don't belong to English / though I belong nowhere else." *Drown* demands a double linguistic consciousness since unmarked, unglossed Spanish words and phrases are common throughout the book, such as *tío*, *colmado*, *flaca*, *ponchera*, *cobrador*, and *cabrón*. The text employs code-switching to expressively enhance its whole emotional range, demonstrated in the following examples from the book: "You pato, I said. [...] You low-down pinga-sucking pato, I said" (Díaz 1996, 12). "Mami looked really nice that day. The United States had finally put some meat on her; she was no longer the same flaca who had arrived here three years before" (ibid., 23). The purpose for using English and Spanish inter-sententially is explicated by the author himself in an interview in which he not only defended his use of Spanish but criticized the 'othering' of Spanish:

Spanish is not a minority language. Not in this hemisphere, not in the United States, not in the world, not inside my head. So why treat it like one? Why 'other' it? Why denormalize it? By keeping the Spanish as normative in a predominantly English text, I wanted to remind readers of the fluidity of languages, the mutability of languages. [...] by forcing Spanish back onto English, forcing it to deal with the language it tried to exterminate in me, I've tried to represent a mirror-image of that violence on the page. Call it my revenge on English. (Díaz 2002, 904)

Whereas the introduction of Spanish words and phrases into English was relatively subtle in the fiction of Sandra Cisneros and Julia Alvarez, Díaz seems heavily invested in the violence of his code-switching exemplified in the following sentence: "Beli might have been a puta major in the cosmology of her neighbors but a cuero she was not" (Díaz 2007, 103). He infuses English with the passion of his native Dominican Spanish idioms and metaphors to such a degree that readers coming to the texts with nothing but the knowledge of English will have their linguistic patience tried, as is apparent in the following example: "A new girl. Constantina. In her twenties, sunny and amiable, whose cuerpo was all pipa and no culo, a 'mujer alegre' (in the parlance of the period)" (ibid., 112). Such interplay between languages creates a rich field of reference and cross-reference where bilingual readers, able to decipher the subtexts, will be at an advantage and enjoy the humor of such language use: "It sounds like the most unlikely load of jirijonza on this side of the Sierra Madre. But one man's jirijonza is another man's life" (ibid., 235).

The novel *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* (2007) represents an attempt to cast a "very own counterspell" (ibid., 7) of words as a cultural critique of the dominant discourse and colonial Dominican (and broader Caribbean) historical and political experience both at home and in the United States. In this narrative Díaz paints the portrait of a shy Latino nerd as a young man in order to point out the inherent contradictions of living as a bicultural Latino intellectual faced with racial and ethnic prejudice as seen in the following description: "The white kids looked at his black skin and his afro and treated him with inhuman cheeriness. The kids of color, upon hearing him speak and seeing him move his body, shook their heads. 'You're not Dominican.' And he said, over and over again, 'But I am. Soy Dominicano. Dominicano soy'" (ibid., 49). Due

to its liminality between two languages, two worlds and two identities, the narrative deconstructs the stereotypical representation of the 'other'. Thanks to such narrative strategy and the portrayal of the characters' existence as "cohabitation" of cultures and languages (Pérez-Firmat 1987, 5), Díaz not only contributes towards presenting authentic experiences of his community, but also de-mystifies the relationship between the dominant and 'minority' cultures and their related linguistic dynamics.

6. Being Native Asian and Ethnic Asian-American

Drawing the conclusion that it is destined for writers of color, including anglophone and francophone Third World writers of the diaspora, to write only autobiographical works, the theorist Trinh T. Minh-ha underscores how these authors live "in a double exile – far from the native land and far from their mother tongue – they are thought to write by memory and to depend to a large extent on hearsay" (Minh-ha 1994, 10). Such a condition characterizes the work of numerous contemporary ethnic authors in the United States as they are required to move between generations, languages and cultural spheres, being both within and outside the dominant culture, occupying a position that offers contested potential as it undermines the validity of one authoritative voice. The writer Amy Tan makes use of complex storytelling methods to reveal the troubling implications of the divergence between native (Chinese) and ethnic (Chinese-American) cultures in the U.S. A vital part of her narrative strategy is the use of the English language with the purpose of depicting the position of Chinese Americans in the dominant U.S. culture.

In her first novel, *The Joy Luck Club* (1989), Amy Tan portrays the lives of four mothers born in China and of their four American-born daughters. More specifically, Tan presents the ways in which both generations have negotiated aspects of "Chineseness" and "Americanness" (of which language is an important aspect) "to create their own hybridized cultural traditions" (Michael 2006, 40). Along with their racial and cultural characterization, their English language deficiency reduces these Chinese immigrant women who hail from middle- to upper-class status in their native country to lower-class status in the United States. They all share the memory of having suffered "unspeakable tragedies" (Tan 1989, 6) in China and expectations of their future – "hopes they couldn't begin to express in their fragile English" (ibid., 20). Tan underscores how achieving fluency in English potentially presents another set of concerns in her culture. While some of the characters in this novel find voices and resolve the cultural conflicts in the United States, some of them are denied a voice on the basis of their ethnicity. However, despite their loss of voice rooted in their inability to speak English, they are determined to survive and find a voice, even if it means relying upon their Americanized daughters to speak for them. Tan shows in her work that the reconciliations of the characters' contemporary American cultural space with their Chinese heritage often involve a generational gap caused by linguistic tensions. Thus Jing-mei, one of the characters in the novel, states how her relationship with her mother was defined by their different linguistic affinities: "[M]y mother and I spoke two different languages...I talked to her in English, she answered back in Chinese" (ibid., 23). The reluctance or inability of the mothers and daughters to communicate in the same language is the main source of friction between the two generations, signifying the misunderstandings and cultural differences that

divide them. The lack of a common linguistic and cultural tongue on the part of the mothers and daughters in this novel is also symbolic of the divisions based on belonging to the immigrant and the assimilated or American-born world. The older generation is, naturally, more tied to the past, while the younger generation tends to assimilate faster:

Now the woman was old. And she had a daughter who grew up speaking only English and swallowing more Coca-Cola than sorrow. For a long time now the woman had wanted to give her daughter the single swan feather and tell her, “This feather may look worthless, but it comes from afar and carries with it all my good intentions.” And she waited, year after year, for the day she could tell her daughter this in perfect American English. (Ibid., 17)

Further illustration of this linguistic and cultural divide is offered in Amy Tan’s subsequent novel *The Kitchen God’s Wife* (1991), which is also focused on the complex relationship between mothers and daughters. In this narrative, Pearl, a second-generation Chinese-American, has been estranged from her mother Winnie, who still uses terms of endearment in Chinese:

[S]he patted my head. “Syn ke,” she said, “you’re already so big.” She always called me syn ke, a nickname, two words that mean “heart liver,” the part of the body that looks like a tiny heart. In English, you call it gizzard, not very good-sounding. But in Chinese, syn ke sounds beautiful, and it is what mothers call their babies if they love them very, very much. I used to call you that. You didn’t know? (Tan 1991, 109)

The generation gap creates also a cultural and communication conflict between the mothers and daughters in this novel as the girls speak only some Chinese, but cannot read nor write it. At the same time, the Americanized daughters tend to distance themselves from their mothers as they are more Chinese and not fluent in English, thus making the English language “a race and class signifier that divides the daughters from their Chinese immigrant mothers” (Ho 2000, 171). When Winnie tries to relate her history to her daughter in her broken English, she resorts to Chinese words that are untranslatable into English, shown in the episode when Winnie in a time of need sends a telegram to a cousin containing the message “Hurry, we are soon taonan” (Tan 1991, 259). Her daughter does not understand the word “taonan,” and Winnie has trouble explaining the meaning and significance of the word:

This word, taonan? Oh, there is no American word I can think of that means the same thing. But in China, we have lots of different words to describe all kinds of troubles. No, “refugee” is not the meaning, not exactly. Refugee is what you are after you have been taonan and are still alive. And if you are alive, you would never want to talk about what made you taonan. (Ibid., 260)

Tan reveals a reality deeply marked by cross-cultural exchanges, destabilizing the presumed ethnic identity and shifting towards a hybrid bicultural and poly-vocal identity. The growing understanding of not belonging entirely to either Chinese or American culture, and the failure of both Chinese and American narratives to deliver her Asian American liminal position encourage striding the standard binary understanding of white and Asian.

7. Imperial Legacy of Language

Among writers who implicitly or explicitly echo their own ambiguous relationships to both dominant and sub-ordinant cultures and their respective language codes is Kiran Desai, an author of Indian-German American background. Her novel *The Inheritance of Loss* (2006) explores how the tensions between colonial hegemony of the past, family aspirations, and community expectations affect characters placed on the margin of the society, strapped between assimilation and resistance in the struggle to assert their personal and national identities. A critical approach to the analysis of this novel cannot disregard Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's discussions about the difficulties for the subaltern subjects to communicate their experiences, feelings, and injustices in a public space due to their lack of access to instruments of public discourse and related control over language to enable the marginalized voices to be heard (1995, 28). Spivak suggests the way in which language and discourse are employed with an ideological agenda in order to sustain power and control over those on "the margins (one can just as well say the silent, silenced center) of the circuit [are] marked out by this epistemic violence of imperialist law and education" (ibid., 24–5).

Throughout *The Inheritance of Loss*, the characters' experiences, in particular their linguistic, social, and cultural abilities, demonstrate the complex impact which language exerts upon their individual and collective identity. For example, one of the main protagonists, a retired Anglophilic Indian judge by the name of Patel, retreats into self-imposed isolation, becoming a stranger in his homeland because he lacks the linguistic and other sensibilities of his native surroundings: "The judge could live here, in this shell, this skull, with the solace of being a foreigner in his own country, for this time he would not learn the language" (Desai 2006, 36). During his years as a student at Cambridge, the judge's already timid nature suffered from further isolation and a sense of dislocation as he barely communicated his opinions and desires in English, but immersed himself into the new tongue because "the self-consciousness of it, the effort of it, the grammar of it, pulled you up; a new language provided distance and kept the heart intact" (ibid., 215). In England, Patel undergoes a thorough cultural change: he flees not only from the unfamiliarity of the setting but also from his Indianness, allowing his landlady to call him James instead of Jemubhai. All attributes of his Indian background – his unpronounceable name, his dark skin and pungent smell of curry – are a source of embarrassment to him: "[H]e grew stranger to himself than he was to those around him, found his own skin odd-colored, his own accent peculiar" (ibid., 47). Upon return to his own country, he repudiates his Indian identity, but remains equally uncomfortable in the company of the English: "He envied the English. He loathed Indians. He worked at being English with the passion of hatred and for what he would become, he would be despised by absolutely everyone, English and Indians, both" (ibid., 126). This quote reveals how his command of the English language and radical cultural transformation mirrors the historical narratives of national and imperial grandeur enforced by the system of colonial power and related language control.

