English **L**anguage **O**verseas **P**erspectives and **E**nquiries

Volume X – Autumn

Editors: SMILJANA KOMAR and UROŠ MOZETIČ

Sdaš

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

CONTENTS

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

TRANSLATION STUDIES

I.

LANGUAGE

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.9-19

Martin Adam
Department of English Language and Literature
Faculty of Education
Masaryk University, Brno

S–V Semantic Affinity in Presentation Sentences with Preverbal Rhematic Subject

Summary

Firmly anchored in the Praguian theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP), the present paper discusses the prototypical type of sentences implementing the so–called Presentation Scale (i.e., that containing a rhematic subject in preverbal position) within fiction narrative discourse. Special attention is paid to the semantic affinity operating between the subject and the predicate; in such distributional fields (cf. *A bird chirped on the twig*) the verbs seem to semantically support the character of their subjects. Thus, the S–V affinity appears to play a significant role in enabling the English verb to express existence or appearance on the scene in an implicit way. The phenomenon of semantic affinity is discussed on the basis of FSP investigation of a sample corpus of narrative texts compiled and processed by the author. Apart from the syntactic–semantic analysis, S–V affinity is also examined through the prism of eminent Czech representatives of the Prague School legacy, such as Vilém Mathesius, Jan Firbas, Aleš Svoboda and Libuše Dušková.

Key words: presentation, scale, affinity, FSP, Firbas, existence, appearance

Prisojevalno razmerje v predstavitvenih povedih z jedrnim osebkom pred glagolom

Povzetek

Članek, zasnovan na praški teoriji členitve po aktualnosti, obravnava prototipske povedi v literarnem pripovednem diskurzu s pomočjo t. im. predstavitvenih tipov (t.j. povedi, ki vsebujejo jedrni osebek v predglagolski poziciji). Posebej se posveča prisojevalnemu razmerju, ki je vzpostavljeno med osebkom in povedkom; zdi se, da v takšnih distribucijah (gl. *A bird chirped on the twig*) glagoli pomensko usmerjajo tip osebka. Tako se zdi, da prisojevalno razmerje med osebkom in povedkom v veliki meri omogoča angleškemu glagolu, da implicitno izrazi bivanjskost ali pojavnost. Pojem prisojevalnega razmerja obravnavamo na osnovi aktualnostno–členitvene raziskave izbranega korpusa pripovednih besedil, ki jih je avtor zbral in obdelal. Poleg skladenjsko–pomenske analize je prisojevalno razmerje obravnavano tudi skozi perspektivo pomembnih čeških naslednikov praške šole, npr. Viléma Mathesiusa, Jana Firbasa, Aleša Svobode in Libuše Duškove.

Ključne besede: predstavitveni tipi, prisojevalno razmerje, členitev po aktualnosti, Firbas, bivanjskost, pojavnost

UDK 811.111'367.52:81'322.3'42 – 116.3

S–V Semantic Affinity in Presentation Sentences with Preverbal Rhematic Subject

1. Fundamentals: the corpus and the method

Exploiting the theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP) and drawing on the findings presented especially by Mathesius (1975), Firbas (1992), Svoboda (2005, 2006) and Dušková (1998, 2005), the paper looks at one of the most frequent types of sentences implementing the Presentation Scale (Pr–Scale), i.e., that containing a rhematic subject in preverbal position. It deals with the phenomenon of so–called semantic affinity of the verb with the subject, the principal focus being the semantic classification of the Pr–sentences that display an obvious degree of such a semantic affinity.

For the purpose of analysis two novels are used: C. S. Lewis' *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (in the corpus abbreviated as N) and D. Lodge's *Changing Places: A Tale of Two Campuses* (in the corpus abbreviated as C). As a mere fraction of a larger tagged corpus under our current examination, the present subcorpus consists of ca 125,000 words and their FSP analyses. Within the corpus, there are 5,946 basic distributional fields, which are technically counted as finite clauses; non–finite clauses being regarded as separate communicative units within the basic distributional fields. Out of all the basic distributional fields in the corpus, 488 instances of sentences that implement the Presentation Scale were identified, which represents 8.2 percent. Apparently, a low number of the basic distributional fields in the corpus follow the general occurrence pattern of the Pr–Scale; it is possible to claim, however, that such an incidence is in full compliance with other findings and other genres examined so far (see e.g., Adam 2009, 2010, 2011).

In Firbas' view (for further information on FSP the reader is referred especially to Firbas 1992), the sentence is a field of semantic and syntactic relations that in its turn provides a distributional field of degrees of communicative dynamism (CD); Firbas defines a degree of CD as "the extent to which the element contributes towards the development of the communication" (Firbas 1964, 270). The most prominent part of information is the 'high point' of the message, i.e., the most dynamic element (rheme proper); other elements of the sentence are less dynamic (have a lower degree of CD). The degrees of CD are determined by the interplay of FSP factors involved in the distribution of degrees of CD: linear modification, context and semantic structure (Firbas 1992, 14–6). In spoken language, the interplay of these factors is joined by intonation, i.e., the prosodic factor. It is the continuum of the degrees of CD along with the interplay of the basic FSP factors that make FSP specific within the field of text linguistics.

In his opus magnum, Firbas (esp. 1992, 66–9) introduced the idea of the so–called dynamic semantic scales that are implemented in sentences; they functionally reflect the distribution of CD and operate irrespective of word order. In principle, Firbas distinguishes two types of dynamic–semantic scales: the Presentation Scale (Pr–Scale) and the Quality Scale (Q–Scale). In these scales, each element is ascribed one of the dynamic–semantic functions (DSFs) (Firbas 1992). In contrast with a static approach towards semantic functions of sentence constituents (e.g., agent, instrument etc.), the dynamic semantic functions may change in the course of the act of communication; the same element may thus perform different functions in different contexts and under different conditions (cf. also Svoboda 2005, 221).

What follows is a summarising account of the Presentation Scale sentences (hereafter abbreviated Pr–sentences), i.e., the theoretical framework of the present paper. The prototypical Pr–Scale includes three basic dynamic semantic functions. Going in the interpretative arrangement from left to right (from the least to the most dynamic element), the first position is taken by the thematic Setting of the action (Set), usually temporal and spatial items of when and where the action takes place. Second, the existence or appearance on the scene is typically conveyed by a verb by means of the Presentation of Phenomenon (Pr). Finally, the major, most dynamic element, Phenomenon to be Presented (Ph) is literally ushered onto the scene (cf. Chamonikolasová and Adam 2005):

(1) *A police car* (Ph) *drew up* (Pr) *beside them* (Set). (C191a)
(2) *Three men* (Ph) *entered* (Pr) *the room* (Set). (C223c)

Before a thorough discussion on the phenomenon of semantic affinity between the verb and the subject in the Pr–sentences is presented, it is necessary to outline the basic syntactic semantic subtypes of the Pr–sentences. In the present corpus (as well as in other corpora under the author's examination), four principal syntactic patterns were identified and labelled as Subtypes 1–4 (see examples 3–6 below). Incidentally, though carried out independently, the classification acquired is virtually in harmony with what Dušková offers in her study on differentiation of the syntactic forms of the Presentation Scale (cf. Dušková 1998). Also Svoboda tackled the area of syntactic semantic types of sentences implementing the Pr–Scale within his functional treatment of parallel sentences both in Czech and English (Svoboda 2005). Nevertheless, he does not classify their syntactic make–up in a systematic way, focusing instead on the word order issues emerging in the comparative background, such as the question of (emotional) markedness of certain types of Pr–sentences (Svoboda 2005, 224–5).

The following four examples will shed light on the four syntactic semantic subtypes of Pr–sentences detected in the corpus; the examples are followed by tables showing the findings obtained in the course of the corpus analysis (for details on individual subtypes see e.g., Adam 2011):

(3) *There are* (Pr) *streaks of soot* (Ph) *on the engine cowlings* (Set). (C9b)
(4) *A slow cruel smile* (Ph) *came* (Pr) *over the Witch's face* (Set). (N99b)
(5) *And next to Aslan* (Set) *stood* (Pr) *two leopards of whom one carried his crown and the other his standard* (Ph). (N125)
(6) *The walls of his room* (Set) *bore* (Pr) *plentiful evidence of his marksmanship in the form of silently snarling stuffed animals* (Ph). (C23b)

Pr–Scale Sentences	**Occurrence**	**%**
Subtype 1 – Existential construction (ex. 3 above)	317	65.0
Subtype 2 – Rhematic subject in preverbal position (4)	122	25.0
Subtype 3 – Fronted adverbial & S–V inversion (5)	40	8.2
Subtype 4 – Locative Th–subject (6)	9	1.8
Total	**488**	**100.0**

Table 1. ***Subtypes of Pr–sentences in the Corpus.***

2. The presentation scale: subtype 2

As has been suggested above, only Subtype 2 of the Pr–sentences will actually be discussed in the scope of this paper, as in it examples of semantic affinity of the verb with the subject may be traced. As a rule, Subtype 2, viz. the **rhematic subject in preverbal position**, represents the second most recurring subtype of the Pr–Scale sentence pattern (Adam 2011). It is usually referred to as the prototypical, canonical type connected with the Presentation Scale (Dušková 1988, 62, 531–2). In it, the initial sentence element is typically represented by a context–independent subject, which is only then followed (in concord with the requirements of English word order principles) by the verb, which expresses existence or appearance on the scene (cf. Dušková 1999, 248–50). The sentence may also begin with a scene–setting temporal or spatial thematic adverbial. As for FSP articulation, the word order of such configurations actually violates the end–focus principle observed in English. Nevertheless, sentences with a rhematic subject in preverbal position are considered unmarked by native speakers of English (exceptions may be observed in connection to prosodic re–evaluating intensification; cf. Firbas 1992, 154–6). For instance in Czech, in contrast, end–focus principle is most respected, and a rhematic subject is untypical, if not highly exceptional, and can be justified only under special prosodic or other emphatic conditions (cf. Dušková 1999, 281).

It follows that the verb operating in Pr–Scale sentences (Pr–verb) presents something new on the scene. It is important to recall that in relation to its presentation role, Firbas claims that it does so "if it expresses the existence or appearance on the scene with explicitness or sufficient implicitness" (Firbas 1995; cf. Adam 2011). In the present corpus (and also in other corpora under our investigation), two types of verbs classified in this respect have been detected. Most Pr–verbs clearly express the existence or appearance on the scene in an explicit way. Prototypically, these are verbs such as *come, arrive, step in, come down, be born, enter, appear, occur, turn up, rear up* etc. (Adam 2010, 2011). The Pr–verbs falling into this are, in their nature, dynamic, mostly intransitive, and carry the meaning of appearance, both as a result of a dynamic process or seen in the process of motion proper. Such verbs actually reflect precisely the definition of Firbasian appearance on the scene with explicitness.

However, research has convincingly shown that other types of verbs are also capable of expressing existence or appearance on the scene even though they do not convey the meaning of appearance in a straightforward manner; in other words, they do so with sufficient implicitness (Firbas 1992, 1995; Adam 2009, 2010). A relatively large group in the corpus is made up of Pr–verbs that express existence or appearance on the scene in a rather implicit way; all different sorts of verbs, such as *overshadow, send, strike, await, buzz, wake (the silence), chirp, shine, seize, shine, pour, feed, blow* or *preach*, were identified in the research corpus (cf. Adam 2010). Seemingly, the verbs come from different semantic groups of verbs and do not have much in common.

3. S–V semantic affinity

The point is that research has shown that one of the most significant features of such Pr–verbs occurring in the prototypical Pr–sentences may be described as a certain degree of semantic affinity between the Pr–verb itself and the clause subject (cf. Firbas 1992, 60). To be more specific, the corpus findings seem to reveal a significant semantic feature of what may be considered to express existence or appearance on the scene in an implicit way: the semantic affinity observed between the verb and the subject. In a number of previous papers (see esp. Adam 2010 and 2011), several sentences with a certain sort of semantic affinity were detected. The present paper, however, attempts a more delicate typology of such sentences and a possible revelation of some of the underlying (syntactic and/or semantic) principles. To embark on the discussion, compare the following three sentences (from now on, the rhematic subjects will be presented in bold whereas the Pr–verb will be underlined for the sake of transparency):

(7) ***A bee*** *<u>buzzed</u> across their path.* (N120e)
(8) *At that moment* ***a strange noise*** *<u>woke the silence</u>.* (N128)
(9) ***The sun*** *<u>shone</u>.* (C20)

In examples (7)–(9), the action is so semantically inherent to the subjects (subject–related) that it is the subject that takes over the communicative prominence at the expense of the power of the verbal content (cf. Adam 2011). The static semantics of the verb then – even if expressing a specific type of action – is reduced to that of presentation. The semantic content of the verbal element of the agents employed is so natural that the full verb serves to denote a form of existence or appearance on the scene. In other words, the verb that operates in semantic affinity with its subject semantically supports the character of the subject. One may readily say that buzzing is an inbred activity for bees and thus in (7) the highest degree of communicative dynamism is definitely carried by the subject. Similarly, it is most natural for a strange noise to wake silence (8), or for the sun to shine (9).

As has been mentioned above, the dynamic semantic role of the verb used is reduced to that of presentation and the communicative lead is taken by the respective subjects/agents. A crucial role when interpreting the sentences as to the dynamic semantic function implemented is undoubtedly played by the immediately relevant verbal and situational context (Firbas 1992, 59–61; Adam 2009). In his discussion on such cases, Svoboda also takes it for granted that "context will decide whether the Pr–scale or the Q–scale is employed" (for details along with examples see Svoboda 2005, 225). The presentational interpretation of Pr–sentences with subject–verb affinity (which may be legitimately questioned at first sight) can be – apart from the major role of the context – additionally corroborated by two facts. First, it is the placement of the nuclear stress on the rhematic subject in English (the intonation centre is noted by capital letters):

(10) *And* ***THE MOON*** *<u>came out</u>.* (N92c)

Second, the rhematic character of the subjects under examination can be supported by the corresponding Czech (or other functionally analogous) equivalent translation of the clauses in which the rhematic subject – according to the principle of end–focus – invariably occupies the final position in the sentence – cf. (10a) and (11a).

(11) Czech (Lewis 1950)
A *<u>vyšel</u>* ***MĚSÍC.***
And came out Moon
'And the Moon came out.'

Commenting on various possibilities which favour the presentational interpretation, Dušková (2008, 72–3) maintains that the Pr–verbs manifesting such an affinity may be – with identical effect – functionally replaced by verbs that express existence/appearance on the scene in a purely explicit manner. Thus, sentence (12) below could be analogously expressed by means of an explicit Pr–verb accompanied by a locative adverbial construction in the object position (12a), not to mention an existential construction proper (12b). Cf.:

(12) ***A bee*** *buzzed across their path.* (N120e)
(12a) ***A bee*** *appeared / perched on their path.*
(12b) *There was* ***a bee*** *on their path.*

The point is that a parallel transformation is naturally unheard of in the sentences implementing the Q–Scale; in them, something new is said about the Bearer of Quality and the predication does not express existence/appearance on the scene any more. It follows that the verb(s) used cannot be replaced by a Pr–verb without changing the FSP of the sentence. Cf. the two examples of sentences that implement the Q–Scale below; whereas example (12c) introduces a basic distributional field in which the most dynamic element is the verb itself (*buzzed*), in example (12d) the verb *buzzed* is transitional and the high point of the message (i.e., the rheme) is represented by the adverbial of manner (Specification). The unit *the bee* is then, of course in both the sentences, a thematic element (Bearer of Quality).

(12c) *On the windowsill* (Th), *the bee* (Th) ***buzzed*** (Rh) *[and flew away].*
(12d) *Suddenly* (Th) *the bee* (Th) *buzzed* (Tr) ***in a scary way*** (Rh).

Semantically, the Pr–verbs that manifest semantic affinity with their subjects are almost prototypically recruited from a relatively limited semantic category of verbs that are generally related, to a certain extent, to sensory (acoustic, visual etc.) perception. Below is a tentative (because partly overlapping in places) classification of these categories, examples adduced. Although due to space limitation the examples of Pr–sentences are decontextualized, all of them congruently implement the Pr–Scale:

3.1 Natural/supernatural phenomena unaffected by people, such as weather

(13) ***A light breeze*** *sprang up*. (N119d)
(14) *And* ***the moon*** *came out.* (N92c)
(15) ***A cloud*** *swirls round Philip Swallow's plane.* (C53c)

Let us at least briefly comment on one particular aspect of example (14) cited above, in which the subject is *the moon*. Closely related to its syntactic make–up is the question of definiteness of the subjects in Pr–sentences. Contrary to the "prototypical" use of the indefinite article in Pr–sentences, subjects in these two examples make use of the definite article, apparently not used in the anaphoric way. This, nevertheless, does not violate the concept of context–independence of the subjects but obviously denotes the uniqueness of the phenomenon (the Sun, the Moon and the like).

3.2 Fauna (and flora)

(16) ***A bee*** *buzzed across their path.* (N120e)
(17) *Close beside the path they were following,* ***a bird*** *suddenly chirped from the branch of a tree.* (N74d)
(18) *In the wood behind them* ***a bird*** *gave a chuckling sound.* (N148b)

The examples adduced above clearly fall into the semantic category of animal acoustic manifestation, which can be readily connected with their typical, most natural manner of being; their prototypical existence.

3.3 Facial expressions, bodily feelings

Another relatively frequent type of sentences with context–independent subjects that display a semantic affinity with the verb is represented by the area of the human body, such as facial expressions, or bodily feelings. Due to its corresponding semantics, example (18) is listed here even if the verb *come* expresses the existence/appearance on the scene rather explicitly and the semantic affinity is not a necessary condition for the verb to be capable of denoting presentation:

(19) ***A searing pain*** *bored into his hand.* (C84)
(20) ***A ghost of a smile*** *hovered on Mrs Swallow's lips.* (C86c)
(21) ***A slow cruel smile*** *came over the Witch's face*. (N99b)

Likewise, Firbas offers several examples of Pr–sentences in which there is "a context–independent subject presenting a phenomenon appearing on a human body, the element(s) expressing the body or some part of it performing the role of a setting" (Firbas 1992, 61). In his examples below, "appearance on the scene is metaphorically expressed by a verb–object combination" (Firbas 1992, 61 quoting Svobodová 1966), claiming that in such sentences the object expresses a phenomenon that is "filled, permeated or covered by another phenomenon. The latter appears within the space provided by the former. The latter is the phenomenon to be presented; the former serves as the setting (scene) for the presentation" (ibid.). Actually, all three verbs used represent items with untypically large valency; *force* is in fact trivalent (*force its way through Aunt Ann's lips*). Firbas argues that via such semantic affinity "the verb prepares the way for the phenomenon to be presented" (ibid); notation and underlining mine:

(22) *Through Aunt Ann's compressed lips* ***a tender smile*** *forced its way*.

Generally, it could be said that the configuration with a transitive verb and a direct object prototypically occurs in sentences in which predication is construed as a figurative expression. It should be noted that examples of Pr–sentences in which appearance is expressed metaphorically will be dealt with separately in the present treatise in Section F below.

3.4 Inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects

(23) ***Two cups*** *steamed on the bedside table*. (C230)
(24) ***A bomb*** *exploded in the men's john on the fourth floor.* (C121b)
(25) *…and to his right* ***the oil refineries of St Gabriel*** *fumed into the limpid air.* (C56c)
(26) ***Another joint*** *was circulating*. (C96b)

By far the most frequent semantic area of Pr–sentences displaying a degree of semantic affinity between the verb and the subject may be characterised as inbred, inherent qualities of inanimate objects. It seems that this affinity subtype (i.e., inherent qualities/actions of inanimate object) lies at the core of the S– semantic affinity. As has been stated several times above such qualities are so typical of the context–ndependent entities that the lexical semantics of the verb is actually reduced to that of presentation; the remaining semantic load is – thanks to the high degree of communicative dynamism carried by the subject as well as the semantic affinity – backgrounded and functionally suppressed. In other words, in example (23), for instance, steaming is so inherent for cups of tea that the sentence can be functionally rephrased in the following way (analogously, the affinitive pairs such as *bomb – explode* or *refineries – fume* clearly follow the same syntactic–semantic pattern):

(23a) *There were two cups (steaming) on the bedside table.*

Sometimes, the pairs are realised as S–$_{\text{transitive}}$ (*nuns – sing a hymn, solitary security man – lift a lazy hand in salute*); the necessary verbal context is given in square brackets:

(27) *[Returning to the living–room to fetch a cigar, he found O'Shea asleep and Bernadette looking sullenly bored.] On the screen **a lot of nuns, photographed from behind**, were singing a hymn. ['Seen your aunt yet?' he inquired. Bernadette shook her head.]* (C91a)
(28) *[The buzz of a helicopter told him he was now in the militarized zone, though you wouldn't otherwise have guessed that there was any trouble at the University on this side of the campus, he thought, as he steered the car through the broad entrance on the West perimeter, past lawns and shrubberies where the spume of rotating water sprinklers rainbowed in the sun and] **and a solitary security man in his shelter** lifted a lazy hand in salute.* (C181d)

In examples (27) and (28), we may observe a strong tendency to actually express an intransitive action in the deep structure (in this interpretation *sing a hymn* can be understood as intransitive *sing,* and *lift a lazy hand in salute* could be decoded as intransitive *salute*). The power of S– semantic affinity observed along with the immediately relevant context in which the sentences appear only tentatively makes us arrive at the conclusion that we are most probably dealing with sentences which are perspectived in accordance with the Presentation Scale.

3.5 Sensory effects/perception (acoustic, visual, olfactory etc.)

(29) ***A dark spidery shadow** flashed across the gardens on the hillside.* (C171b)
(30) ***A National Guard helicopter** clattered over the Euphoric State campus yesterday, spraying tear gas over some 700 students.* (C162)

It should be admitted that some of the semantic categories (Sections 3.1–3.6) naturally overlap, such as in the case of the affinitive pair *bird – chirp*, which may be listed both in Section 3.2 (Fauna) and in Section 3.5 here, as we are dealing with an acoustic effect. Another illustration may be seen in the pair *pain – bore*, which can be logically related both to Section 3.3 (Bodily feelings) and to Section 3.6 (Figurative expressions). It is believed, nevertheless, that even such a rough and to a certain extent simplifying categorisation reflects the principal semantic areas that display a tendency towards S– affinity in Pr–sentences. After all, the lexical semantics of the English Pr–verbs is not black and white or one sided, but, on the contrary, rather multifaceted, and so overlaps are only natural.

3.6 Figurative expressions (metaphor or personification)

(31) *There **a beautiful sight** met their eyes.* (N120e)
(32) ***A spotlight** threw a pool of violet light on to the stage.* (C112)
(33) *At that moment **a strange noise** woke the silence.* (N128)
(34) *On Sunday **a huge procession of Garden supporters** coiled its way through the streets of Plotinus.* (C160)

As mentioned, a relatively high number of Pr–sentences base their predication on a figurative expression, namely a metaphor or personification. Such a figurative content appears to have something to do with the deep ‘intransitive understanding’ of S–V transitive structures: *meet sb.’s eyes* (31), *throw a pool of light* (32), *wake the silence* (33), or *coil sb.’s way* (34). In other words, apart from the S–V semantic affinity, it is the metaphorical character of the semantic load that turns a commonplace V–O syntactic combination into a structure that is capable of expressing existence/appearance on the scene in an implicit way. Without the figurative sense, the constructions would implement the Quality Scale; the direct objects would perform the DSFs of Specifications and the subject in such sentences would of course be context–dependent. Compare the presentational examples (32) and (33) from the list above with their functional counterparts clearly implementing the Quality Scale extracted from another FSP corpus – examples (32a) and (33a) below. The framed areas suggest what has been called the ‘primary semantic link’:

(32) ***A spotlight*** *threw a pool of violet light on to the stage*. (C112)
(32a) *[There was a spear in his hand] and so he threw* ***it*** *at David*. (1Samuel 18:10–11)
(33) *At that moment* ***a strange noise*** *woke the silence*. (N128)
(33a) *[The disciples went] and woke* ***him****, saying, “Lord, save us! We’re going to drown!”* (M8:25)

At this point in the discussion, a more general and summarising remark concerning the purely syntactic make–up of Pr–sentences is in order, namely a commentary on transitivity. It has been noted above that the Pr–verbs typically tend to originate in the intransitive (though they can sometimes act as transitive) group of the English verb; such sentences usually follow the SV or SVA sentence types patterns (see also Quirk et al. 1985, 1169–70). Research has indicated that Pr–verbs appear to tend towards relatively simple syntactic structures, whereas a more complex modification of the verb (i.e., a multiple valency) usually speaks in favour of quality verbs (Q–verbs). However, especially in the area of S–V semantic affinity, the Pr–verbs are recruited also among transitive verbs (ordinarily patterned as SVO or SVOA). Some of the examples above obviously fall into the semantic category of Pr–verbs expressing existence or appearance on the scene with sufficient implicitness in a metaphorical way and following the SVOA pattern in the present corpus. To sum up, the transitive character of the verb seems to go hand in hand with the metaphorical nature of the phrase. Though the observations above seem to be in accord with the general linguistic tendencies, the conjectures concerning the role of transitivity in the framework of syntactic semantic characteristics of Pr–verbs inevitably remain a subject of further research.

4. Conclusion

Research has convincingly proved that it is the *static* semantic load of the verb that as a matter of fact vitally determines the sentence functional perspective; it can be argued that the English (Pr–) verb acquires its dynamics in the immediately relevant context, the base being its static semantic equipment. The present paper discussed the prototypical type of sentences implementing the Presentation Scale (i.e., that containing a rhematic subject in preverbal position) within fiction narrative discourse with special regard to the semantic affinity operating between the subject and the predicate. In such distributional fields the Pr–verbs seem to semantically support the character of their subjects, preparing “the way for the phenomenon to be presented” (Firbas 1992, 61). On the basis of an array of corpus examples, a number of semantic categories of semantic affinity were identified and, in addition, some special syntactic aspects of such sentences were examined, such as the tendency towards intransitivity (even in the case of transitive verbs) as seen from the perspective of the deep structure. Most often this happens in sentences with metaphorical semantic load or in passive constructions.

The text material explored has indicated that it is such affinity that typically makes it possible for a verb to serve as the Pr–verb in the Pr–Scale; in other words, it seems to constitute the common denominator of the verbs that can express existence/appearance on the scene in an implicit manner. As has been shown, the verb's presentational capacity is practically 'dormant' even in configurations, which in their surface syntactic structure use a transitive verb or in syntactically complex phrases (cf. e.g., metaphorical structures such as *On Sunday a huge procession of Garden supporters coiled its way through the streets of Plotinus.*). Such a potential capacity of the transitional verb can be awakened, i.e., activated, if the verb displays the semantic affinity with the subject and other criteria permit (e.g., the passive, metaphorical nature, underlying or surface transitivity) and, most importantly, if the interplay of FSP factors permits (apart from semantics and the 'contradictory' linear modification, it is the immediately relevant context, of course). Otherwise the capability of a transitive verb to present a new phenomenon on the scene appears to be substantially limited if not impossible.

To conclude, it should be highlighted again that semantic affinity of the English Pr–verb with the subject seems to stand at the root of the question concerning the (semantic and syntactic) criteria that make it possible for the verb to act as a Pr–verb in the sentence. In this respect, such semantic affinity proved to be a truly formative force operating in the constitution of the Presentation Scale sentences.

Bibliography

Adam, M. 2009. *Functional Macrofield Perspective (A Religious Discourse Analysis Based on FSP).* Brno: Masaryk University.

- - -. 2010. A Functional Characterology of the English Transitional Pr–Verbs: Presentation or Appearance on the Scene Revisited. *Ostrava Journal of English Philology* 2, no. 2: 7–20.

- - -. 2011. Towards a Syntactic–Semantic Typology of Presentation Scale Sentences in Fiction Narratives. *Brno Studies in English* 37, no. 2: 5–19.

Chamonikolasová, J., and M. Adam. 2005. The Presentation Scale in the Theory of Functional Sentence Perspective. In *Patterns (A Festschrift for Libuše Dušková)*, ed. J. Čermák, 59–69. Prague: Charles University.

Dušková, L. 1988. *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny [Grammar of Present–day English on the Background of Czech].* Prague: Karolinum.

- - -. 1998. Syntactic Forms of the Presentation and their Differentiation. *Linguistica Pragensia* 8, no. 1: 36–43.

- - -. 1999. *Studies in the English language. Part II.* Prague: Karolinum.

- - -. 2005. From the Heritage of Vilém Mathesius and Jan Firbas: Syntax in the Service of FSP. In *Theory and Practice in English Studies 3: Proceedings from 8th Brno Conference of English, American and Canadian Studies*, ed. J. Chovanec, 7–23. Brno: Masaryk University.

- - -. 2008. Vztahy mezi sémantikou a aktuálním členěním z pohledu anglistických členů Pražského lingvistického kroužku [The Relations between Semantics and Functional Sentence Perspective as Seen by Anglicist Members of the Prague Linguistic Circle]. *Slovo a slovesnost* 69, no. 1–2: 67–77.

Firbas, J. 1964. On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Analysis. *Travaux Linguistiques de Prague* 1: 267–80.

- - -. 1986. On the Dynamics of Written Communication in the Light of the Theory of Functional Sentence Perspective. In *Studying Writing: Linguistic Approaches*, ed. C.R. Cooper and S. Greenbaum, 40–71. Beverly Hills: Sage.

- - -. 1992. *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- - - . 1995. On the Thematic and the Rhematic Layers of a Text. In *Organization in Discourse: Proceedings from the Turku Conference, Anglicana Turkuensia 14*, ed. B. Warwik, S.–K. Tauskanen and R. Hiltunen, 59–72. Turku: University of Turku.

Lewis, C.S. 1950. *The Chronicles of Narnia. The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. London: Harper Collins.

Lodge, D. 1979. *Changing Places: A Tale of Two Campuses.* London: Penguin Books.

Mathesius, V. 1975. *A Functional Analysis of Present Day English on a General Linguistic Basis.* Prague: Academia.

Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G.N. Leech, and J. Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language.* London: Longman.

Svoboda, A. 2005. Firbasian semantic scales and comparative studies. In *Patterns (A Festschrift for Libuše Dušková)*, ed. J. Čermák, 217–29. Prague: Charles University.

- - -. 2006. Firbasovy sémantické škály a komunikační strategie [Firbasian semantic scales and communicative strategy]. In *Pocta Evě Mrhačové*, ed. J. Hubáček, 215–27. Ostrava: Ostrava University.

Svobodová, J. 1966. Some notes on sentences containing the non–thematic subject. M.A. diss., Masaryk University.

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.21-32

Paul Brocklebank
Department of Liberal Arts
Tokyo University of Technology

Johnson and the Eighteenth–Century Periodical Essay: A Corpus–Based Approach

Summary

The style of Samuel Johnson's essays for the periodicals *The Rambler*, *The Adventurer* and *The Idler* is quite different from that of earlier eighteenth–century essayists such as Joseph Addison and Jonathan Swift. However, despite advances in recent years in corpus–based stylistic approaches to texts, a comparison of these three authors using current corpus–analytic techniques has yet to be attempted. This paper reports on the first stages of such a project. Johnson's essays are compared with Addison and Swift's essays using *WordSmith Tools 5*, and an analysis of keywords, semantic groupings of keywords, and key collocations of keywords in Johnson's essays are identified. It is argued that a keyword analysis brings to the fore grammatical aspects of Johnsonian sentence patterns and provides empirical support for what have hitherto been only intuitively–based statements regarding his style. Also, further patterns in the data will be identified through a phraseological analysis of the essays focusing on the most common four–word clusters (4–grams) that Johnson uses.

Key words: corpus stylistics, corpus linguistics, keywords, 4–grams, eighteenth century periodical essays, Samuel Johnson

Johnson in periodični eseji 18. stoletja: korpusni pristop

Povzetek

Slog v esejih Samuela Johnsona, ki so izhajali v časopisih *The Rambler*, *The Adventurer* in *The Idler* se precej razlikuje od sloga pisanja drugih esejistov zgodnjega 18. stoletja, kot sta na primer Joseph Addison in Jonathan Swift. V zadnjem času je sicer prišlo do napredka v stilističnih raziskavah besedil s pomočjo korpusnega pristopa, vendar bo besedila omenjenih treh avtorjev še potrebno primerjati s pomočjo korpusno–analitičnih tehnik. Članek predstavlja prve faze tega projekta. Johnsonove eseje primerjamo z eseji Addisona in Swifta s pomočjo orodja *WordSmith Tools 5* in prepoznavamo ključne besede, semantične skupine ključnih besed ter ključne kolokacije ključnih besed v Johnsonovih esejih. Trdimo, da analiza ključnih besed potisne v ospredje slovnične vidike Johsnonovih stavčnih vzorcev in tako zagotovi tudi empirično podporo za sedanje intuitivne trditve o Johnsonovem slogu pisanja. Druge vzorce bomo pridobili s pomočjo frazeološke analize esejev, ki se bo omejila na štiri–besedne sklope (4–gram), ki so značilni za Johnsona.

Ključne besede: korpusna stilistika, korpusno jezikoslovje, ključne besede, 4–gram, periodični eseji iz 18. stoletja, Samuel Johnson

Johnson and the Eighteenth–Century Periodical Essay: A Corpus–Based Approach

1. Introduction

A recent trend in corpus stylistics has been to apply corpus–based approaches such as keyword analysis (see Scott 2002) and cluster analysis (as in Mahlberg 2007, 2009) to fictional texts, mainly novels. This paper reports on an attempt to extend the use of these techniques to the eighteenth–century periodical essay, focusing on an examination of Samuel Johnson's essays in *The Rambler*, *The Adventurer* and *The Idler*, as compared with essays written by Jonathan Swift and Joseph Addison in the earlier years of the same century.

Johnson's distinctive style has often been acknowledged, not only by scholars interested in the stylistics of eighteenth–century prose (see, for example, Wimsatt 1941, 1948, and McIntosh 1998), but also by his contemporaries. Indeed, Wimsatt (1941, 133) goes as far as to say, 'The *Rambler* style made a splash. Johnson is himself an event in the history of English prose. His style was recognized by contemporaries as "something extraordinary, a prodigy or monstrosity, a huge phenomenon." '

However, while certain idiosyncrasies of this prose style were identified by Wimsatt (1941), such as (syntactic and semantic) parallelism, antithesis and philosophic diction (meaning the use of scientific terminology derived from Greek and Latin sources), there has not yet been an attempt to employ more recent techniques from corpus linguistics to Johnson's periodical essays. This paper amounts to a first step towards doing this. Using Mike Scott's *WordSmith Tools* software (Scott 2007) I attempt to use keyword and cluster techniques in order to reveal what makes Johnson's prose style distinctive vis–à–vis the earlier stylistic models of Swift and Addison.

2. The data

This study focuses on the periodical essays that Johnson contributed to three publications from 1750 to 1760 – *The Rambler* (1750–52), contributions to which make up the bulk of the essays, *The Adventurer* (1752–54) and *The Idler* (1758–60). The text of *The Rambler* came from the Electronic Text Center at the University of Virginia (http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/etext/index.html). To enable analysis, the HTML pages for these essays were downloaded and converted into text format. Text files of *The Adventurer* and *The Idler* essays came straight from Project Gutenberg (http://www.gutenberg.org/). For all the essays I carried out some pre–editing of the text by removing the Latin and Greek mottos at the beginning of each contribution and deleted any lengthy quotation, whether poetry or prose, and whether in Latin, Greek, English or any other language.

The data with which Johnson's periodical output is compared comprises those essays by Addison and Swift that are readily available in electronic format at Project Gutenberg. These were all of Addison's contributions to *The Spectator*, and those periodical essays by Swift that were published in *The Tatler*, *The Examiner*, *The Spectator* and *The Intelligencer*. The Addison and Swift essays were pre–edited in the same way as the Johnson essays.

The composition of the three text files/corpora is summarized in Table 1:

Text file	Number of essays
Johnson	323 (*The Rambler*: 203, *The Adventurer*: 29, *The Idler*: 91)
Addison	255 – all from *The Spectator*
Swift	54 (*The Tatler*: 17, *The Examiner*: 33, *The Spectator*: 1, *The Intelligencer*: 3)

Table 1. ***Composition of the three writers' text files.***

2.1 Keywords and their key collocates

This corpus–based analysis of Johnson's essays involves an examination of lexical differences between these essays and those of Addison and Swift. This section will look at the most statistically–significant keywords and the main collocates that they pattern with, Section 2.2 narrows the focus to key content words, and Section 2.3 deals with key four–word clusters (also known as four–word strings or '4–grams').

The notion of keyword is now a familiar one in corpus linguistics. A keyword is a word that appears in a particular corpus a statistically significant number of times more often than in another (usually larger) 'reference corpus.' Keywords, therefore, are lexical items that are prominent or foregrounded in [Text A] when contrasted with their use (or non–use) in [Text B]. The semantic content of keywords is seen as a good indicator of the foregrounded content of a text, reflecting what the text is 'about'. For examples of research in corpus stylistics where this idea of 'keyness' plays an important role, see Scott (2002), Rayson (2008), Culpeper (2009), and Fischer–Starcke (2009).

If we look at the number of tokens in each text file (see Table 2) one can observe that the Johnson corpus at 434,344 tokens is slightly larger than the combined size of the Addison and Swift reference corpus at 412,572 tokens. In addition, the Addison section of this reference corpus is over three and a half times larger than the section containing Swift's essays.

Section of text file	Number of tokens
The Rambler	295,625
The Adventurer	46,532
The Idler	92,187
JOHNSON TOTAL	**434,344**
Addison (all)	323,841
Swift (all)	88,731
ADDISON & SWIFT TOTAL	**412,572**

Table 2. ***Number of tokens in each section of the text files.***

This lack of balance is potentially problematic. Merely combining the Swift and Addison text files and comparing this single corpus with Johnson's essays risks producing misleading results, as the comparison would lack balance and be heavily weighted towards Addison. Therefore, to give a more equitable comparison, when calculating the Johnsonian keywords I decided to run each comparison separately before merging the two sets of results.

Two lists of keywords were generated, one for Johnson versus Addison, the other for Johnson versus Swift. To do this I used the *WordSmith Tools KeyWords* program, which takes two wordlists and carries out a proportional statistical comparison by applying a log–likelihood test of significance to the frequency scores of each word in the lists. Application of this statistical test results in a 'keyness score' being obtained for each keyword, and the *KeyWords* program outputs an ordered list of keywords. Positive keywords are those words which appear in Text A proportionally more often than in Text B, whereas negative keywords are those which appear proportionally less often.

For this study, probability was set to $p < 0.00001$ and the minimum number of hits for inclusion in the list of keywords was 3. With these settings 525 positive keywords were generated for Johnson versus Addison and 124 positive keywords for Johnson versus Swift. These two lists were then reduced to a single 'key keyword list' of 92 'key keywords' by selecting only those words that were common to both lists. Finally, a combined ranking list of 'key keywords' was compiled by taking the keyness scores for each word and then calculating the average score.

Below are the top ten 'key keywords' for Johnson's essays:

Key keywords	**Frequency in J**	**Frequency in A & S**	**Average keyness score**
BY	5,291	2,660	450.78
WITHOUT	1,382	478	242.02
CAN	1,279	474	203.76
AND	16,002	12,269	198.64
OR	3,732	2,266	174.01
HAPPINESS	420	80	160.35
ALWAYS	755	240	151.39
LIFE	988	411	146.89
EVERY	1,564	823	137.59
NO	1,558	794	131.46

Table 3. ***Key keywords in Johnson's periodical essays.***

Most of these most prominent keywords are functional (two prepositions BY and WITHOUT, a modal CAN, two conjunctions AND and OR, and two determiners NO and EVERY), and the only content words are HAPPINESS, ALWAYS and LIFE. The predominance of function words is somewhat surprising as it is often assumed that the main purpose of a keyword analysis is to identify the 'aboutness' of a text, and that therefore items such as content words and proper nouns will rise to the top of the list. In this case it is possible that the results reflect basic differences in sentence structure between Johnson and the earlier essayists. For example, it is likely that the presence of the two conjunctions points to a greater use of coordinate structures in the former, whether at the sentence or phrase level. Since Wimsatt (1941) it has been acknowledged that one signature of Johnson's style is the large amount of parallelism in the essays, where in many instances a conjunction operates as a 'hinge' between parallel elements (see below for further evidence of this parallelism in the data that *WordSmith* brings to our attention).

To investigate these conjectures it is important to examine how the keywords operate in context by consulting a concordance and seeing how other words collocate with the keyword. Using *WordSmith Concord* I generated a table of collocates (up to and including five places to the left and right of the headword) and a concordance for the top keyword, BY.

L1	**Headword**	**R1**
AND (121), BUT (106), ONLY (92), OR (56), IT (48), THAT (46), THEMSELVES (42), HIMSELF (34), THEM (34), HIM (31)	**BY (5291)**	THE (924), A (317), WHICH (291), HIS (166), THEIR (110), AN (95), SOME (86), THOSE (84), THIS (71), ANY (51)

Table 4. ***Top ten adjacent (L1 and R1) collocates for BY in Johnson's essays (with frequencies).***

R1 (one place to the right of BY) was predominantly filled by articles or determiners, reflecting the fact that in most cases BY combines with a noun phrase (NP) to form a prepositional phrase. One place to the left of BY (L1) was more interesting. The large number of conjunctions in this position (AND, BUT, OR) reflects a tendency to coordinate the by–phrase; ONLY is often used as a modifier before the phrase; and a look at the concordance for BY reveals that THAT is in most cases the complement marker, indicating that the by–phrase often precedes the other elements in a complement clause.

Finally, the large number of object pronouns (IT, THEMSELVES, HIMSELF, THEM, HIM) in L1 point to sequences of 'verb + object pronoun + by–phrase' as common colligations in the essays. Here are some examples of this pattern as revealed by the concordance:

with seriousness, and improve it	**by**	meditation; and that,
the particles that impregnate it	**by**	their salutary or malignant
and to recommend themselves	**by**	minute industry
till they discovered themselves	**by**	some indubitable token
that he has enslaved himself	**by**	some foolish confidence
without time to prepare himself	**by**	previous studies.
things, because we measure them	**by**	some wrong standard.
when Truth ceased to awe them	**by**	her immediate presence
wrong when they are shewn him	**by**	another; but he that has
solicitudes, and divert him	**by**	cheerful conversation.

Table 5. ***Concordance examples of 'verb + object pronoun + by–phrase' from Johnson's*** **essays.**

The main problem with just looking at the concordances for each keyword is the lack of any comparative element. How are we to know whether the collocation patterns are unusual or not? It could well be the case that the patterns are also common in the reference corpus and therefore relatively insignificant.

One way to help overcome this is to extend the notion of keyness to the collocates themselves. To calculate these key collocates I first combined the Addison and Swift files into a single 'AS' file. Then text file concordances were generated for the top ten Johnsonian 'key keywords' for both of the files 'J' (Johnson) and 'AS', with a character span set at 60 characters around each keyword.

Wordlists were generated for each concordance, and finally the wordlists were compared by having *WordSmith* calculate the positive key collocates for the Johnson concordances. Maximum p value was adjusted to 0.0001 to allow more key collocates to be generated.

The ten most significant results ranked according to keyness scores are in Table 6 below. AND is the keyword that has the greatest number of the strongest collocates. BY is the strongest lexical collocate for OR and the second strongest collocate for AND; an examination of the concordance for these two pairs showed strong preferences for pre– ('and by NP') and post–coordination of by–phrases ('by NP and'), confirming that there is a marked tendency for coordination of by–phrases as hypothesized in the preliminary collocate analysis above. In addition, it appears that EVERY + MAN collocate so strongly because EVERY MAN is such a common phrase in Johnson's essays, occurring 272 times in all.

Rank	Key keyword	Key collocate	Keyness score
1	AND	WITHOUT	149.60
2	AND	BY	133.51
3	AND	TO	117.20
4	OR	BY	108.03
5	EVERY	MAN	100.59
6	AND	THEREFORE	88.76
7	AND	HOPES	80.24
8	AND	NO	78.84
9	AND	WHOSE	72.01
10	AND	CONFIDENCE	66.07

Table 6. ***Top ten key collocates of key keywords in Johnson's periodical essays.***

Turning now to the strongest keyword–collocate pairing AND + WITHOUT, if we consult a concordance of examples for these two words when they occur in proximity to one another, we see that WITHOUT occurs most often (140 times) two places before AND, in other words a major configuration in the essays is [WITHOUT X AND]. The main category exponent is, unsurprisingly, a noun (N), and the main patterns with extended environments to the left and right of the configuration are as follows (with each extended pattern occurring ten or more times in the data):

(1) VP [without N, and] VP
Ex… may wanton in cruelty without control, and trample the bounds of right (*The Rambler* 148)
(2) VP [without N and] without NP
Ex… and [leaves us without importance, and without regard] (*The Rambler* 72)
(3) NP [without N and] NP without NP
Ex… he has [birth without alliance, and influence without dignity] (*The Rambler* 142)
(4) VP [without N, and] S
Ex… the malignity is continued without end, and it is common for old maids (*The Rambler* 46)

The coordination is, therefore, for the most part with a VP (verb phrase) (in 1), another prepositional phrase headed by 'without' (in 2), another NP that contains a prepositional phrase headed by 'without' (in 3), or with another clause (S) (in 4).

What is most striking is the large number of parallel examples involving 'without' that occur, either in [PP and PP] as in (2) above, or in [NP and NP] as in (3), or, to give some further patterns, in [VP and VP], (ex. he [roars without reply, and ravages without resistance] in *The Rambler* 72) or in [AP and AP], where AP is an adjectival phrase (ex. to be [inactive without ease, and drowsy without tranquillity] in *The Adventurer* 39). It would appear that parallelism is such a prominent aspect of Johnson's periodical prose style that it surfaces even when stylistic analysis is at the lexical as well as the syntactic level.

2.2 Key content words and their behavior

As the top of the list of key keywords is dominated to such an extent by tokens belonging to functional categories, I decided to target my analysis on the content words (nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs) in my list of 92 so as to enable me to examine the thematic content of Johnson's style more readily. In fact, of these 92 key keywords there were 72 content key keywords all together, even after omitting the two proper nouns RAMBLER and IDLER. It was, therefore, only at the very top of the list that the function words predominated.

Here are the ten content words with the highest average keyness scores:

Content keywords	Frequency in J	Frequency in A & S	Average keyness score
HAPPINESS	420	80	160.35
ALWAYS	755	240	151.39
LIFE	988	411	146.89
SCARCELY	156	0	115.92
KNOWLEDGE	399	97	111.89
ATTENTION	277	44	111.29
EASILY	278	47	99.86
THEREFORE	754	329	88.63
EQUALLY	245	41	87.42
HOPES	219	34	84.30

Table 7. ***Top content keywords in Johnson's periodical essays.***

The next step in the procedure was to group the content words according to semantic similarity. To do this I used the categories implemented in the *UCREL Semantic Analysis System* (or *USAS*; see Rayson 2008, 2009) for tagging text with the *Wmatrix* software tool. I checked the accuracy of the tagging manually and made additions when necessary. For example, I had to add a tag for FELICITY, which not appearing in the standard *Wmatrix* lexicon initially failed to receive a tag.

There were seven groups of three or more members. E4.1+, in other words, the group of 'happiness and contentment' lexical items (HAPPINESS, MERRIMENT, FELICITY, PLEASURE, GRATIFICATIONS, MISERIES and MISERY) was the largest. Clearly this is an important concept that Johnson investigates in his essays – indeed, it may be remembered that HAPPINESS was one of the ten main key keywords. Nine members belong to a broad 'psychological' grouping: five to the 'expected' group, X2.6+ (HOPES, HOPE, EXPECTED, EXPECTATION and

EXPECTATIONS), and four to the 'interested/excited/energetic' group, X5.2+ (ARDOUR, DILIGENCE, CURIOSITY and EAGERNESS).

'Evaluation' (A5: SUPERIORITY, EXCELLENCE and ERROUR) and 'comparing' (A6: EQUALLY, EQUAL, ACCUSTOMED) are also important things that Johnson is attempting, and although treated separately in the *USAS* categorization system can perhaps be placed together in one larger group of six members. The personality traits (S1.2) KINDNESS, ENVY and VANITY are also prominent. Finally, the group of three frequency adverbs (SOMETIMES, ALWAYS and SELDOM) is probably a reflection of Johnson's many attempts at providing generalizations in his essays.

As HAPPINESS was not only a keyword but also evidently a key concept, I decided to look at how this important word patterned with other words in the essays, again using Addison and Swift's essays as a standard of comparison. The methodology for obtaining the key collocates was identical to that described in Section 2.2, except that this time I restricted my examination to content collocates. The major key collocates are listed below:

Rank	**Key content collocate**	**Frequency in J**
1	LIFE	41
2	FOUND	14
3	DAY	12
4	MEANS	11
5	LONG	10
6	PLACE	10
7	MEN	10
8	RICHES	9
9	HOUR	8
10	KNOWLEDGE	8

Table 8. ***Key content collocates of HAPPINESS.***

LIFE was by far the most significant collocate, appearing 41 times in the environment of HAPPINESS in Johnson, but only twice in Addison and Swift (none of the other collocates on this list appeared at all as collocates of HAPPINESS in the Addison and Swift corpus, so here I have just listed the frequencies in Johnson).

To identify how HAPPINESS collocates with these other words, I worked through the concordances and tried to identify common patterns in Johnson's use of each pair of words in context. This procedure, therefore, signaled a shift from a quantitative approach to a more qualitative type of analysis. Below, I provide a snapshot of how the words are used, followed by some examples from Johnson's essays to illustrate their use.

(a) HAPPINESS and LIFE

LIFE may be the locus of HAPPINESS, but more often it is the lack or provisional nature thereof which is foregrounded:

(5) "Such is the condition of **life**, that something is always wanting to **happiness**." (*The Rambler* 196)
(6) "And so scanty is our present allowance of **happiness**, that in many situations **life** could scarcely be supported..." (*The Adventurer* 69)
(7) "Thus every period of **life** is obliged to borrow its **happiness** from the time to come." (*The Rambler* 203)
(8) "What state of **life** admits most **happiness**, is uncertain..." (*The Adventurer* 111)

(b) HAPPINESS and FOUND

HAPPINESS is something to be FOUND, although finding it may be difficult or hardly worth the effort:

(9) "(I) longed for the **happiness** which was to be **found** in the inseparable society of a good sort of woman." (*The Idler* 100)
(10) "But what is success to him that has none to enjoy it? **Happiness** is not **found** in self–contemplation..." (*The Idler* 41)
(11) "But by him that examines life with a more close attention, the **happiness** of the world will be **found** still less than it appears." (*The Adventurer* 120)

(c) HAPPINESS and LONG

HAPPINESS may well be a LONG time coming:

(12) "... he that has been **long** accustomed to please himself with possibilities of fortuitous **happiness**..." (*The Adventurer* 69)
(13) "... I wondered how it could happen that I had so **long** delayed my own **happiness**." (*The Rambler* 165)
(14) "... the **happiness** that I have been so **long** procuring is now at an end..." (*The Adventurer* 102)

(d) HAPPINESS and PLACE

HAPPINESS is a state in which one may PLACE oneself or one may PLACE in the hands of others:

(15) "... (they) **place** themselves at will in varied situations of **happiness**..." (*The Rambler* 89)
(16) "Among wretches that **place** their **happiness** in the favour of the great..." (*The Rambler* 189)

Change of PLACE, however, is not to be recommended:

(17) "All my **happiness** has been destroyed by change of **place**..." (*The Idler* 53)
(18) "... all expectations of **happiness** from change of **place** would cease." (*The Idler* 50)

As for HAPPINESS and its other key content collocates, their main uses can be summarized as follows (because of space restrictions I omit the examples):

- Every DAY or every HOUR represents a step towards attaining the elusive state of HAPPINESS.
- HAPPINESS is something that MEN contemplate and wish to attain, and there are certain MEANS by which they may obtain it.
- But if they think RICHES will bring them HAPPINESS, they are sorely mistaken.
- Finally, KNOWLEDGE is seen as something worth attaining along with HAPPINESS (and virtue).

In this way one can use information from key collocate lists and concordances to provide sketches of how a particular word is used by an author. In the above, a single instance was chosen to illustrate the approach, but of course similar sketches can be obtained by following the same procedure for the other key content words.

2.3 Key four–word clusters

Finally, let us take a brief look at the most significant four–word clusters (also referred to as four–word strings or '4–grams') used in Johnson's essays. While keywords reflect textual content, clusters more often reflect structural features of a text. Clusters four words in length were chosen because clusters that are longer than this tend to occur in more restricted syntactic, semantic, pragmatic contexts (see Starcke 2008).

To obtain these clusters a list of four–member strings was generated from the Johnson text file using the *kfNgram* software tool (Fletcher 2002). This was repeated for the text file containing Addison and Swift essays, and then keyness scores for the 27 clusters occurring ten or more times in Johnson were calculated in the usual way. I then attempted to sort the 4–grams into semantic groups. Only four were clearly identifiable: these are shown in Table 9 together with their ranking which is indicated by the numbers in brackets.

Semantic group	**Four–word clusters**
Letter–writing formulas	to the rambler sir (1), I am sir c (4), to the idler sir (7), am sir your humble (12), sir your humble servant (13), the rambler sir I (22)
Extent	the greater part of (3), for the most part (5), greater part of mankind (9), the rest of mankind (11), it is common to (24)
Humankind	greater part of mankind (9), the rest of mankind (11), of the human mind (20), of the world will (25)
Ease/difficulty	it is not easy (6), is not easy to (23)

Table 9: ***Key groups of four–word clusters in Johnson's essays.***

The discourse structural features brought to the surface here are the (fragments of) letter writing formulas, which make up the largest identifiable group. In fact, 'to the rambler sir,' occurring 47 times in Johnson and, unsurprisingly, never in the Addison and Swift corpus, was the most prominent four–word cluster. There was also an 'extent' grouping, in which all of the clusters refer to majorities or parts, again possibly as a reflection of Johnson's generalizing tendency touched on earlier. 'Humankind' was another group, another focus of Johnson's enquiries – it may be remembered that MAN was a key collocate of the key keyword EVERY, and MEN a key collocate of HAPPINESS. The only other group was 'ease/difficulty,' which consists of just two strings, 'it is not easy' and 'is not easy to.'

Not belonging to a group, but important because it was the cluster with the second highest keyness score, was 'in a short time.' This tended to be used in a particular way by Johnson. It hardly ever appeared clause–finally, and while semantically it has a temporal sense, pragmatically it is usually used in the essays as a marker of change, with the change being non–neutral – in other words, from a non–negative to a negative state, as in these examples:

(19) "Serenus **in a short time** began to find his danger…" (*The Adventurer* 62)
(20) "Among those whose reputation is exhausted **in a short time** by its own luxuriance…" (*The Rambler* 106)
(21) "Thus, **in a short time**, I had heated my imagination to such a state of activity…" (*The Rambler* 101)

In (19) Serenus moves from a state of blissful ignorance to a sense of peril; in (20) reputations are tarnished; and in (21) a state of calm is replaced by an overheated imagination.

Or the change may involve a move from an inferior state to a better one, as in:

(22) "… of those who break the ranks and disorder the uniformity of the march, most return **in a short time** from their deviation…" (*The Rambler* 135)
(23) "…he therefore studied all the military writers both ancient and modern, and, **in a short time**, could tell how to have gained every remarkable battle that has been lost…" (*The Rambler* 19)

The change in (22) is from disorder to order; and in (23) ignorance is replaced by knowledge.

2.4 Further work

This paper reports on what is only the first stage of the current project; a full comparison of the three writers' styles will only be possible when Addison's and Swift's essays have been compared with their respective reference corpora ('Johnson/Swift' and 'Johnson/Addison' respectively).

There is also the question of similarities to be considered. What do the three writers' essays share from a lexical viewpoint? Investigating this will require a contemporaneous reference corpus that consists of something other than periodical essays, and for this I am considering using a corpus of eighteenth–century fiction that I have compiled.

Finally, it would be interesting to extend the analysis to look at key parts of speech and key semantic categories. However, to do this properly all of the essays would have to be tagged fully before we would be able to analyze them with the *Wmatrix* software. To ensure that all of the words are tagged with part–of–speech information and semantic tags the lexicon needs to be extended to cover the words not in the standard *Wmatrix* lexicon. Divergent (from author to author) and antique spellings also need to be recognized by the tagger. Work on compiling a suitable lexicon is currently in progress.

3. Conclusion

My aim has been to show how techniques from corpus stylistics can be used to investigate the language of Johnson's periodical essays. At best such an analysis can reveal patterns that would not be evident using a more traditional, close reading approach to the texts; at the very least the method produces empirical evidence for patterns that the analyst may have originally identified through informed intuition. Application of these techniques has thrown up a number of different, but interlinked results.

First, where the results from the initial keyword analysis revealed that Johnson not only had a preference for using the prepositions BY and WITHOUT and the conjunctions AND and OR, the follow–up key collocate analysis showed that these prepositions and conjunctions tended to co–occur, so that conjoined BY and WITHOUT–phrases were common in the essays. The prominence of conjunctions probably reflects the large number of parallel structures that is such a striking aspect of Johnson's style.

The analysis of content keywords showed that the concept of HAPPINESS was a key concern of Johnson. The word HAPPINESS was the top content keyword and 'happiness–contentedness' was the largest key content category. Keywords can and should be investigated further by identifying key collocates and noting common uses by reading off the words in context using concordances. Each approach is likely to bring to the surface something different, although even here strong conceptual links between lexical items may be evident – for example, not only were HAPPINESS and LIFE key keywords but LIFE was the main content collocate of HAPPINESS.

Finally, a mixture of quantitative and qualitative analyses of four–word clusters may also throw light on differences in the texts, particularly as regards discourse structures.

Bibliography

Culpeper, J. 2009. Keyness: Words, parts–of–speech and semantic categories in the character–talk of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14 (1): 29–59.

Fischer–Starcke, B. 2009. Keywords and frequent phrases of Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice: A corpus–stylistic analysis. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14 (4): 492–523.

Fletcher, W.H. 2002. *kfNgram*. Available at: http://www.kwicfinder.com/kfNgram/kfNgramHelp.html (accessed August 2012).

Mahlberg, M. 2007. Clusters, key clusters and local textual functions in Dickens. *Corpora* 2 (1): 1–31.

- - -. 2009. Corpus stylistics and the Pickwickian watering–pot. In *Contemporary Corpus Linguistics*, ed. P. Baker, 47–63. London: Continuum.

McIntosh, C. 1998. *The Evolution of English Prose 1700–1800: Style, Politeness, and Print Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rayson, P. 2008. From key words to key semantic domains. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 13 (4): 519–49.

Scott, M. 2002. Comparing corpora and identifying key words, collocations, and frequency distributions through the *WordSmith Tools* suite of computer programs. In *Small Corpus Studies and ELT: Theory and Practice*, ed. M. Ghadessy, A. Henry and R.L. Roseberry, 47–67. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- - -. 2007. *WordSmith Tools 4.0*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Starcke, B. 2008. I don't know – differences in patterns of collocation and semantic prosody in phrases of different lengths. In *Language, People and Numbers: Corpora in Society – Theoretical and Applied*, ed. A. Gerbig and O. Mason, 199–216. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Wimsatt, W.K. 1941. *The Prose Style of Samuel Johnson*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- - -. 1948. *Philosophic Words: A Study of Style and Meaning in the Rambler and Dictionary of Samuel Johnson*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

The Rambler http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/etext/index.html

Project Gutenberg (http://www.gutenberg.org/

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.33-44

Laura Mrhar
University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Arts, Slovenia

A Functional Approach to Compiling a Specialized English–Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms

Summary

The functional approach to lexicography argues that dictionaries must provide their users with concrete types of information, presented in a manner that suits their needs. To achieve this, the process of compiling specialized dictionaries must be improved. This paper examines the revision of a specialized English–Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms, with particular emphasis on the functional approach to building specialized dictionaries. As the potential users of the unrevised dictionary differ from those of the revised version, this paper aims to show how the profile of the intended user affects the structure of the actual dictionary entry, as well as the dictionary's main functions. The main objective of the paper is therefore to put forward a sound theoretical foundation for the improved construction of LSP dictionaries, so that they will truly serve as a helpful tool in solving those problems that normally occur in LSP communication.

Key words: specialized lexicography, function theory, user profile, communicative functions, microstructure

Funkcijski pristop pri sestavljanju specializiranega Angleško–slovenskega slovarja terminov *zelene energije*

Funkcijski pristop k leksikografiji zagovarja, da morajo slovarji svojim uporabnikom nuditi konkretne tipe informacij, predstavljenje na takšen način, ki najbolj odgovarja uporabnikovim potrebam. Da bi to dosegli, se mora izboljšati proces sestave specializiranih slovarjev. Prispevek z vidika funkcijskega pristopa k sestavi specializiranih slovarjev obravnava revidiranje specializiranega Angleško–slovenskega slovarja terminov zelene energije. Ker se potencialni uporabniki nerevidiranega slovarja razlikujejo od uporabnikov revidirane verzije, prispevek skuša prikazati kako profil predvidenega uporabnika vpliva na strukturo slovarskega vnosa in na glavne funkcije določenega slovarja. Poglavitni cilj prispevka je torej predlagati teoretično osnovo za bolj učinkovito sestavo specializiranih slovarjev, da bi le–ti zares lahko služili kot uporabno sredstvo pri reševanju tistih težav, ki se pojavljajo pri specializirani komunikaciji.

Ključne besede: specializirana leksikografija, funkcijska teorija, profil uporabnika, komunikacijske funkcije, mikrostruktura

UDK 81'374.26=111=163.6:620.9:502.3/.5

A Functional Approach to Compiling a Specialized English–Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms

1. Introduction

The compilation of specialized terminological products involves making numerous decisions concerning dictionary users, their needs, and their linguistic competence. This paper presents a pilot study that was carried out as part of the revision process of the *English–Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms* (the ESDGET) (Mrhar 2010)[1], which was primarily compiled with a number of different users in mind, but was later on reorganized to suit a new type of user, namely the expert translator. To determine the user profile and the structure of the dictionary entry, the paper uses the *function theory of lexicography*, to see if it provides any practical suggestions for establishing the main functions of the dictionary, and thus improving its quality. In part one, the functional approach to lexicography is discussed from the point of view of the specific type of user with specific types of problems that occur in specific types of user situations (for a review, see Tarp 2008). In part two, the communicative functions of the revised dictionary are presented in detail, as they serve as the focal point for forming a revised dictionary entry. In part three, the microstructure of the dictionary entry is described along with a detailed user profile, the types of situations in which translators normally reach for bilingual specialized dictionaries, and the needs or problems that force them to do so.

2. The function theory of lexicography

Even though many theories concerning lexicographic functions, dictionary users, and their needs have been put forward so far, none of them "[…] has taken the full consequences of their references to the users and user needs" (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003, 172). It was only after the development of the *function theory of lexicography*, proposed by Henning Bergenholtz and Sven Tarp from the Aarhus School of Business's Center for Lexicography, that dictionary users, their needs and the situations in which they normally reach for dictionaries became the focal point for the further development of all lexicographic theory. Even though users always had an important role in the compilation of dictionaries, this functional approach to lexicography "[…] shifts the focus from actual dictionary users and dictionary usage situations to potential users and the social situation in which they participate" (Tarp 2008, 40).

A proper understanding of the changing needs of potential users is therefore a crucial factor in the compilation of any dictionary, especially as dictionaries are viewed as utility products, meant to satisfy certain human needs (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003, 172). The dictionary planning stage should therefore begin by drawing up a user profile, intended to characterize the potential user of the dictionary. It must be kept in mind, however, that dictionaries are meant to satisfy not global information needs but rather specific information needs which are never abstract needs, but are

[1] The original dictionary was compiled as a part of Mrhar's (2010) unpublished B.A. thesis (entitled *English–Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms*), and was later revised to better suit the purpose of her unpublished PhD thesis (entitled *Bilingual Specialized Dictionary Compilation from a Translational Point of View*) in which the original dictionary is edited and expanded with a new target user in mind (i.e., the expert translator). Primarily, the ESDGET (Mrhar 2010) was structured so as to meet the needs of semi–experts, experts, students, and lay–people. As the expert translator's native–language competence, foreign–language competence, and encyclopedic competence differs from that of students and lay–people, the information presented in the dictionary had to be reorganized according to this new target user's needs and expectations. So far, the revised dictionary on green energy has not been published, but could be prepared for publication in print form after the PhD thesis has been defended.

always concrete needs closely related to a concrete user in a concrete user situation (see Tarp 2008a, 119 for a review). When building a user profile, lexicographers must also consider the situations in which problems or needs normally arise, and can be solved by a certain kind of lexicographic data provided by a given dictionary (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003, 173). A user profile together with a clear overview of the most common user situations provides a sound basis for establishing the overall purpose of a dictionary, as well as its functions. Some of the questions lexicographers need to take into account when building a profile of the intended users include the following (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003, 173):

1. Which language functions as the users' mother tongue?
2. How well do the users master their mother tongue?
3. How well do the users master the foreign language in question?
4. What kind of experience do the users have concerning translation between their mother tongue and the given foreign language?
5. How vast is the users' general and encyclopedic knowledge?
6. How well do the users master the subject field represented by the given dictionary?
7. How well do the users master the specialized language of the given subject field in their mother tongue?
8. How well do the users master the specialized language of the given subject filed in the foreign language?

As all these characteristics are not relevant for every dictionary, lexicographers must first decide whether a particular dictionary is meant to serve the cognitive, or the communicative user situations. In the case of cognitive situations, the user looks for additional information or knowledge on some topic, be it cultural, encyclopedic, or specialized information related to a particular specialized field. In the case of communicative situations, the user is involved in text production, reception, and translation, and looks for information that could help him in solving problems that might pop up in one of these processes (Tarp 2005, 9). No matter what the user situation is, however, it is never abstract, but is always related to a specific user group engaged in a specific situation in which different problems arise that can be solved with the help of a dictionary. A clear distinction of the basic types of communication–related situations needs to be made in order to acquire a clear understanding of these situations and then detect their major problems. According to Bergenholtz and Tarp (2003, 175), there exist six basic types of communicative situations in which users normally reach for dictionaries:

1. Production of texts in the mother tongue (or first language)
2. Reception of texts in the mother tongue (or first language)
3. Production of texts in a foreign language (or second, third language, etc.)
4. Reception of texts in a foreign language (or second, third language, etc.)
5. Translation of texts from the mother tongue (or first language) into a foreign language (or second, third language, etc.)
6. Translation of texts from a foreign language (or second, third language, etc.) into the mother tongue (or first language)

Other types of user situations might be relevant for some dictionaries, and must appropriately be taken into account in the dictionary–planning stage. When the distinctive characteristics of the intended user group have been established along with the basic types of user situations, lexicographers can proceed to determine the needs of the prospective users. Even though lexicographers often claim that they use reliable means to characterize the users' needs before they start compiling a particular dictionary, they more often than not merely establish what it is that users expect to find in a dictionary. Tarp (2004, 312) argues that as far as existing dictionary practice is concerned, "[i]t is not a question of what users expect to find in the dictionary due to an improper dictionary culture, but what they actually need". Therefore, it is necessary for lexicographers to determine the users' needs by consulting the following categories, comprising of various types information that can be included in a particular dictionary:

1. Information about the native language
2. Information about a foreign language
3. Comparison between the native and a foreign language
4. Information about culture and the world in general
5. Information about the special subject field
6. Comparison between the subject field in the native and foreign culture
7. Information about the native LSP
8. Information about the foreign LSP
9. Comparison between the native and foreign LSP (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003, 175)

Only after the lexicographers have determined the intended users' needs and have decided on which types of data to include in the given dictionary, can they determine the lexicographic functions of the dictionary. These functions depend on the type of the dictionary, and are determined by user situations. To illustrate, dictionaries intended for beginners whose main problem is text production in a foreign language differ considerably from those conceived for experts who have no problems with text production in a foreign language, but are sometimes not sure how to express a concept correctly. Therefore, any user–oriented dictionary, like the ESDGET (Mrhar 2010), must take into account the main types of user situations in order to prepare and include those types of information into the dictionary from which the users truly will benefit. The functions below are listed as the most important types of communication–oriented lexicographic functions:

- to assist the users in solving problems related to text reception in the native language
- to assist the users in solving problems related to text production of texts in the native language
- to assist the users in solving problems related to text reception in a foreign language
- to assist the users in solving problems related to text production in a foreign language
- to assist the users in solving problems related to translation of texts from the native language into a foreign language
- to assist the users in solving problems related to translation of texts from a foreign language into the native language (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003, 176)

Other types of functions may be relevant for particular dictionaries, depending on what kind of user needs the given dictionaries are meant to satisfy. These needs are often very simple, and can be met by a small number of lexicographic data, or a combination of various types of data. Lexicographers can therefore decide on which data to include in a dictionary once its purpose has been determined or, if a particular dictionary is being revised, analyze whether the data already presented by the dictionary suit its declared functions. The functional approach proposes that the data included in a dictionary must live up to its respective functions, and thus meet the requirements it is supposed to comply with (for a review, see Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003, 177). The following part of the paper discusses the lexicographic functions of the revised ESDGET from this communicative point of view, as the dictionary is not meant to address the knowledge–oriented needs of the users, but rather help them with the production, reception, and translation of LSP texts from English into Slovene.

3. The Communicative Functions of the ESDGET

When determining the functions of any given dictionary, it is essential to define the profile of the intended user. In the case of the revised ESDGET, the intended user is an experienced translator who is normally confronted with specialized texts belonging to the subject fields of green energy, environmentalism, recycling, pollution, etc. S/he possesses a sound knowledge of his/her mother tongue (Slovene) and the foreign language s/he is translating from (English), but is sometimes confronted with the problem of not finding appropriate reference materials that would suit his/her area of specialization, and his/her professional needs. Within his/her line of work, translation from the given foreign language into his/her mother tongue is the most frequent, and is more often than not characterized by the usage of a specialized language. To produce high–quality translations, the professional translator must have a proper understanding of the given subject field, and a good command of the specific terminology that is normally used within this field. In this respect, the translator can be compared to other specialists, who are not translators, but possess great knowledge of the specialized subject field in question and have no difficulties whatsoever communicating about it naturally. The revised ESDGET therefore serves two main communication–oriented functions that address the expert translator's specific needs related to:

- interpretation/reception of English specialized texts
- translation of texts from the foreign language (English) into the native language (Slovene)

The ESDGET fulfills a combination of two different functions, and includes information both on the foreign language, and the mother tongue of the intended users. Interpretation/reception of English specialized texts and their translation into Slovene are given the highest priority, meaning that the dictionary also includes some information on typical collocations, as well as minimal grammatical information on English and Slovene. In this respect, the revised ESDGET does not differ considerably from the initial version. An obvious difference between the two versions of the dictionary, however, is reflected in their treatment of meaning. The unrevised ESDGET (Mrhar 2010) provides extensive definitions that explain the meaning of the headword in both English and Slovene, which is not required in the revised version, as expert translators do not necessarily profit from additional encyclopedic information. On the contrary, professional translators only need native–language equivalents to grasp the meaning of the given specialized term. Specialized bilingual dictionaries for translators also do not need to include sentence examples, as the latter are more often than not found in dictionaries intended for more inexperienced users (e.g., learners) who need examples in order to better understand the definition.

It can therefore be deduced that additional information is not always productive, and must be carefully chosen according to the intended user and the overall purpose of a given dictionary. For example, expert translators can to some extent do without semantic information (e.g., explanations, definitions, and thematic field labels), whereas translators who are not specialists find that kind of information useful in the comprehension of the given notions (see also: Gómez González–Jover 2005, 78). In the translation from the foreign language into the native language, the less specialized translator requires more information than the expert translator, and benefits the most from information that facilitates the process of translation. In the case of the revised ESDGET, this type of information is given in the form of field labels, translational equivalents, grammatical information, and collocations. Definitions are not obligatory in bilingual specialized dictionaries for expert translators, but can be genuinely useful especially when a particular dictionary covers more than one subject field. As the ESDGET covers more than one topic (e.g., chemistry, biology, science…), it would seem logical to include multiple definitions accompanied by their respective field labels.

As a rule, specialized bilingual dictionaries contain as little information as possible, because they are intended for users who are experts in particular fields, and do not benefit from extensive contextual, semantic, grammatical, and pragmatic information. Quite often, such dictionaries only contain a list of terms and their equivalents, and are in this respect rather similar to glossaries. The revised ESDGET, however, is compiled in a manner that bends this rule to a certain extent, as its mains purpose is to make the translation process easier and quicker by providing more information than necessary. It therefore includes some contextual information in Slovene (e.g., typical examples of use, collocations) that shed some light on how particular terms are used in specialized texts and discourse, along with grammatical information, short definitions, field labels, and translational equivalents. The following chapter will show how the overall entry structure of the unrevised ESDGET (Mrhar 2010) was adapted to suit the needs of expert translators.

4. Examples from the unrevised and revised versions of the ESDGET

The unrevised version of the ESDGET (Mrhar 2010) was compiled to help Slovene non–native speakers of English better understand and use specialized English terminology. It was meant to serve a myriad of different users ranging from experts, semi–experts, laymen, to students, who lack knowledge of the given subject field, but possess a good knowledge of both their native language, and the foreign language in question. Their linguistic and encyclopedic knowledge, however, is not wide enough to ensure the understanding of specialized texts and their proper rendering in the target language. Consequently, the dictionary targets two main objectives: it presents an accurate record of terms that most often occur in the field of green energy, and facilitates the comprehension of these terms to the maximum. The initial version of the dictionary is structured around 282 key concepts taken from both general and specialized language. Word frequency played a major part in compiling the word list, as the most technical words are often viewed as the most useful in this type of discourse. The frequency of the words was measured according to how often these words occur in specialized language related to green energy and other similar fields. In the dictionary, each entry comprises of nine parts, namely:

1.) pronunciation
2.) word–class markers
3.) grammatical information
4.) frequency
5.) English definition
6.) English example

7.) Slovene equivalent
8.) Slovene definition
9.) Slovene example

The specific lexicographic functions of the unrevised ESDGET (Mrhar 2010) dictated the inclusion of the aforementioned data types, whereas the intended users and the overall purpose of the dictionary influenced the amount of information included. The following examples (1, 2, 3, 4) show how this information is arranged in the actual dictionary entries (Mrhar 2010):

(1) **acid** /ˈæsɪd/ noun [C/U] ★ ★ CHEMISTRY a chemical substance with a PH value of less than 7 (MED): *hydrochloric acid* ♦ **kislina** tekočina ali snov, katere PH vrednost je nižja od sedem: *žveplova kislina*

(2) **eco–audit** /ˌiːkəʊˈɔːdɪt / verb [T] to estimate how an individual, a group of people, or an activity affects the environment, and to offer advice on environmental issues: *After the expert eco–audited our house, we installed solar panels*. ♦ **eko–revidirati** oceniti kako posameznik, skupina ljudi, ali dejavnost vpliva na okolje in nuditi nasvete o zadevah povezanih z okoljem: *Strokovnjak je eko–revidiral hišo in nam povedal, kako zmanjšati naš ogljični odtis*.