The other narrative in the novel is that of New York City's "shadow class ... condemned to movement" (ibid., 109), Indian restaurant workers without legal status who harbor hopes of an American dream, represented by the character of Biju. His precarious life as an illegal alien

reflects the self-doubt and uncertainty of our time, as well as the economic, social, and racial inequality in the era of globalization and alienation, evident in the following linguistic liminality:

“No speak English,” he always said to mad people starting up conversations in this city, to the irascible ornery bums and Bible folk dressed in ornate bargain basement suits and hats, waiting on street corners, getting their moral and physical exercise chasing after infidels. Devotees of the Church of Christ and the Holy Zion, born-again handing out pamphlets that gave him up-to-date million dollar news of the devil’s activities... (Ibid., 274)

As representatives of colonized people, these characters testify to a very complex interaction of language, history and environment, captured in the concepts of place and a sense of displacement, both physical and linguistic, mandated by the dominant culture and the required command of English postcolonial/immigrant agency and identity. Kiran Desai consistently presents relative success and failure in terms of how the characters adapt in response to experiences that confound their expectations and prejudices when cultures and languages are brought into conflict.

8. Conclusion

At a time when the function of English has long become indispensable for every aspect of life in economy and culture, the challenge to the previous expectations and meaning of English studies cannot be ignored. Given that English studies as a field of research and learning is dedicated mainly to the analysis of texts written in English, including, among others, those written by U.S. authors, it has become necessary to reassess how the interplay of another language with English in such literature affects English studies as an academic discipline. Writing on the expansion of “diasporic English” which places significant emphasis on the awareness that contemporary writing is created in “a post-national, global flow of de-territorialized cultural products appropriated, translated, and recirculated world-wide” (Paul Jay (2001, 44) calls for devising a way of accommodating “the transnational and postnational perspectives of globalization studies in our programs and curricula without subordinating the heterogenous literatures we deal with to outdated critical paradigms” (ibid.). The growing emphasis on English language performance and its cultural impact has taken center stage as thematic core in many literary texts by ethnic American authors since the 1980s.

Contemporary American authors such as Sandra Cisneros, Julia Alvarez, Junot Díaz, Amy Tan, and Kiran Desai expose the American reality and the challenges to English as the dominant language in their ongoing quest to make sense of the world. Since language and literature of necessity reproduce the specific social and cultural conditions of a particular environment, these authors, themselves of complex racial, linguistic, cultural and other backgrounds, occupy a particular liminal position – between two languages, two cultures, defying static notions of self and identity. Each of the authors chosen here uses English in order to construct a mode of expression enabling them to present the experiences of those who are marginalized in the U.S. society, and thus voice their position, even opposition, to the dominant English-only culture. For many protagonists bilingually is the primary way in which they experience their world and enact their identity. The literary texts selected here illustrate just some aspects of the extensive

linguistic experimentalism and innovation in contemporary American fiction that may offer new possibilities to engage English studies, validating also the conclusion that “language is a site of change, an evershifting ground” (Minh-ha 1994, 9). Contemporary American writing features, thus, various forms of linguistic resistance that generate a new and emancipatory expressiveness. Such innovative language use is also the inspired blend of coexisting languages and their interchange that has become not only a prominent characteristic of Chicana/o and other Latina/o literature written in the United States, but increasingly also a crucial feature of other ethnic American literature. In their writing, the authors uncover new possibilities of expression within the English language that contest both the standards of English language and the English studies literary canon. By embracing linguistic elements previously, mostly not recognized by the dominant standardized language in the United States and, consequently excluded from English studies, such writing could constitute an important step in reorienting the concept of English and the approach to studying its cultural significance. The exploration of the effects of other languages and cultures on the English language may open paths for a dialogical and emancipatory paradigm in the study of contemporary American fiction in a broader scope of scholarship known as English studies.

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III.

TRANSLATION
STUDIES

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Translation of Culture-Specific Items in Self-Help Literature: A Study on Domestication and Foreignization Strategies¹

Summary

The last two decades have witnessed a boom in self-help materials in both global and local markets. This self-help trend, growing rapidly in our modern day, should be an area of interest for Translation Studies as an increasing number of self-help materials have been translated particularly from English every year. Self-help books involve a great deal of references to the material and social culture of the original country. One of the key issues in the translation of self-help books is the choice between foreignizing and domesticating these culture-specific items. This paper aims to discuss the procedures used for the translation of culture-specific items with regard to the particular function that these books assume in the target society. The analysis on the example of *Outliers*, a self-help book of sorts written by Malcolm Gladwell, has shown that the translator mostly adopted foreignizing strategies in translating the text into Turkish. The study also discusses whether these foreignizing strategies contribute to the fulfillment of target-text function, which is to provide quick-fix remedies to people struggling with modern-day challenges and demands.

Key words: Self-help literature, culture-specific items, foreignizing, domesticating

Prevajanje kulturno specifičnih prvin v literaturi za samopomoč: razprava o strategijah podomačitve in potujitve

Povzetek

V zadnjih dveh desetletjih smo bili priča razmahu gradiva za samopomoč, tako na globalnih kot na lokalnih trgih. Takšen trend bi moral biti posebej zanimiv za prevodoslovje, kajti vse več pripomočkov za samopomoč se prevaja zlasti iz angleščine. Knjige za samopomoč vsebujejo znatno količino referenc na materialno in družbeno kulturo izvirne dežele. Eno od osrednjih vprašanj pri prevajanju knjig za samopomoč je odločitev za podomačitev ali potujitev takšnih kulturno specifičnih prvin. Članek se osredinja na postopke pri prevajanju kulturno specifičnih prvin z ozirom na posebne vloge teh knjig v ciljni družbi. Analiza primera iz knjige za samopomoč z naslovom *Outliers*, ki jo je napisal Malcolm Gladwell, pokaže, da je prevajalec v turščino zvečine prevzel strategije potujitve. Razprava poleg tega izpostavi problem učinkovitosti potujitvenih strategij za doseganje osnovnega namena takšnih besedil v ciljnem kontekstu, ki je v zagotavljanju hitre pomoči ljudem, obremenjenih s sodobnimi izzivi in zahtevami.