(3) **landfill gas** /ˌlæn(d)fɪl ˈgæs/ noun [U] landfill gas is generated in landfill sites by anaerobic decomposition of domestic refuse (municipal solid waste). It consists of a mixture of gases and is colourless with an offensive odour due to the traces of organosulphur compounds. Aside for its unpleasantness, it is highly dangerous and must be controlled at all operational landfill sites, whether actively or passively vented or both especially in the case of deep sites (ET): *landfill gas emissions* ♦ **deponijski/odlagališčni plin** deponijski plin nastaja na odlagališčih odpadkov z anaerobnim razkrajanjem gospodinjskih odpadkov (občinski trdni odpadki). Sestavljen je iz mešanice plinov, je brezbarven in ima značilen, neprijeten vonj zaradi prisotnosti organskih žveplovih spojin. Poleg tega, da ima neprijeten vonj, je zanj značilno to, da je zelo nevaren. Zato ga je treba na vseh delujočih odlagališčih odpadkov nadzorovati, bodisi z aktivnim ali/in pasivnim prezračevanjem, še posebno na zelo globokih odlagališčih (ET): *Deponijski plin se lahko uporabi za ogrevanje*.

(4) **paraffin** /ˈpærəfɪn/ noun [U] a clear oil with a strong smell that is used for fuel (MED): *paraffin wax* ♦ **parafin** olje belkaste barve, ki se uporablja kot gorivo: *parafinsko olje*

Spelling information is included to help the users whose native language is not English correctly pronounce and use difficult words, e.g., *paraffin* (4), in speech. The information given about the word–class and grammar labels of various headwords are provided to inform the users of all the constructions they must know in order to use a particular word flexibly and fluently (see also Atkins and Rundell 2008, 219–20). Other constructional information is encoded in the English and Slovene examples, which are not translated, but nevertheless provide advice on the usage of a given headword, along with information on the contexts in which a word typically occurs. Frequency marking in the form of red stars (1) shows the users which items are the most common, and therefore the most useful. In the case of the ESDGET (Mrhar 2010), definitions are longer (3) than those normally found in bilingual dictionaries, as they include encyclopedic notes, especially useful for the LSP text reception, native– and foreign–language text production, and translation (see also Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995, 143). Equivalents are provided for all headwords. As Slovene is sometimes familiar with two possible translational equivalents for an English word, these options are also cited, as in example (3).

As the revised version of the ESDGET was compiled with a more defined user in mind, namely the expert translator, the overall structure of the dictionary entry had to be reorganized to suit his/her individual needs, as they greatly influence the amount and nature of the linguistic information required. With a clear idea of the intended user and what s/he will use the dictionary for, a number of decisions had to be made including which headwords and information categories to incorporate into the dictionary, and in which way to present them. Firstly, the majority of headwords to be included into the revised dictionary were taken from the unrevised version of the ESDGET (Mrhar 2010). Secondly, new headwords were chosen from various dictionaries, corpora, and Internet websites containing product–line glossaries on green energy and other environmental matters. A substantial, if not the largest part of the word list was gathered from online glossaries, such as the *Oregon Department of Energy Glossary of Energy Terms*[2], or *The California Energy Commission Glossary of Energy terms*[3], and various corpora like *Evrokorpus*[4]. In the case of the unrevised ESDGET (Mrhar 2010), most headwords were chosen according to their frequency of occurrence.

The information on frequency provided by the unrevised dictionary was not gathered from frequency lists or computer corpora, but was acquired with the help of *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (Rundell et al. 2007), which marks the most frequent words found in English with red stars that show their frequency (e.g., a word with one red star is fairly common, whereas a word with three stars is one of the most basic words found in the English language). "The same manner was used in the *English–Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy terms* […]. Frequency was included into the specialized dictionary on green energy terms so as to show its users which words are not only the most frequent but also the most standard" (Mrhar 2010, 15). Before these headwords were included into the revised version of the dictionary, a corpus analysis was carried out to show their true frequency of occurrence in various general corpora (e.g., COCA, BNC, enTenTen, and Evrokorpus).

Predictably, the analysis showed that most of these headwords have a relatively low frequency of occurrence in general corpora, due to the fact that they are limited to a very specific field (i.e., the specialized field related to green energy). Surprisingly, however, headwords like *ecology*, *ecological*, *environmental*, *global warming*, and *thermal* also occurred in the above–mentioned corpora with very low frequency rating counts, even though these terms are not limited to the specialized field related to green energy, but can be applied to more general fields (e.g., mass media, non–technical books and other texts). In order to get more reliable data on frequency, which is to be included into the revised dictionary at a later stage, a small corpus of specialized texts referring to green energy is currently being developed for the purpose of not only predicting the frequency of the given headwords but also explaining it. The corpus–driven approach to the revised ESDGET will furthermore improve its credibility and ensure that the data provided by it is accurate.

2 Oregon.gov: Official Oregon State Web Site. Oregon Department of Energy: Renewable Resources Glossary of Energy Terms. 2007. http://www.oregon.gov/ENERGY/RENEW/glossary.shtml

3 The California Energy Commission Website. The California Energy Commission: Glossary of Energy Terms. 1994–2009. http://www.energy.ca.gov/glossary

4 Evrokorpus. Parallel Corpora. http://evrokorpus.gov.si

To really improve the dictionary on green energy and its entries, however, a series of important decisions regarding the microstructure of the dictionary had to be made before any kind of corpus analysis could be carried out. So in order to improve the dictionary entry, a model composed of different types of information was constructed to guide the revision process. It includes the three different types of information expert translators normally look for in specialized reference materials, namely (a) contextual information, (b) semantic information, and (c) grammatical information.

Contextual information implies the kind of text in which a particular meaning normally occurs. Such information is most often provided in the form of "[…] the phrase or clause, and maximally the sentence, in which the target word appears in corpus data" (Atkins and Rundell 2008, 145). Semantic information implies definitions in the source language or the target language and translation equivalents, whereas grammatical information provides the grammatical category of entries (Gómez González–Jover 2005, 79). It is evident that the microstructure of the revised ESDGET, which is based on these types of information, differs considerably from that of the unrevised version. As opposed to the initial version, the improved entry only comprises five parts:

1.) word class marker
2.) Slovene translation
3.) grammatical information
4.) Slovene definition
5.) Slovene example

The information provided by the revised dictionary entry has been reduced considerably, and tailored to suit the expert translator's level of specialization. Therefore, apart from the equivalent term, which acts as the central part of the revised dictionary entry, the translator–oriented dictionary provides extra information on form (i.e., grammatical information), meaning (i.e., semantic information), and context (i.e., contextual information). Describing meaning only by a translation equivalent is of limited value, as the meaning of a given terms sometimes cannot be precisely rendered by a matching word in another language (for a review, see Zgusta 1984, 148–9), resulting in the fact that alternative translations are often provided in the revised ESDGET, along with clear distinctions between these translations. What shows how the senses between different translation equivalents interrelate is the organization of the dictionary entry. In those cases in which two different translation equivalents are completely synonymous and can be used interchangeably (5), the translation equivalents are separated from one another by way of a forward slash (/):

(5) **landfill gas** *n* – **deponijski/odlagališčni plin** (m) plin, ki nastaja na odlagališčih odpadkov z anaerobnim razkrajanjem gospodinjskih odpadkov (ET): *Deponijski plin se lahko uporabi za ogrevanje*.

In those cases in which there exist slight nuances in meaning between two or more translation equivalents (6), the translations are separated from one another by way of a comma. Additional data in the form of definitions is provided to distinguish between the given translations, and a definition is given for each of the senses provided by the translation equivalents, along with short examples for each equivalent. It is evident that the distribution of meanings is not organized as a list, but rather as a hierarchy of sections labeled with different numerals, each of which corresponds to a given meaning or section. The translation equivalents are organized according to their frequency, meaning that the most commonly used terms are listed first, followed by less frequently used terms.

(6) **crop** *n* – **pridelek, posevek** (m) 1. kar se pridobi z gojenjem česa sploh v enem letu, v eni sezoni (SSKJ) 2. kar je posejano (SSKJ): 1. sadni pridelek, 2. zimski posevek

As opposed to the unrevised version of the ESDGET (Mrhar 2010), the revised dictionary on green energy does not include long, encyclopedic definitions, but rather short and concise ones. This is due to the fact that specialized bilingual dictionaries normally seek to satisfy the needs of expert users (professional translators in the case of the revised ESDGET) who only need minimal (linguistic) information to grasp the meaning of a given concept. For example, if a translator encountered the term *crop* (6) in a scientific article, and s/he would not be sure about its precise meaning, s/he would not want to find out everything there is to know about *crop*. S/he would merely want to understand what was being said or implied by the term. A definition such as *kar se pridobi z gojenjem česa sploh v enem letu, v eni sezoni* [*what is gained by growing something in a year, in a season*] or *kar je posejano* [*what is sown*] would provide enough information for the translator to understand *crop* without having to consult other sources or lose to much time trying to decipher its meaning on his/her own. This supports Bolinger's observation that definitions are meant "[…] to help people grasp meanings, and for this purpose their main task is to supply a series of hints and associations that will relate the unknown to something known" (Bolinger 1965, 572).

Besides semantic information in the form of translation equivalents and definitions, the revised ESDGET provides some grammatical information, organized in a way to suit the needs of the expert translator. Concerning his/her level of specialization, the intended user does not need a lot of grammatical information about his/her native language (Slovene) or the language s/he is translating from (English). The information on form therefore only includes data on word class (e.g., *n*: noun (7), *v*: verb (8)) in English and gender (e.g., (m): moški spol (9) [masculine], (ž): ženski spol (7) [feminine]) in Slovene. Information on grammar is not very detailed, as expert translators normally do not benefit from the various grammar components of a dictionary, e.g., constructions and extra grammar information in the form of grammar labels.

(7) **acid** *n* – **kislina** (ž) kem. snov, ki tvori z bazami soli in reagira kislo (SSKJ): *Merkaptoetanojska kislina se loči z obarjanjem z raztopino kadmijevega diacetata* (ET).

(8) **eco–audit** *v* – **eko–revidirati** (dov. in nedov.) oceniti kako posameznik, skupina ljudi, ali dejavnost vpliva na okolje: *Strokovnjak je eko–revidial hišo in nam povedal, kako zmanjšati naš ogljični odtis*.

(9) **landfill gas** *n* – **deponijski/odlagališčni plin** (m) plin, ki nastaja na odlagališčih odpadkov z anaerobnim razkrajanjem gospodinjskih odpadkov (ET): *Deponijski plin se lahko uporabi za ogrevanje*.

Contextual information illustrates the typical uses of the given terms in the form of examples or collocations (10). Examples are rather short due to space constraints, and are not translated, as is the case in bilingual learners' dictionaries. Illustrative examples in the form of complete or partial sentences are more often than not provided exactly as they occur in various corpora (e.g., Evrokorpus), or are abridged from corpus sentences. Some information on stylistics is provided in the form of field labels (e.g., kem. (11)[chem.]), which indicate that particular items are only used in specific types of subject fields or domains, and definitions (e.g. *olje belkaste barve, ki se uporablja kot gorivo* (12) [*a clear oil that is used for fuel*]). Overall, the arrangement of information is systematic, especially as it does not force translators to read through the complete entry to find the equivalent.

(10) **paraffin** *n* – **parafin** (m) olje belkaste barve, ki se uporablja kot gorivo: *parafinsko olje*

(11) **acid** *n* – **kislina** (ž) kem. snov, ki tvori z bazami soli in reagira kislo (SSKJ): *Merkaptoetanojska kislina se loči z obarjanjem z raztopino kadmijevega diacetata* (ET).

(12) **paraffin** *n* – **parafin** (m) olje belkaste barve, ki se uporablja kot gorivo: *parafinsko olje*

The distribution of information is use–friendly and enables the translator to find the data s/he is looking for quickly and easily, especially because the entries are arranged alphabetically, and have been organized according to a very clear typography (the translational equivalents are distinguished from the rest of the text with a different font style), which further facilitates the user's look–up process. Once more, we come to the conclusion that a particular dictionary needs to be defined according to its intended user group, its general lexicographic functions, and the assistance it can provide to cover the users' needs. Even though one dictionary cannot solve all the users' problems, it can provide them with the help they need in a certain situation.

5. Conclusion

The function theory of lexicography examines specific types of dictionary users with specific types of problems that arise in specific types of situations. What has been studied within the framework of this methodology is the rather vast number of problems that arise in the compilation of a bilingual specialized dictionary for professional translators. This paper has offered some specific proposals for the revision of the *English–Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms* (Mrhar 2010), which was primarily compiled for a range of different users (e.g., students, laymen, and experts), only to be revised with a new, more specific user in mind, namely the experienced translator. To contribute to this endeavor, this paper has identified the communicative functions of the given dictionary, and then presented a user profile that would later on influence the overall entry structure of the revised ESDGET. The study has also examined the situations in which intended users normally reach for specialized translation–oriented dictionaries, and the needs, which make them to do so. Finally, the study has drawn up a brief report on the most important factors that need to be taken into account when determining the overall structure of the revised dictionary's entry, and the information it must include in order to truly satisfy the needs of a professional translator.

Bibliography

Atkins, B.T.S., and M. Rundell. 2008. *The Oxford Guide to Practical Lexicography*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bergenholtz, H., and S. Tarp. 1995. *Manual* of *Specialised Lexicography: The Preparation of Specialised Dictionaries*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- - -. 2003. Two Opposing Theories: On Wiegand's Recent Discovery of Dictionary Functions. *Journal of Linguistics* 31: 171–96.

Bolinger, D. 1965. The Atomization of Meaning. *Language* 41: 555–73.

Gómez González–Jover, A. 2005. Specialized Bilingual Dictionaries for Translators (Some Considerations for a User–Oriented Approach. *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 18: 71–83.

Mrhar, L. 2010. English–Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms. B.A. diss. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta.

Rundell, M., ed. 2007. *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*. Oxford: Macmillan Education: A&C Black Publishers.

Tarp, S. 2004. Reflections on Dictionaries Designed to Assist Users with Text Production in a Foreign Language. *Lexikos* 14: 299–325.

- - -. 2005. The Pedagogical Dimension of the Well–conceived Specialised Dictionary. *Iberica* 10: 7–21.

- - -. 2008. *Lexicography in the Borderland between Knowledge and Non–knowledge. General Lexicographical Theory with Particular Focus on Learner's Lexicography*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

- - -. 2008a. The Third Leg of Two–legged Lexicography. *Hermes, Journal of Language and Communication Studies* 40: 117–31.

Zgusta, L. 1984. Translational Equivalence in the Bilingual Dictionary. *Lexicographica* Series Maior 1: 147–54.

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.45-65

Mojca Šorli
Trojina, Institute for Applied Slovene Studies
Ljubljana, Slovenia

Corpus–Based Lexicographical Descriptions with a Special Focus on Pragmatics: The Case of the Slovene Lexical Database

Summary

The present paper focuses on ways in which the pragmatic (functional) meaning that arises from various contextual features, known in corpus linguistics as semantic prosody, can become an integral part of lexicographical descriptions as they are represented in the *Slovene Lexical Database* (SLD). This is particularly important for the treatment of phraseology and idiomatics. First, the theoretical background is provided, with the focus on the prototype theory and its practical implications for monolingual lexicography. A parallel is drawn with the model of meaning analysis in the SLD. The second part begins with a brief introduction to semantic prosody and continues with an analysis of monolingual meaning descriptions in the SLD against a number of authentic corpus examples, investigating how their pragmatic components have been identified. The analysis of corpus data shows that pragmatics is an important contributor to the process of sense discrimination in works of lexical and lexicographic relevance.

Key words: lexicographical description, lexical database, pragmatics, semantic prosody, phraseology

Na korpusu temelječi leksikografski opisi s poudarkom na pragmatiki: Leksikalna baza za slovenščino

Povzetek

V prispevku raziskujemo načine, na katere pragmatični (funkcijski) pomen, ki izhaja iz raznolikih značilnosti sobesedila in situacijskega konteksta in ki ga v korpusnem jezikoslovju imenujemo semantična prozodija, postane sestavni del leksikografskega opisa, kot ga predpostavlja *Leksikalna baza za slovenščino* (LBS). To je še posebej pomembno pri obravnavi frazeologije in idiomatike. Najprej predstavimo teoretski okvir, v katerem se osredotočimo na teorijo prototipa in praktične implikacije za enojezično leksikografijo, ki iz nje izhajajo. V nadaljevanju potegnemo vzporednico z modelom pomenskih opisov v LBS. V začetku drugega dela na kratko predstavimo semantično prozodijo, nato z vidika pragmatičnega pomena analiziramo izbrane pomenske opise iz LBS s pomočjo avtentičnih korpusnih zgledov, na podlagi katerih so nastali. Analiza korpusnih podatkov kaže, da je pragmatični pomen mogoče prepoznati kot pomemben razločevalni dejavnik v postopku pomenske členitve v leksikalnih in leksikografskih opisih.

Ključne besede: leksikografski opis, leksikalna baza, pragmatika, semantična prozodija, frazeologija

Corpus–Based Lexicographical Descriptions with a Special Focus on Pragmatics: The Case of the Slovene Lexical Database

1. Introduction

1.1 The Sinclairian lexicographical tradition

John Sinclair's work was partly founded on Halliday's work (according to Hanks 1994); in particular, they shared a conviction that there is no clear distinction between grammar and lexis, and a belief that, as Halliday suggests, it is necessary to "supplement the grammar by formal statements of lexical relations" (1966). Also, it was Halliday who elaborated on the idea of meaning potential rather than meaning as an objective entity conceived of in terms of traditional necessary and sufficient conditions, which had ruled lexicographical practices for centuries. Rather than talking about what words mean, we now talk about what meaning potential words have, depending on their linguistic context. Another realisation in the study of lexis with far–reaching consequences for lexicography was that "[...] the lexical item is not necessarily coextensive on either axis [paradigmatic or syntagmatic] with the item, or rather with any of the items, identified and accounted for in the grammar" (Halliday 1966), and "[...] the grammatical complexity can be avoided by recognising a lexical item ***let in for*** (*he let me in the other day for a lot of extra work*) without demanding that it should carry any grammatical status. It is not suggested, however, "that such non–coextensiveness between the items of grammar and those of lexis is the norm, but merely that for certain purposes it is useful to have a descriptive model of language that allows for it" (ibid.).

Furthermore, Halliday's views (2007, 26) of the definitions and explanations that should be given in dictionaries were well reflected in the COBUILD definition style (see 1.2). The basic idea was that dictionary definitions can and should provide a paraphrase or explanation of meaning whereby "the meaning is not necessarily fully contained or exhaustively captured within such a definition" (ibid.).

1.2 The prototype theory

The notion of conceptual prototypes was first presented in 1971 by Eleanor Rosch, and it has been written about extensively since then. According to Hanks (1994), the best account of the prototype theory for lexicographical purposes was provided by Taylor (1989, 59–60): "The prototype can be understood as a schematic representation of the conceptual core of a category .... Entities are assigned membership in a category in virtue of their similarity to the prototype; the closer an entity to the prototype, the more central its status within the category." COBUILD1, edited by Sinclair and Hanks in 1987, was the first, and by and large the only, dictionary to that point that had systematically taken into account prototype theory, as Hanks (1994) himself points out.

1.2.1 Corpus Pattern Analysis (CPA)

Drawing on the premises of the prototype theory, a project named Corpus Pattern Analysis[1] was initiated by P. Hanks. The basic principle is to discover how exactly meanings arise from patterns of

[1] http://nlp.fi.muni.cz/projekty/cpa/ .

usage, rather than treating words as isolable elements of a structure. Associated with this is a theory of meaning in language called *The Theory of Norms and Exploitations* (TNE).[2] CPA is based on a system that records the participant structure (=semantic roles) of a sentence pattern and provides a schematic explanation of the particular pattern (or implicature), thus establishing the relationships between the identified participants.

1.2.2 FrameNet

According to its author, CPA is also influenced by frame semantics (Fillmore and Atkins 1992) and is complementary to FrameNet.[3] Frames or 'mental schemas' should be understood as prototypical descriptions of the (typical) features of a recurrent social event or situation. Such a schema contains features that can be inferred on the basis of our general knowledge, even if they have not been explicitly mentioned (Stubbs 2001, 439). FrameNet primarily builds ontologies and is concerned with the identification of semantic participants and argument structures by means of predetermined and largely formalised syntactic–semantic categories. Meaning descriptions in the *Slovene Lexical Database*, also called 'scenarios', though not formalised to the same extent, have been partly modelled on FrameNet in the way semantic roles have been assigned.

1.2.3 COBUILD and other monolingual learner's dictionaries (MLDs)

TNE in turn is a theory that owes much to Sinclair's work on corpus analysis and collocations (e.g., Sinclair 1987, 1991, 2004), and to the Cobuild project in lexical computing (Sinclair et al. 1987). CPA, FrameNet and the Cobuild project all influenced a number of decisions in the construction of the *Slovene Lexical Database*, particularly with their emphasis on the prototype theory.

In setting the guidelines for meaning descriptions, corpus–based and pragmatically aware contemporary monolingual dictionaries have been considered: COBUILD3, as well as LDOCE4, and MEDAL2. This range of foreign learner's dictionaries covers the core vocabulary of English and, more importantly, treats it with an emphasis on what is (proto)typical: where appropriate, MEDAL2, LDOCE4 and COBUILD3, as well as MWLD have been consulted in order to gain comparison of the ways in which they describe (pragmatic) circumstances.

2. The Slovene Lexical Database (SLD)

The kind of observations presented in the present paper can only be obtained in projects such as the compilation of a dictionary or a lexical database which involves a comprehensive and detailed study of most of the lexis of a particular language. As a monolingual lexical resource, the *Slovene Lexical Database* (SLD)[4] was designed to provide a corpus–driven account of the core vocabulary of the Slovene language, including semantic, syntactic, collocational and phraseological information, supported by illustrative examples from the 620–million–word FidaPlus reference corpus of Slovene.[5] The SLD is constructed on the principles of lexicogrammar, giving more prominence

[2] See Hanks 2013.

[3] The project was started and has been run by Charles J. Fillmore, at Berkeley University of California (http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/). CPA offers a systematic analysis of the patterns of meaning and use of each verb, unlike FrameNet, which provides an in–depth analysis of semantic frames. "Each CPA pattern can in principle be plugged into a FrameNet semantic frame" (P. Hanks, at http://nlp.fi.muni.cz/projects/cpa/).

[4] Slovene Lexical Database (2008–2012): The database's operation was co–financed by the European Union, the European Social Fund, and the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia. It presently contains 2,500 entries.

[5] www.fidaplus.net.

to syntagmatics and meaning descriptions,[6] perhaps intentionally somewhat at the expense of the description of the inherent features and paradigmatic associations of words. A great deal of thought has been given to the nature and form of lexicographical description as it should be provided in (learner's) dictionaries. Unlike a classical dictionary definition, which tends to describe the meaning of a 'word', an alternative method of compiling meaning descriptions has been adopted, in part integrating and adequately adjusting the principles of the COBUILD project, on the assumption that an explanation must illustrate, along with its lexical meaning, a broader linguistic context of the lexical item. The double nature of such descriptions is related to the dual information thus acquired, i.e., information on meaning and use, and presupposes full–sentence definitions.[7] These ensure a more subtle presentation of meaning due to greater flexibility and a larger spectrum of descriptive options (Barnbrook 2002, 55). Ideally, a special methodology would be used to find evidence of pragmatic aspects of meaning; however, looking for pragmatic meaning is part of that same detailed examination of language use that leads to the identification of meaning potentials. As meaning descriptions in the SLD are entirely based on contemporary corpus data, the role of SSKJ[8] was limited to comparison, double checking and certain specific consultations. Pre–corpus lexicographical descriptions generally included little or no pragmatic information. Still today, lexical databases and dictionaries overlook pragmatic meaning; specifically, in their definitions most contemporary dictionaries as yet fail to convey the complexities of semantic prosodies, typically implying them in the examples of (typical) usage. This strategy works well on the assumption that implicit information is lexicographically sufficient, but in the following paragraphs we will attempt to show that this is often not the case.

2.1 The lexicographical descriptions in the SLD

2.1.1 General principles

The treatment of lexical data in the SLD sets out to describe individual lexical items, their meanings and usage, which includes defining the range of semantic and syntactic combinatorial possibilities. The principles of non–coextensiveness (see 1.1.1) are observed at the syntagmatic level, particularly in relation to the identification of syntactic structures and patterns, but also within meaning descriptions in the identification of semantic arguments. These are assigned specific semantic types (lexical sets) without explicit reference to their syntactic functions. Subordinate to the level of argument structure are the levels of grammatical patterns, structures and collocations.

2.1.2 The semantic–syntactic description

Meaning descriptions in the SLD are schematically divided into two parts or levels:

a) The participant structure: the syntactic environment of the headword, i.e., all of the identified participants and circumstances are assigned semantic types or semantic roles, and are manually annotated. Syntactic and semantic information is overtly marked (obligatory participants are in block letters) in order to enable automatic retrieval of patterns of usage.

b)The 'scenario' is the level of description that states the general situation of meaning, the

[6] Cf. http://www.webdante.com/. The SLD is closest in scope and methods to the recently compiled DANTE database, but in the present paper we choose not to confer with its meaning descriptions as they are in the form of preliminary glosses.

[7] Pioneered by the COBUILD 1 project (1987).

[8] The Dictionary of Standard Slovene, with around 100,000 headwords.

relationships between the participants and other sense–discriminating, particularly pragmatic, components of meaning (Gantar et al. 2009, 108).

Obligatory vs. optional elements:

Each meaning description includes all of the participants and circumstances, i.e., all of the words, expressions and situations in the co–text that are needed to construct a particular meaning. Participants are identified as obligatory if in at least some contexts they are syntactically (or contextually) expressed, i.e., their instantiations are to be found in the corpus data.

2.1.2.1 The conceptual framework: prototypical meaning in *CLIMB* and *PLEZATI*

Referring to the theoretical literature, Hanks (1994, 242) quotes C. Fillmore (1982), who posits at least six ways in which semantic prototypes can be realised, exemplified by typical English words, e.g., Type *CLIMB:* "the category is identified in terms of a disjunction of mutually compatible conditions, and the best examples are those in which all members of the disjunction are present." Hanks also quotes Jackendoff (1990) on this point, who sees climbing as involving two different conceptual conditions: "(1) an individual is *travelling upward*; and (2) the individual is moving with characteristic effortful grasping motions, for which a convenient term is *clambering* ... [...] Actions that satisfy only one of the conditions [...] are somewhat more marginal but still perfectly legitimate instances of climbing."

At the highest level of analysis according to Hanks, *climb* appears in four usage patterns, which are identified based on "how various lexical sets in particular syntactic roles can alter the meaning of the target word" (Hanks 1994). The verb's valency slots have syntactic realisations – subject, direct object, prepositional object and adverbials – that in combination with semantic types and lexical sets determine the meaning. Although ultimately aiming for a similar result at the level of granularity,[9] sense discrimination in the SLD proceeded in quite a different way, drawing on a set of theoretical concepts of which prototype is one. Semantic types and lexical sets are of primary importance; their syntactic functions, however, have not been established as relevant in determining the meaning potential. Non–coextensiveness (of grammatical and semantic units) has been taken as a default rather than as a possibility, the formal aspects of semantic–syntactic patterns being restricted to (shallow) syntactic structures (e.g., Adj + Noun, Adv + Inf–verb + Adj) and syntactic patterns (*sb climbs, sb climbs over sth, sb climbs on sth, sb climbs from sth*, etc.).

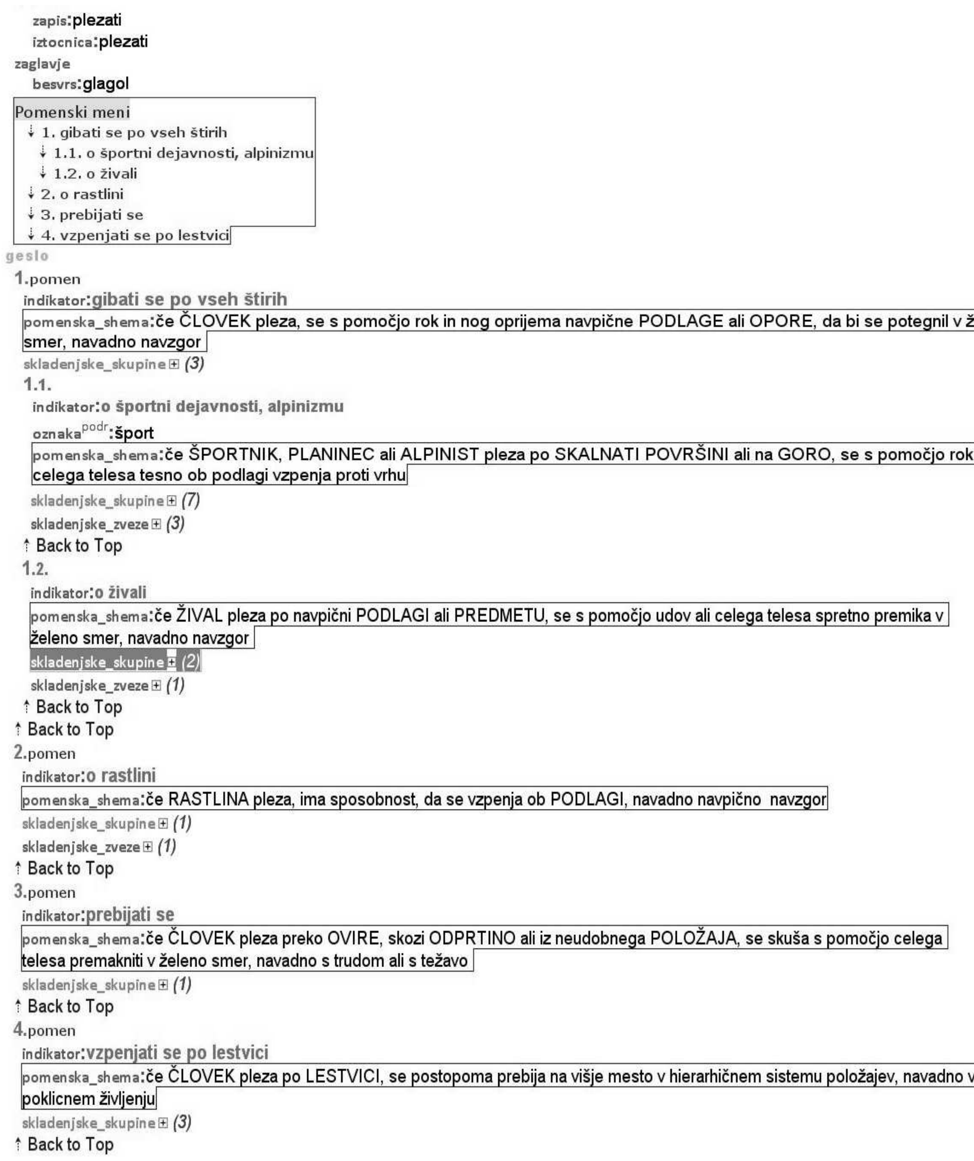
The above 'uses', which show subject, direct object and adverbial complement slots surrounding the verb, are rendered in the SLD by schematic meaning descriptions that, to an extent, resemble those of FrameNet. We thus acquire semantically and pragmatically informed 'implicatures' that provide a platform for further work on explanations and definitions tailored to the needs of specific target groups.

[9] In the SLD, we adopted the so–called "splitters'" approach (as opposed to the "lumpers'" approach). The word's meaning potential can be accounted for with a few broad senses or be broken down into a number of "subsenses", each matching a precise context, which is what "splitters" do (Atkins and Rundell 2008, 268).

	S	V	comb.[11]	O	A
(a)	Thing: LS: HUMAN LS: ANIMAL	GO UPWARD with effort SLOWLY (?)	USING ALL LIMBS TO TOP OF (?)	Thing: LS: MOUNTAIN LS: BUILDING	
			USING ALL LIMBS	LS: TREE LI: ladder LI: drainpipe LI: scaffolding	
			USING ALL LIMBS UP AND OVER	LS: BARRIER	
(b)			ON FOOT	LS: STAIR LS: PATH	
(c)	LS: VEHICLE	GO UPWARD SLOWLY	ON WHEELS	LS: PATH	
(d)	LS: PATH	UPWARD	State	LS: PATH	
(e)	LS: HUMAN	Event GO UPWARD WITH EFFORT SLOWLY	UP MOUNTAIN USING ALL LIMBS	0	
(f)	LS: PLANE	GO UPWARD	THROUGH AIR	0	(ADVERBIAL from SOURCE to GOAL)
(g)	LS: VAPOUR	GO UPWARD	THROUGH AIR	0	(ADVERBIAL from SOURCE to GOAL)
(h)	LS: sun	GO UPWARD PERCEIVED		0	
(i)	LS: PLANT	GROW UPWARD	AROUND THING	0	
(j)	LS: HUMAN LS: ANIMAL	Event GO WITH EFFORT	USING ALL LIMBS	0	ADVERBIAL from SOURCE via PATH to GOAL
(k)	LS: PATH	UPWARD	State	0	ADVERBIAL from SOURCE via PATH to GOAL
(l)	LS: ABSTRACT	Event BECOME GREATER		(AMOUNT)	(ADVERBIAL by AMOUNT to AMOUNT)

Table 1. ***Prototype for CLIMB (Hanks 1994).***

11 The abbreviation “comb.” in the heading of column 3 indicates that the listed features are implied by the combination of subject, verb and object.



zapis:plezati
iztocnica:plezati
zaglavje
besvrs:glagol
Pomenski meni
↓ 1. gibati se po vseh štirih
↓ 1.1. o športni dejavnosti, alpinizmu
↓ 1.2. o živali
↓ 2. o rastlini
↓ 3. prebijati se
↓ 4. vzpenjati se po lestvici
geslo
1.pomen
indikator:gibati se po vseh štirih
pomenska_shema:če ČLOVEK pleza, se s pomočjo rok in nog oprijema navpične PODLAGE ali OPORE, da bi se potegnil v želeno smer, navadno navzgor
skladenjske_skupine ⊞ (3)
1.1.
indikator:o športni dejavnosti, alpinizmu
oznaka^podr:šport
pomenska_shema:če ŠPORTNIK, PLANINEC ali ALPINIST pleza po SKALNATI POVRŠINI ali na GORO, se s pomočjo rok, nog ali celega telesa tesno ob podlagi vzpenja proti vrhu
skladenjske_skupine ⊞ (7)
skladenjske_zveze ⊞ (3)
↑ Back to Top
1.2.
indikator:o živali
pomenska_shema:če ŽIVAL pleza po navpični PODLAGI ali PREDMETU, se s pomočjo udov ali celega telesa spretno premika v želeno smer, navadno navzgor
skladenjske_skupine ⊞ (2)
skladenjske_zveze ⊞ (1)
↑ Back to Top
↑ Back to Top
2.pomen
indikator:o rastlini
pomenska_shema:če RASTLINA pleza, ima sposobnost, da se vzpenja ob PODLAGI, navadno navpično navzgor
skladenjske_skupine ⊞ (1)
skladenjske_zveze ⊞ (1)
↑ Back to Top
3.pomen
indikator:prebijati se
pomenska_shema:če ČLOVEK pleza preko OVIRE, skozi ODPRTINO ali iz neudobnega POLOŽAJA, se skuša s pomočjo celega telesa premakniti v želeno smer, navadno s trudom ali s težavo
skladenjske_skupine ⊞ (1)
↑ Back to Top
4.pomen
indikator:vzpenjati se po lestvici
pomenska_shema:če ČLOVEK pleza po LESTVICI, se postopoma prebija na višje mesto v hierarhičnem sistemu položajev, navadno v poklicnem življenju
skladenjske_skupine ⊞ (3)
↑ Back to Top

Figure 1. ***The entry for PLEZATI in the SLD.***[11]

Along the lines of Hanks's prototype model, the entry structure for *plezati,* which covers some uses of the verb *climb* but not all, can be schematically represented in terms of obligatory and optional participants, and circumstances as identified in the SLD (see Table 2). The starting point for the representation of the 'prototype' is the actual 'uses' with (grammatically) predictable syntactic patterns (e.g., S V O) to which meanings are attached, while the representation in the SLD is primarily concerned with meaning, so that the identified 'uses' are subsumed under the individual senses and subsenses (as indicated below in the left–most column). In other words, the semantic–

[11] To aid understanding, in the present paper all of the examples from the SLD are translated into English. Although sometimes awkward, the translations are intentionally as literal as possible, so that the original wordings remain evident.

	Obligatory participants	V	Obligatory participants	Combined	Obligatory/ optional circumstances	Patterns
1	LS: HUMAN	Event go upward	LS: SURFACE or SUPPORT (ladder, trees, rocks, rope)	using all limbs (arms, legs)	to the desired destination, goal	1) sb climbs; 2) sb climbs over sth; 3) sb climbs somewhere*; 4) sb climbs over sth
1.1	LI: SPORT-SPERSON, MOUNTAIN-EER	go upward slowly	LS: MOUNTAIN	using all limbs	to top of (?), close to the surface	1) sb climbs; 2) sb climbs over sth; 5) sb climbs towards sth; 6) sb climbs to sth; 7) sb climbs on sth; 8) sb climbs in sth; 9) sb climbs sth
1.2	LS: ANIMAL (squirrel, spider)	go upward	LS: SURFACE or OBJECT	using all limbs	with ease (and fast ?)	10) sth climbs over sth
2	LS: PLANT (ivy, climbing plant)	grow upward ?	AROUND or ALONG SURFACE, SUPPORT			10) sth climbs over sth
3	LS: HUMAN	move over, out, through	LS: BARRIER (fence), OPENING (window), uncomfortable POSITION	using all limbs	with effort	2) sb climbs over sth; 11) sb climbs from sth; 12) sb climbs out of sth; 5) sb climbs towards sth; 13) sb climbs through sth
4	LS: HUMAN	move upwards	LS: SOCIAL LADDER		in professional, social life	14) sb climbs up (literally) sth

Table 2. ***The schematic representation of the lexical profile for PLEZATI in the SLD.***

syntactic information contained in Hanks's 'uses' is represented here on two separate levels: in semantic–syntactic meaning descriptions where semantic types are explicated and (typically) placed in their typical syntactic roles, as well as in potentially recurring syntactic patterns devoid of semantic types or any lexical information (see the Patterns column on the right).

Due to the differences in the theoretical approach, along with, of course, the interlingual, i.e., contrastive differences, the resulting lexicographical profile is different, but reflects the key semantic–syntactic components in a similar way. Once the semantic–syntactic components have been identified, they can be grouped together in various ways to represent meanings, or rather, meaning potentials. In the continuation, we shall summarise the overlapping as well as the differences in the two schematic representations of meaning, of which the first (Hanks's prototype) takes grammar, i.e., syntactic functions, and the second (SLD) takes meaning as its organising principle:

Pattern 1 (SVO): The central uses of the *climb* prototype are those in which the subject is a human or animal and the direct object is a thing (mountain, building, tree, barrier, stair or path). This pattern largely corresponds to sense no. 1 in *plezati* (the direct object in this use is expressed as a prepositional object in Slovene). Within the listed lexical set, there is a further distinction between, e.g., a mountain, for which there is an implication that one intends to reach its top, and a tree, where such an implication is less obvious. This distinction is given prominence at the level of subsense in *plezati*:

> 1.1 SPORT
>
> if a SPORTSPERSON or a MOUNTAINEER climbs up a ROCKY SURFACE or a MOUNTAIN, s/he uses her/his limbs or her/his whole body <u>to get to the top</u>, closely leaning against the surface

A predominant feature of Pattern 1 for *climb* is that the climber uses all his/her limbs except where the subject is either a vehicle or a path. These uses are not realised by the verb *plezati* but by a near–synonym *vzpenjati se* in Slovene, where the focus in *vzpenjati se* is less on the physical aspects or manner of climbing, but more on the act of 'moving upwards'. The correspondence between the senses of *vzpenjati se* and those of *climb* will not be treated here.

Pattern 2 (SV[A]): In the most central use of a null–object alternation, "the default interpretation 'suppressed direct object: mountain' is subsumed" (Hanks 1994). In fact, as semantic rather than formal syntactic patterning is given priority, this use is listed as one of the syntactic patterns under subsense 1.1 in *plezati*, which best illustrates the difference in the two principles of sense organisation. All of the obligatory, but suppressed participants are explicated in the semantic–syntactic description, while the actual realisations (also with omissions) are listed as syntactic patterns.

Pattern 3 (SVA): The subject is a human or animal, and there is an adverbial complement usually rendered as a prepositional phrase. This use is semantically, and also grammatically, paralleled in *plezati* (Hanks's adverbial content is identified as obligatory) with sense 3:

> 3 if a HUMAN climbs over an OBSTACLE, through an OPENING, or from an uncomfortable POSITION s/he, using all limbs and her/his whole body, attempts to move in the desired direction, <u>usually with great difficulty or with some effort</u>

Both traditional English and Slovene dictionaries have failed to record a crucial fact or circumstance of usage, which is the difficulty and effort involved in performing the action of climbing in this sense. The component 'going upwards' is not nearly as central as 'moving (in any direction) with effort' and this is a signal that we are dealing with a set of quite different (pragmatic) circumstances.

Pattern 4 (SV[A]): This pattern consists of an abstract subject, such as prices or temperature, and the meaning is 'rise on a scale'. "There are optional adverbial complements expressing the amount by which something becomes greater and/or the level that it reaches" (Hanks 1994). In Slovene, this use is realised by a corresponding sense in the synonymous *vzpenjati se*. However, in *plezati* there is a use with the prepositional object listed as sense 4, which is absent from Hanks's prototype but closely related to the one described, namely 'climbing in the social rank or scale':

> 4 if a HUMAN climbs up in the SOCIAL SCALE s/he gradually makes her/his way up in the hierarchical ordering of positions or ranks

2.2 Pragmatics and definition strategies

The SLD was compiled with two aims in view: the formalisation of syntactic structures and patterns for purposes of NLP and a description of lexicographically relevant facts. The present paper is concerned primarily with the area of lexical analysis that highlights the role of pragmatic aspects of meaning and, at the same time, when focused on pragmatic components of meaning, helps to understand how meaning is formed at the various levels of language structure. As pragmatic literature attests (e.g., Verschueren 2000), there is no structural level of language that could be regarded as devoid of pragmatic implication, and there are linguistic phenomena that we can study from the perspective of language use at any level of language structure. The focus here is narrowed to those instances which encode pragmatic meaning as part of their meaning rather than those whose inherent function is to be overtly attitudinal or to express subjective evaluation, i.e., that which is traditionally subsumed under connotation or the speaker's attitude (e.g., swear words, pejorative and offensive language, praise, etc.). Instead, our interests lie in the way the pragmatic (functional) meaning that arises from various contextual features can become an integral part of lexicographical descriptions.

2.2.1 Circumstances of meaning

Pragmatic information is often located in the circumstances of meaning. In the SLD meaning descriptions, pragmatic components are considered prominent indicators of meaning (nuances) and often play an important role in the process of sense discrimination[12] (the material is grouped into standard senses and subsenses). The examples show that this type of information – typically on cause, reason, intention, manner or other circumstances of meaning – is quite naturally and consistently located in the semi–formalised parts of descriptions beginning in 'usually' (also 'especially'), which provide typical situations of meaning. Introducing typical rather than obligatory participants and circumstances, this strategy is adopted analogously in many monolingual dictionaries, including COBUILD3, MEDAL2, LDOCE4 and MWLD.

2.3 Semantic prosody

Semantic prosodies add meaning that goes beyond the meaning already expressed by word–semantics, requiring a close examination of contexts of use and components of meaning that are not always detectable in the immediate surroundings of the headword, or, as Philip (2009) puts it, "[I]n short, the semantic prosody associated with a lexical item communicates an attitudinal, evaluative or emotional stance with regard to a particular concept or scenario and its outcome (anticipated or actual), not simply a vague and ill–defined 'aura of meaning'", as ensuing from an ethereal, but more frequently cited, definition of semantic prosody by Louw (1993, 157): "a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates." According to Sinclair

[12] In the meaning of *(my) place* (i.e., the place where I live), Sinclair (1996, 83–93) identifies the prosody 'informal invitation' in patternings that differentiate one meaning of *place* (home) from others.

(1996, 34),[13] a semantic prosody expresses attitudinal meaning and is on the pragmatic side of the semantics/pragmatics continuum: "it shows how the rest of the item is to be interpreted functionally." The fact that semantic prosody is somewhat elusive and not always present has given some linguists, Whitsitt (2005) in particular, reason to discard it as "a figment of corpus linguists' imaginations". However, semantic prosody, like meaning on the whole, cannot be identified purely with introspection. As Louw explicitly states: "semantic prosodies are a collocational phenomenon and one which is preferably to be regarded as recoverable computationally from large language corpora rather than intuitively" (2000, 48). Their role is to connect the meanings expressed by particular wordings with the context of situation, linking them inseparably to the phrasing and spreading over the entire unit of meaning (which is why Sinclair referred to it as a 'prosody' in the first place according to Philip 2009, citing Sinclair 2003, 117). In the Slovene linguistic community, a good overview of the notion of semantic prosody and its role in lexical semantics has been given by Gabrovšek (2007), who also points out a deficient treatment of this phenomenon in contemporary dictionaries. In fact, it emerges that semantic prosodies are often difficult to describe in more complex terms than those of a simple positive/negative polarity. Nevertheless, in the SLD, we have aimed to explicate prosodic meaning by providing detailed descriptions of circumstances recoverable from corpus examples. The fact that this, as a rule, increases the length and complexity of the descriptions has not been considered a drawback at this stage of compilation:

> SLD: if a HUMAN **equates** SOMETHING with a PHENOMENON, CONCEPT, or CHARACTERISTIC s/he thinks that they are the same things, usually failing to see the difference either as a result of ignorance or intentionally
>
> *SI: če ČLOVEK **enači** KAJ s POJAVOM, POJMOM ali LASTNOSTJO, meni, da gre za enake stvari, pri tem pa navadno spregleda bistvene razlike, bodisi zaradi nevednosti ali namerno*

While semantic prosodies are often equated with so–called 'semantic preference', some studies (Philip 2009) have shown that the term semantic prosody can be used loosely, incorporating what, in effect, are two different levels of meaning analysis, of which the first is lexical, affective and abstracted from semantic preference (=connotational meaning), while the second is delexical, functional, phraseological and abstracted from various contextual features (=pragmatic function, as summarised in the underlined part of the definition above). By bringing the associations back into a real context of situation, the second facet of semantic prosody is inextricably pragmatic in nature: *where*, *when*, *why* and *to whom* something means what it does (ibid.). To fill what seems to be a conceptual and terminological gap between semantic preference and semantic prosody, a new category is proposed by Philip (2009), namely 'semantic association', advanced originally by Hoey (2005, 16ff.) to subsume "two different concepts, sometimes confused with each other" (Hoey 2005, 22), i.e., semantic preference and semantic prosody. If the term 'semantic association' is adopted as a separate category, Sinclair's (1996) quadripartite extended unit of meaning can be split into five: collocation, colligation, semantic preference, semantic association, and semantic (pragmatic) prosody. However, despite a theoretically sound argument in favour of 'semantic association' it is, in practice, not always possible to distinguish clearly between semantic prosody and association.

2.3.1 Semantic prosody, phraseology and idiomaticity

The criteria of semantic (non–)analysability considerably affect the way in which functional aspects of meaning, i.e., semantic prosody, come into play in phraseology. Phraseology is understood here in

[13] Semantic prosody was first used and presented to the research community by Sinclair (1996) and Louw (1993).

the broadest possible sense as a fundamental organising principle of language, also called by Sinclair the 'idiom principle', which is contrasted with its counterpart, the 'open choice principle', also present but in a way less indicative of the way language actually works. In fact, one of the more significant findings of corpus linguistics is that most language is phraseological and that it is only rarely combined freely. Unlike the non–compositionality characteristic of all conventional phraseological units, "[m]eaning that the combination of words used in the sequence that they are used is not generated anew out of the grammar every time it is required, but is instead pre–constructed and thus available for use as a single lexical choice" (Philip 2009), semantic (non–)analysability is central to idiomaticity: the degree to which it is possible to grasp the meaning of a lexical unit on the basis of the meaning of its component parts. In the continuation, we shall provide a practical analysis of a selection of extended units of meaning and examine the relationship between semantic prosody, phraseology and idiomaticity, as determined by degrees of semantic analysability.

2.3.1.1 Meaning as a matter of attitude towards a pragmatic situation

Example 1: *plezati (čez/skozi kaj; iz česa)* – *climb (over/through/from sth)*

As seen above (2.1.2.1), in the listed sense 3 of *plezati*, 'make one's way through/over/out of an uncomfortable position with effort', a set of circumstances has been identified that differ quite considerably from sense 1. The conceptual condition 'clamber' is most fully present here. The subject is typically human, and the act of climbing largely unplanned or undesired, or rather desperate in an attempt to reach a particular goal. This situation of meaning is a good example of how semantic prosody comes into play in the process of sense discrimination:

> SLD 3: if a HUMAN climbs over an OBSTACLE, through an OPENING, or from an uncomfortable POSITION s/he, using all limbs and her/his whole body, attempts to move in the desired direction, <u>usually with great difficulty or with some effort</u>
>
> SI: ČLOVEK pleza preko OVIRE, skozi ODPRTINO ali iz neudobnega POLOŽAJA, se skuša s pomočjo celega telesa premakniti v želeno smer, navadno s trudom ali težavo
>
> SSKJ 2[14]: premikati se, pomagajoč si z nogami in rokami, tako, da je telo blizu podlage (*to move, using legs and arms, with the body close to the surface*)

All of the examples of usage contain some element that indicates unfavourable circumstances surrounding the central event, accessible through the speaker's attitude, which is not at all typical of climbing a ladder, a tree or a mountain; therefore, a separate sense is in place to capture adequately the identified pragmatic components.

- *Zaposleni v studiu morajo včasih* ***plezati*** *prek kupov daril, plenic in različnih igrač.*
- *Tu in tam je pot zasuta, morava* ***plezati*** *po razritih obvozih.*
- *Hoditi je potrebno in mestoma* ***plezati*** *po strmih travah, grobem grušču, ostrih pečeh in policah.*
- *Med snemanjem namreč ne moreš* ***plezati*** *s tribun in iskati stranišče.*
- *Kuga. Vidi svojo mati, še vedno živo, in začne* ***plezati*** *proti njej. A stražar ga spet sune med rebra, potegne za noge, zgrabi za lase in povleče stran.*
- *Zakaj ne pokukajo v Ulico Stare pravde, da ne bodo starši z bolnimi otroci do vhoda bolnišnice* ***plezajo*** *čez pločevino.*
- *Tedaj so razjarjeni navijači na zahodni tribuni začeli* ***plezati*** *čez ograjo, ob igrišče, kjer sta bila sodnika, pa so začeli leteti predmeti.*
- *Tisoči so skušali priti na prepoln stadion tako, da so* ***plezali*** *prek ograj in zaprtih vrat*
- *Velikokrat so morali* ***plezati*** *skozi okna, iskati stranske izhode in pred dekleti pobegniti skozi kuhinjo.*
- *Zračna blazina se je že izpraznila in osvobodila pritisk na moje telo. Počasi sem se odvezal in pričel* ***plezati*** *iz vozila - skozi sovoznikovo okno!*

Figure 2. ***The examples for the most typical 'clambering' sense (='prebijati se'). See translations below.***

[14] This is a sense in SSKJ that only partly evokes the corresponding meaning.

- *The studio personnel must sometimes **climb** over heaps of presents, nappies and various toys.*
- *The track is in parts unsurpassable, we have to **climb** up on the dug up deviations.*
- *It is necessary to walk and in some parts to **climb** on steep grassy slopes, rough gravel, and sharp rocks.*
- During the shooting one cannot climb from the stadium seats and look for the toilets.
- *The pest. He can see his mother, still alive, and starts to **climb** towards her. But the guard pokes him in the rib again, pulls him by the legs, grabs his hair and drags him away.*
- *Why don't they peek into the Stara Pravda Street, so that parents with children who are ill don't have to **climb** over all the cars outside.*
- *At that point, the angry supporters at the west stand began to **climb** over the fence, while objects were being thrown to the area next to the play field where the referees were.*
- *Thousands tried to come into the stadium **climbing** over the fences and closed gates.*
- *Often they would have to **climb** through the windows, the side exits and run away from the girls through the kitchen.*
- *The airbag had already emptied itself and released the pressure on my body. I slowly unfastened the safety belt and started **climbing** out of the vehicle – through the co–driver's window!*

The most common collocates are 'fence, barrier, window, vehicle', and the verb is noticeably used with the modal verb 'must' or impersonal constructions 'it is necessary to' etc., as well as with the verb 'start'. The semantic preference is for all kinds of barriers and obstacles or narrow openings, from which the association of difficulty, effort and helplessness can be derived. Finally, we can posit the semantic prosody of anguish or despair arising from the frustration at not being able to move faster or with greater ease, also annoyance with one's helplessness or anger with those who caused it. There are indeed indications that the situation is sometimes due to human negligence or inability, as well as to objective circumstances. An important (negative) prosodic element is that conveying a vast discrepancy between what is expected in a normal situation and what is.

Collocates	Colligates	Preference	Association	Prosody
Fence (ograja), Window (okno), Vehicle (vozilo), Barrier (ovira)	Modal and incoative verbs (must, start to); Impersonal modal constructions (it is necessary to)	Barriers, (Narrow) openings, Obstacles, Difficult terrain	Difficulty, Effort; Helplessness	Anguish or despair arising from the frustration of not being able to move faster; Annoyance with one's helplessness and anger with the people who caused it

Table 3. ***Summary of the unit of meaning with PLEZATI (preko, skozi, iz) as node.***

SSKJ only lists 3 meanings, none of which correspond fully to the 'with effort' or the 'clambering' component of meaning. While LDOCE4 evokes a related sense in the 'slowly and awkwardly' part of the definition 3, neither MEDAL2 nor the DANTE lexical database give this sense special prominence. COBUILD3, on the other hand, identifies a sense with the components 'carefully', 'a small space', 'trying to avoid falling' which can, at least conditionally, be associated with 'clambering'.

2.3.1.2 Meaning as a matter of emphasis

Example 2: *bobnati* *(=biti bobnar) – to drum*

The way meaning and use are in fact two distinct, yet inseparable, facets of language is illustrated by the analysis of the following example, which shows how meaning can arise from an emphasis on a particular aspect of the (pragmatic) situation rather than from the word's inherent (semantic) features. Semantic prosody in some cases relies more heavily on the colligates than the collocates alone, "if anything tending to favour the patterns and participants in verbal processes over lexical–semantic features per se" (Philip 2009). The prototypical meaning, though not the most frequent meaning, of *bobnati* is defined by most (Slovene and English) sources within the framework below:

SLD 2: if a HUMAN **drums** s/he plays an instrument by making a continuous beating sound either by hands or special objects

SI: če ČLOVEK *bobna, igra na inštrument tako, da s pripomočkom ali rokami ustvarja ritem*

SSKJ: udarjati, igrati na bobne (*to beat on, to play drums*)

The MLDs only list very short definitions for this sense of *drum*, e.g., 'to beat or play a drum, or a set of drums' (MWLD) or 'to play a drum' (MEDAL2, LDOCE4), while COBUILD3 does not list this general sense at all. The metaphorical meanings are more prominent, such as 'to drum sth home' or 'to beat/bang the drums about sth', etc. Some examples of the salient meaning of *bobnati* from the SLD, 'to play a drum/drums', are listed below. This meaning of the verb is characterised by intransitive use and prepositional complementation often describing the instrument itself. The semantic association as well as prosody is neutral, as the salient meaning of the verb seems to be communicatively sufficient.

- *The driller Žiga got acquainted with the waitress Tina that day, after which he set up the Rhythm Thieves group, and she learned how to **drum**.*
- *That's when we meet Guy Patterson, who during the day makes his living as a shop assistent, while he spends the nights enthusiastically **drumming**.*
- *These two caves, the Mala and Velika Bobnarica, have a strange name like this for a reason, for if there is thunder in the sky a sound comes from them like that of a drummer **drumming** on a big old drum.*

Collocates	Colligates	Preference	Association	Prosody
Learn (naučiti se); Drum (boben); Drummer (bobnar)	Verbs with incoative function; Adverbial pre– and postmodification; Prepositional complementation (drums); Adverbs of manner	Expressions related to drummers and other players of instruments;	Neutral	Neutral

Table 4. ***Summary of the unit of meaning with BOBNATI as node.***

However, apart from the basic lexical meaning, on close examination and driven by a pragmatic function of meaning, a subsense can be separated out in *bobnati* that is more naturally expressed in English as 'to be sb's drummer', i.e., to play drums in a particular band or group on a regular basis:

b)*: if a HUMAN **drums** s/he is engaged in playing the drums as a regular member of a music group, usually for a period of time

*SI: če ČLOVEK **bobna**, se posveča igranju na bobne kot stalni član glasbene zasedbe, navadno v določenem obdobju*

- *The new drummer is Nenad Kostadinovski, who used to drum with groups such as Scuffy Dogs and Traffic Religion.*
- *Do you then have a drummer for your concerts? At the concerts we use Moreno Buttinar, who is Lara Baruca's drummer. We have also practiced with Janez, who drums with Miladojka Youneed.*
- *Meanwhile, Eva and Nataša sing and drum on Laibach's concert tour, while Darja has used the short period of lesser working intensity really well and has freshly fallen in love.*
- *Micky Waller, who first wanted to learn rock'n'roll drumming, later on drummed with Little Richard, Jeff Beck in Rod Stewart.*
- *Cecil Durkin was a druggy, a knife cutter and a prison rapist, but he also drummed in a few good jazz bands.*

This use of the verb is distinct, as its colligational behaviour in particular indicates: it typically requires explicit temporal complementation (recently, at night, later, on tour, in the election time, sometimes, etc.) or the time of the action is implied in the context by the use of, typically, a past tense. It is commonly used with prepositional complementation (drum with, at, in, etc.) denoting individual people or groups with whom one drums; proper names, therefore, appear regularly in the co–text as part of listings and/or coordinate structures with 'and'. Of course, the prototypical meaning 'to play a drum' is still present, but it is now a secondary rather than the key component of the conveyed sense. The emphasis is on the fact of being engaged as member of a performing musical group, often in the context of other players who make up the group, i.e., on the role ensuing from the ability to play the drums. Another colligational feature is that the verb cannot be pre– or postmodified, e.g., by an adverb. The semantic preference is for musical groups, players and settings, from which the association of an opportunity for success and fame emerges. The semantic prosody here seems to lie first and foremost in "renewing the connection of this semantic information with the reality of language in use [...]" (Philip 2009). Potentially, one could detect a certain nuance of pride ensuing from an active role of the participants in the musical scene.

Collocates	Colligates	Preference	Association	Prosody
Prepositions: at (pri), in (v), on (na); Begin (začeti), stop (nehati)	Usu. 3. person; Temporal complementation; Complementation of 'fellow players' (proper names); Incoative verbs; Coordinate structures, listing; No adverbial premodification	Musical groups, Musicians, Musical scene	Opportunity, Success, Fame; Pride	Pride ensuing from an active role in a (more or less) established band or musical scene?; Bringing to the fore the functional (pragmatic) meaning

Table 5. ***Summary of the unit of meaning with BOBNATI (pri, v, z) as node.***

Pragmatics plays an important role in phraseology, as well as in some types of word–formation processes, and is typically reflected in multi–word units such as compounds. Semantic prosody is present depending on the need of a word meaning to be supplemented by pragmatic meaning in language–based communication. Unlike the meaning of compositional and semantically analysable language – which, wholly accounted for by word meaning, by definition is not patterned "because it has no need of patternings to fix meaning which is 'inherent' in the words themselves" – meaning that is to a greater extent idiomatic requires greater involvement of the semantic prosody (Philip 2009).

Example 3: ***kisel*** *(sour, astringent)*

kislo vreme *(sour/grey/dull weather)*

kislo zelje *(sauerkraut)*

kislo jabolko *(lit. 'the sour apple (of sth)')*

2.3.1.3 Restricted meaning in semantically analysable units: collocation

a) ***kislo vreme*** *(sour/grey/dull weather)*

Semantic analysability can be observed along a continuum stretching from collocations – commonly thought to be transparent, but so only in their restricted meanings, i.e., in only one of the possible meanings resulting from the various meanings of their components, as well as of their various combinations – to the most opaque idioms that lie at the other extreme (Philip 2009). The above collocation can therefore be observed in its restricted meaning 'dull weather':

SLD: sour WEATHER is when it rains or the sky is overcast

SI: kislo VREME je takrat, ko ni sonca ali dežuje

SSKJ ekspr.: kislo vreme – neprijetno, pusto (*unpleasant, dull*)

The only two collocates that stand out are 'zagosti' and 'pokvariti' ('to spoil'), paralleled in scarcity by colligational patterns. The semantic preference is for cultural and sports events, and, within a limited spectrum, for agricultural products, especially grapes. The semantic association of physical and mental discomfort caused by the weather conditions helps build up the semantic prosody based on imminent danger of poor turnouts at public events or people not going ahead with their outdoor plans, such as tourists cancelling their bookings:

- *A general characteristic is that the camping sites in Gorenjska are pretty full, and even the sour weather of recent days has not chased away the tourists.*
- *That is why the construction workers are working at a good pace, but, on the other hand, due to sour weather the owners of Bioterme are in no hurry to open the swimming pool.*
- *The expected sour weather will cause malaise or indisposition in many people.*

An important fact about *kislo vreme* is that it is often used with its verbal collocates to express the opposite, i.e., to convey that unfavourable conditions did not, in fact, have the expected effect and did not put people off from coming and/or having a good time. Colligationally, therefore the use of negation is noticeable:

- *The good spirits <u>were not destroyed even</u> by somewhat **sour weather**, which towards noon cleared up, so they set off for short or longer walks in the surrounding areas, some over to Gospodična, after which they continued to enjoy each other's company right until nightfall.*

Another set of preference is instantiated by collocates referring to fruits, such as grapes, that are expected to ripen and develop sugar in the sun. This use represents an additional meaning dimension with a play on words, as 'kisel' strongly implies the actual (sour) taste of unripe grapes:

- *When the summer is sunny and September alike, the grapes will be sweet, but **sour weather** will give us grapes that will be hard to sell.*

Collocates	Colligates	Preference	Association	Prosody
Ruin, spoil (zagosti, pokvariti); Rainy (deževen), Cold (hladen)	Clause final punctuation; Often in the negative; Coordinate structures with 'and'	(Cultural and Sports) Events; Socialising; Agricultural products	Unpleasant, unfavourable circumstances; Mood swings; Physical and mental discomfort;	Imminent danger of cancellations, poor attendance; at events; Cancelled outdoor plans, holidays; Conveying the unexpected

Table 6. ***Summary of the unit of meaning with KISLO VREME as node.***

2.3.1.4 Meaning as encyclopaedic knowledge: (terminological) compounds

b) ***kislo zelje*** *(sauerkraut)*

There are some words and phrases that cannot be understood without knowledge of the real world or so–called encyclopaedic knowledge, such as compounds that convey different degrees of (semi) terminological meaning that has to be learned. A discrete indication of semantic non–analysability related to terminological use in this case is an unpredictable foreign language equivalent, in English: *sauerkraut.*

The MLDs are unanimous in explaining the unit by referring to its German origin, to the vegetable (cabbage) it is made from and to the procedure involved. Collocates denoting the form in which *kislo zelje* is used or served are identified, often in constructions expressing quantity or quantification. The recipe format presupposes listing other foods and vegetables, leading to many coordinate structures which make up typical colligational patterns. The semantic preference is overtly for cooking recipes or eating habits, a clear association being that of health and culinary delights. The semantic prosody in this case is neutral (or not detectable).

Collocates	Colligates	Preference	Association	Prosody
Raw (surovo), Grated (ribano), Sliced (narezano); Kilo (kilogram), Ton (tona); Little (malo), More (več)	Quantity; Quantification; Listing, coordinate structures with other kinds of vegetables	Cooking (recipes); Shopping for food; Eating habits;	Health	Neutral

Table 7. ***Summary of the unit of meaning with KISLO ZELJE as node.***

2.3.1.5 Meaning as (pragmatic) knowledge about language use: idiomatic expressions

In some expressions, where the salient (or metaphorical) meaning of either of words is insufficient for the reader to know their overall meaning, "word–semantics are redundant and yield entirely to the pragmatic reality of use, both textual and contextual, as the meaning of the phrase relies heavily on knowledge of semantic associations and semantic prosody" (Philip 2009):

c) ***kislo jabolko*** *(česa)*

SLD: a known problem or the heart of a dispute

ugrizniti/zagristi v kislo jabolko *(česa) – lit. 'to bite the sour apple (of sth)' (to bite (on) the bullet)*

SLD: means that sb willingly starts to deal with a known problem or unpleasant circumstances, conscious of the difficulties that might emerge

SI: pomeni, da se nekdo načrtno sooči z znanim problemom ali neprijetnimi okoliščinami, zavedajoč se težav, ki ga čakajo

SSKJ: lotiti se česa neprijetnega, neugodnega (to start dealing with something unpleasant)

The MLD explanations of the corresponding 'to bite the bullet' lay emphasis on 'sth difficult or dangerous' and the fact that it is 'the beginning of sth'. It is worth pointing out the two meaning components that only COBUILD3 gives special prominence to in its description, namely 'accept that' and 'but necessary' (MWLD also identifies 'necessary'). Although the phraseological core *kislo jabolko (česa)* can stand alone – and therefore deserves an independent meaning description – it typically collocates with 'ugrizniti' ('bite (on)'). Again, colligational patterns are quite prominent, such as the premodification of the core by an adjective or a quantifier:

- *Only the fourth judge Tanja Rot 'bit the legal **sour apple**' and called for a first hearing at the Maribor District Court last Friday.*

postmodification typically realised by a genitive or a relative clause:

- *Money is a '**sour apple**' <u>into which</u> every year in early spring the Ribnica councillors must bite (the bullet into which ... must bite).*

and constructions expressing comparison or intensification, as well as modal preference for obligation or inevitability:

- *'**The sourest apple**' that <u>must</u> be bitten by the member candidates is direct subsidies, as in the financial perspectives of the EU until 2006 not a single Euro was set aside for the new member states with this purpose*

Scare quotes are relatively common, as is the case with many metaphorical expressions:

- *Considering that each and every role of the Big Jack is a special experience, we do not doubt that sooner or later you will bite this '**sour apple**'.*

The semantic preference is for difficult situations, and the associations linked to it are difficulty, challenge and a necessary evil. A semantic prosody resting heavily on colligation can be posited:

coping with the inevitability and accepting to tackle a problem because it can no longer be put off. On the whole, familiarity with the situation somewhat alleviates the unpleasant consequences.

Collocates	Colligates	Preference	Association	Prosody
Bite (ugrizniti, zagristi); Sour (kislo), Sweet (sladko); Must (morati)	Pre– and postmodification (genitive, relative clauses); Comparison, intensification; Modal verbs expressing obligation; Scare quotes	Difficult situation, Tough conditions	Problem, Difficulty, Challenge, Necessary evil	Urgency, Necessity, Acceptance to tackle a problem because it can no longer be put off

Table 8. ***Summary of the unit of meaning with KISLO JABOLKO as node.***

2.3.1.6 Summary

The above described (extended) units of meaning vary in the degree to which each of their individual categories, including semantic prosody, contributes to the overall meaning. In principle, idiomatic expressions depend more on associations and pragmatic (functional) aspects of meaning than do semantically analysable units of language, such as collocations. Of the three analysed units in example 3, *kislo zelje* as a (semi)terminological unit seems to draw the least on prosodic features, while *(ugrizniti) v kislo jabolko* is largely dependent on a knowledge of its associations and semantic prosody.

3. Conclusion

It is important in the description of meaning to identify the degree to which pragmatics plays a role in the formation of the particular meaning in order to provide an adequate semantic–pragmatic description. The methods of corpus analysis have shown that semantic prosody can be investigated systematically by observing recurring patterns of (contextual) meaning. Semantic prosody builds along the semantics/pragmatics continuum and is a result of empirically identifiable elements of the meaning structure, albeit on the furthest boundaries of a lexical unit of meaning. This has far–reaching implications for the way lexicographical descriptions of meaning are constructed. Pragmatic information, including semantic prosody, is an integral part of an (extended) unit of meaning. What is obvious in the process of lexical analysis is the difficulty of describing semantic prosody in a way that goes beyond a simple positive or negative evaluation. The SLD meaning descriptions reveal an ambition to do just that. Prosody may be difficult to describe lexicographically, but when present it is an integral part of the wording that cannot be severed from the co–text or context. In our view, it is vital in a lexical database to provide all of the information on the headword that is retrievable from the corpus data; semantic prosody, no doubt, is that kind of information.

Bibliography

Atkins, S. 2010. The DANTE Database: Its Contribution to English Lexical Research, and in Particular to Complementing the FrameNet Data. In *A Way with Words: Recent Advances in Lexical Theory and Analysis. A Festscrift for Patrick Hanks,* ed. G.–M. de Schryver, 267–97. Kampala: Menha Publishers.

Atkins S., and M. Rundell. 2008. *The Oxford Guide to Practical Lexicography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Atkins, S., C. Fillmore, and C.R. Johnson. 2003. Lexicographic Relevance. Selecting information from corpus evidence. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 16, no. 3: 251–80.

Barnbrook, G. 2002. *Defining language: A local grammar of definition sentences. Studies in Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Fillmore, C. 1982. Towards a Descriptive Framework for Spatial Deixis. In *Speech, Place, and Action,* ed. R.J. Jarvella and W. Klein, 31–59. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Fillmore, C., and S. Atkins 1992. Towards a frame–based organization of the lexicon: the semantics of RISK and its neighbors. In *Frames, Fields, and Contrasts,* ed. A. Lehrer and E.F. Kittay, 31–59. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Fillmore, C., C.R. Johnson, and R.L. Petruck. 2003. Background to Framenet. *International Journal of Lexicography,* 16, no. 3: 235–50.

Gabrovšek, D. 2005. *Words Galore. Aspects of General and Slovenian–English Contrastive Lexicology*. Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani/Oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko.

– – –. 2007. Connotation, Semantic Prosody, Syntagmatic Associative Meaning: Three Levels of Meaning? ELOPE IV, no. 1–2: 9–28.

Gantar, P., K. Grabnar, P. Kocjančič, S. Krek, O. Pobirk, R. Rejc, M. Šorli, S. Šuster, and P. Zaranšek. 2009. *Standard for the Compilation of a Lexical Unit (Indicator 6): Communication in Slovene Project: Style Guide: the Slovene Lexical Database*. Kamnik. Slovenia. Available at: http://www.slovenscina.eu/Media/Kazalniki/Kazalnik6/SSJ_Kazalnik_6_Specifikacije–leksikalna–baza_v1.pdf (Accessed 6 September 2012).

Halliday, M.A.K. 1966. Lexis as a Linguistic Level. In *In Memory of J. R. Firth*, ed. C.E. Bazel, J.C. Catford, M.A.K. Halliday, and R.H. Robins, 148–62. London: Longman.

Halliday, M.A.K., and C. Yallop. 2007. *Lexicology. A Short Introduction*. London & New York: Continuum.

Hanks, P. 1987. Definitions and explanations. In *Looking up. An Account of the COBUILD Project*, ed. J.M. Sinclair, 116–36. London and Glasgow: Collins ELT.

– – –. 1994. Linguistics Norms and Pragmatic Exploitations, or Why Lexicographers Need Prototype Theory, and Vice Versa. In *Papers in Computational Lexicography*: *Complex '94*, ed. F. Kiefer, G. Kiss and J. Pajsz, 89–113. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

– – –. 2004. Corpus Pattern Analysis. In *Proceedings of the 11th EURALEX International Congress*, *Volume I*, ed. G. Williams and S. Vessier, 87–97. Lorient, Université de Bretagne Sud.

– – –. 2013. *Lexical Analysis: Norms and Exploitations.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hoey, M. 2005. *Lexical Priming*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jackendoff, R. 1990. *Semantic structures*. MIT Press.

Louw, B. 2000. Contextual Prosodic Theory: Bringing Semantic Prosodies to Life. In *Words in Context: A tribute to John Sinclair on his retirement,* ed. C. Heffer and H. Sauntson, 48–94. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

Louw, W.E. 1993. Irony in the Text or Insincerity in the Writer?: The Diagnostic Potential of Semantic Prosodies. In *Text and technology: in honour of John Sinclair*, ed. M. Baker, G. Francis and E. Tognini Bonelli, 157–76. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Philip, G. 2009. Why Prosodies Aren't Always There: Insights into the Idiom Principle. *Corpus Linguistics Conference.* Liverpool. Great Britain. http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/publications/cl2009/ (Accessed 6 September 2012).

Rosch, E., and B.B. Llyod. 1978. *Cognition and Categorization*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Sinclair, J.M. ed. 1987. *Looking Up: Account of the Cobuild Project in Lexical Computing (Collins Cobuild dictionaries)*. London and Glasgow: Collins ELT.

– – –. 1991. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: OUP.

– – –. 1996. The Search for Units of Meaning. *TEXTUS* 9, no. 1: 75–106.

– – –. 2004. *Trust the Text: Language, Corpus, and Discourse*. Routledge.

Stubbs M. 2001. On Inference Theories and Code Theories: Corpus Evidence for Semantic Schemas. In *Text*, 21, no. 3: 436–65.

Šorli, M. 2011. Pragmatic Components in the Slovene Lexical Database Meaning Descriptions. In *Electronic lexicography in the 21st century: new applications for new users: proceedings of eLex 2011, 10–12 November 2011, Bled, Slovenia*, ed. I. Kosem and K. Kosem, 251–9. Ljubljana: Trojina, zavod za uporabno slovenistiko.

Taylor, J.R. 1989. *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: OUP

Verschueren, J. 2000. *Razumeti pragmatiko*. (The original: *Understanding Pragmatics*, 1999). Ljubljana: Založba/*cf (Transl. by I. Prosenc).