Ključne besede: literatura za samopomoč, kulturno specifične prvine, potujitev, podomačitev

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Translation of Culture-Specific Items in Self-Help Literature: A Study on Domestication and Foreignization Strategies

1. Preliminary Considerations

The number of self-help materials has been increasing dramatically in both global and local markets. Although thousands of self-help materials mainly from the United States enter into many national markets through translation every year, translation of self-help literature remains an unexplored area in Translation Studies. This study focuses on the translation into Turkish of a single bestselling self-help book with specific emphasis on the transfer of culture-specific items. By their very nature, self-help books are culturally loaded texts, and involve a great deal of references to material, social and even religious culture. One of the key issues in the translation of self-help books is the choice between foreignizing and domesticating the culture-specific items. The aim of this study is to discuss the procedures used for the translation of culture-specific items with regard to the particular function that these books assume in the target society.

A descriptive study based on the comparative analysis of source and target texts from a specific perspective allows us to identify translational behaviors and to study any matches and mismatches between theory and practice, as explained below by Lambert and van Gorp. Lambert and van Gorp's paper *On Describing Translations* was originally written twenty-five years ago. In that paper, the authors criticize the bare comparison of the source and target texts without consideration of other factors, particularly the target system. Yet they argue that comparison is still a part of translation studies, which we believe is a valid argument after a quarter century.

[...] the different translation strategies evident in the text itself provide the most explicit information about the relations between the source and target systems, and about the translator's position in and between them. Furthermore, the translated text is an obvious document for the study of conflicts and parallels between translational theory and practice. The comparison of T1 and T2 is therefore a relevant part of translation studies – as long as it does not obscure the wider perspective. (Lambert and Van Gorp 2006, 42)

The research on the development of self-help movement in the United States reports a history of over two centuries, dating back to the *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* published in 1790 (Toor 2011). However, in Turkey, the self-help movement started only in the second half of the 20th century. Nüvit Osmay, reputed to be the first self-help professional and the pioneer of the self-help movement in Turkey, took courses from Dale Carnegie (the famous American writer and developer of self-help courses, 1888–1955) in the early 1950s and brought this trend into the Turkish culture. Özdemir (2010, 68) notes that the interest in self-help literature started in the 1990s, and flourished after the national economic crisis in 2001 in Turkey.

The main theme of self-help books is almost always the pursuit of happiness and/or success, and they cover a wide range of topics from test anxiety to memory improvement, from healthy life to family relationships. As defined by Bergsma (2008, 343), all books that serve the aim of “coping with one's personal or emotional problems without professional help” are self-help books. Self-

help literature is worth studying because both for its cultural and socio-economic importance (Mur Effing 2009, 126). The size of the national and international self-help market is reported to be growing at the global and local scale. Although there is not any market research concerning the share of self-help books, “spiritual” books, it is assumed, make for half of the publishing sector of Turkey, which is 500 million Turkish liras (approximately US \$295 million) in total (Özkartal 2007). Other data is from the US market, according to which self-help constitutes an industry of \$8 billion in a year (Salerno, 2006). The translation of self-help literature is worth studying because translations hold a considerable share in this large self-help market. Another study on which I am working now shows that 452 self-help books were published in Turkey from January to December 2011, including reprints of older publications. Of these 452 books, 354 (78.3%) were published for the first time in 2011, and the remaining are reprints. The more relevant data is that 200 (44.25%) of the books are translations from English (193), German (4) and French (3).

It is interesting that the books mostly emerging in the American society and reflecting the American way of life and problem solutions are translated into many other languages, and become bestsellers both in the original and target culture. For example, Stephen Covey’s *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People* (1989) sold more than 15 million copies worldwide and was translated into thirty-two languages;² John Gray’s blockbuster *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* (1992) sold over 50 million copies worldwide and was translated into 42 languages.³ These high sales figures in the international market assign a specific position to the translation of self-help literature from the perspective of not only the publishing sector but also Translation Studies.

2. Culture-Specific Items in Translation

As already mentioned, by their nature, self-help books abound with references to the culture in which they emerge, mainly the United States. In her book titled *Self-Help Books: Why Americans Keep Reading Them*, Dolby (2005) discusses the importance of self-help books in the American community and also the reflections of the American culture and worldview in self-help books: “[...] they are surely popular expressive productions, and as such they both convey and incorporate elements of an American worldview” (2). Americans produce thousands of self-help books each year, and distribute most of these to international markets through translation together with the elements of the American worldview. How are these elements defined from the perspective of Translation Studies? Terestyényi (2011) draws attention to the fact that the concepts or realia and culture-bound or culture-specific expressions are used interchangeably to refer to both the objects and the “words that signify concepts that are related to a specific culture” (13). Below are two definitions of culture-specific items. In the first definition, (Aixelá 1996, 61–5) sees these items as translation problems due to their nonexistence or different status in the target culture:

Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text. (58)

² See <http://www.butler-bowdon.com/sevenhabits>.

³ See <http://www.marsvenusinstitute.com/institute/>.