Whitsitt, S. 2005. A Critique of the Concept of Semantic Prosody. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 10: 283–305.

Dictionaries and Databases

Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary. 1st edn. Sinclair, JMcH., Hanks, P. eds. 1987. London: HarperCollins (COBUILD1).

Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary. 2nd edn. Sinclair, JMcH. ed. 1995. London: HarperCollins (COBUILD2).

Collins COBUILD English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (on CD–ROM). 3rd edn. Sinclair, JMcH. ed. 2001. Glasgow: HaarperCollins Publishers (COBUILD3).

The DANTE Database. Accessed at: http://www.webdante.com/

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online, Longman. Accessed at: http://www.ldoceonline.com/ (LDOCE).

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (on CD–ROM). 4th edn. Summers, D. ed. 2003. Harlow, Longman. (LDOCE4)

Macmillan Dictionary and Thesaurus: Free English Dictionary Online. Oxford: Macmillan Education. Accessed at: http://www.macmillandictionary.com/.

Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners. 2nd edn. Rundell, M. ed. 2007. Oxford: Macmillan Education (MEDAL2).

Merriam Webster's Learner's Dictionary. Accessed at: http://www.learnersdictionary.com/ (MWLD).

The Slovene Lexical Database (SLD). Accessed at: http://www.slovenscina.eu/spletni–slovar

Web sites

http://nlp.fi.muni.cz/projekty/cpa/.

http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/.

www.fidaplus.net.

http://www.slovenscina.eu/spletni–slovar

(All links accessed 24 October 2013).

II.

LITERATURE

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.69-81

Iva Polak
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of Zagreb

Indigenous Australian Texts in European English Departments: A Fence, a Bridge and a Country as an Answer to the Debate over Multiculturalism

Summary

Though non-canonical Anglophone courses in the curriculum of European English departments are no longer seen as oddity, they are often regarded as "marginal" in comparison to the British and American canon. However, courses focusing on the cultural output of postcolonial voices, moreover of the most marginal of postcolonial voices, do not only challenge the extent to which we have managed to shift from Eurocentrism in literary theory, but also reveal the complexities of the current cultural trends, such as the frequently evoked policy of multiculturalism. The paper argues that courses which include texts by Indigenous Australian authors reveal the story of survival in a country that is literally multicultural, and stress the importance of one's own place of utterance, which is as local as it is global. The above issues are exemplified by the works of the famous Aboriginal writers Doris Pilkington/Nugi Garimara (*Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 1996), John Muk Muk Burke (*Bridge of Triangles*, 1994) and Alexis Wright (*Carpentaria*, 2006).

Key words: Anglophone alternative, multiculturalism, global and local, Doris Pilkington, John Muk Muk Burke, Alexis Wright

Avstralska besedila domorodcev na angleških oddelkih v Evropi: ograja, most in dežela kot odgovor na razpravo o multikulturnosti

Povzetek

Čeravno so danes nekanonizirani anglofonski predmeti v študijskih programih angleških oddelkov v Evropi nekaj povsem običajnega, so še vedno deležni obrobne pozornosti v razmerju do britanskega in ameriškega kanona. Ne glede na to predmeti, ki se osredinjajo na kulturni domet postkolonialnih glasov, da ne rečemo najbolj obrobnih postkolonialnih glasov, ne le da predstavljajo izziv stopnji, do katere se nam je uspelo odmakniti od eurocentrizma v literarni teoriji, marveč tudi razgaljajo zapletenost trenutnih kulturnih teženj, kot je npr. pogosto izražena politika multikulturnosti. Članek dokazuje, da tisti študijski programi, ki vključujejo besedila domorodnih avstralskih avtorjev, razkrivajo zgodbo o preživetju v deželi, ki je dobesedno multikulturna, in poudarjajo pomen osebnega izrekanja, ki je lokalno in hkrati globalno. Tovrstna vprašanja tematizirajo dela znamenitih domorodnih avtorjev: Doris Pilkington/Nugi Garimara (*Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence*, 1996), John Muk Muk Burke (*Bridge of Triangles*, 1994) and Alexis Wright (*Carpentaria*, 2006).

Ključne besede: anglofonska alternative, multikulturnost, globalno in lokalno, Doris Pilkington, John Muk Muk Burke, Alexis Wright

Indigenous Australian Texts in European English Departments: A Fence, a Bridge and a Country as an Answer to the Debate over Multiculturalism

1. Introduction: is there an indigenous australian text in the class?

Graham Huggan opens his 2007 study *Australian Literature. Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism* by raising the kernel question: Why study Australian literature? Though Huggan claims that this very direct question "deserves a direct answer", such an answer is hard to provide. However, discussing this issue in a specifically Australian context, Huggan points out that apart from being national (typically Australian), postcolonial (having themes similar to other, what he simply calls, "settler literatures") and transnational (with Australian writers "belonging" to the world), Australian literature offers a genuine "Anglophone alternative" (Birns 2002): a refreshing challenge to the imagined supremacy of British and American literatures, and to the high-handedness and parochialism that continue to underlie the teaching and study of English literature at many schools and universities, both in Australia and elsewhere"(Huggan 2007, 3).

But as Huggan further asserts, this is not enough to settle a "deep-seated anxiety over the future of Australian literary studies" (ibid., 3), since Australian universities recently started replacing the so-called "elitist Australian *literary* studies" with more "socially representative *cultural* studies" (ibid.). While this issue has more to do with a growing presence of the corporate world on university campuses in Australia, the same issue raised in the European context is somewhat removed from the market economy and still remains closer to the economy of promoting a specific selection of Anglophone knowledge.

Today, Australian studies in Europe exist as self-standing university programmes and divisions (sometimes called centres),[1] specialized individual courses or as topics incorporated in postcolonial literary courses, once called in an equally benign manner courses in Commonwealth literatures or new literatures in English. Most frequently simply included in the English departments which also "simply" denote literatures in English, Australian literary courses very frequently have to fight against the "traditional" literary courses in English that focus what David Williamson (1995), one of the most distinguished Australian playwrights, would call "dead white males", such as Shakespeare, Milton, or Blake – that is, on the imperial reminder that Australian literature lacks "the dream of the rod"[2] in comparison to the British or American measuring rod. Hence, accepting Australian courses within English departments might sometimes follow the same uneasy trajectory as accepting Australian literature in the late 19th and early 20th century, when Australian literary works were offered to the British book market made of the "refined" metropolitan readership as "quaint colonial curious"(Huggan 2007, 7).[3] Due to its locality and globality in English, or we could say "glocality",[4] Australian literature and culture may or may not fit into English departments and into a course on anything literary/cultural in English, be it a self-standing course or one most frequently bearing the

1 For instance, the Centre for Australian Studies at the University of Copenhagen, which is the biggest and best equipped centre of this kind in Europe.

2 The allusion is to the famous anonymous OE poem from the 8th century "The Dream of the Rood".

3 For a historical survey of a specific relationship between publishing houses and Australian literary works, see Nile 2002.

4 Coined from the term "glocal imagination," which refers to "transglobal multiple exchanges of global and local factors that encompass economic, social and political aspects as much as cultural ones" (Riemenschneider 2005, 16). A more common term is trans/national.

prefix of postcolonial. We know that in reality introducing any "non-canonic" specialized course usually depends on accumulation of specific scholars or the appearance of a strong individual scholar interested in, e.g., Antipodean matters, which might be quite random, or it may also depend on the extent to which a given local English department feels elitist.

A step further in this equation would be to include Indigenous Australian literary materials into the English department. In Australia Indigenous Studies represent a self-standing research field which means that "things 'Aboriginal'" (Langton 2003, 119) are not found within the English and Australian Studies departments. One of the reasons is that very frequently Indigenous Studies offer courses on burning issues within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' communities, such as contemporary politics, health issues, sustainability, and education – in other words topics which are not primarily literary or, for instance, cinematic.[5] Another reason may be found in the book stores in Australia, which often place Indigenous writing – as a rule including Indigenous prose fiction – on the bookshelf marked "Australiana". One of the reasons for using "Australiana" can be found in a popular definition when it implies any cultural heritage and production made in or in relation to Australia, or what we may call "things Australian". However, the official definition of Australiana is stricter and implies "items, especially of historical interest, originating in or related to Australia, as early books, furniture, painting etc." (*The Macquarie Dictionary* 2001, 132). As a result, Aboriginal cultural production belongs to the past, which is why it is attributed a specific Australian historical interest. Another less patronising reason for such a curious labelling might lie in the remarkable diversity of forms and contents of Aboriginal writing, fictional and nonfictional alike, that resist easy classification. No matter what the case may be, Indigenous writing is never listed under "Aboriginal literature" or "Aboriginal fiction".[6]

In Europe, and for all our archetypal position of privilege, scholars can more easily include Indigenous Australian materials in the courses offered at English departments because, ironically enough, we tend to feel more removed from the specifically Anglo-Australian shame of whiteness, which is why it is possible to combine mainstream Australian literature with Indigenous literary production in a single course.

However, the question for introducing such content into the classroom very much reflects Huggan's question in relation to the purpose of teaching and studying Australian literature: Why should we introduce Indigenous Australian content into European English Studies, and, moreover, why should this be worthwhile in the contemporary moment? One of the most recent reasons for doing so lies in the fact that Indigenous writing has been tackling the problems of the very word that was appropriated in 2011 in an uneasy context in Europe, and it concerns all of us. The word "multiculturalism" was used by German Chancellor Angela Merkel, former French President Nicolas Sarkozy and British Prime Minister David Cameron in the context of failure. This came from the countries that opened up their borders to former colonial subjects and migrant workers from all over the world, whose stories, by now, should have entered the representational codes of their imagined communities (Anderson 1983). One of the most interesting reactions to this sudden burst of an un-metaphorical Western European honesty came from a country which takes pride

5 E.g., the Indigenous Australian Studies programme at the Koori Centre at the University of Sydney offers courses which are very versatile and range from the notion of land and culture, health issues and community, identity politics, gender and knowledge, to offering introductory courses on Aboriginal literature. At the same time, Australian Indigenous Studies at Murdoch University in Perth offers courses on politics, popular culture, history, spirituality, but also Indigeneity and critical theory, with no courses on Indigenous literary output. What may not come as a surprise is that these centres are mostly aimed at Indigenous Australians. Cf. http://sydney.edu.au/koori/ and http://www.murdoch.edu.au/Courses/Australian-Indigenous-Studies/.

6 Based on the author's field research in 2006 and 2007 in Perth, Fremantle and Sydney.

in its policy of multiculturalism from the 1970s – Australia. With a convenient delay in relation to the proclamation of the powerful European trio, the then Australian Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, Chris Bowen, came up with the text broadcasted nationwide as "the genius of Australian multiculturalism". This text functions as an appendix to the diplomatically revised policy of multiculturalism entitled The People of Australia, which was announced in 2011. In this document we read that "Australia is a multicultural nation. In all, since 1945, seven million people have migrated to Australia. Today, one in four of Australia's 22 million people were born overseas, 44 per cent were born overseas or have a parent who was and four million speak a language other than English. We speak over 260 languages and identify with more than 270 ancestries. Australia is and will remain a multicultural society" (The People of Australia 2011, 2).

This might mean that Australia, unlike Europe, got it right when it comes to multiculturalism. However, for those in the know, who are aware of the Indigenous, migrant and refugee situation in Australia, especially when it comes to the so-called "boat people", or what is now being called "irregular maritime arrivals", the European reaction suddenly seems quite polite and honest, especially when one reads in Bowen's proclamation that Australia's multiculturalism is "underpinned by respect for traditional Australian values" (Bowen 2011). Though *The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy* is a more tactfully constructed text in which the noun "value" is preceded only by adjectives such as "democratic" and "shared", the text still reveals slippages in the policy by introducing the establishment and implementation of a new National Anti-Racism Partnership and Strategy designed to deliver an anti-racism strategy. This implies that there are still forms of racial discrimination in Australia that need to be eliminated. Suddenly, a country that is literally multicultural in its demographic makeup is not really that different from Europe, though it is far more exquisite in verbalizing the outcomes of its multicultural approach.

In the context of globally shattered multiculturalism, inclusion of Indigenous Australian writing into English Studies in Europe becomes additionally valuable because, apart from its cultural and literary merit, this writing becomes engaged in a very specific manner. Interestingly enough, the adjective that has been following Indigenous cultural production as a satellite from the 1960s to denote alleged lack of aesthetics is now back with a vengeance because not only does this writing help them survive, but it can help us survive as well. Since they are Australia's first "boat people" before Anglo-Celtic and more contemporary mariners, their writing can tell us how to handle, survive and reconcile multiculturalism when multiculturalism is a condition and a regulated policy. The answer their writing offers is that multiculturalism is not achieved by a simple recipe "add Indigenous peoples and stir" (Worby et al. 2006, 444), though one would think that Bhabha's academic-culinary verbiage introduced already in *The Location of Culture* (1994) would suffice. Suddenly their writing seems to be giving the answer to the question that Jean-Pierre Durix posed in 1998: "Is there such a thing as a hard core of culture which the individual will refuse to give up and which constitutes the limit of the multicultural play in which he/she frequently indulges?" (Durix 1998, 149). After all, we do live in a world that is growingly becoming glocal, where "in an individual or in a given group, several systems of reference cohabit" (ibid., 150). When the answer comes from Indigenous Australians, whose traditional culture was so unbefitting for the European measuring rod that it was regarded as acultural, maybe we should listen because the fact that they have survived and are surviving implies that, instead of representing them as "objects – as the 'known'" – we should start representing them as "subjects as 'knowers'" (Moreton-Robinson 2004, 75).

2. Enter a fence, a bridge and an imagined country

This brings us to the story of a fence, a bridge and an imagined country or more specifically Doris Pilkington's (Nugi Garimara's) *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996), John Muk Muk Burke's *Bridge of Triangles* (1994) and Alexis Wright's *Carpentaria* (2006). Though from the late 1980s there has been a considerable rise in publication of Indigenous prose fiction, drama and poetry due to a series of socio-historical reasons,[7] the above mentioned three works are selected because they belong to very different prose genres, and show different mechanisms of survival on various levels of a nation's multiculturality.

Pilkington's critically acclaimed work can be presented to English students not because it is an easy work to deal with, but rather because there are many sources available enabling the outsider to comprehend better the socio-historic complexities behind it. If the information from the available historical books cannot really convey the impact of the assimilation policy, currently the best source for learning about the context of Pilkington's story is a famous documentary series *First Australians: The Untold Story of Australia* (2008, dir. Rachel Perkins), especially the fifth episode entitled "Unhealthy Government Experiment" in which Doris Pilkington herself talks about her experience at the Moore River Native Settlement and how she later found her mother. The documentary series is destined for cultural outsiders, which makes its application in the class refreshingly simple. Students become acquainted with the overpowering gaze of the Chief Protector of Aborigines, forceful removal of children of mixed descent, negation of Indigenous motherhood and limitation of basic human freedoms, which as a rule triggers discussions about human rights in general, as well as how it was possible that this colonial genocide was swept under the carpet, or what enabled, what is historically known as, the "Great Australian Silence" (Stanner 1979, 320−9). This is, in effect, one of the basic issues raised in this episode of the documentary: not whether the Australians knew about the Stolen Generations but whether they cared. Discussion can also include the notion of race being a social or historical rather than biological category, especially in the context of the launching of the Human Genome Project students are usually familiar with.

If Pilkington's work is presented in combination with Phillip Noyce's 2001 critically acclaimed film *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, what gets revealed is something that the reader – "not being properly encoded" (Brooke-Rose 1981, 124) – may overlook in Pilkington's narrative, thus feeling free to "read everything, anything and therefore also nothing, into the text" (ibid., 124), including the aridity and sheer vastness of the landscape the three girls had to walk through. Stating that the three girls, Molly, Daisy and Gracie, walked about 1600 km for nine weeks from the Moore River Native Settlement north of Perth, where the girls were forcefully removed from their mothers, to Jigalong does not mean much to the European student. However, stating that it would mean walking on foot from, e.g., Ljubljana to Oslo, and imagining that the landscape is semi-arid as the Gibson Desert in Australia the girls had to traverse, means putting the whole journey into perspective and not taking the sheer numerology of their journey at face value. The vastness and layout of the landscape is best revealed in the opening scene of the film, which shows an endless horizon of a flat dry landscape, as is so often evoked in Australian literature and cinema. The opening scene also reveals that this is just one of the many stories that constitute the narrative of Stolen Generations and that even in Doris Pilkington's family forceful removal happened at least twice: Doris's mother Molly was abducted from her mother as a child, which is the main plot behind Pilkington's work, and some 10 years later Molly, who narrates in the opening and

7 The 1988 Bicentenary celebration propelled publication of Indigenous works from 1987 to the mid-1990s. For current problems in publishing Indigenous Australian works, see Heiss 2003, 48−125.This is currently the only systematic source on the topic.

closing scene of the film, lost both of her daughters due to the same policy. While it took over 20 years for Pilkington to trace her mother in Jigalong, the second daughter, Anne, it seems, has been lost for good. This second story is narrated in Pilkington's next work, *Under the Wintamarra Tree* (2002), while the loss of her sister Anne due to successful assimilation into the mainstream society is revealed in Pilkington's text "The Hurtful Legacy of Racism" (2000), in which, having found the address of her lost sister, Pilkington sent her a parcel with her two novels and paper clippings of their mother's 1931 journey, only to receive it back with the markings "rejected by the addressee" and "return to sender".

Pilkington's work also makes it clear that no matter how aesthetically nicely written her work is not really what the Eurocentric theory would define as auto/biography or auto/biographical fiction but a very specific genre of indigenous women's narratives critics have tried to identify as life(hi)story (Somerville 1991), transformation of life-talking into life-writing (Van Toorn 2000, 35), Aboriginal women narrative (Sabbioni 1996), Aboriginal women's autobiographical histories (Brewster 1995, 5), life stories (Van den Berg 2005, 3), or a broader genre that has recently been generally acknowledged as life writing (Smith and Watson 2001).

One of the prevailing motifs in the text and accompanying film is the fence, a freestanding structure which stereotypically denotes limiting freedom or creating a visible boundary between the insider and the outsider. In Pilkington's work the fence can be analysed as a specific, if not comic then certainly ironic relief as well as an emblem of hope. Detecting the fence as comic relief presumes knowing the bizarre story of how rabbits came to Australia, which was, as Pilkington says "a typical response by the white people to a problem of their own making" (Pilkington 2003, 109). This is the well documented story of a certain Thomas Austin who released 12 rabbits that had just come from England into his backyard in Victoria in 1859. Due to 50 million years of isolation that left Australia without a single predator or parasite and in combination with a not really a highbrow fact that rabbits tend to breed with a certain keenness, the erection of the longest fence on the other side of Australian continent had to be initiated as early as 1901. Finished in 1907 and consisting of three connected fences approximately 3,500 km long, the fence, today known as the "state vermin fence", is still in use in some parts of WA and SA because, judging from the fact that the total number of rabbits in Australia exceeds 300 million, there are some twelve of Austin's bunnies hopping around each Australian.

Apart from dividing the space into agricultural and rabbit-infested land, the fence is overwritten with a positive meaning and brings hope into the darkest of places. The fence functions as an "important landmark to everyone, including the Mardjudjara people migrating from the desert regions. Once they reached the rabbit-proof fence they followed it to Jigalong" (Pilkington 2003, 32). For the three girls, that which limits the space does not only represent a landmark but also a "yellow brick road" which leads them back to their community. As Pilkington puts it, the fence becomes a "symbol of love, home and security" (ibid., 109). Sticking to a man-made object which has been unnaturally inserted into the landscape, the girls in effect appropriate Western tools because the very fence helps them reach the country they know and the country they can read without the fence. This also shows that Pilkington does not use the motif of Indigenous reading of the landscape as some generic or abstract ability, but rather stresses that the moment the girls enter *their* country they are able to read the landscape because the country belonging to their people represents the "familiar landscape of the red earth, the dry spinifex grass and grey-green mulga trees" (ibid., 123).

Pilkington's work covers the period of Australia when the country was already multicultural with a considerable Asian population that came during the gold rush in the second half of the

19th century. At the same time, the country was without a national policy of multiculturalism. Pilkington thus reveals the thorny path of survival of the "invisible" minority who manage to transgress monocultural fences by following the often mentioned paradigm of survival of those who are not in a position to choose: the paradigm of adopt-adapt-adept. Hence, the fence for the Indigenous girls is not just a freestanding structure but also a structure of freedom. In Europe many walls and fences have been pulled down since the end of 1989 to reinforce our sense of freedom but it seems that we still have not quite figured out how to adapt in order to reach the level of adeptness.

Another lesson of Indigenous coping and survival in an ambivalently multicultural space comes from the novel *Bridge of Triangles* (1994) by John Muk Muk Burke.[8] Unlike Pilkington's work, whose international fame has been rendered possible primarily by the film, and subsequent translations of her work into other languages,[9] *Bridge of Triangles* is known exclusively in the Australian context. However, in contrast to Pilkington's text, which needs special preparatory work to introduce it in the class, Burke's novel is set in a contemporary moment and mimics a form that non-Indigenous students might find easier to grasp.

The novel is divided into three parts: the life of the boy Chris(topher) Micky Leeton in a small town in NSW where the traditional and contemporary Aboriginalities meet; the second part follows Chris and his brother being taken by their mother to Sydney without the consent of their Irish father, and the two brothers ending up in a welfare home. The final part is narrated by Chris, who decides to leave the welfare home and search for his mother. While the text is simple on the story level, the discourse level is more complex owing to the presence of two distinct narratorial voices. The heterodiegetic narrator anticipates grim future events, and the autodiegetic narrator, Chris, uses interior monologues to blend the present and past events, thus creating an illusion of "atemporality" or a contemporary Indigenous example of "everywhen" (Stanner 1979, 23–4) which underpins the traditional Dreamings.

Both focalizations construct the protagonist Chris in opposition to others in his struggle to cope with "his sense of unbelonging" (Burke 2000, 6), or with coming to terms with his shifting identity. And this is where the biggest trap of this work lies. Since "boundaries between the self and the world, boundaries that reduce *all* spaces to 'not us' and thus homogenize them, have often served as one of our litmus tests of modernism" (De Lange et al. 2008, xi), students might conclude that this novel most likely represents an example of modernist and existentialist writing, that it reflects more Camus's *The Outsider* and Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*. Ironically enough, this was the reason for the editors of a very distinguished Australian publishing house, QUP, to try to persuade the author to make his story "more interesting" (See Heiss 2003, 74), even though this type of existentialist writing was the very reason why Australian publishers accepted and praised the alleged first Indigenous novel in English published over forty years earlier.[10] The apparent modernist and existentialist nature is where the mimicry of the novel lies, since Chris's interior monologues, which are based on personal impressions which passively construct the external world, might

8 John Muk Muk Burke (1946) was born in Narrandera, New South Wales, and on his maternal side belongs to the Wiradjuri community while his father is of Irish descent. He has taught in primary schools in the Northern Territory and New Zealand, lectured history and English literature at the Centre for Aboriginal and Islander Studies at the Northern Territory University from 1992 to 2001, and has recently worked as a teacher at the Goulburn Correctional Centre with Aboriginal inmates. His fiction *Bridge of Triangles* won the 1993 Unaipon Award. He is currently working on his next novel.

9 Just a fraction of the fictional works by Indigenous Australian writers have been translated into other languages. The translated authors include Mudrooroo, Sally Morgan, Philip McLaren, Alexis Wright, Melissa Lucashenko, Kim Scott and Bruce Pascoe. The reason for listing Mudrooroo goes beyond the scope of this paper.

10 The reference is to Mudrooroo's first novel, *Wildcat Falling* (1965).

pander to European or American modernist prose. However, the source of the defragmentation of this alleged Indigenous Sisyphus is not of the protagonist's own making but stems from the contemporary condition of the urban-dwelling Indigenous Australians.

Chris's initial point of departure, or what he calls the "other knowledge", is reduced to a "painful memory of a memory" (Burke 2000, 17). He represents generations of Indigenous Australians that are moving further away from the initial place of dislocation from their tribal communities, whose fate is often being moulded by forces beyond their control. However, what connects him with the reader who is a cultural outsider is his belief that moving to a bigger urban space might solve his issues by making him anonymous. What he soon learns is that "unbelonging could never take firm hold of his soul" (ibid., 17), and Sydney, the urban space which epitomises multiculturalism, is a fallacy often represented in Indigenous contemporary fiction with the metaphor of "the big smoke". Rather, what keeps his hope alive is that one day he might make a full circle and establish his "vision of oneness" (ibid., 104). This shall be achieved through a man-made object. As the girls in Pilkington's work stick to the fence, so does Chris stick to the bridge in the place where he grew up. Since the bridge functions as the traditional boundary between his grandmother's Wiradjuri community and the small town where he spent his childhood with his mother, Chris cannot choose "sides". Rather, he needs to acknowledge that he is that very bridge with *white* triangles, that he is that link between the Wiradjuri community and contemporary Aboriginality with Irish blood coming from his father's side. His inability to choose is solved by his accepting that he does not have to choose, which should be the very essence of multiculturalism. As Anne Phillips argues, "We need our cultures in order to become autonomous beings" (Phillips 2007, 105), and Chris needs both of his cultures to become a strong individual capable of agency. This would enable him, as the narrator anticipates, to "feel and see and touch [his country] again and then he, the boy, would remember that there was his home and he would return because he had never really left" (Burke 2000, 104).

However, the fact that the novel does not close with the end of the journey but rather with an indication that Chris is on his way home implies that the journey lying ahead is long and that the wayfarer must be patient. If the bridge represents multiculturalism, the waters under the bridge are muddy and crossing the bridge, though apparently simple, might prove to be quite an endeavour.

The last Indigenous text here proposed to be included into the English Studies classroom is Alexis Wright's[11] critically acclaimed novel *Carpentaria* (2006), which won the 2007 Miles Franklin Award, the most prestigious Australian literary award.[12] The work equally woke up Australian critics who were in a state of slumber from the mid-1990s with their scanty publications on Indigenous fiction. Reviews of *Carpentaria* point to the novel's alleged proximity to some other famous Anglo-Australian canonical works such as Xavier Herbert's *Capricornia* (1938) (e.g., Renes 2001,107-9) and *Poor Fellow My Country* (1974) (e.g., Devlin-Glass 2008, 397), and Patrick White's *Tree of Man* (1955) (e.g., Syson 2007, 85). Other reviews place it in the framework of vibrant Indigenous women's writing (e.g., Ferrier 2008). The accumulation of different reviews has motivated Alison Ravenscroft to come up with a critique of the very critical corpus deconstructing the novel's hidden meanings, entitling it "Dreaming of Others. *Carpentaria* and its Critics" (2010), thus evoking

11 Alexis Wright (1950) is from the Waanji people from the highlands of the southern Gulf of Carpentaria in the NT and Queensland. She has worked extensively in government departments and Aboriginal agencies as a professional manager, educator, researcher and writer. She held speeches against the Howard Government's Northern Territory Intervention in 2007. Her other books include *Grog War* (1997), a study of alcohol abuse in the outback town of Tennant Creek, and the novel *Plains of Promise* (1997).

12 The only other Indigenous Australian who won this award is Kim Scott. In 2000 Scott shared the first prize with the novel *Benang. From the Heart*, and in 2011 he was awarded the first prize for *That Deadman Dance*.

Tolkien's famous paper on Beowulf.[13] As if anticipating such a reception, Wright's novel starts with the words: "A NATION CHANTS, *BUT WE KNOW YOUR STORY ALREADY*" (Wright 2006, 1, italics in the original).

What enables an easy inclusion of this voluminous labyrinthine novel into the European classroom is its very genre: magical realism, identified by many scholars as the most important aesthetic merit of the novel. Relying on Indigenous oral tradition the textual landscape is not purely imaginary, but rather represents an inscription of the native place of Alexis Wright, the Gulf of Carpentaria. Spreading across the Top End of Queensland and the Northern Territory, and located a bit above the Tropic of Capricorn, the region is exposed to the exchange of dry and wet seasons. The low-lying areas of the Gulf's hinterland are reminiscent of the shots being sent to us by Curiosity from Mars, though they do become flooded during the wet season. Prone to extreme weather conditions, Wright's country becomes an excellent canvass for constructing a world in which "it is probable that many improbable things may happen" (Aristotle 1982, 65),[14] which is the key condition for interweaving magic in a matter-of-fact manner into everydayness.

Accordingly, Wright's imaginary town of Desperance, named after Captain Matthew "Desperance" Flinders, who was the first European to circumnavigate Australia, and the first to map the Gulf of Carpentaria, functions as Márquez's Macondo in *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (1967). It is inhabited by different peoples, each representing a specific menagerie. There are the Uptowners who glorify the place in the name of pioneer history and bush eccentricity, and reflect the "three Ms of the Top End: missionaries, mercenaries, and misfits" (Devlin-Glass 2007, 82). The margins of the town are inhabited by a variety of shattered Aboriginal communities: the Western Pricklebush mob lead by the Phantom family; Joseph Midnight's Eastend mob living in car bodies on the eastern side of town; a team of underage scholars, urged by their elders to adopt literacy in order to find out the secrets of the Uptowners; a group of separatists led by Big Mozzie Fishman, who follow the dreaming tracks from across the Northern Territory border in battered Holdens and Fords, two Australian car makes. This group is loosely affiliated with another led by a young Indigenous guerrilla warrior, Will Phantom, the character based on a the real life persona, Murandoo Yanner, the famous activist and voice of Gulf Aboriginals.

Every single character, including those with cameo appearances, represents a specific amalgam of several cultural codes: Norm(al) Phantom is a man of the sea who in his alchemical workshop transforms dead fish into jewel-like objects. His wife Angel Day, is the "queen" of garbage, collecting screws and other metal parts in Heinz tins, and performs an Indigenous makeover of a statue of the Virgin. Unlike Angel, whose fate is more embedded in the realism of the Top End, Norm eventually embraces his cultural heritage. There is also Elias Smith, a prophet-like figure who emerges from the sea and is returned to it. Will Phantom, the son of Norm Phantom, starts as a guerrilla warrior in the attempt to blow up the mine, but eventually appropriates a more pacifistic activism. There is also Mozzie Fishman, a shamanic practitioner of Aboriginal belief who goes on walkabouts in a Mad Max procession of vehicles. Furthermore, white characters also have a dose of quirkiness: Lloydie is in love with a mermaid trapped in the timber in his bar; Father Dan is

13 Tolkien's 1936 lecture "The Monsters and the Critic", reprinted in *The Monsters and the Critic and Other Essays* (2006), is the most important text in the history of *Beowulf* scholarship. It breaks with the established studies of *Beowulf* and offers a new model of interpretation.

14 In the context of the place where a high level of improbable things might happen, according to recent research this vast area might have also been the setting of a crucial event in the ancient history of mankind: it is allegedly the location where two giant meteorites crashed around AD 500 causing a tsunami and global cooling on the Earth, as recorded in tree-ring data from Asia to Europe (see Lovett 2010).

an Irish pilgrim and a boxer who uses his car as a cathedral; Truthful is a quiet constable whose pet plant will destroy the building, while Bruise, the town major, is a more stereotypical character, constructed as a bigot and a murderer.

This multicultural circus of Desperanca meanders through the pages of the novel as the ancestral serpent with which the novel starts. Every character in this trickster place is itself a trickster because magical realism as a mode or as a genre does not create binarism but rather expands the reality, or alternatively the text constructs the "magical" and the "real" as subjective and cultural experiences available in *any* cultural location. The technique of achieving this effect is defined as a realistic description of the unreal and an unrealistic description of the real, or what Scarano describes as "the naturalization of the unreal, and the supernaturalization of the real" (Scarano 1999, 17). As the narrator states in the closing pages of the novel: "But miracles did not automatically happen to anyone unless they already had the key" (Wright 2006, 514). Hence, magic and realism lay in the hands of the beholder. In *Carpentaria*, each and every character holds a special key for a different type of magic. Owing to its multiplicity of voices, the novel can be described as the ancestral serpent from the beginning of the novel: as "laden with its own creative enormity" (ibid., 1). This perpetual creative zest appears in the closing chapters of the novel, when the town gets flooded. As in the physical Gulf of Carpentaria, flooding only enables the renewal of Desperanca, making this remote town brim with *esperança* (Portuguese for hope).

Though quite visibly written from the Indigenous cultural code, Wright herself has destined her novel for a wider audience because the ideas inserted in the text concern anyone:

> I wanted to question the idea of boundaries through exploring how ancient beliefs sit in the modern world, while at the same time exposing the fragility of the boundaries of Indigenous home places of the mind … The fundamental challenge I wanted to set myself, was to explore ideas that would help us to understand how to re-imagine a larger space than the ones we have been forced to enclose within the imagined borders that have been forced upon us. (Wright 2007, 94)

Instead of appropriating the Indigenous "singing the world into existence", Wright decides to search for a song that "should be sung in recognition of our national collectivity" (2007, 92). Quite unsurprisingly, the "great Australian novel", multifarious in its stories and codes, has come from the pen of an Indigenous author, ironically enough, at a time when Wright's very country was once again undergoing discipline by the former Howard government.[15] Wright's novel reveals that culture is not a misnomer but that it matters "as part of the way we give meaning to our world, as an important element in self-ascribed identity, [...] It correlates with differences of gender, race, ethnicity, and national origin, and does so in a structured manner that goes beyond questions of identity or choice" (Phillips 2007, 15).

3. Conclusion

In the context of the contemporary political debate wrapped in an overly relaxed transnational cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism

> appears not as a cultural liberator but as a cultural straitjacket, forcing those described as members of a minority cultural group into a regime of authenticity, denying them the

[15] At the time of the publishing of the novel, the then Australian Prime Minister John Howard launched the notorious Northern Territory intervention. For repercussions of the intervention on the reception of the novel, see Shoemaker 2008.

> chance to cross cultural borders, borrow cultural influences, define and redefine themselves. If the accusations are correct, they threaten to remove the very basis for multicultural policies, for if culture imputes a false stability to experiences that are intrinsically fluid, what exactly is left to be recognised, accommodated, or equalised?
>
> (Phillips 2007, 14)

The three texts selected to be included in the European English Studies reveal the true anatomy of multiculturalism by challenging what Phillips identifies as a "cultural straitjacket" as well as "aculturality", warning us that before any solution there is a long walk home during which we should not be scared of fences and bridges but rather make do with what we have. It seems that the overpowering narrator of *Carpentaria* offers a possible solution:

> ONE EVENING IN THE DRIEST GRASSES IN THE WORLD, A CHILD WHO WAS NO STRANGER TO HER PEOPLE, ASKED IF ANYONE COULD FIND HOPE.
>
> THE PEOPLE OF PARABLE AND PROPHECY PONDERED WHAT WAS HOPELESS AND FINALLY DECLARED THEY NO LONGER KNEW WHAT HOPE WAS.
>
> THE CLOCKS, TICK-A-TY TOCK, LOOKED AS THOUGH THEY MIGHT RUN OUT OF TIME. LUCKILY, THE GHOSTS IN THE MEMORIES OF THE OLD FOLK WERE LISTENING, AND SAID ANYONE CAN FIND HOPE IN THE STORIES: THE BIG STORIES AND THE LITTLE ONES IN BETWEEN. SO... (Wright 2006, 12)

This we should include into the English Studies classroom because such texts may help us realise that multicultural should no longer be "synonymous with Martian" (Safransky 1992, 204), but rather a more *down to earth* phenomenon.

Bibliography

Aristotle. 1982. *Poetics*. Trans. J. Hutton. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Benedict, A. 2006. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London: New York: Verso. Original edition, 1983.

Bhabha, H.K. 1994. *The Location of Culture.* London and New York: Routledge.

Bowen, Ch. 2011. The genius of Australian multiculturalism. http://www.minister.immi.gov.au/media/cb/2011/cb159251.htm (accessed 16 May 2012).

Brewster, A. 1995. *Literary Formations: Post-colonialism, Nationalism, Globalism.* Carlton South, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

Brooke-Rose, Ch. 1981. *A Rhetoric of the Unreal: Studies in narrative and structure, especially of the fantastic.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burke, J.M.M. 1994. *Bridge of Triangles*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

De Lange, A., G. Fincham, J. Hawthorn, and J. Lothe. 2008. Introduction. In *Literary Landscapes. From Modernism to Postcolonialism*, ed. A. de Lange, G. Fincham, J. Hawthorn, and J. Lothe, xi-xxv. Hampshire: New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Devlin-Glass, F. 2007. Review Essay: Alexis Wright's *Carpentaria. Antipodes* 21 (1) (June): 82–4.

- - -. 2008. A Politics of the Dreamtime: Destructive and Regenerative Rainbows in Alexis Wright's *Carpentaria*. *Australian Literary Studies* 23 (4): 392–407.

Durix, J–P. 1998. *Mimesis, Genres and Post-Colonial Discourse: Deconstructing Magic Realism***.** Hampshire: London: Macmillian Press Ltd.

Heiss, A.M. 2003. *Dhuuluu-Yala. To Talk Straight: Publishing Indigenous Literature*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Huggan, G. 2007. *Australian Literature. Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Langton, M. 2003. Aboriginal Art and Film: The Politics of Representation. In *Blacklines. Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, ed. M. Grossman, M. Langton, and A. Moreton-Robinson, coordinating ed. M. Grossman, 109–24. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

Lovett, R.A. 2010. Giant Meteorites Slammed Earth Around A.D. 500. *National Geographic News*. 3 February 2010. http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2010/02/100203-asteroid-collision-earth-global-cooling/ (accessed 16 May 2012).

Moreton-Robinson, A. 2004. Whiteness, Epistemology and Indigenous Representation. In *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, ed. A. Moreton-Robinson, 75–88. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Phillips, A. 2007. *Multiculturalism without Culture*. Princeton: Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Pilkington, D. 2003. *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence*, St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press. Original edition 1996.

- - -. 2000. The Hurtful Legacy of Racism. In *Those Who Remain will Always Remember. An Anthology of Aboriginal Writing*, ed. A. Brewster, A. O'Neill, and R. van den Berg, 158–61. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.

Ravenscroft, A. 2010. Dreaming of Others. *Carpentaria* and its Critics. *Cultural Studies Review* 16 (2) (Sept): 194–224.

Renes, M. 2011. Dreamtime Narrative and Postcolonisation: Alexis Wright's *Carpentaria* as an Antidote to the Discourse of Intervention. *JEASA* 2 (1): 102–22. http://www.ub.edu/dpfilsa/jeasaiindexvol2.html (accessed 16 May 2012).

Richard, N. 2002. *The Making of the Australian Literary Imagination.* St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

Riemenschneider, D. 2005. GLOBAL FANTASY– GLOCAL IMAGINATION. The New Literatures in English and Their Fantastic ImagiNations. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 41 (1) (May): 14–25.

Sabbioni, J. 1996. Aboriginal Women's Narratives: Reconstructing Identities. *Australian Historical Studies* 27 (106) (April): 72–9.

Safransky, R. 1992. The Goulash Archipelago. In *Striking Chords. Multicultural Literary Interpretations*, ed. S. Gunew and K. O. Longley, 202–5. North Sydney: Allen&Unwin.

Scarano, T. 1999. Notes of Spanish-American Magical Realism. In *Coterminous Worlds: Magical Realism and Contemporary Post-Colonial Literature in English, Cross/Cultures, Readings in the Post/Colonial Literatures in English,* No. 39, ed. E. Linguanti, F. Casotti, and C. Concilio, 9–28. Amsterdam: Atlanta: Rodopi.

Shoemaker, A. 2008. Hard Dreams and Indigenous Worlds in Australia's North. *Hecate* 34 (1): 55–62.

Smith, S., and J. Watson. 2001. *Reading Autobiography. A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. Minneapolis: London: University of Minnesota Press.

Somerville, M. 1991. Life (Hi)story Writing: The Relationship between Talk and Text. *Hecate* 17 (1) (May): 95–109.

Stanner, W.E.H. 1979. *White Man Got No Dreaming: Essays 1938–1973*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Syson, I. 2007. Uncertain Magic. *Overland* 187: 85–6.

The Macquarie Dictionary, 3rd Ed. 1981–2001. Ed. A. Delbridge et al., Macquarie University, New South Wales: The Macquarie Library.

The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy. 2011. PDF. http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/a-multicultural-australia/multicultural-policy/ (accessed 16 May 2012).

Van den Berg, R. 2005. Aboriginal Storytelling and Writing. *Altitude, Reading Indigenous Australian Texts Part 2*, 6. http://www.api-network.com/cgi-bin/altitude21c/fly?page=Issue6&n=2. (accessed 16 May 2012).

Van Toorn, P. 2000. Indigenous Texts and Narratives. In *The Cambridge Companion to Australian Literature*, ed. E. Webby, 19–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williamson, D. 1995. *Dead White Males*. Sydney: Currency Press.

Worby G., L-I. Rigney, and S.U. Tur. 2006. Where Salt and Fresh Waters Meet: Reconciliation and Change in Education. In *Sharing Spaces: Indigenous and non-indigenous responses to story, country and rights,* ed. G. Worby and L-I. Rigney, Symposia Series, general ed. R. Nile, 418–47. Perth: API Network.

Wright, A. 2006. *Carpentaria*. Artarmon, NSW: Giramondo.

- - -. 2007. On Writing *Carpentaria*. *Heat* 13: 79–95.

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.83-93

Staša Sever
University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Arts, Slovenia

Prostheses, Cyborgs and Cyberspace – the Cyberpunk Trinity

Summary

This article will explore three elements that have collectively become the *sine qua non* of our lives: prostheses, cyborgs and cyberspace. The main concern of the article is to show the close connection between the technology-saturated reality of today and the literature of cyberpunk as the prototypical representative of merging the human and the technological. This will enable us to explore the interaction between literature and reality in the formation of the cyborg of today.

Key words: prostheses, cyberspace, cyborg, cyberpunk, literature

Proteze, kiborgi in kiberprostor – kiberpankovska trojica

Povzetek

V članku bom raziskovala tri elemente, ki zaznamujejo naše današnje življenje: proteze, kiborgi in kiberprostor. Osrednja tema je pokazati povezavo med s tehnologijo prežeto realnostjo današnjega časa in literaturo kiberpanka, ki predstavlja prototip stapljanja človeka s tehnologijo. To nam bo omogočilo raziskavo interakcije med književnostjo in resničnostjo pri oblikovanju kiborga sedanjosti.

Ključne besede: proteze, kiberprostor, kiborg, kiberpank, literatura

UDK 82 – 312.9.09:004:316.728

Prostheses, Cyborgs and Cyberspace – the Cyberpunk Trinity

1. Introduction

Today we are surrounded by numerous technologies that span all levels of our lives. The hardware, the software and the growing speed of data transfer, all packed into the perpetually shrinking form of screens and keyboards, which create our daily reality, have gradually evolved into extensions of our bodies – they are our prostheses that define our lives as cyborgs in the world of cyberspace data streams surrounding us.[1] As N. Katherine Hayles explains in *How We Became Posthuman*, "information is increasingly perceived as interpenetrating material forms" (Hayles 1999, 19). On the one hand, this leads to our increasing dependence on electronic devices, which have become a part of us to such a degree that we feel lost without them. On the other hand, the only way we can access the information streams that are shaping our daily lives is through the use of electronic technology. It can be concluded that technology functions as prosthetics for us, enabling us the navigation through the cyberspace data worlds of today.

This article will explore the relationship between the three elements that define our symbiosis with technology today: prostheses, cyborgs and cyberspace. The analysis of these three elements will encompass two aspects. The first aspect is reality: we will concentrate mainly on the development of technology and how this has shaped the human being. The second aspect is literature. Here we will concentrate on the literature of cyberpunk, since this literature is the symbol of portraying the merging of humans with technology. Another reason for the importance of cyberpunk is its gradual transformation into the reality of today. Many technologies, such as virtual reality and the Internet, which were still fiction at the time cyberpunk was written, are nowadays real and available to the average human. The analysis of prostheses, cyborgs and cyberspace will be based on the thesis that there is a close connection between reality and cyberpunk literature when it comes to these three elements. While at the beginning the development of real-life technology inspired cyberpunk works, today it could be said that reality is inspired by cyberpunk fictional technologies. The analysis of real-life prostheses, cyberspace and cyborgs will therefore serve as the basis for the analysis of these three elements in cyberpunk literature. My intention in this article is three-fold. First, I will show how the development of new technologies shapes the definition of prostheses, cyborgs and cyberspace. The second question I will address is how the rapidly developing technologies produce new types of cyborgs over time. Finally, cyborg development in cyberpunk literature and in real life will be explored and the mutual influences between both realms will be shown. The purpose of this research is to explore the way literature and reality interact in the formation of the cyborg. However, before an explanation of the relationship between the prostheses, the cyborg and the cyberspace can be made, a brief survey of the three terms prosthesis, cyborg and cyberspace is needed.

[1] Already in 1981 Jean Baudrillard focused on the correlation between the concept of people and information in his work *Simulacra and Simulation*. The fractal subject was his term denoting the postmodern man who is constantly bombarded with information, which, in turn, shapes his identity. However, the fact that information is being published in a vast quantity of media has led to a stage where the original information has been lost and only copies remain. Baudrillard calls these copies simulacra. "Originals do not exist any more. People recognize simulations as reality. They have come to recognize the simulacra as something more real than the reality itself – a phenomenon which is referred to by Baudrillard as the 'hyperreal' (1)" (Sever 2010, 27). Cyborgs in the world of cyberspace data streams are essentially Baudrillard's fractal subjects in the age of computer technologies and the Internet.

2. Prostheses / cyborgs / cyberspace

In their Introduction to *The Prosthetic Impulse: From a Posthuman Present to a Biocultural Future* Marquard Smith and Joanne Morra explain that the word prosthesis gained its medical meaning (i.e., replacing missing body parts with artificial ones) already in 1704. Eventually, the word gained additional meanings of extension, augmentation and enhancement and started to be used in contexts describing the relations between the human body and technology in general. The appearance of the cyborg in the 1980s and 1990s, Donna Harraway's essay "The Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the 1980's", and rapid technological development at the end of the 20th century quickly led to "an epic status" (Smith and Morra 2006, 2) of prosthesis. It can be concluded that, in connection to the human body, the meaning of the word prosthesis has grown over time from the very basic meaning that encompassed simple artificial limbs to the very complex meaning of today, when essentially all technology that we employ in our daily lives can be defined as prosthetic.

***

The second element is the cyborg. The birth of the term itself is, in my view, best explained by Manfred Clynes[2] in "An Interview with Manfred Clynes" by Chris Hables Gray, which was published in *The Cyborg Handbook*. Clynes explains that, as a result of his work with Nathan Kline in the 1960s, a new concept was born, "a concept of persons who can free themselves from the constraints of the environment to the extent that they wished. [...] The main idea was to liberate man from the constraints as he flies into space..." (Gray 1995, 47) Clynes invented the word cyborg to denote that new existence of man. With the rapid development of technology, however, cyborgs soon became "a central figure of the late Twentieth Century" (ibid., 2), as Chris Hables Gray, Steven Mentor and Heidi J. Figueroa-Sarriera explain in their introduction to *The Cyborg Handbook*, titled "Cyborgology: Constructing the Knowledge of Cybernetic Organisms". Gray, Mentor and Figueroa-Sarriera also summarize Donna Haraway: while the concept of the cyborg helps us understand the postmodern era, it is still difficult to determine the various types of cyborgs since their number is still growing. We can conclude with the words of Gray, Mentor and Figueroa-Sarriera that "we certainly live in a 'cyborg society.' Machines are intimately interfaced with humans on almost every level of existence not only in the West and Japan but among the elite in every country in the world" (ibid., 3).

To summarize, the term cyborg today denotes the interaction and augmentation of humans with machines and technology on various levels of life. While initially invented as a specialized term by Clynes, the term has spread into literature and real life. The two realms are now slowly merging due to the rapid development of technology. In fact, as Ray Kurzweil predicts in his *The Singularity Is Near*, the development of information technologies will be so fast in the next few decades that our technologies will rapidly surpass our own biological capabilities.

***

Lastly, let us take a look at cyberspace. A very useful explanation can be found in the essay by William R. Macauley and Angel J. Gordo-Lopez "From Cognitive Psychologies to Mythologies", published in *The Cyborg Handbook*[3]:

[2] It is important to understand the surroundings that led to the invention of the term cyborg. Since Manfred Clynes invented the word 'cyborg', his explanation shows the original meaning the term denoted.

[3] Macauley's and Gordo-Lopez's definition was chosen here simply because it offers a general description of cyberspace, which can then be employed in further analyses of cyberspace in literature as well as in real life.

[...] the relationship between humans and information has changed profoundly during the late 20th century; increased accessibility and an explosion in the quantity and quality of information made available to individuals requires new strategies and models to cope with these changes... The introduction of novel computer technology – head mounted displays (HDMs) and 6 degrees of freedom (6DOF) peripheral devices, for example – provides an electronic medium in which HCI [human-computer interaction] is replaced by the fusion of human with computer. This medium has been labelled *cyberspace* (Gibson 1984; Benedikt 1991) or *virtual reality* (VR) (Lanier 1989; Brooks 1988). Cyberspace can be employed to fashion real or novel environments which the participant perceives directly and navigates through. [...] Cyberspace is a medium which envelops and, simultaneously, reconstitutes the techno-social body in a virtual discursive space. (Gray 1995, 436)

As can be seen from the above explanation, what lies at the heart of cyberspace is information, which is the basic aspect of cyberspace used in this article.[4]

3. The linking of the three elements

Before we continue, let us quickly sum up the above explanations in a few points relevant to this article. Firstly, prosthesis is no longer a term defining merely artificial limbs, but a term denoting the relationship between humans and machines in general. Secondly, the cyborg can be defined as a mechanically improved or enhanced human being that is practically merged with technology on multiple levels of his existence, from private to public, from physical to psychological. Finally, cyberspace is essentially information which everyone can access, manipulate and contribute to. These are the three basic points on which the rest of this article will be based.

Even though cyborgs are usually linked to the existence of cyberspace, they are not, in fact, connected. Although the word 'cyborg' itself was invented only in the second half of the twentieth century, cyborgs actually precede cyberspace. What enabled the existence of the very first cyborgs was, in fact, the emergence of prosthetics. Similar to contemporary cyborg technologies, the first prosthetic devices that were invented already in the second half of the nineteenth century had a military background. They were prosthetic limbs for wounded soldiers. Jennifer Davis McDaid's essay "'How a One-Legged Rebel Lives': Confederate Veterans and Artificial Limbs in Virginia", published in the book *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives: Modern Histories of Prosthetics*, explains how in those early days the common belief among amputees was that prostheses were impractical and not particularly useful, since the prosthetic limbs were "noisy, uncomfortable, and cumbersome" (Ott, Serlin, and Mihm 2002, 122). It was not until after the Second World War that the development of prosthetic limbs got a new boost. As David Serlin explains in his essay "Engineering Masculinity: Veterans and Prosthetics after World War Two", also published in the book *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives*, the development of prostheses benefited immensely from the invention of novel materials for military needs and purposes.

Even those early prostheses wearers may be considered as cyborgs due to the fact that the first prostheses already represented the joining of the human body with technology. However, these first cyborgs were not so much improved as merely returned to normality. The prostheses they wore were purposefully made to serve a particular function, which enabled the amputees to lead a more or less normal daily life or earn a living. Those days could be defined as the age of the wearable prostheses.

4 This article deals with the general classification of prostheses, cyberspace and cyborgs. For the purposes of such a classification it is sufficient to apply a broader concept underlying cyberspace: information.

With the advent of computer technology in the second half of the twentieth century things changed. Cyberspace was born. The opening words of David Hakken's book *Cyborgs@Cyberspace: An Ethnographer Looks to the Future* give a nice view of the changes that cyberspace brought about:

> Computer theorists use the term "cyberspace" to refer to the national social arena we "enter" when using computers to communicate. "Cyberspace" can be used more generally to refer to the potential "lifeway" or general type of culture being created via Advanced Information Technology (AIT), the congeries of artefacts, practices, and relationships coming together around computing. (Hakken 1999, 1)

As can be clearly seen from Hakken's explanation, cyberspace is perceived as an environment "inside" computers, which is created by computer networks and information highways. This is the way people usually understand cyberspace – it is cyberspace in its traditional form.

The era of computers also saw the birth of the term 'cyborg', as has already been explained above. With the spreading of computer networks and the growing number of computer users, and especially with cyberpunk literature in the 1980s, the word 'cyborg' soon gained a new meaning. It started to denote an organism that is connected to datastreams and information highways of the computer networks. For such a creature, cyberspace became a necessary lifeline – a prosthesis. Cyborgs became data-conditioned creatures that did not necessarily lack body parts, but nevertheless used the prosthesis of cyberspace. However, because cyberspace is not so much worn as it is inhabited, it can be said that this is the age of inhabitable or liveable prostheses.

Finally, the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century saw another phenomenon, which may be defined as the spilling of cyberspace. When the computer finally gained its present form and status of a household gadget, it lost some of its exotic aura of an all-powerful machine, since it turned out to be just another information tool. However, while information technologies were strongly present in people's lives already before the computer, they were analogue. Newspapers, magazines, the radio, the television – all of these were channels of information, but they were controlled and somehow static. People could not contribute, edit, create or manipulate their contents at will.

It was the computer – essentially still just another information tool – that brought about two upgrades to the former information technologies: contribution and digitalization. With the computer becoming a household appliance and with the growing of computer networks supported by high-speed connections, anyone could obtain their own little place in cyberspace. People could upload and download data freely, they could manipulate them, create them, delete them. With computers becoming ever smaller, lighter, cheaper, and, at the same time, more and more powerful, people now have access to advanced technologies which were hitherto chiefly reserved for the world of cyberpunk novels.

However, as it turns out, the computer served merely as the base for new digital technologies. Computer chips, circuit boards and other components are nowadays omnipresent and can be found on all levels of our daily lives, from highly sophisticated medical technologies (prostheses, pacemakers, life-support equipment, etc.) to the simplest of our kitchen appliances (microwaves, coffee makers, etc.), from heavy machinery that is used to build our cities to the smallest devices (such as mobile phones) that we are practically glued to every day.

It can be concluded that digitalization is the process that caused the spilling of cyberspace from behind computer screens into the real world. Today, we are continuously bombarded with information. From the most obvious of the media, such as the radio and the television, which are nowadays digitalized, as well, to our home PCs, laptops and tablets, from the giant electronic billboards (the most obvious example of which loom over the streets of Tokyo) to our mobile phones – all of these things surround us and cause our complete immersion in information. We are saturated with pixels and megabytes of information everywhere we turn. Digitalization has also changed the wearable prostheses of the previous era. Prosthetic limbs have become more versatile, efficient and sophisticated already to the point where they not only return amputees to normalcy but actually improve their physical bodies (for example, specialized prosthetic legs can be set to the size of the step, which enables the wearer to run in giant leaps).

We can no longer imagine our lives without our little electronic gadgets.[5] Taking away our connections to the streams of data equals death to us.[6] It can be concluded that these technologies are our prostheses, which, through the process of digitalization, have become ubiquitous.

4. The three stages of development

The analysis of prostheses therefore leads us to the conclusion that cyborgs and cyberspace develop in three stages. The first stage is the stage of the wearable prostheses, which leads to the birth of the so-called analogue cyborgs. The crucial characteristic of these cyborgs is that they had to be missing one or more limbs in order to wear a prosthesis. The second stage is the stage of the inhabitable or liveable prostheses, which create digital cyborgs. These cyborgs only need to sit down in front of the computer in order to be prosthetically enhanced. The third stage is the stage of the all-encountering prostheses, which gives birth to the all-encompassing cyborgs. These cyborgs only need to be born to be immersed in digitalization and its prostheses. Already babies in hospitals are subjects to various tests and check-ups, which include medical (information) technology. As children grow up and become adults, this immersion is only increased by various forms of media that constantly surround them. In fact, in *The Singularity Is Near*, Ray Kurzweil predicts that the near future will bring about not just immersion, but complete merging of humans with technology. He calls this period Singularity: "What, then, is the Singularity? It's a future period during which the pace of technological change will be so rapid, its impact so deep, that human life will be irreversibly transformed. [...] There will be no distinction, post-Singularity, between human and machine or between physical and virtual reality" (Kurzweil 2005, Locations 483, 532). Kurzweil

5 In David Bell and Barbara M. Kennedy's book *The Cybercultures Reader (Second Edition)* we can find the essay by Todd Joseph Miles Holden and Takako Tsuruki: "DEAI-KEI Japan's new culture of encounter". The authors deal with the current culture of Internet forums in Japan. They explain that mobile phones with Internet capabilities quickly became the preferred platform for Internet use among the Japanese. This portable Internet also enabled people to access *deai* (i.e., Internet forums) with intention to meet people with similar interests online. Only a small percentage of *deai* users actually met their new acquaintances in person. "[I]nteraction via machine was far more common than in-the-flesh meetings arranged through *deai*" (Bell and Kennedy 2007, 146). It can be concluded that our dependence on electronic devices has grown to the point that we need them even for things as basic as meeting new people.

6 In *Death and Mass Media in the World of Don DeLillo's White Noise and Cosmopolis* I explain the role of the Internet in the context of Baudrillard's theory of the fractal subject. The identity of the postmodern man as a fractal subject is formed through the absorption of information from the world around him. The Internet has simplified this since all the information is available instantly with a few clicks. As Mojca Krevel explains, the Internet, with its chief representative form of the hypertext, also represents the embodiment of the principle behind the fractal subject, which is choosing or discarding information in order to shape one's identity (Krevel 2003, 334).
Today, the Internet represents the central data stream to us. If we lose our connection to this constantly growing quantity of data, we lose our chief supply of identity building blocks, which means we practically stop existing as postmodern fractal subjects. This equals death of the postmodern man as the fractal subject.

predicts that, eventually, nanobots[7] will enhance the human experience by creating "virtual reality from within the nervous system" (Kurzweil 2005, Location 867).

Prostheses, cyborgs and cyberspace need to be redefined with the development of new technologies over time. The roles of preconditioning have changed, as well. At first, it was the prostheses that preconditioned the existence of the cyborg. Later, cyberspace preconditioned the existence of the cyborg. Nowadays, life itself preconditions the existence of cyborgs.

Today, cyberspace is everywhere, with or without its most typical mark of the screen (e.g., pacemakers contain chips and electronic compounds that are basically data without a screen). With the spilling of cyberspace, we have all become cyborgs. While at first cyborgs predated cyberspace as we know it now, today cyberspace preconditions us all as cyborgs.

5. Cyberpunk

How does all this connect to literature, more precisely, to the 1980s literature of cyberpunk? While based on the computer technology and the information networks of its time, in many respects cyberpunk literature surpasses the technology of the time by encompassing a number of highly sophisticated devices in its works. However, cyberpunk literary works actually include all forms of cyborg technologies that were classified in this article. First, there are the wearable prostheses. These usually have the same role in cyberpunk literary works as they have in real life: to return a person to a state of normalcy. One of the most obvious examples of characters featuring such a prosthetic piece is Ratz from William Gibson's novel *Neuromancer*. Compared to the sophisticated technology that is available in the world of *Neuromancer*, Ratz's prosthetic arm looks ugly, primitive and clumsy, yet it is an element that makes the novel's environment seem more down-to-earth and realistic. Another telling example is Maxwell from Matt Ruff's novel *Sewer, Gas and Electric: The Public Works Trilogy*, who is the proud owner of a prosthetic leg, a prosthetic toe and a prosthetic scrotum. Again, these prosthetic additions to his body are meant merely to enable him a return to a normal life.

However, the wearable prostheses also go one step further from the real-life prostheses. Molly from *Neuromancer*, for example, has inbuilt lenses in front of her eyes and claws built into her fingertips. Allie from Pat Cadigan's *Mindplayers* is another example. Due to the nature of her work she has her natural eyes exchanged with artificial ones. While they can still be categorized as wearable prostheses, these bodily additions do much more than just return these characters to a state of normalcy. They actually improve and upgrade their bodies and enable them to do more-than-merely-human things at their own free will. This is where cyberpunk overtakes reality.

Although, as has been established, cyberpunk literature takes the wearable prostheses to a more advanced level, it also paradoxically stresses the importance of the fallible human body. For example, in Matt Ruff's, *Sewer, Gas and Electric* we can find characters who are missing their limbs and other parts of their bodies, but at the same time the human DNA is one of the most sophisticated types of information. When a company produces a special nanovirus, it is taught "to read the DNA of

[7] Kurzweil defines nanobots as "small robots the size of human blood cells or smaller that can travel inside the bloodstream" (Kurzweil 2005, Location 5253) and explains that such micro-technology has already been used on animals quite successfully. In the future, nanobots will be able to scan the human brain "to facilitate its reverse engineering" (Kurzweil 2005, Location 5258). They will also be used in diagnostic and therapeutic purposes. As Kurzweil explains, Robert A. Freitas Jr. is a pioneer on the field of nanobots. He has already designed the concepts of "robotic replacements for human blood cells" (Kurzweil 2005, Location 5260): respirocytes for better oxygenation of the blood, microbivores for fighting pathogens, DNA-repair robots and other medical robots that will be able to clean up human cells. Such research is already underway and is progressing rapidly.

its host for skin color, hair texture, bone structure, and more subtle racial indicators like blood type and metabolic chemistry" (Ruff 1997, 294). It can be said that although the cyberpunk wearable prostheses are much more advanced than the wearable prostheses of reality; they are somehow unimportant. The body's real value is its DNA data and the brain, not the technological augmentations worn by their users.

Inhabitable prostheses are among the most widely spread prostheses in cyberpunk works. However, this is also where the difference between cyberpunk works and reality is the most obvious. In addition to the information Case and Molly from *Neuromancer* melt with, there is another good example of a character inhabiting the data networks: Hiro from Neal Stephenson's novel *Snow Crash*. Characters such as Case and Hiro represent the typical computer user of the twenty-first century: practically life-dependent on the streams of information, they spend most of their time immersed into the data networks. However, while the inhabitable prostheses of our real-life data networks nowadays still have to be accessed with the help of computers, routers, modems and cables, cyberpunk characters again go beyond this and plug into the datastreams through another piece of advanced wearable prostheses – plug-ins in their heads. They literally merge with information.

The inhabitable prostheses of data networks also come in two forms when it comes to cyberpunk. They can be the classical examples of information about corporations, etc., such as those surfed by Case. However, they can also be the data networks of the human mind. Allie from *Mindplayers* plugs into the depths of human minds through her eyesockets and then explores the human mind-data. This is another aspect where cyberpunk exceeds reality.

Inhabitable prostheses also lead to another phenomenon present in cyberpunk literature, which is not present in reality. The more advanced the inhabitable prostheses and their data networks are, the more natural it becomes for the characters to replace the biological components of their bodies with some type of a wearable prosthesis. Since the highest form of data in cyberpunk is still human DNA and the human brain, a good example of such replacing is Allie from Pat Cadigan's *Mindplayers*. When she becomes an employee of Nelson Nelson, he decides to rebuild her, starting by replacing her biological eyes with artificial ones: "The eyes I'm gonna give you Reattach to the muscles easier, not to mention the optic nerve, which I already mentioned" (Cadigan, 104). The human mind is accessed through the eye sockets, which requires removing the eyes first. Since Allie is a professional pathosfinder, she regularly hooks into people's minds through her eye sockets. Therefore she simply accepts Nelson Nelson's order of replacing her eyes as her new reality and immediately picks "cats-eye" (ibid., 106) biogem for her new wearable prosthesis. As can be seen, the human mind, which is the highest form of information network in *Mindplayers*, regulates the form of the physical human body. It is therefore natural to obtain a type of wearable prosthesis to be able to access the human mind-data network.

The all-encountering prostheses of the general data that surround us in the technology-saturated world that we live in today are also represented in cyberpunk. The best examples of this type of prostheses can be found in William Gibson's novels *Neuromancer*, *Mona Lisa Overdrive*, and *Count Zero*. The streets the characters walk on are practically swarming with information at every step. The cities glow in neon and resemble cyberspace when viewed from the air. In *Neuromancer*, for example, the Sprawl is described as being the matrix itself:

> Program a map to display frequency of data exchange, every thousand megabytes a single pixel on a very large screen. Manhattan and Atlanta burn solid white. Then they start to

> pulse, the rate of traffic threatening to overload your simulation. Your map is about to go nova. Cool it down. Up your scale. Each pixel a million megabytes. At a hundred million megabytes per second, you begin to make out certain blocks in midtown Manhattan, outlines of hundred-year-old industrial parks ringing the old core of Atlanta [...]. (Gibson 1995, 57)

This is also probably the type of prosthesis that differs the least from the reality of today. One of the most obvious examples is Tokyo, which is described by William Gibson in his article "The Future Perfect: How did Japan become the favoured default setting for so many cyberpunk writers?": "I remember my first glimpse of Shibuya, when one of the young Tokyo journalists who had taken me there, his face drenched with the light of a thousand media-suns – all that towering, animated crawl of commercial information – said, 'You see? You see? It is Blade Runner town.' And it was. It so evidently was" (Gibson 2001).

It can be concluded that the three types of prostheses and hence the three types of cyborgs and cyberspace are well represented in reality and in cyberpunk works. The main question is, however, which precedes which in terms of the relation between cyberpunk and reality. The wearable prostheses in reality definitely well precede cyberpunk. Even cyberspace precedes cyberpunk with its origins, since computers and the first computer networks already existed in the days cyberpunk literature was written. However, cyberpunk does not merely include these technological environments in its works. It makes them into a whole new habitat for cyberspace cowboys and hackers. Finally, the information technology in its pixel-and-screen form of today only became widespread and popular after the time of cyberpunk.

However, one thing remains in which cyberpunk is the absolute predecessor: the true cyborg technology – the technology that improves the completely healthy human body and empowers it beyond its physical boundaries. Humans in the reality of today can still only access the vast quantities of data with a barrier of the screen between themselves and the data. While virtual reality is already known today, it is still very primitive in comparison to what cyberpunk characters have at their disposal. Full and complete immersion into data, melting with the data, as can be accomplished by cyberpunk characters, is still not possible in the reality of today. However, while we are still far away from the possibility of sticking a cable into our brain and be reborn in cyberspace, the beginnings of such a technology have already shocked the world. One such example is the work of Kevin Warwick, who experimented with implants and ways of data-control on his own body. We just have to wait for the cyberpunk enhancements to fully embrace us and expand our horizons as they come ...

6. Conclusion

While prosthetic technology started out purely as an addition to the disabled human body, it soon developed into an enhancement of the body (a good example of such a technology is the computer). Today, information technology surrounds us on every step and we can hardly imagine our existence without a constant input of data. This article has offered a rather general survey of the development of prostheses, cyborgs and cyberspace. Our intention was three-fold: to outline how the development of new technologies shapes the definition of prosthesis, cyberspace and cyborg, to show how the rapidly developing technologies produce new types of cyborgs over time, to show the development of the cyborg in real life and in cyberpunk literature and to point out the mutual influences between real life and cyberpunk literature. These three claims were confirmed by establishing the three stages of the development of technology and cyborgs in reality as well as in literature. The wearable prostheses led to the birth of the analogue cyborgs. The inhabitable prostheses enabled the existence of the digital cyborgs. The all-encountering prostheses resulted in the creation of the all-encompassing cyborgs.

There is also Ray Kurzweil's concept of the future, which he calls singularity – a time when humans will merge with technology far more powerful than the existing human mind. This analysis of the three stages of prostheses and cyborgs together with Ray Kurzweil's predictions[8] leads us to the conclusion that technology is slowly taking over the human body. According to Kurzweil, the future will bring about the merging of powerful technology and the human organism. Read in this context, cyberpunk works sound like a very good prediction of the future, which also confirms our thesis that cyberpunk literature and reality are mutually connected. While at first the real-life technology served as an inspiration for the works of cyberpunk literature, today's reality is starting to resemble the data-saturated worlds explored in cyberpunk literature.

Bibliography

Baudrillard, J. 1994. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Trans. S.F. Glaser. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Bell, D., and B.M. Kennedy, ed. 2007. *The Cybercultures Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Cadigan, P. *Mindplayers* [Kindle edition]. www.sf-gateway.com

- - -. 1989. *Mona Lisa Overdrive*. United States of America: Bantam.

- - -. 1995. *Neuromancer*. London: Voyager.

- - -. 2001. *The Future Perfect – How Did Japan Become the Favoured Default Setting for So Many Cyberpunk Writers?*. TIMEasia.com: Japan As the World Sees It, 30 April.

http://www.time.com/time/asia/features/japan_view/scifi.html (accessed 5 August 2009)

Gibson, W. 2006. *Count Zero*. New York: Ace.

Gray, C.H. 1995. *The Cyborg Handbook*. Great Britain: Routledge.

Hakken, D. 1999. *Cyborgs @ Cyberspace? An Ethnographer Looks to the Future*. New York: Routledge.

Haraway, D.J. 1991. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. London: Free Association Books.

Hayles, N.K. 1999. *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Krevel, M. 2003. *Po družinskih nakupih z DeLillom – spremna beseda*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva Založba.

Kurzweil, R. 2005. *The Singularity Is Near: When Humans Transcend Biology* [Kindle edition]. London: Duckworth Overlook.

Ott, K., D. Serlin, and S. Mihm, eds. 2002. *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives: Modern Histories of Prosthetics*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Pullin, G. 2009. *Design Meets Disability*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ruff, M. 1997. *Sewer, Gas & Electric: The Public Works Trilogy* [Kindle edition]. New York: Grove Press.

Sever, S. 2007. Death and Mass Media in the World of Don DeLillo's *White Noise* and *Cosmopolis*. BA thesis, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts.

[8] Although many critics disagree with Kurzweil, the development in reality shows that Kurzweil's predictions are slowly entering our daily lives. Projects such as reverse engineering of the human brain and the use of nanobots in treatment of medical conditions are already under way.

- - -. 2010. The Birth of the Fractal Subject and Its Entrance into Literature: The Human Being as a Part of the Matrix in the Literature of Cyberpunk. MA thesis, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts.

Smith, M., and J. Morra, eds. 2006. *The Prosthetic Impulse: From a Posthuman Present to a Biocultural Future*. USA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Stephenson, N. 1993. *Snow Crash*. Great Britain: Penguin.

Warwick, K. 2004a. *I, Cyborg*. University of Illinois Press.

- - -. 2004b. *March of the Machines: The Breakthrough in Artificial Intelligence*. University of Illinois Press.

III.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TEACHING

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.97-124

Janez Skela
Department of English
Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

A Retrospective View of English Language Learning Materials Produced in Slovenia from 1945 to the Present

Summary

Taking a historical perspective, this article documents the development of domestically produced English Language Learning (ELL) materials in the period between 1945 and 2013. To this end, reference is made to milestones that marked shifts in linguistic and foreign language teaching paradigms, including aspects of *Method* and the underlying conception of language. The analysis will draw on aspects of *Method* in relation to language policy documents (i.e., curricula) and the course books in which these principles are embodied. Through the analysis of these factors we trace the evolution from Grammar–Translation methodology to Communicative Language Teaching in locally produced textbooks which are representative of various historical periods.

Key words: English Language Learning materials, local textbooks, historical perspective, language policy documents, language teaching methods

Retrospektivni pregled v Sloveniji ustvarjenih učbenikov za učenje angleščine v obdobju od leta 1945 do danes

Povzetek

Pričujoči prispevek z zgodovinske perspektive dokumentira razvoj domačih učbenikov za učenje angleščine, ustvarjenih v obdobju od leta 1945 do 2013. V ta namen so obravnavani tisti mejniki, ki so ključno zaznamovali spremembe na področju jezikoslovja in poučevanja tujih jezikov. Analiza bo obravnavala vidike *Metode* z ozirom na dokumente tujejezikovne politike (tj. učne načrte) in učbenike, ki ta načela utelešajo. Z analizo teh dejavnikov v domačih učbenikov, značilnih za posamezna zgodovinska obdobja, bomo sledili razvoju, ki je potekal od nekdanje slovnično–prevajalne metode do današnjega komunikacijskega pristopa.

Ključne besede: gradiva za učenje angleščine, domači učbeniki, zgodovinska perspektiva, dokumenti jezikovne politike, metode poučevanja jezikov

A Retrospective View of English Language Learning Materials Produced in Slovenia from 1945 to the Present

1. Introduction: broad–brush history of english language teaching in Slovenia from 1945 to the present

Taking a historical perspective, this paper sets out to review the development of EFL textbooks for school use in Slovenia published from 1945 to the present. To this end, the discussion will draw on milestones that marked shifts in linguistic and foreign language teaching paradigms, including the underlying conceptions of language formulated and articulated in foreign language policy documents (i.e., syllabuses) and accompanying textbooks in which these principles are embodied.

During the second half of the 20th Century, changes in the field of Applied Linguistics resulted in a shift of approach both in the change in *theory of language* (e.g., structuralist, functional), and in the *theory of learning* (e.g., behaviourist, cognitive). The influence of these shifts and changes is recognized as having had a major impact on the teaching of foreign languages as they translated into new methods and approaches, and eventually into the design of instructional materials. Through the analysis of these factors we will try to establish whether the past and current textbooks conform to the developments resulting from applied linguistic debates of the last seven decades.

A historical review is, however, almost always fraught with problems. Firstly, the field is immense. A drastic selection has had to be made, which besides being subjective, has also led to omissions and some degree of simplification. And secondly, the current state of historical documentation of EFL learning/teaching in Slovenia is far from satisfactory, meaning that certain important data are either still missing or they have to be laboriously (re)discovered.

Locally produced foreign language course books have not been the subject of much research to date. Three early contributions that need to be mentioned are Umek (1988), who first traced the development in English Language Teaching in Slovenia from 1945 to the late 1980s, reviewing foreign language curricula, syllabuses and English course books published during that period, and Kožar (1991), who in her MA Thesis analysed the elements of the American culture in secondary–school ELL materials used in Slovenia between the 1950s and the late 1980s. Additionally, Skela (2000, 2008) outlined and reviewed national foreign language syllabuses, educational reforms, documents, publications, projects and events affecting foreign language teaching in Slovenia.