González Davies and Scott-Tennent (2005) provide a more specific definition of cultural references:

Any kind of expression (textual, verbal, non-verbal or audiovisual) denoting any material, ecological, social, religious, linguistic or emotional manifestation that can be attributed to a particular community (geographic, socio-economic, professional, linguistic, religious, bilingual, etc.) and would be admitted as a trait of that community by those who consider themselves to be members of it. Such an expression may, on occasions, create a comprehension or a translation problem. (166)

The common point in both definitions is that culture-specific items may constitute translation problems. A translator is required to adopt certain translation strategies to solve these problems. There have been various studies that attempt to define these strategies (see for example Newmark 1988; Hervey, Higgins and Haywood 1995; Vinay and Darbelnet 1995; Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002). For the purpose of this study, we refer to Aixelá's (1996) elaborate list of translation procedures for the "manipulation" of culture-specific items in translation. The translation procedures in his list fall under the tendency to either conserve or substitute culture-specific items in translation, which corresponds to the dichotomy of source- versus target-text orientation, or domestication versus foreignization in Translation Studies.

Conservation procedures	Substitution procedures
repetition (keeping the original reference to the extent possible)	synonymy (not using the culture-specific item and substituting it with "a parallel reference" in the target text)
orthographic adaptation (in the form of transcription or transliteration)	limited universalization (using "another reference, also belonging to the source language culture but closer to their readers")
linguistic (non-cultural) translation (choosing "a denotatively very close reference to the original")	absolute universalization (eliminating the "foreign connotations" and replacing them with "a neutral reference")
extratextual gloss (using footnote, endnote, glossary, commentary/translation in brackets, in italics, etc. to offer some extra explanation about a culture-specific item)	naturalization (adaptation)
intratextual gloss (providing gloss within the text in order not to distract the readers' attention)	deletion (omitting the culture-specific item in the target text for various reasons)
	autonomous creation (adding "some nonexistent cultural reference in the source text")

Table 1. Procedures Used for the Translation of Culture-Specific Items (Aixelá 1996, 61–65)

3. Translation of Culture-Specific Items in a Self-Help Book, *Outliers*

3.1. Target Readers and *Skopos* of the Translation

Prior to making a comparative analysis of source and target texts, we need to identify target readers and *skopos* of translations into Turkish. The target audience of self-help books is usually

the general public, seeking quick-fix solutions to their daily problems, concerns or tensions, and seeking a guide to keep up with increasing demands of modern life. To reach everyone who needs ready-made solutions, according to Mur Effing (2009), the self-help genre usually has the following style of writing:

From the very beginnings of the genre, and even more toward the second half of the twentieth century, self-help writers appear to take on the role of the psychologist, priest or counsellor. Although privileged in knowledge and wisdom, the authors often express themselves adopting a friendly, easy-to understand and ‘reachable’ tone as if one was talking to a friend who lets you in on a secret. Story writing was the method most self-help authors used, and still use, to communicate their messages best *to a wide, mostly under-educated public*. In fact, the style of teaching through stories is one of the characteristics of most self-help literature books throughout time. (133, emphasis added)

This explanation provides us clues also about the *skopos* of the translation of self-help books. The target audience expects easily understandable and easily applicable solutions from the author. To our knowledge, in the Turkish context, there is no study or survey regarding the target readers of self-help literature. Yet for target readers from either uneducated or well-educated public, the purpose of self-help literature is not to present academic or specialized knowledge in a specific field, or provide deeper insight into life problems or leave a literary taste in readers’ minds. They serve the function of a sort of guide that offers effortless solutions that does not entail further research and thinking. Thus, this requires a “fluent translation”⁴ frequently purified of foreign and hence incomprehensible items that interrupt the understanding of readers.

3.2. About *Outliers: The Story of Success*

The book that is analyzed here with regard to the translation of culture-specific items is *Outliers: The Story of Success* by Malcolm Gladwell, published in 2008. Malcolm Gladwell is a writer and journalist, who was born in England, grew up in Canada and now lives in the US. He does not have formal education in psychology or psychiatry, which is not an uncommon case in self-help literature. He has other bestselling self-help books such as *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*, *Blink: The Power of Thinking Without Thinking* and *What the Dog Saw*. *Outliers* was translated into Turkish in 2009 by Aytül Özer and published by MediaCat Publishing, and has had 10 reprints since then. The Turkish publisher MediaCat is a publishing house that is particularly specialized in marketing communications and that has published over 200 books so far.⁵

Outliers is divided into two parts as Opportunity and Legacy, each subdivided into chapters. The book has an introduction as a distinct part and an epilogue as one of the chapters in Part II, both telling stories. What distinguishes *Outliers* from other self-help books is that it does not promise achievement through solely individual efforts, but attempts to provide understanding about the concept of success, incorporating social, environmental, cultural or familial factors through true stories. Although *Outliers* is not one of the thousands of self-help books that provide three,

⁴ For the use of this term, see Venuti, 1995.

⁵ For more information see <http://www.mediacatonline.com/Home/Kitap>.

thirty, or three hundred ways to achieve a goal, it is still a typical self-help book communicating messages on success with the use of storytelling technique, i.e. life stories of prominent figures mostly from the US and attention-grabbing events.

3.3. Translation of the Title

The title is of particular importance in self-help books as they are generally formulated conspicuously to capture the attention of readers at first sight with humorous, interrogative or didactic expressions. In the case of *Outliers*, the front covers of English and Turkish versions of the book appear as follows:

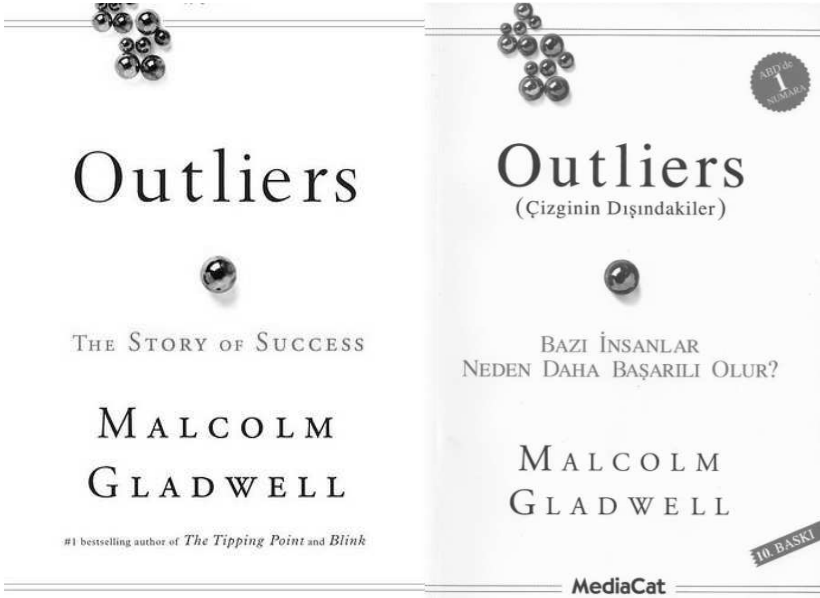


Figure 1. Front covers of the original book and the Turkish translation

The main title is conserved without translation in the Turkish version of the book. This corresponds to the repetition procedure in Aixelá's list. The Turkish explanation of "outliers" is additionally provided in parentheses, which translates into English as "those who are out of the line". Finally, the subtitle "The Story of Success" is translated in question form, literally meaning "Why do Some People Become More Successful?" The conservation of the title in its original form is not a very common procedure in translations into Turkish; however, it has been a recent proclivity in the translation of titles of self-help books to combine the original one with a Turkish title. For instance, Rhonda Byrne's *The Secret* and *The Power* appeared in Turkish and all other languages with their original titles and front covers combined with the target-language equivalent of the original title. Following the same tendency, the Turkish translation of *Outliers* presents the original title together with the Turkish translation (or explanation) of the original. A more recent book by the same author is also published with the English title and its Turkish translation: *What the Dog Saw* (*Köpeğin Gördüğü*).

This tendency to preserve the original title finds explanation in the polysystem theory. A history of the self-help literature in Turkey shows that translated self-help literature occupies a central position not in the publishing polysystem but in the self-help publishing system of Turkey. In Even-Zohar's (1990) words,

Since translational activity participates, when it assumes a central position, in the process of creating new, primary models, the translator's main concern here is not just to look for ready-made models in his home repertoire into which the source texts would be transferable. Instead, he is prepared in such cases to violate the home conventions. (50)

In the example of title translation, we can see that the translation breaks the conventions in the target culture. The translation of Rhonda Byrne's *The Secret* probably introduced this new rule into the target system, which is followed by other translations as well. In the case of *The Secret* or *The Power*, it is probably not the translator's decision but an agreement with the original publisher to preserve the title in translated versions of the books in that all language versions of these books have the same title and front cover. Time will tell whether this new convention is accepted or rejected by target audiences.

3.4. Translation of Culture-Specific Items

Jull Costa (2007, 118) claims that cultural, historical and geographical references are easier to translate compared to linguistic and cultural concepts that may not have an equivalent in the target language because they do not require interpretation. However, as she also notes, it is important how much and how to explain these references in consideration of the target reader and *skopos* of the text.

The book we chose for this study provides a great many of historical, geographical and cultural references that are probably familiar to many American readers, but not to Turkish readers. Lots of proper names (e.g. specific districts, universities or companies), personal names or historical events are probably familiar to an American reader, but have little or no bearing for the target audience. The next part of the study provides examples of cultural references in *Outliers* and attempts to explain how they were translated into Turkish.

3.4.1. Translation of personal names and locational references

Example 1:

ST (Source Text) – Louis and Regina found a tiny apartment on Eldridge Street, on Manhattan's Lower East Side, for \$8 a month. (161)

TT (Target Text) – Louis ve Regina Manhattan'ın aşağı doğu yakasındaki Eldridge Caddesi'nde ayda 8 dolara minik bir daire buldular. (106)

BT (Backtranslation) – Louis and Regina found a tiny apartment on Eldridge Street, on lower east side of Manhattan, for \$8 a month.

TS (Translation Strategy) – repetition, linguistic translation

Example 2:

ST – The distinctive buildings that still stand on the lower half of Broadway in Manhattan

– from the big ten- and fifteen-story industrial warehouses in the twenty blocks⁶ below Times Square to the cast-iron lofts of SoHo and Tribeca – ... (167)

TT – Times Meydanı'nın 20 blok altındaki 10, 15 katlı endüstriyel depolardan SoHo ve Tribeca'nın demir döküm çatı katlarına, Manhattan'da Broadway'in alt kesiminde hala varlığını koruyan dikkat çekici binaların hemen hepsi... (109)

BT – the same

TS – repetition, linguistic translation

The above examples from the book are two of many locational (or geographical) references in the book. Although they may not have a descriptive sense even in the source language, they must have references in the minds of source readers. As argued by Nord (2003), “[i]n the real world, proper names may be non-descriptive, but they are obviously not non-informative” (183) if the reader is familiar with the given culture. Readers familiar with the source culture would have an idea about Manhattan or Elridge Street as well as many other locational references in the books such as SoHo, Tribeca, Times Square or Broadway, and what sort of people live in these places or what sort of shops there are in these areas. However, if the referents of these names are completely unfamiliar to the reader, they are not expected to have connotations in the minds of target readers. The place names are apparently preserved (repeated) or descriptors accompanying them, e.g. street and square, are translated into Turkish.