The teaching of English in the Slovenian primary and secondary school context has a relatively long tradition, and so does the domestic production of English Language Learning (ELL) textbooks for school use. The school year 1945/46 is taken as a starting point as it marks the beginning of the official introduction of English as a school subject into Slovenian schools. Before World War II, English was not a curricular subject at any Slovenian school (Umek 1988, 26).[1] This does not mean, of course, that there was no English learned/taught, or that there were no ELL materials published in Slovenia in the pre–World War II time. In 1930, for example, *Učbenik angleškega*

[1] Judging by the overview of published teaching materials in the period between 1919 and 1944, Umek's statement is most probably accurate. During this period (1919–1944) the only authorized publishing house for school materials, *Pokrajinska šolska založba*, published course books for the following modern and classical languages: Serbo–Croatian, German, French, Latin and Greek (Planina 1944).

jezika (Mulaček 1930) appeared.[2] And then, interestingly, in 1943 (i.e., during wartime), two ELL course books were published – an exercise book/workbook (*Učbenik angleškega jezika. I. del. Vadnica*, Kotnik 1943),[3] and a grammar reference book (*Učbenik angleškega jezika. II. del. Slovnica,* Kotnik 1943)[4]. The questions as to who these two course books were intended for and in what teaching contexts they were used remain unanswered.[5] The question, too, as to which languages besides German and Italian were taught and learned in war–time Slovenia/Yugoslavia, remains unclear. The earliest instance of ELL materials intended for Slovenian users we could trace is *Slovensko–angleški razgovori* (Kubelka 1912). Published in New York, it is basically a phrase book intended for travel purposes and, sadly, Slovenian immigrants to the USA.[6]

In sum, however poorly documented the pre–war and interwar period may be concerning ELT in Slovenia, some ELL activity can be observed. However, more detailed and more objective investigation of this period will be needed in the future.

For these reasons, and with the caveats mentioned above, dating the birth of English Language Learning/Teaching in Slovenia to the immediate post–war year (1945) does appear to be justified. The trial syllabus (*Začasni učni načrt na gimnazijah in klasičnih gimnazijah*)[7] issued in 1945 marks the emergence of ELT in Slovenia, with publishers and teacher training institutions beginning to operate in tandem and thus placing ELT on a firm institutional footing.

Between the years 1945 and 1996 the structure of the Slovenian education system, types of schools and school curricula underwent different changes, many of which had a strong impact on the teaching of foreign languages. In 1945, there were two types of grammar schools, i.e., the 'general' grammar school (*splošna gimnazija*) and the classics–programme grammar school (*klasična gimnazija*). They were both 8–year secondary schools to which students progressed after a four–year primary school (see *Figure 1*). The 8–year grammar school was divided into two four–year education cycles: *nižja gimnazija* (junior high school/grammar school) and *višja gimnazija* (senior high school/grammar school). The first four–year education cycle (i.e., the first four grades) of the grammar school would conceptually correspond to the last four grades of today's primary school (i.e., the subject level). Parallel to this, there was also a regular 8–year primary school attended by students who either could not or did not want to continue to the grammar school (see *Figure 1*). When English was introduced in 1945, it was offered only as a *second* foreign language and only to senior grammar school students, i.e., from age 15 to 19. In the school year 1948/49, the

2 In fact, it is not a textbook (as the title implies) in modern terms, but plain (supplementary or self–study) grammar material, with explanations of the grammar in Slovenian. It might be the first grammar reference book of the English language written in Slovenian. As such, it could be considered as a predecessor of Kotnik's (1943) *Učbenik angleškega jezika. II. del. Slovnica,* and of the later *Angleška (Nemška, Italijanska, Francoska) slovnica po naše* series (Komac 1983, Muster Čenčur 1985, Berce 1986, Jereb 1995), which continues to be very popular due to the fact that the grammar of a certain foreign language is explained in Slovenian.

3 Although it is called *vadnica* (i.e., exercise book/workbook), it is in fact *a textbook* in modern terms.

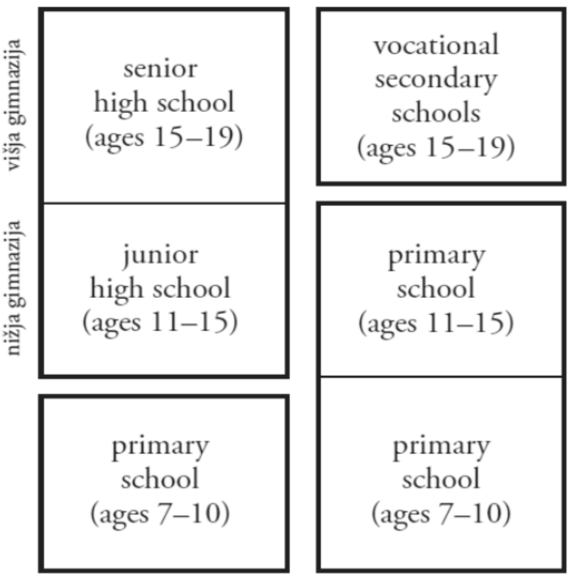
4 The *Slovnica* volume complements the textbook (i.e., *I. del. Vadnica*), as no grammar explanations are included in the textbook itself. Instead, the textbook is interspersed with cross references that help the students find grammar explanations in the grammar book. The grammar book is written in Slovenian, with bilingual (i.e., English and Slovenian) grammatical terminology. Both *Vadnica* (i.e., an exercise book/a workbook) and *Slovnica* (i.e., a grammar reference book) were re–published as *Angleška vadnica* and *Angleška slovnica* in 1952.

5 Given the war–time conditions it is reasonable to believe that they were intended for informal and individual study.

6 The contents is organized around 16 clusters or situations, which chronologically reflect the immigrants' 'language needs' from the moment of their arrival in the USA (e.g., *On Ellis Island*) to taking lodgings, looking for work, etc. Each chapter/unit consists of a list of phrases organized into three columns – a Slovenian phrase (e.g., *Imam tri otroke.*) in the first column is followed by translation into English (e.g., *I have three children.*) in the second, and in the third column the pronunciation is given. Similar phrase books became very popular in the 1970s and 1980s, when the *Engleski (Francuski, Talijanski, Njemački, Grčki, Madžarski …) s izgovorom* series was being published and sold across former Yugoslavia (Vitas 1970 onwards).

7 Temporary/Trial Syllabus for secondary schools and classics–programme secondary schools.

boundary line between the junior and senior grammar school was lowered by one year, so that the 4th grade now belonged to the senior grammar school, whereas the duration of the primary school changed from 8 to 7 years, i.e., the 7–year primary school was introduced. However, the curriculum issued in 1958 introduced a unified 8–year primary school from which students would continue to different types of secondary schools, including the four–year grammar school (see *Figure 2*). The last change concerning the structure of the education system was introduced by the curricular reform of 1996, which established a 9–year primary school, lowering the beginning of compulsory education to the age of six.



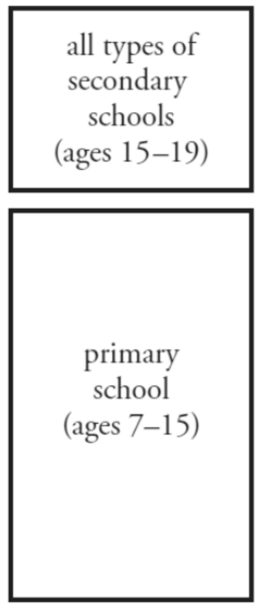


Figure 1. ***Education system in Slovenia in 1945.*** *Figure 2.* ***Education system in Slovenia in 1958.***

During the seventy–year period covered in this paper it was not only the structuring of the education system that underwent different changes, but also national foreign language curricula. These changes, in turn, were reflected in the design of the textbooks conceived for school use, as these had to conform to the curriculum. This meant that existing textbooks were reformed to keep pace with curriculum changes, or that new course books were published in answer to new demands. When English teaching emerged in 1945, the teaching approach adopted was that of grammar–translation, and was at least to some extent subjugated to ideological demands. After all, from the end of the Second World War until 1991 Slovenia was part of Yugoslavia, which belonged to the Eastern–Bloc communist/socialist states of Central and Eastern Europe. Although Yugoslavia was only aligned with the Soviet Union for three post–war years (1945–1948) and steered an independent course throughout the Cold War period, ideological demands were nevertheless present everywhere. Therefore, textbooks of the time were (slightly) politically charged, and this continued well into the 1970s and early 1980s. In the 1945 curriculum there was no overt statement of methods policy, but rather a covertly assigned preferred method of language teaching inherent in the textbooks of the time and mandated by the political context. Throughout this 'Yugoslav' and 'socialist' period, language education policy was strongly centralized with the aim of controlling educational content and ensuring the quality of teaching via unified curricula and textbooks. The ELT textbooks used between 1945 and 1989 were all locally produced and there was usually only one book prescribed and used at a time. The situation changed in 1989, when the school authorities lifted the restriction and granted freedom of choice regarding the selection of textbooks. This led to the development of multiple textbooks, including the British–produced or global ones and thus marking a sharp contrast to the times when the educational authorities exercised tighter control over the use of instructional materials.

From the 1990s national curricula began to promote the development of 'communicative competence' and the development of all four language macroskills. The latest national syllabuses for English, those of 1998 and of 2008, both strongly promote Communicative Language Teaching as the norm of teaching foreign languages in Slovenia.

2. Working assumptions

To carry out our analysis, we need to make some working assumptions, which will, despite some slight oversimplifications, serve our purpose.

The first assumption concerns the relationship between ELL materials and applied linguistic thought (with all its feeder disciplines). Most (retrospective) accounts of foreign language teaching methodology and textbooks recognize and note the ways in which 'theoretical and ideological beliefs about the nature of language, and as well the results of empirical research, have been realized at the level of textbook production' (Nunan 1991, 228). The assumption is, put simply, that foreign language textbooks reflect developments in the theory of (language) teaching and learning. How they look and what they contain goes hand in hand with the prevailing contemporary ideas about how languages are best taught and learned at the time they were published. But the extent to which the materials reflect ideas within Applied Linguistics and thus the extent to which their nature may be explained by reference to those ideas can be questioned. And indeed, some researchers, such as Littlejohn (1992), have noted that a comparison between the nature of the materials and the applied linguistic ideas can and does show a degree of matching in some areas but also a significant degree of mismatch in other areas. There are other experts who recognize a relatively weak link between Applied Linguistic discussion and the nature of the materials. Ellis (2010, 52–3), for example, points out that 'the proposals emanating from applied linguistic thought are no different from the proposals that originate from any other source'. Tomlinson (2013, 2) speaks of 'big gaps between applied linguistics theory and materials development practice' and of 'disconnections between theory and practice' (ibid.), suggesting that a more fruitful line of explanation may lie elsewhere – with the textbook writers themselves. This means that ELT materials represent the personal perceptions of authors to a much greater extent than we might suppose. It is very revealing to look at how materials writers actually go about designing materials. Some talk about applying theoretical principles to the development of their materials but many report 'replicating previous materials and relying on creative inspiration' (Tomlinson 2013, 2–3). Despite the fact that today there is a lot of literature on principled advice for materials developers (e.g., McGrath 2002), materials development, to a large extent, continues to be something of a 'black art', i.e., 'a strange mixture of imagination, insight and analytic reasoning, and this fact must be recognized when the materials are assessed' (Low 1989, 153).

For present purposes, and with the caveats mentioned above, we shall assume that ELL materials *do* reflect ideas within Applied Linguistics and that their nature may be explained by reference to those ideas.

The second assumption concerns the relationship between syllabus and materials. There are two basic ways of representing the relationship between materials and syllabus. In the first and still more common, the syllabus determines the way in which textbooks will be designed and later exploited for teaching purposes. McGrath (2002, 214) refers to this approach as *a syllabus–driven approach*. In the second, materials are selected first, for their intrinsic interest and general linguistic appropriateness, and a specific language syllabus is then derived from them. We can refer to this approach as a textbook–driven approach.[8] Hutchinson and Waters (1987, 93), however, suggest a third possibility of representing the relationship between materials and syllabus, which they call *a materials–generated syllabus*. In this approach, 'instead of using the syllabus as the initial and once–and–for–all determiner of the content of materials and methodology, syllabus and materials evolve together with each being able to inform the other' (ibid.). In this way, the syllabus is used creatively as 'a generator of good and relevant learning activities rather than as just a statement of language content which restricts and impoverishes the methodology' (ibid.).

Because education policy in Slovenia used to be, and still is, strongly centralized, with unified curricula and textbooks centrally controlled by the Ministry of Education, this article will, in examining the relationships between language policy documents (i.e., syllabuses) and course books, assume *a syllabus–driven approach*.

The third assumption concerns the notion of *Method* and its relationship to both language policy documents (i.e., syllabuses) and ELL materials. We will assume that *Method* has always significantly influenced the ways in which course books, and consequently classroom practice, have been conceptualized. The reason for this assumption lies in the fact that 'language teaching theory over the decades since the end of the last century has advanced mainly by conceptualizing teaching in terms of teaching *methods* (Stern 1983, 452). The search for the 'best method', which dominated thinking in ELT and applied linguistics for much of the twentieth century, has resulted in a range of approaches, the most common being Grammar–Translation, Direct Method, Audio–lingual, and Communicative. As such, methods are, in fact, 'products of their times', that is, individual methods emerged at particular moments and in particular places as a result of the social and academic philosophies that were current in those contexts (Hall 2011, 102). Although more recently the search for a 'best' method has receded in importance and some researchers have noted that we are now in a '*Postmethod* era' (Kumaravadivelu 2003, 2006, qtd. in Hall 2011, 60), language teaching methods can still be examined as a source of well–used practices that became translated into teaching materials. Nevertheless, numerous titles and/or subtitles of textbooks bear witness to this close relationship between *Method* and teaching materials, e.g., *A Direct Method English Course* (Gatenby 1952), *Situational English* (Commonwealth Office of Education 1965), *Target 1: An Audio–Visual English Course for Secondary Schools* (Alexander and Tadman 1972), *Notions in English* (Jones 1979) among others.

The traditional view of the development of methods over time is that 'it has been cumulative, progressive, and relatively linear' (Hall 2011, 79), developing from 'traditional' to 'modern'. An example of such simplified chronological method development, with dates suggesting periods of greatest dominance, would be as follows: Grammar Translation Method (1800–1900) → Direct Method (1890–1930) → Structural Method (1930–1960) → Audio–lingual Method (1950–1970) → Situational Method (1950–1970) → Communicative Approach (1970–2000) → Postmethod (2000 – present). Although the idea of language teaching methods as making 'continuous upwards progress through history' (ibid.) is an oversimplification, we will, in our analysis, adopt this 'traditional' and linear view for the sake of clarity. It is, namely, not possible within the scope of this paper to set out all

[8] Hutchinson and Waters (1987, 94) refer to this approach as *the post hoc approach*. In this approach, materials are written (or chosen) first, and then a cosmetic syllabus is written to satisfy teachers, students and school authorities. Using the syllabus in this way is probably more widespread than we might suppose.

of the many ramifications of *Method* as these are highlighted in numerous well–known sources, e.g., Mackey (1965), Titone (1968), Kelly (1969), Prebeg–Vilke (1977), Bell (1981), Rivers (1981), Stern (1983), Howatt (1984/2004), Bowen et al. (1985), Richards and Rodgers (1986/2001), Chastain (1988), Douthwaite (1991), Brown (2001), Celce–Murcia (2001), etc.

In sum, in our analysis we will assume that the foreign language textbook has served as the stage for many methodological approaches (i.e., methods), which is why its nature may be explained by reference to *methods*.

The fourth assumption concerns surveying ELL *materials* from a *historical* perspective. The rationale in surveying ELL materials from a *historical* perspective is not to review the failings of certain language teaching practices of the past. Nor is it to chronicle past methodologies simply because, like Everest, they 'are there' (Bowen et al. 1985, 3). The aim is to broaden the language teacher's range of resources and enable them 'to evaluate contemporary methodologies more knowledgeably and honestly, and therefore more effectively' (ibid.).

As to the question why to survey materials, Stern (1983, 78) argues that 'a historical survey should (but rarely does) distinguish between the history of ideas on language teaching and the development of practice, because evidence from theoretical writings cannot be treated as the same as evidence from language teaching materials'. Thus, a widely used textbook, such as *Headway*, can give better clues to current practice, whereas 'the reflections […] on how to learn a language provide evidence for the parameters of thought but do not necessarily describe common practice in a given period' (ibid.). Therefore, course books from past times can be said to 'document' common practice in a given period and as such act as some sort of 'time capsules' which afford an invaluable insight into what language teaching/learning looked like at a given time.

Figure 3 summarizes our working assumptions. It should be noted once again that major relationships and the interdependence of the components in the diagram are symbolized by unidirectional (instead of bidirectional) arrows for purposes of our analysis. The principle of interaction implies that the initiative in theory development, for example, does not flow only from the disciplines downwards, but may come from any of the positions indicated. Or, as Brown (2000, 13) puts it, 'pedagogical innovation both contributes to and benefits from theory development'.

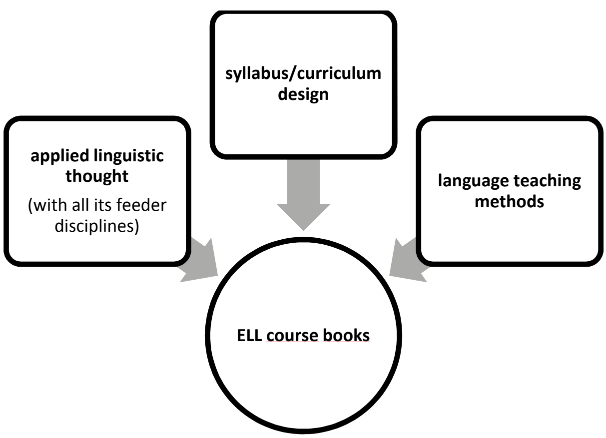


Figure 3. ***Inputs to ELL materials.***

3. English language learning materials produced in Slovenia across seven decades (1945–2013)

Course books do not constitute a closed category but can be classified according to different criteria. López Barrios and Villanueva de Debat (2011, 22) have developed a typology whereby they classify ELL course books as *international* (i.e., global), *localized* and *local* (i.e., domestic or home–grown). The first are centrally produced in English–speaking countries, notably the UK and the USA, and used worldwide, whereas the last are specifically designed and produced for use in a particular country or region. By the second type they mean adapted versions of international or local course books produced for a major market such as Slovenia 'so that they adjust to the school curriculum of a specific country or to special learner characteristics and needs'[9] (ibid.).

A glance at the list of all domestically produced ELL materials between 1945 and the present (see *Table 1*) reveals some interesting facts:

- So far, most course books produced locally have been intended for the primary–school level. What is really striking about secondary–school ELT materials is that only three main course books have been written to date. The first was Žgur et al.'s *Angleška vadnica* series (Žgur et al. 1945ff), and then it was not until 1972 that the next, the *MAP* series, started off (Knight et al. 1972ff). If this is true, then there was obviously an almost–thirty–year gap in secondary–school ELT materials production.[10] The third, and the last, secondary series started off in 1981 (Knight et al. 1981ff). Since then, not a single local main course book intended for the secondary–school level has been produced. There have been, however, instances of *localized* materials (Wilson and Taylor 1999, Collie 2010), and those intended for the ESP context (Potočar 1995, Dobrajc 2002, 2004).
- As to the primary–school ELT materials production, there have been six course book series produced so far (two of them in their second editions), i.e., Grad's *Angleška vadnica* (1952ff), Pestotnik's *Angleška vadnica* (1959ff), Kos and Pilgram's *Angleška vadnica* (1967ff), Kos and Pilgram's *English* series (1974ff), Skela et al.'s *Touchstone* series (1991ff), the new edition of Skela et al.'s *Touchstone* series (2003ff), the *Reach for the stars* series (Mihelač and Novosel 2006ff), and finally, Škulj et al.'s *Itchy Feet* series (2007ff). Although the process of primary–school ELT materials production seems to have been slightly more cumulative and progressive, there were still periods during which the production of local course books plummeted. For example, Kos and Pilgram's *English* series (1974ff) was merely a cosmetically modified second edition of Kos and Pilgram's *Angleška vadnica* (1967ff), which means that virtually the same textbook was in use for twenty–two years when, in 1989, the *English* series fell out of use.

9 Examples of localized ELL course books used in Slovenia are, for instance, *Way Up Intermediate* (Collie 2010); *Prospects Intermediate* (Wilson and Taylor 1999, with Marjeta Peterlin as the local advisor); *Angleško brez težav* (Chérel 1970); and many course books produced in former Yugoslavia, notably Croatia (by Školska knjiga) and Serbia (by Kolarčev narodni univerzitet), especially ESP course books for vocational secondary schools during the so–called *vocationally oriented education* period (i.e., usmerjeno izobraževanje) in the early 1980s (e.g., Kipčić et al. 1981).

10 Apart from Žgur et al.'s *Angleška vadnica* course (i.e., *Angleška vadnica II* and *Angleška vadnica III*), Grad's *Angleška čitanka za 1. in 2. razred gimnazij* (1953), and Grad's *Angleška vadnica IV* (1959), there were also some *localized* materials used during this period, e.g., *English for Today, Book Three: The Way We Live* (published by The National Council of Teachers of English, 1964, and adapted by M. Kos, A. Goričan and I. Rode), and Brihta and Grgić's series (*A Fifth–Year English Course*, 1965, *A Sixth–Year English Course*, 1966, *An English Reader: A Seventh–Year English Course*, 1967, *An English Reader: An Eighth–Year English Course*, 1968), published by Školska knjiga, Zagreb.

- The decades between the 1990s and the 2000s register the highest number of Slovenian ELT textbooks. This is surprising if we know that since 1989, when the first British–produced course books were introduced in Slovenian schools, the global ELT course book has had a very strong presence and dominated the local educational landscape. The fact that the global ELT course book has recently been challenged by locally produced materials can be summed up as 'the tension between global spread and local needs' (Prodromou and Mishan 2008, 193), or as an example of 'the local determining the global, the periphery fighting back against the centre' (ibid., 203).

Authors	**Title**	**First published**	**Level**
Žgur, Pestotnik, Skalickż	*Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja*	1945	secondary
Žgur, Skalickż, Kos	*Angleška vadnica. Druga stopnja*	1947	secondary
Žgur, Skalickż	*Angleška vadnica. Tretja stopnja*	1950	secondary
Kotnik	*Angleška vadnica*[11]	1952	adults (used on language courses); self–study
Kotnik	*Angleška slovnica*[12]	1952	adults (used on language courses); self–study
Grad	*Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja. Za I. razred nižjih gimnazij*[13]	1952	primary (secondary)
Grad	*Angleška vadnica. Druga stopnja. Za II. razred nižjih gimnazij*	1952	primary (secondary)
Grad	*Angleška vadnica. Tretja stopnja. Za III. razred nižjih gimnazij*	1953	primary (secondary)
Grad	*Angleška vadnica. Četrta stopnja. Za IV. razred nižjih gimnazij*	1954	primary (secondary)
Grad	*Angleška čitanka za 1. in 2. razred gimnazij*[14]	1953	secondary
Grad	*Something to Read. Sodobno angleško berilo. Izvlečki iz časopisov in revij*	1952	primary (secondary)
Grad	*Vesela angleščina*	1958	primary
Grad	*Angleška vadnica IV*	1959	secondary
Pestotnik	*Angleška vadnica za 5. razred osnovne šole*	1959	primary
Pestotnik	*Angleška vadnica za 6. razred osnovne šole*	1960	primary
Pestotnik	*Angleška vadnica za 7. razred osnovne šole*	1962	primary
Blaganje	*Angleščina za vsakogar*	1962	adults (used on language courses)
Kos, Pilgram	*Angleška vadnica za peti razred osnovne šole*	1967	primary

11 Reprint of Učbenik angleškega jezika. I. del. Vadnica (Kotnik 1943).

12 Reprint of Učbenik angleškega jezika. II. del. Slovnica (Kotnik 1943).

13 As Grad's Angleška vadnica series (1952ff) was used both in the junior grammar school (ages 11–15) and the 'regular' 8–year primary school (ages 11–15), the same books were published with different subtitles. For example, Angleška vadnica. *Četrta stopnja. Za IV. razred nižjih gimnazij* (1954) was also published as *Angleška vadnica. IV. za 8. razred osnovnih šol* (1959).

14 Intended for senior grammar school students (ages 15–19).

Kos, Pilgram	*Angleška vadnica za šesti razred osnovne sole*	1968	primary
Kos, Pilgram	*Angleška vadnica za sedmi razred osnovne sole*	1969	primary
Kos, Knight, Pilgram	*Angleška vadnica za osmi razred osnovne sole*	1970	primary
Blaganje	*English For All Occasions*	1969	adults (used on language courses)
Knight, Knight, Kobilica	*MAP 1*	1972	secondary
Knight, Knight, Kobilica	*MAP 2*	1973	secondary
Knight, Knight, Kobilica	*MAP 3*	1974	secondary
Kos, Pilgram	*English 1*. Angleški učbenik za 5. razred osnovne šole[15]	1974	primary
Kos, Pilgram	*English 2*. Angleški učbenik za 6. razred osnovne šole[16]	1977	primary
Kos, Pilgram	*English 3*. Angleški učbenik za 7. razred osnovne šole[17]	1979	primary
Kos, Pilgram	*English 4*. Angleški učbenik za 8. razred osnovne šole[18]	1982	primary
Knight, Kobilica, Knight, Kožar	*Angleški jezik 1*	1981	secondary
Knight, Kobilica, Knight	*Angleški jezik 2*	1982	secondary
Skela, Berce	*Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1*	1991	primary
King–Videtič, Mavrič, Skela	*Angleški jezik 2. Touchstone 2*	1992	primary
King–Videtič, Skela	*Angleški jezik 3. Touchstone 3*	1993	primary
Marendič, Skela	*Angleški jezik 4. Touchstone 4*	1994	primary
Potočar	*English for hairdressers: učbenik za angleščino v 3. letniku srednje frizerske šole*[19]	1995	secondary – vocational (ESP)
Gvardjančič, Marguč, Skela	*Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1. New*[20]	1996	primary
Skela, King–Videtič	*Touchstone 7 – angleški jeziki za 7. razred devetletne osnovne šole*[21]	2003	primary
Skela	*Touchstone 8 – angleški jeziki za 8. razred devetletne osnovne šole*[22]	2005	primary

15 2nd ed. of *Angleška vadnica za peti razred osnovne šole* (Kos, Pilgram 1967)
16 2nd ed. of *Angleška vadnica za šesti razred osnovne šole* (Kos, Pilgram 1968)
17 2nd ed. of *Angleška vadnica za sedmi razred osnovne šole* (Kos, Pilgram 1969)
18 2nd ed. of *Angleška vadnica za osmi razred osnovne šole* (Kos, Pilgram 1970)
19 In 2003, it appeared in its 2nd ed.
20 2nd ed. of *Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1* (Skela, Berce 1991)
21 2nd ed. of *Angleški jezik 2. Touchstone 2* (King–Videtič, Mavrič, Skela 1992)
22 2nd ed. of *Angleški jezik 3. Touchstone 3* (King–Videtič, Skela 1993)

Skela	*Touchstone 9 – angleški jeziki za 9. razred devetletne osnovne šole*[23]	2006	primary
Skela, Gvardjančič, Marguč	*Touchstone 6 – angleški jeziki za 6. razred devetletne osnovne šole*[24]	2009	primary
Dobrajc	*English for Nurses*	2002	secondary – vocational (ESP)
Dobrajc	*English for nursing assistants*	2004	secondary – vocational (ESP)
Jesenik, Milijaš, Skela, Šavli	*My sails 1: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 4. razredu devetletne osnovne šole*[25]	2002	primary – young learners
Jesenik, Skela, Šavli	*My sails 2: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 5. razredu devetletne osnovne šole*	2003	primary – young learners
Jesenik, Šavli	*My sails 3: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 6. razredu devetletne osnovne šole*	2005	primary
Novak, Nuč	*Reach for the stars 4: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 4. razredu osnovne šole*	2003	primary – young learners
Novak, Nuč, Novosel	*Reach for the stars 5: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 5. razredu osnovne šole*	2004	primary – young learners
Mihelač, Novosel	*Reach for the stars 6: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 6. razredu osnovne šole*	2006	primary
Škulj, Pačnik, Talt Lah	*Itchy Feet 1: Učbenik za pouk angleščine za 7. razred devetletne osnovne šole*	2007	primary
Škulj, Pačnik, Intihar Klančar	*Itchy Feet 2: Učbenik za pouk angleščine za 8. razred devetletne osnovne šole*	2009	primary
Škulj	*Itchy Feet 3: Učbenik za pouk angleščine za 9. razred devetletne osnovne šole*	2010	primary
German Velušček, Avsenik	*My fairyland 1. Učbenik za zgodnje učenje angleškega jezika*	2009	primary – very young learners
German Velušček, Avsenik	*My fairyland 2. Učbenik za zgodnje učenje angleškega jezika*	2011	primary – very young learners
German Velušček, Avsenik	*My fairyland 3. Učbenik za zgodnje učenje angleškega jezika*	2012	primary – very young learners

Table 1. ***A review of domestically produced ELL textbooks between the years 1945 and 2013.***

4. Course book analysis

For this analysis we have chosen eight local course books for both primary and secondary school use that we consider to be representative of different foreign language teaching and learning paradigms or methodologies. All the course books analysed here show some degree of contextualization, meaning that they conform to the national curriculum requirements (i.e., they are 'authorised'), [26] contain references to the local culture, and take into some consideration the students'

23 2nd ed. of *Angleški jezik 4. Touchstone 4* (Marendič, Skela 1994)

24 3rd ed. of *Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1* (Skela, Berce 1991)

25 In its 2nd ed. published in 2009.

26 It needs to be pointed out that, in Slovenia, course books for school use have always had to go through official scrutiny and be

Authors	Title	First published	level	In accordance with the curriculum of
Žgur, Pestotnik, Skalickż	*Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja.*	1945	primary (secondary)	1945
Grad	*Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja. Za I. razred nižjih gimnazij.*	1952	primary (secondary)	1951
Pestotnik	*Angleška vadnica za 5. razred osnovne šole*	1959	primary	1958
Kos, Pilgram	*Angleška vadnica za peti razred osnovne šole.*	1967	primary	1966
Knight, Knight, Kobilica	*MAP 1*	1972	secondary	? (1964; 1975)
Knight, Kobilica, Knight, Kožar	*Angleški jezik 1*	1981	secondary	1980
Skela, Berce	*Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1*	1991	primary	1983
Skela, Gvardjančič, Marguč	*Touchstone 6 – angleški jeziki za 6. razred devetletne osnovne šole*[27]	2009	primary	1998; 2008 (2011)[28]

Table 2. ***Course books analysed.***

mother tongue, Slovenian. Besides, all of them were created by teams made up of exclusively or predominantly local authors. In the case of multi–volume courses, only the first book of the series has been analysed. *Table 2* indicates the course books selected for analysis, including also reference to the syllabus/curriculum to which a particular textbook conformed, or rather had to conform. In reviewing the course books, we will focus on aspects of *Method* and its underlying theory of language. This will be analysed at two levels: 1) at the policy level, i.e., in relation to methods policy documents (curricula), and 2) at the materials level. Questions of *method* may be dealt with overtly in language policy documents by an overt statement of preference of one method over another or covertly through requirements for curriculum, and for the use of certain materials (Liddicoat 2004, 156). In the latter case, when *Method* is not overtly stated in a language policy document, it will be inferred from materials. In analysing the underlying view of language at both policy and materials level, we will draw on two main shifts in the conception of language: a) as a formal system (i.e., as Traditional Grammar) or b) as a means of communication (i.e., functional or communicative). This dichotomy sets the foundation of the methods and approaches and the way these are translated into the course books analysed.

This view of language is made evident in the kinds of activities included so that a broad difference can be established between those that focus on the language system and those that focus on communication.

approved by the Ministry of Education. What did change in 1989, however, was that the one–single–book–for–one–subject restriction was lifted and freedom of choice granted regarding the selection of textbooks. Teachers can now choose from among several, though still 'authorized', course books for a particular school subject. Currently (i.e., in the school year 2013/14), primary–school teachers of English can, for example, choose from among 8 course books for the 6th grade (*Cambridge English for schools Starter, English Plus Starter, Hot Spot 1, Messages 1, My sails 3, Project 1, Reach for the stars 6, Touchstone 6*) – Katalog učbenikov za osnovno šolo 2013/14 (Primary–school Textbooks Catalogue 2013/14)

27 3rd ed. of *Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1* (Skela, Berce 1991)

28 The 2008 curriculum came in force only in 2011.

4.1 The first generation of ELL course books in Slovenia: the 1940s and the 1950s

There were two textbooks analysed/reviewed for this period: *Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja* (Žgur et al. 1945), and *Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja* (Grad 1952).

From the Trial/Temporary Curriculum for grammar schools and classics–programme grammar schools of 1945 (*Začasni učni načrt na gimnazijah in klasičnih gimnazijah*) we can deduce that the syllabus for the first four–year education cycle of the 'general' grammar school (i.e., *nižja gimnazija*) included 16 subjects, among which there were the following languages: Slovenian (6 6 4 4),[29] Serbian and Croatian (– 2 2 2), and Russian as the first foreign language (4 3 3 3), which continued to be taught with the same number of periods throughout the second four–year education cycle of the 'general' grammar school (i.e., *višja gimnazija*).The classics–programme grammar school language syllabus was slightly different: Slovenian (4 4 5 5), Serbian and Croatian (– 2 2 2), Russian (3 3 3 3) and Latin (5 5 4 4). In the second four–year education cycle of both types of grammar schools, Serbo–Croatian was omitted, while Slovenian had 5 hours a week, and Russian 3 hours per week. The syllabus included a second foreign language with 3 hours per week, and in classics–programme grammar schools Greek was taught too. As second foreign languages English, French and German were offered. In any case, the introduction of English was at that time definitely something of a novelty.

The 1945 curriculum states that 'in the case of modern foreign languages, all learners from the fifth to the eighth grade of grammar schools are considered as beginners meaning that the same subject matter is covered in all four years except that, in the last two years, the grammatical content is treated more comprehensively and systematically'. The only textbook available to all four levels/grades of beginners (i.e., from the 5th to the 8th grade of grammar school) was *Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja* (Žgur et al. 1945).[30] It came out on time for use in autumn 1945.

The course book consists of an introductory part, 21 main units (called 'lessons'), 3 review units (called *Examination Paper*), some short extracts from Marshal Tito's Speeches, a unit–by–unit English–Slovenian vocabulary list (with about 1,250 words), a list of irregular verbs, and an Appendix containing additional short texts to supplement individual units. The introductory part starts with a short historical review of the development of the English language, which indicates the authors' commitment to a diachronic view of language.

Following this is an extensive overview of English orthography and pronunciation rules, short chapters on word and sentence stress, intonation, punctuation, and syllabication. All 21 units are interspersed with additional pronunciation exercises, which indicates that great care was given to pronunciation – something that was not typical of the Grammar–Translation Method but rather of the Reform Movement (i.e., Direct) Method. The course book thus combines characteristics of both methods, and Umek (1988, 29) lists several names given to this mixture that developed at the turn of the century as a fusion of the 'old' grammar–translation and the new direct method: a modified grammar–translation method, an eclectic method, a compromise method, and a progressive method. It should be noted that this 25–page introduction on pronunciation was aimed more at teachers than students as, at that time, there was not a sufficiently large pool of teachers qualified to teach English.

29 The figures indicate the number of lessons per week over a period of four years.

30 It was reprinted five times, with the last reprint in 1966. Interestingly, the reprints are always named 'editions' by the Slovenian editors, which can be rather confusing.

The textbook is far from visually appealing. No artwork is included, i.e., there isn't a single picture or drawing included in the book.

The syllabus type is grammatical, as a list of grammatical structures is divided into sections and graded according to difficulty and/or importance. A glance at the table of contents confirms this focus (e.g., *Sixth Lesson: Our Family / Svojilni zaimki – Stopnjevanje pridevnikov – Plural of Nouns*).

Each unit has a uniform and stiff outline. The course book reflects what Low (1989) calls a traditional four–phase unit structure: (a) a reading text; (b) treatment/explanation of grammar; (c) treatment of unknown vocabulary from the reading text; (d) practice exercises.

Angleška vadnica – Prva stopnja incorporates this four–stage procedure as it typically takes a reading text (usually a prose narrative) as its point of departure and as the main vehicle of language learning. Immediately following the opening text, and without any reference to it, is a pronunciation exercise; then there is a short text (a proverb, an anecdote or a poem) to liven things up a bit, then grammar explanations (written in Slovenian), and finally (controlled) practice exercises (both written and spoken, including comprehension questions, repetition and grammatical drills, and finally one L1–to–L2 translation exercise).

The course book is characterized by deductive teaching techniques of grammatical explanation and translation (i.e., analytic activities), and by its reliance on texts. It was probably intended as preparation for the actual use of language, but in fact it mostly helped 'create linguistic competence in students' minds' (Cook 1991, 133) as it did not directly practise communication in the classroom. Its view of learning emphasizes the teaching of grammatical competence as rules of a traditional type and as lists of vocabulary. The linguistic content is traditional grammar, and the treatment of vocabulary is mostly unsystematic. In sum, the course book contains activities that focus on the language system. Their aim is for learners to verify a grammar rule. The learner contribution in these activities is limited to the completion of missing forms in sentences ('fill in the missing preposition') or by providing them on the basis of their knowledge of the language ('put into the negative form'; 'add question tags', etc.). Translation into L2 ('translate into English') is also frequent, as there is one exercise of this type in every unit.