Similarly, the following names are cited in the text as figures of success; however, we are not sure whether these names, except for Steve Jobs, create an image of success in the minds of Turkish readers: Paul Allen, Steve Ballmer, Steve Jobs, Eric Schmidt or Bill Joy (73-6). The translator clearly has no other choice than to repeat the above-mentioned proper or place names. The basic problem with such proper names is not directly related with translation processes, but with preliminary norms in translation including translation policies that govern text selection processes. There is a need for studies or reader surveys in order first to identify the expectations of target readers from these texts more clearly and then to find out whether the translated texts (texts chosen and translation strategies employed) fulfill these expectations in the target culture.

3.4.2. Translation of historical and political references

Example 3:

ST – Flom grew up in the Depression in Brooklyn's Borough Park neighborhood. (133)

TT – Flom Büyük Buhran döneminde Brooklyn'in Borough Park çevresinde büyüdü. (89)

BT – Flom grew up in the Great Depression era in Brooklyn's Borough Park neighborhood.

TS – linguistic translation (non-cultural), intratextual gloss (limited)

The translation of this historical reference provides an example of linguistic translation combined with an intratextual gloss. The translator adds the “era” to show that the Depression is a temporal concept, and glosses the concept as the “Great Depression” as it is referred to in the Turkish culture.

⁶ This example also provides a language use from daily life. “Block” is used here for the purpose of address description. This is a concept that is not used in the Turkish context for the same purpose, but was translated non-culturally into Turkish.

Example 4:

ST – If you were born in the 1820s you were too old: your mind-set was shaped by the pre-Civil War paradigm. (70)

TT – 1820'lerin sonlarında doğmuş olmanız durumunda ise fazla yaşlıydınız; düşünce biçiminiz Sivil Savaş öncesi paradigmayla biçimlenmiş durumdaydı. (48)

BT – If you were born in the 1820s you were too old: your mind-set was shaped by the pre-Civil War paradigm.

TS – linguistic translation

In this example, the translator does a word-for-word translation of the concept “Civil War”, and intentionally or unintentionally does not use the expression “İç Savaş” (literally the Internal War), which is the equivalent of civil war in the Turkish language.

Example 5:

ST – One summer the family lived on an Indian reservation in a tepee, subsisting on government-surplus peanut butter and cornmeal. For a time, they lived in Virginia City, Nevada. “There was only one law officer in town, and when the Hell’s Angels came to town, he would crouch down in the back of his office,” Mark Langan remembers. (104)

TT – Bir yaz aile Kızılderililere ayrılan arazilerden birinde bir Kızılderili çadırında yaşadı, devletin verdiği stok fazlası fıstık ezmesi ve mısırla karnını doyurdu. Bir süre Nevada’da Virginia City’de yaşadılar. “Kasabada sadece tek bir hukuk görevlisi vardı ve Cehennem Melekleri kasabaya geldiğinde o da ofisinin arka tarafında yere çömelip saklanırdı” diye aktarıyor anımsadıklarını Mark Langan. (71–2)

BT – One summer the family lived on one of the lands reserved to the Indians in an Indian tent subsisting on government-surplus peanut butter and corn. For a time, they lived in Virginia City in Nevada. “There was only one law officer in town, and when the Hell’s Angels came to the town, he would crouch down in the back of his office.”

TS – intratextual gloss, linguistic translation

In this segment from the text, “Indian reservation”, a politically loaded term from the American system, is explained inside the text (intratextual gloss). In the same sentence, the term “tepee” is explained with an intratextual gloss as the Indian tent. “Hell’s Angels”, a motorcycle gang that emerged during the World War II, is linguistically translated into Turkish without any further explanation, probably with no bearing for the target reader.

3.4.3. Translation of references from social and daily life

Example 6:

ST – Armed with a large grant from the Commonwealth Foundation, he put together a team of fieldworkers ... (83)

TT – Commonwealth Foundation adlı vakıftan aldığı büyük miktarda bağışla, bir saha çalışanları ekibi kurarak... (56)

BT – With a large grant he received from a foundation called the Commonwealth Foundation, he put together a team of fieldworkers ...

TS – repetition, limited intratextual gloss

The Commonwealth Foundation, a research and educational institute, is also repeated in the target text without any change and is followed by the limited intratextual gloss that it is a foundation.

Example 7:

ST – The television show *I vs. 100* is one of many that sprang up in the wake of the phenomenal success of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*. (77)

TT – *I vs. 100, Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*'in* gösterdiği olağanüstü başarımın ardından ortaya çıkan birçok televizyon programından biri. (53)

* Ç.N. Türkiye'de Kim Beş Yüz Milyon İster? olarak uyarlanmıştır.

BT – *I vs. 100* is one of many television programs that sprang up in the wake of the phenomenal success of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*.

* Translator's Note: It was adapted in Turkey as Who Wants Five Hundred Millions.

TS – repetition, extratextual gloss (footnote), deletion

In this excerpt, the TV shows *I vs. 100* and *Who Wants to be a Millionaire* are kept in their original form. This is the only part in the translated book where the translator adds a footnote. *Who Wants to be a Millionaire* was adapted into Turkish. Rather than using the Turkish name of the TV show, the translator keeps the American name in the text and adds a footnote to mention the Turkish name. However, the Turkish adaptation was first named as Who Wants Five Hundred Billions, and now the current name is Who Wants to Be a Millionaire, after removing six zeros from the Turkish currency. In the footnote, the translator provides incorrect information.

Example 8:

ST – You need to be at least six foot or six one to play at that level, and, all things being equal, it's probably better to be six two than six one, and better to be six three than six two. (90)

TT – O düzeyde basketbol oynamak için boyunuzun en az 1,83 ya da 1,86 olması gerekiyor ve eşit koşullarda 1,89'luk bir boy 1,86'lık bir boydan ya da 1,92'lik bir boy 1,89'luk bir boydan daha iyi olsa gerek. (61)

BT – To play basketball at that level, you should be at least 1,83 or 1,86, and under equal circumstances, it must be better to have a height of 1,89 rather than 1,86, and to have a height of 1,92 rather than 1,86.

TS – naturalization (adaptation)

This is one of the few examples where the translator used adaptation. In this excerpt, the height of basketball players given in foot is converted into cm, i.e. the metric system used in Turkey. Translation and conversion are used together.

3.4.4. Translation of references from educational system

Example 9:

ST – When it came time to apply to college, Joy got a perfect score on the math portion of the Scholastic Aptitude Test. (47)

TT – Üniversiteye başvurma zamanı geldiğinde, Joy, Scholastic Aptitude Test adlı yetenek testinin matematik bölümünden mükemmel bir puan aldı. (36)

BT – When it came time to apply to college, Joy got a perfect score on the math portion of the aptitude test called the Scholastic Aptitude Test ...

TS – repetition, intratextual gloss (limited)

The Scholastic Aptitude Test, a standardized test designed to measure certain skills of students, is required for college admission in the American education system. In this example, this cultural term is repeated (in other words, conserved) in the target text. The limited intratextual gloss within the text solely explains that the SAT is an aptitude test.

Example 10:

ST –He got a perfect score on his SAT, even though he fell asleep at one point during the test. (80)

TT –Sınavın bir yerinde uyuyakalmasına karşın SAT testinden mükemmel bir puan aldı. (55)

BT – Even though he fell asleep at one point during the test, he got a perfect score on his SAT test.

TS – repetition, intratextual gloss

In another example, the author uses the abbreviation for the Scholastic Aptitude Test. The procedure preferred by the translator is almost the same, i.e. repetition followed by limited information. The limited information only elucidates that the SAT is a test.

Example 11:

ST – Most colleges didn't have computer clubs in the 1960s. (57)

TT – 1960'larda çoğu üniversitenin bile bilgisayar kulübü yoktu. (42)

BT – Even most colleges didn't have computer clubs in the 1960s.

TS – naturalization

Another example from school life is concerning the use of “college”. Whereas college refers to a higher education institution in the United States, the Turkish transcription “kolej” is used for some specific secondary schools, e.g. a police college or a private college. This constitutes another example of adaptation strategy used in translation.

Example 12:

ST – To get a sense of how absurd the selection process at elite Ivy League schools has become, consider the following statistics. (94)

TT – ABD'nin (binalarının sarmaşık kaplı olması nedeniyle Ivy League denilen) sekiz saygın geleneksel üniversitesinde (Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth College, Harvard, Princeton, Pennsylvania ve Yale) öğrenci seçme sürecinin ne kadar absüird hale geldiği konusunda fikir sahibi olmak için aşağıdaki istatistikleri göz önüne alın. (64)

BT – To get a sense of how absurd the student selection process at eight elite traditional universities of America (Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth College, Harvard, Princeton, Pennsylvania and Yale) (known as Ivy League because their walls are covered with ivies), consider the following statistics.

TS – repetition, extratextual gloss, intratextual gloss

In the above example, even the length of source and target texts provides clues about the translation. The translator employs three different conservation procedures, 1) keeping the Ivy League (repetition), 2) providing intratextual gloss, saying that these are eight old universities of the US, and also 3) giving extratextual gloss in parentheses, explaining why they are called the Ivy League and providing the names of the universities. Although Aixelá defines all these procedures as conservation, these comprehensive extratextual and intratextual glosses are added to eliminate the alienation posed by the term Ivy League in the source text.

4. Conclusion

Self-help books, mostly involving stories from real life, may involve as many cultural references as in literary works. However, the target readers of self-help literature and their expectations are probably different from those of literature as self-help books serve a completely different function. In literary translation, if the *skopos* does not something else, there is tendency to use source-text oriented techniques in translation in order to assure the representation of a source culture in the target culture, as defended by Venuti (1995). However, with regard to self-help books, the *skopos* and target audience require easily understandable contexts that do not force the reader to carry out further research. The readers of these books and their translations usually seek ready-made and quick-fix solutions to their problems probably in the midst of their hectic life. They are not supposed to have time to check any source-culture reference in the target text, or do not prefer these books in order to enhance their intellectual or cultural knowledge. That is why, before the analysis, we assumed that the translator may have opted for domesticating or substitutive procedures for the translation of cultural references, to the extent possible to provide readers with a more fluent reading. Our expectation was that the translator used more universalization, more naturalization, and even more deletion, in Aixelá's terms. Nevertheless, above examples show that the translator usually preferred conservation procedures. We can see the frequent use of linguistic translation and intratextual and extratextual glosses. The translator used substitution procedures only in compulsory situations when the translation would be totally incomprehensible (see the "feet" example above) or confusing (see the "college" example) for the target reader. Before the analysis of culture-specific items, the title translation, i.e. the conservation of the original title in translation, has already shown that the translator was inclined to adopt foreignizing strategies in the translation process. The foreignizing procedures in translation probably interrupt a fluent reading of the target text and prevent the text from fulfilling its function of offering quick and easy solutions to readers.

Translation research on works on the periphery of the polysystem (e.g. self-help literature, travel writing, chick lit) is important for the publishing sector as most of these works enter the Turkish culture from foreign cultures and inspire the production of local works in the same genre. Further, particularly the translations hold a considerable share in the market. These products sell very well and reach a great numbers of readers in the target culture. Translation-oriented research on these works may contribute to the improvement of the quality in the translation and original production of similar works, and encourage translators to gain deeper insight into their translation decisions. Furthermore, studies or surveys with readers may provide data for preliminary decisions with regard to the selection of texts to be translated (i.e. translation policies) and for the initial decision on whether to adopt source culture and target culture norms.

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