Neither productive nor receptive skills were specified in the syllabus of 1945 when *Angleška vadnica – Prva stopnja* appeared. In fact, in the syllabus of 1945 the contents were not spelled out but specified solely in relation to the existing textbook. The first document to outline the general objectives of English as a school subject was the syllabus of 1948. It lists as the first of the general objectives *'the development of the ability in the learners to independently, and with the help of a dictionary, read newspapers, literary and technical/study texts of a medium–level difficulty'* (49). Others were as follows:

- to develop the ability in the learners to understand and use everyday speech in conversation about everyday matters;
- to develop the ability in the learners to use written language grammatically and orthographically correctly;
- to offer insights into the culture and civilisation of English–speaking countries. (49)

If, therefore, the development of different macroskills is analysed according to their presence in the course book, we can establish that listening in *Angleška vadnica* is entirely absent, whereas other three skills (reading, speaking, writing) can be rated as subsidiary, since they are not being developed as an end. Even reading serves a subsidiary purpose because reading texts simply set the basis for language learning and did not develop reading skills. Learning grammar and vocabulary was achieved by reading and writing exercises.

In sum, *Angleška vadnica – Prva stopnja* is most probably a typical exponent of the post–war ELT methodology in Europe. It combines characteristics of the Grammar–Translation Method and the Reform (i.e., Direct) Method, moulded together into what in those days' terms could be called teachable and well–laid–out subject matter. Apart from the explicit endorsement of the principles of the Grammar–Translation Method (i.e., deductive grammar teaching in Slovenian, translation, etc.), a highlight of the course is the 'phonetic start', i.e., the early stages of the course are devoted to the teaching of the sounds of the language (together with phonetic script).

It remains unclear whether the authors were applying any conscious theoretical principles to the development of their materials and how much knowledge of theory they had, or whether they were relying primarily on their experience of practice. It is also not known whether they were replicating or cloning any previous, successful non–Slovenian materials when producing their textbooks.

The second course book analysed is also a representative of the eclectic method combining characteristics of the grammar–translation and the direct method. When *Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja* (Grad 1952) first appeared, the curriculum of 1951 (*The curriculum for the four–year junior grammar school, UN za I. in II. razred nižje gimnazije*) was in force. The curriculum adopted the view of language as a formal system, and the recommended teaching methodology was indeed the eclectic method. According to this syllabus, 'the student should be able to read easy everyday texts, develop a vocabulary size of about 1,800 words, read, write and speak within the scope of this vocabulary size, and use grammar rules accurately' (*UN za I. in II. razred nižje gimnazije*, my translation). It is obvious that neither the curriculum nor the textbook following the curriculum guidelines introduced any innovative changes in English language teaching. As the course book was basically replicating its predecessor (Žgur et al. 1945), the question why it was needed and produced requires clarification. As mentioned before, English as a school subject was launched by the 1945 curriculum, but it was offered as a second foreign language only at four–year senior grammar schools, i.e., to students aged between 15 and 19. In the school year 1948/49, the boundary line between the junior and senior grammar school was lowered by one year, so that the 4th grade belonged to the senior grammar school, whereas the duration of the primary school changed from 8 to 7 years, i.e., the 7–year primary school was introduced. In 1950, a new curriculum for the 1st and 2nd grade of junior grammar schools (*UN za I. in II. razred nižje gimnazije*) was introduced, and I assume that it also referred to the 5th and 6th grade of the primary school. In this syllabus Russian was completely abandoned, offering English, French and German in its place with 3 hours a week. As a course book for teaching English *Angleška vadnica* (Žgur et al. 1945) was prescribed. This meant that a book which was initially intended for students aged between 14 and 19 was now used with ten– and eleven–year–olds. And this is the difficult situation to which the new course book *Angleška vadnica* tried to respond. Burdened with the same title as its predecessor, it was known universally as 'the Grad course'. The book was drawn up in strict accordance with the syllabus of 1951, and published in four levels between 1952 and 1954 (Levels 1 and 2 were released in 1952, Level 3 in 1953, and Level 4 in 1954.)[31]

Both textbook series, the *Angleška vadnica* series by Žgur et al. (1945ff) and the *Angleška vadnica* series by Grad (1952ff), share a lot of similarities: their reliance on reading texts, the central role

[31] *Level 4*, for example, was intended for the 4th grade of junior grammar school (i.e., *nižja gimnazija*) and the 8th grade of primary school.

of grammar taught deductively and the types of practice activities. Unlike Žgur et al.'s book, Grad's *Angleška vadnica* makes use of illustrations (restricted to black–and–white line drawings) that liven things up a bit. Not exactly thrilling, but serviceable enough. Most illustrations aid the understanding of vocabulary items (e.g., school objects), and some convey a distinctly Slovenian/ Yugoslav setting, revealed in the looks of the schoolroom (e.g., Tito's picture hanging on the wall, p. 28), the Yugoslav coat of arms (104), a co–operative farm (115) among other things. Some illustrations aid sound practice depicting the vocal organs and pointing out how a particular sound is produced (7). The inclusion of chants, riddles, games, jokes, printed music (melodies) and brief and easy poems by English–speaking poets should also be mentioned. Compared to Žgur et al.'s book, Grad's *Angleška vadnica* contains shorter units, the reading texts are shorter too and there is less grammatical content.

4.2 The second generation of ELL course books in Slovenia: the late 1950s and the 1960s

There was one textbook analysed/reviewed for this period: *Angleška vadnica za 5. razred osnovne šole* (Pestotnik 1959).

The third book analysed is a representative of the Direct Method. This method, based on the view of language as a means of communication rather than as a formal system, was adopted by the curriculum of 1958. In that year, the new educational reform was put in place, which brought about a unified 8–year primary school transferring to different types of secondary schools (e.g., two– and four–year vocational secondary schools and, of course, both types of the grammar school). The timetable hours allotted for foreign languages were as follows: 3 hours a week in grades 5 and 6, and only 2 hours a week in grades 7 and 8.

The syllabus of 1958 put forward the requirement that 'foreign language learning should start on the basis of pure direct method whereby, at least during the first half–year, only mimics, gestures, realia, pictures, the flannelograph, the record player and other audio–visual aids should be used'.[32] It goes on to state that all work should stem from conversation, reading and writing should be postponed to later stages, the student imitates the teacher's speech, and there should be no use of the mother tongue. It is not difficult to recognize the structuralist theory of language which underlies the materials. It concentrates on three fundamental features – pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. As the syllabus adhered to the tenets of the Direct Method (or rather audio–lingual), it made Grad's course inappropriate and it became clear that new teaching materials were urgently needed. Sonja Pestotnik responded to this demand and created the *Angleška vadnica za osnovne šole* series, published in three parts between 1959 and 1962.[33]

The highlights of the course are the consistent ban of the mother tongue (there is also no glossary in the book), focus on spoken language, reading and writing being sidelined, no explicit grammar, and strictly controlled vocabulary (the book contains only 370 new words).

[32] Umek (1988, 45) believes that the term *direct method* was used erroneously in the syllabus of 1958, and that *audio–lingual method* should have been used instead. That she ascribes to the fact that the flow of information between the West and Yugoslavia in the early 1950s was very poor. An additional reason for the supposedly wrong assumption made by the syllabus designers might have stemmed from the fact that the direct and the audio–lingual method share some important features (e.g., focus on spoken language and no use of the mother tongue).

[33] *Angleška vadnica za 7. razred* was released in 1962, but it remained in a stencil–duplicator form and was never used in schools.

4.3 The third generation of ELL course books in Slovenia: the late 1960s and the 1970s

There were two textbooks analysed/reviewed for this period: *Angleška vadnica za peti razred osnovne šole (*Kos and Pilgram 1967), and *MAP 1* (Knight et al. 1972).

There is one word that sums up the English language teaching panorama in 1960s and early 1970s – 'patterns' or 'structures'. The syllabus of 1966 lists as the first of the general objectives of English as a school subject the acquisition of the fundamental structures of the foreign language as an instrument for effective communication (*Predmetnik in učni načrt za osnovno šolo*). That behaviourism is the language teaching theory on which language learning should be based is made explicit. Oral and written drills, question and answer and dramatization of dialogues, supported by the extensive use of visual aids, are suggested in the syllabus guidelines. The change of linguistic paradigm that makes a structural description of language the organizing principle of course books is clearly shown in Kos and Pilgram's *English* series (1967ff).[34]

Apart from the explicit endorsement of the principles of the audio–lingual method, a highlight of the course is the 'audio–lingual' start, i.e., the first six units are devoted to developing listening and speaking skills. Reading is first introduced in Unit 7. The recommended approach in the classroom (as expressed in Teacher's guide) was to begin with a 'pre–reading' period during which the books were withheld from the students. It was felt that seeing the written word interfered with the development of proper habits of pronunciation.

After the students received their books, the class followed a sequence of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Typical of this course is a tabular style of presentation and an inductive approach to grammar (i.e., teaching to a grammar syllabus but otherwise not making any reference to grammar at all). The focus is clearly on the form of the language rather than meaning, use or context. Lesson planning was a relatively simple process of Presentation, Practice, Production of the forms through a variety of controlled or, at best, guided activities.

A further step towards uniformity of English language teaching in primary and secondary schools was made when the *MAP* series[35] was released in 1972. Adhering to the principles of the audio–lingual method, its main highlights are the use of short dialogues, the emphasis on spoken language, the value attached to practice, the division into four skills, the importance of vocabulary control, the step–by–step progression, and so on. There is little grammatical explanation and what there is follows the drills as a summary of the grammar involved.

The theory of language underlying both courses is pure structuralism with its 'slot–and–filler' grammar and commitment to the description of language as form.

The less positive aspects of audio–lingual courses, which may have had in turn negative consequences in the classes where the materials were implemented as sole teaching resources, are related to the overemphasis on language structure to the detriment of the contents conveyed by the target language. The writers of these two audio–lingual courses tried to cover up this poverty of content with humorous situations and different 'bits and bobs' (jokes, songs, riddles, proverbs). These 'entertaining' devices were designed to lighten the load of the dreary drills that characterized

34 Published in four levels between 1967 and 1970. The other components of the course were Teacher's Book, tape recordings, flash cards and wall pictures.

35 MAP stands for *Moderniziran angleški pouk* (Modernized English Teaching). The course remained in use until the late 1980s.

nearly every lesson in this paradigm. Although these books were popular with some students and teachers, the audio–lingual structural approach had reached its limits.

4.4 The fourth generation of ELL course books in Slovenia: the 1980s and the 1990s

There were two textbooks analysed/reviewed for this period: *Angleški jezik 1* (Knight et al. 1981), and *Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1* (Skela and Berce 1991).

As Prodromou and Mishen (2008, 196) point out, the late 1970s saw the beginnings of a paradigm shift in ELT towards the Communicative Approach, and 'functional' textbooks, such as the *Strategies* Series (Abbs and Freebairn 1977ff) and Leo Jones' *Functions of English* (1982). Many of the tenets of the structural audio–lingual approach were overturned and reversed: the syllabus was meaning–focused (everyday functional expressions, making invitations, requests, and so on), all the skills were given their due, 'authentic material' expressed the reaction to the artificiality of language in the structural syllabus. But teachers began to feel that these books were 'too much like phrase books in disguise, with lots of useful expressions from which it was difficult to make generalizations about language' (ibid.).

In Slovenia, the fruits of the new approach came into the ELT classrooms in 1981, when *Angleški jezik 1* (Knight et al.1981) was released. It was the first course book using the new notional and functional categories. At the beginning of each unit, there is a brief summary/announcement of the aims of the unit expressed by means of language functions and structures (e.g., making an enquiry by telephone). The course was designed in accordance with the syllabus of 1980 that had adopted the new functional–notional approach.[36] The 'functional' spirit of the 1980s was evident also in the production of supplementary materials, e.g., *A Collection of Functional Dialogues* (Berce 1986), and in theoretical writings of the time – in 1982, Wilkins' *Notional syllabuses* (1976) got translated into Slovenian.[37]

As to the primary school, the syllabus of 1983 (*Predmetnik in učni načrt za osnovne šole* 1983) had adopted the new functional–notional approach but it was not until 1991 that the first primary–school course book to use the notional and functional categories was released (the *Touchstone* series by Skela et al.1991ff).[38] This means that until that time Kos and Pilgram's *English* series had remained in use. This course book series, which started off in 1967, appeared in a new edition as the *English 1–4* series between 1974 and 1982. The new edition was a response to the changes introduced by the curriculum of 1973 (*Predmetnik in učni načrt za osnovno šolo* 1973) that gave some cause for worry concerning the foreign language. Specifically, the time allotted for foreign language study had been reduced by one hour a week in grades 5, 7 and 8 so that the weekly timetabled hours for English were 3 3 2 2.

This caused a considerable setback to teachers striving to attain the same standard of knowledge within a teaching time reduced by 23%. The authors' (Kos and Pilgram) response to the demand for new classroom materials was to adapt the existing *Angleška vadnica 1–4* series, since its methodological concept was still suitable. In more affluent times, when there is no shortage of authorial talent and new technologies allow variation to be accommodated more easily, the

[36] The syllabus of 1980 for secondary schools was established within the educational reform that introduced the so–called *vocationally oriented education* (usmerjeno izobraževanje).

[37] *Pojmovno–funkcijski učni načrti* (Wilkins 1982).

[38] The four–level *Touchstone* series was published between 1991 and 1994.

decision to adapt materials rather than create them from scratch each time looks like penny–pinching (Howatt 2004, 244). But times were hard in Slovenia/Yugoslavia in the 1980s, making adaptation a sensible if not an ideal policy. The most considerable change in the *English 1–4* series was its division into two components – the students' book and the workbook. In its previous edition the course consisted, at each level, of a single textbook including the workbook component in one volume. Other changes were relatively minor. The range of the subject matter was slightly reduced and rearranged, and some ideas for improvements from teachers' feedback were taken into account. The last book of the series came out in 1982 when new paradigm changes had already been taking place. Teachers began to realize that it was becoming increasingly difficult to teach a language in the new functional and communicative spirit using books that were conceived in the spirit of the audio–lingual and structural paradigm. The *Angleška vadnica 1–4* series, together with its second edition, the *English 1–4* series, had been in print for more than twenty years and had obviously reached its limits. The growing dissatisfaction of teachers led to something which was to become a milestone in the Slovenian foreign language course books policy. In 1989, the Ministry of Education lifted the restriction and granted freedom of choice regarding the selection of textbooks.[39] In this year, the first British–produced (i.e., global) course books were introduced in Slovenian primary and secondary schools – *Project English 1* (Hutchinson 1985), and *Headway Intermediate* (Soars and Soars 1986), both by Oxford University Press. Both textbooks had an immediate appeal that many other works (especially locally produced ones) could not match. The response from teachers and students was extremely positive, showing once again the importance of motivation in in foreign language learning. Prodromou and Mishen (2008, 196–97) summarize the reasons for the success of *Headway* as follows:

> There was a strong grammar–based syllabus after the communicative focus on functions and notions. [...] Methodology was easy; not innovative, with lots of controlled exercise. [...] It was one of the first to integrate skills and language. It had interesting topics. [...] It had authentic–looking reading texts, but was still reassuringly traditional. [...] It looked different from what had gone before. It was teacher–friendly – even an untrained or inexperienced teacher could have successful lessons if they followed the steps. It was bright and cheerful–looking. It had real pictures. It had a detailed Teacher's guide.

Both British–produced course books, *Project English 1* and *Headway Intermediate,* adopted for use in Slovenian schools in 1989, had to officially meet the requirements of the national syllabuses of 1980 (secondary schools) and of 1983 (primary schools). By 1989, when *Project English 1* and *Headway Intermediate* were introduced in our schools, both syllabuses had become rather outdated and they played only a cosmetic role. In other words, the textbook, in the hands of the teacher, was effectively the syllabus.

It was important to highlight this background context in order to understand the climate in which, in 1991, a new primary–school course book series, *Touchstone*, started off. With the 'If–it's–British–it–must–be–good' attitude on the part of the teachers, the circumstances for home–grown ELL materials were far from favourable. It was, of course, understandable that teachers were delighted to be able to replace the drab state–produced course books they had been obliged to work with for so long. But this was, as Bolitho (2008, 215) puts it, a 'honeymoon period' that could never last.

[39] 'Freedom of choice' did not (and still does not) mean that course books didn't need to meet the national syllabus requirements and pass official scrutiny. Today, publishers are obliged to print on the inside cover of course books a statement saying that the course book was designed in accordance with the current syllabus. In this way, authors and publishers want to reassure potential users as regards its suitability for a specific school type.

4.5 The fifth generation of ELL course books in Slovenia: the 2000s and the present

There was one textbook analysed/reviewed for this period: *Touchstone 6* (Skela et al. 2009).

The 2000s saw a period of complex debate. López Barrios and Villanueva de Debat (2011, 24) describe the characteristic signs of foreign language teaching at the turn of the century as follows:

> The emergence of pragmatics, the concept of communicative competence, Notional–functional approaches to syllabus design and the breakthrough produced by Communicative Language Teaching were the characteristic signs of foreign language teaching at the turn of the century. (López Barrios and Villanueva de Debat 2011, 24)

Howatt (2004, 250) points out that the field of ELT has simply grown too large and diverse, and goes on to say that

[t]he intellectual unity that had characterized the earlier decades of the century had disintegrated and in its place there were competing 'schools of thought' promoting more or less incompatible models of language and learning. Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) represented a conscious choice between competing models, not as in the old days of behaviourism, the scientifically attested 'best model'. (Howatt 2004, 250)

Communicative language teaching can be seen as an umbrella term that describes a move from teaching language as individual linguistic structures to teaching people how to use language effectively when communicating, in effect a move from teaching *linguistic competence* to *communicative competence* (Hall 2011, 93). But the question arises whether communicative competence as described, for example, extremely comprehensively by the *Common European Framework of Reference* (2001) is 'teachable' at all. Has today's mainstream foreign language teaching pedagogy (i.e., the communicative approach) developed systematic means for teaching it? As Brown (1987, 215–6) points out:

[c]ommunication in a foreign language is something so complex that it will probably never be reduced to a simple formula or a neatly packaged syllabus. Communication is qualitative and infinite; a syllabus is quantitative and finite. [...] communicative competence is such an intricate web of psychological, sociocultural, physical, and linguistic features that it is easy to get entangled in but one part of that web. And it is probably impossible in the near future to describe the whole of human discourse in such a way that language teachers are provided with ready solutions to the teaching of a foreign language. (Brown 1987, 215–6)

There are numerous other (crossover) educational trends, many of which have sprung from the notion of *learner–centredness*, that keep shaping the teaching of foreign languages in the 'Postmethod Era' of the new millennium: learning strategies training, cooperative learning, multiple intelligences, task–based learning, CLIL, humanistic approaches, autonomy, self–directed learning, the Lexical Approach, and so on.

From the 1990s national curricula began to promote the development of 'communicative competence' and the development of all four language macroskills.[40] Continuing this line of development, the national syllabus for English, which was introduced in 1998 (following the

[40] The notion of 'communicative competence' was first articulated in the 1992 syllabus (32).

Year of publication	Textbook	Method	View on language	syllabus
1945	*Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja.*	Grammar–translation & Direct Method (i.e., Eclectic Method)	Formal Traditional Grammar + Focus on pronunciation	1945
1952	*Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja. Za I. razred nižjih gimnazij.*	Grammar–translation & Direct Method (i.e., Eclectic Method)	Formal Traditional Grammar + Focus on pronunciation	1951
1959	*Angleška vadnica za 5. razred osnovne sole*	Direct Method (and Audio–lingual)	Structuralism + Focus on pronunciation and vocab	1958
1967	*Angleška vadnica za peti razred osnovne šole.*	Audio–lingual / Situational Language Teaching	structuralism	1966
1972	*MAP 1*	Audio–lingual / Situational Language Teaching	structuralism	? (1964; 1975)
1981	*Angleški jezik 1*	Notional–Functional / Communicative	functional	1980
1991	*Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1*	Notional–Functional / Communicative	functional	1983
2009	*Touchstone 6 – angleški jeziki za 6. razred devetletne osnovne sole*	Communicative approach + *Postmethod* features (task–based, CLIL)	functional	1998; 2008 (2011)

Table 3. ***Method and view of language.***

1996 curricular reform), strongly promotes Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) as the norm of teaching foreign languages in Slovenia. As such, at the level of method policy, CLT is well enshrined as the norm in language education, which can also be seen in the latest national syllabus for English of 2008 (2011).[41] Both documents list as the first of the general objectives of English as a school subject the acquisition of communicative and intercultural competence.

The last course book analysed, *Touchstone 6* (Skela et al. 2009), constitutes an attempt to interpret CLT for the local context. It is part the *Touchstone* series (a four–level primary–school course) published between 2003 and 2009.

The course recognizes the need to develop both receptive and productive skills. Additionally, the course attempts to appeal to adolescents by the inclusion of full–colour illustrations and the use of graphic devices. The contents play a more substantial role in this course book, and many references to local and global culture relevant to the learners of the beginning of the new millennium are present. It portrays characters learners can easily identify with. A mixture of fictional and factual in the texts provides varied and interesting input. A further feature is the inclusion of a task/project in each unit, thus incorporating a task–based element to the course. In later volumes of the course some *Postmethod* features are evident, especially CLIL.

[41] The curriculum of 2008 was actually never in force, but after some changes were made it came into force in 2011.

5. Analysis

In our analysis, we can distinguish five generations of foreign language textbooks for teaching English as a school subject in Slovenia. The first generation, dominating the 1940s and the 1950s, followed the Grammar–Translation Method and included deductive teaching techniques of grammatical explanation and translation. The second dominated the late 1950s and the 1960s, and combined characteristics of the Direct Method and the Audio–lingual Method. The third generation, dominating the late 1960s and the 1970s, was influenced by linguistic structuralism and behaviourism and was characterized by (monolingual) audiolingual/structural and situational approaches focusing on drilling spoken language patterns. The fourth generation, dominating the 1980s and the 1990s, was characterized by functional–notional communicative approaches. The fifth generation (the 2000s and onwards) is characterized by Communicative Language Teaching, and currently attempts to incorporate different crossover educational trends (e.g., task–based learning) of the *Postmethod* era into ELT.

During the seventy–year period covered in this paper, the locally produced books show two main trends as regards the underlying view on language: a) as a formal system or b) as a means of communication. However, the textbooks analysed show that the transition from Traditional Grammar towards structuralism was gradual. For example, *Angleška vadnica* (Grad 1952), combines characteristics of the Grammar–Translation and the Direct Method with its 'oral' or even 'audiolingual' start, still includes a deductive approach towards grammar.

The other view on language evident in the books studied is language as an instrument for the expression of functional meaning. The focus lies mainly on the semantic and communicative dimensions of language. We have taken *Angleški jezik 1* (1981) for secondary–school level and *Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1* (1991) for primary–school level as milestones that marked a shift in this respect. The change of focus is evident in the table of contents that lists communicative functions (giving orders, asking where buildings are) rather than grammar structures.

6. Conclusion

This retrospective study of eight course books produced in Slovenia demonstrates a progression or change in emphasis over the seven decades beginning with grammar–translation materials which were, as we have seen, typified by creating linguistic competence in students' minds, moving on through equally formal structuralist materials from which meaning and context were excluded, to our final examples, the notional and communicative materials, in which the content was, by contrast, semantic rather than syntactic. The eight samples also demonstrate a shift of approach both in the change in theory of language and the theory of learning espoused by the authors. What is really striking is that the major change over the decades spanned by these examples has been in the area of syllabus content; a change which has reflected clearly and relatively consistently the changes in applied linguistic thought over the same period (though, as in all application of theoretical work, with a time–lag).

There has been a considerable production of textbooks in Slovenia. Although this production diminished during certain periods in our history, since the 2000s it has regained momentum due to the need to adapt textbooks to the local context. We can claim that local course books have always attempted, to different degrees, to adapt the general approach and the content of the course books to the needs and characteristics of the local context.

We hope that this brief survey will serve as a modest contribution to the understanding of the teaching of foreign languages in Slovenia. However, if we wanted to arrive at a truly satisfactory panorama of ELT in Slovenia in the past, more detailed and more objective investigation than is available at present would be needed, for example, in–depth studies treating specific problems, settings or periods, or identifying events or the work of the small number of pioneers who produced the first local ELL materials – in particular, Adela Žgur, Eliza Skalickż, Janko Kotnik, Anton Grad, Sonja Pestotnik, Milena Kos, Lučka Pilgram, and others.

Bibliography

Bell, R.T. 1981. *An Introduction to Applied Linguistics: Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching.* London: Batsford Academic and Educational.

Bolitho, R. 2008. Materials Used in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. In *English Language Learning Materials: A Critical Review,* ed. B. Tomlinson, 213–22. London: Continuum.

Bowen, D.J., H. Madsen, and A. Hilferty. 1985. *TESOL Techniques and Procedures.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.

Brown, H.D. 1987. *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

- - - . 2000. *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching.* [4th ed.]. White Plains, NY: Longman.

- - - . 2001. *Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy.* [2nd ed.]. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Regents.

Celce–Murcia, M., ed. 2001. *Teaching of English as a Second or Foreign Language.* [3rd ed.]. Boston, Mass.: Heinle & Heinle.

Chastain, K. 1988. *Developing Second–Language Skills: Theory and Practice.* Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Cook, V. 1991. *Second Language Learning and Language Teaching.* London: Edward Arnold.

Council of Europe**.** 2001. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment.* Cambridge: CUP.

Douthwaite, J. 1991. *Teaching English as a Foreign Language*. Torino: Societį Editrice Internazionale.

Ellis, R. 2010. Second language acquisition research and language–teaching materials. In *English Language Teaching Materials: Theory and Practice,* ed. N. Harwood, 33–57. Cambridge: CUP.

Hall, G. 2011. *Exploring English Language Teaching: Language in Action*. London: Routledge.

Hawkins, E.W. 1981. *Modern Languages in the Curriculum*. Cambridge: CUP.

Howatt, A.P.R. 1984/2004. *A History of English Language Teaching.* [2nd ed.]. Oxford: OUP.

Hutchinson, T., and A. Waters. 1987. *English for Specific Purposes: A learning–centred approach.* Cambridge: CUP.

Jones, L. 1982. *Functions of English.* Cambridge: CUP.

Kelly, L.G. 1969. *25 Centuries of Language Teaching: 500 BC – 1969.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.

Kožar, E. 1991. Prvine ameriških civilizacijskih vsebin v učbenikih za angleški jezik za splošno–izobraževalne srednje šole v Sloveniji v zadnjih tridesetih letih. M.A. diss. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Centar za podiplomski studij Dubrovnik.

Liddicoat, A.J. 2004. Language Policy and Methodology. *IJES (International Journal of English Studies)*, 4 (1): 153–71. http://revistas.um.es/ijes/article/view/48221/46191 (accessed: 25/9/2013)

Littlejohn, A. 1992. *Why are English Language Teaching materials the way they are?* PhD dissertation. Lancaster: Lancaster University. *http://www.andrewlittlejohn.net/website/books/Littlejohn%20phd%20chapter%201.pdf* (accessed: 16/9/2013)

López Barrios, M., and E. Villanueva de Debat. 2011. From Grammar Translation to CLT: A retrospective view of course books produced in Argentina. In *Communicative Language Teaching and Learning Revisited,* ed. Fernández,D., A.M. Armendáriz, R. Lothringer, L. Pico, and L. Anglada, 21–33. XXXVI FAAPI Conference Proceedings, 22–23–24 September 2011. Tucumán: FAAPI.

Low, G. 1989. Appropriate design: the internal organisation of course units. In *The Second Language Curriculum,* ed. R.K. Johnson, 136–54. Cambridge: CUP.

Mackey, W.F. 1965. *Language Teaching Analysis*. London: Longman.

McGrath, I. 2002. *Materials Evaluation and Design for Language Teaching*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Nunan, D. 1991. *Language Teaching Methodology: A textbook for teachers.* Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall.

Planina, F. 1944. *25 let dela za slovensko učno knjigo.* Ob 25 letnici Pokrajinske šolske založbe 11. 5. 1919 – 11. 5. 1944. Ljubljana: Pokrajinska šolska založba.

Prebeg–Vilke, M. 1977. *Uvod u glotodidaktiku.* Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Prodromou, L., and F. Mishen. 2008. Materials Used in Western Europe. In *English Language Learning Materials: A Critical Review,* ed. B. Tomlinson,193–212. London: Continuum.

Richards, J.C., and T.S. Rodgers. 1986/2001. *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching.* [2nd ed.]. Cambridge: CUP.

Rivers, W.M. 1981. *Teaching Foreign–Language Skills.* [2nd ed.]. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Skela, J. 2000. Snovanje tujejezikovnih učnih načrtov. In *Angleščina – prenovi na pot,* ed. M. Grosman, 187–253. Ljubljana: Zavod RS za šolstvo.

- - - . 2008. Nazaj v prihodnost: Teorija, praksa in politika poučevanja tujih jezikov v Sloveniji. In *Jeziki v izobraževanju: Zbornik prispevkov s konference – Conference Proceedings,* ed. M. Ivšek, 175–95. Ljubljana: Zavod RS za šolstvo.

Smith, R.C., ed. 2003a. *Teaching English as a Foreign Language, 1912–1936: Pioneers of ELT.* London: Routledge, 5 volumes.

- - - ., ed. 2003b. *Teaching English as a Foreign Language, 1936–1961: Foundations of ELT.* London: Routledge, 6 volumes.

Stern, H.H. 1983. *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching.* Oxford: OUP.

Titone, R. 1968. *Teaching Foreign Languages: An Historical Sketch*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Tomlinson, B., ed. 2013. *Applied Linguistics and Materials Development.* London: Bloomsbury.

Umek, F. 1988. Od metodskih načel do njihove realizacije v naših učbenikih za angleški jezik. *Vestnik*, 1–2: 25–59.

Wilkins, D.A. 1976. *Notional syllabuses.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- - - . 1982. *Pojmovno-funkcijski učni načrti: Primer taksonomije in njegov pomen pri načrtovanju pouka tujih jezikov.* Trans. J. Arh. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Course books mentioned in the text

Abbs, B., and I. Freebairn. 1977. *Starting Strategies*. London: Longman.

Alexander, L.G., and J. Tadman. 1972. *Target 1.* An Audio–Visual English Course for Secondary Schools. London: Longman.

Berce, S. 1986a. *A Collection of Functional Dialogues.* Maribor: Obzorja.

- - - . 1986b. *Italijanska slovnica. Grammatica Italiana.* Maribor: Obzorja.

Blaganje, D. 1962. *Angleščina za vsakogar.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1969. *English For All Occasions.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Brihta, J., and B. Grgić. 1965. *A Fifth–Year English Course*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

- - - . 1966. *A Sixth–Year English Course*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Brihta, J,. B. Grgić, and A. Angeli Radovani. 1967. *An English Reader: A Seventh–Year English Course.* Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Brihta, J., and B. Grgić. 1968. *An English Reader: An Eighth–Year English Course.* Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Chérel, A. 1970. *Angleško brez težav.* Metoda 'Assimil'. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.

Collie, J. 2010. *Way Up Intermediate. Učbenik za angleščino v 1. in 2. letniku gimnazij.* Ljubljana: Rokus Klett.

Commonwealth Office of Education. 1965. *Situational English*. Longman: London.

Dobrajc, F. 2002. *English for Nurses*. Ljubljana: DZS.

- - - . 2004. *English for nursing assistants*. Ljubljana: Zavod RS za šolstvo.

Gatenby, E.V. 1952. *A Direct Method English Course.* London: Longmans, Green.

German Velusček, A., and B. Avsenik. 2009. *My fairyland 1. Učbenik za zgodnje učenje angleškega jezika.* Maribor: Obzorja.

- - - . 2011. *My fairyland 2. Učbenik za zgodnje učenje angleškega jezika.* Maribor: Obzorja.

- - - . 2012. *My fairyland 3. Učbenik za zgodnje učenje angleškega jezika.* Maribor: Obzorja.

Grad, A. 1952a. *Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja. Za I. razred nižjih gimnazij.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1952b. *Angleška vadnica. Druga stopnja. Za II. razred nižjih gimnazij.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1952c. *Something to Read.* Sodobno angleško berilo. Izvlečki iz časopisov in revij. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1953a. *Angleška čitanka za 1. in 2. razred gimnazij.* Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.

- - - . 1953b. *Angleška vadnica. Tretja stopnja. Za III. razred nižjih gimnazij.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1954. *Angleška vadnica. Četrta stopnja. Za IV. razred nižjih gimnazij.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1958. *Vesela angleščina.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1959a. *Angleška vadnica. IV. Za 8. razred osnovnih šol.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1959b. *Angleška vadnica. IV.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Gvardjančič, A., D. Marguč, and J. Skela. 1996. *Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1. New*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Hutchinson, T. 1985. *Project English 1.* Teacher's Book. Oxford: OUP.

Jereb, E. 1995. *Francoska slovnica po naše.* Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.

Jesenik, N., T. Milijaš, J. Skela, and V. Šavli. 2002. *My sails 1: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 4. razredu devetletne osnovne šole*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Jesenik, N., J. Skela, and V. Šavli. 2003. *My sails 2: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 5. razredu devetletne osnovne šole.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Jesenik, N., and V. Šavli. 2005. *My sails 3: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 6. razredu devetletne osnovne šole*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Jones, L. 1979. *Notions in English.* Cambridge: CUP.

King–Videtič, L., V. Mavrič, and J. Skela. 1992. *Angleški jezik 2. Touchstone 2.* Ljubljana: Tangram.

King–Videtič, and J. Skela. 1993. *Angleški jezik 3. Touchstone 3.* Ljubljana: Tangram.

Kipčić Z., M. Markušić, and N. Sučić. 1981. *An English Reader – Science and Technology*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Knight, R., M. Knight, and T. Kobilica. 1972. *MAP 1.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1973. *MAP 2.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

- - - . 1974. *MAP 3.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Knight, R., T. Kobilica, M. Knight, and E. Kožar. 1981. *Angleški jezik.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Knight, M., T. Kobilica, and R. Knight. 1982. *Angleški jezik 2.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Komac, P. 1983. *Angleška slovnica po naše.* Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.

Kos, M., and L. Pilgram. 1967. *Angleška vadnica za peti razred osnovne šole.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

- - - . 1968. *Angleška vadnica za šesti razred osnovne šole.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

- - - . 1969. *Angleška vadnica za sedmi razred osnovne šole.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Kos, M., R. Knight, and L. Pilgram. 1970. *Angleška vadnica za osmi razred osnovne šole.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Kos, M., and L. Pilgram. 1974. *English 1.* Angleški učbenik za 5. razred osnovne šole. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

- - - . 1977. *English 2.* Angleški učbenik za 6. razred osnovne šole. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

- - - . 1979. *English 3.* Angleški učbenik za 7. razred osnovne šole. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

- - - . 1982. *English 4.* Angleški učbenik za 8. razred osnovne šole. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Kotnik, J. 1943a. *Učbenik angleškega jezika. I. del. Vadnica.* Ljubljana: Knjigarna tiskovne zadruge v Ljubljani.

- - - . 1943b. *Učbenik angleškega jezika. II. del. Slovnica.* Ljubljana: Knjigarna tiskovne zadruge v Ljubljani.

- - - . 1952. *Angleška vadnica.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Kubelka, V. J. 1912. *Slovensko–angleški razgovori. Slovenian–English Interpreter*. New York: Press of Stettiner Bros.

Marendič, E., and J. Skela. 1994. *Angleški jezik 4. Touchstone 4.* Ljubljana: Tangram.

Mihelač, B., and D. Š. Novosel. 2006. *Reach for the stars 6: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 6. razredu osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: DZS.

Mulaček, J. 1930. *Učbenik angleškega jezika*. Ljubljana: Jugoslovanska knjigarna.

Muster Čenčur, N. 1985. *Nemška slovnica po naše.* Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.

Novak, M., and J. Nuč. 2003. *Reach for the stars 4: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 4. razredu osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: DZS.

Novak, M., J. Nuč, and D.Š. Novosel. 2004. *Reach for the stars 5: učbenik za pouk angleščine v 5. razredu osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: DZS.

Pestotnik, S. 1959. *Angleška vadnica za 5. razred osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.

- - - . 1960. *Angleška vadnica za 6. razred osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.

- - - . 1962. *Angleška vadnica za 7. razred osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: Zavod za napredek šolstva LRS.

Potočar, M. 1995. *English for hairdressers: učbenik za angleščino v 3. letniku srednje frizerske šole.* Ljubljana: DZS.

Skela, J., and S. Berce. 1991. *Angleški jezik 1. Touchstone 1.* Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Skela, J., and L. King–Videtič. 2003. *Touchstone 7: angleški jezik za 7. razred devetletne osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: Tangram.

Skela, J. 2005. *Touchstone 8: angleški jezik za 8. razred devetletne osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: Tangram.

- - - . 2006. *Touchstone 9: angleški jezik za 9. razred devetletne osnovne šole.* Ljubljana: Tangram

Skela, J., A. Gvardjančič, and D. Marguč. 2009. *Touchstone 6: angleški učbenik za 6. razred osnovne šole*. Maribor: Obzorja.

Soars, J., and L. Soars. 1986. *Headway Intermediate.* Student's Book and Workbook. Oxford: OUP.

Sterle, S. 1953. *Easy Reading – Lahki angleški teksti.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Škulj, I., M. Pačnik, and M. Talt Lah. 2007. *Itchy Feet 1: Učbenik za pouk angleščine za 7. razred devetletne osnovne šole*. Ljubljana: DZS.

Škulj, I., M. Pačnik, and N. Intihar Klančar. 2009. *Itchy Feet 2: Učbenik za pouk angleščine za 8. razred devetletne osnovne šole*. Ljubljana: DZS.

Škulj, I. 2010. *Itchy Feet 3: Učbenik za pouk angleščine za 9. razred devetletne osnovne šole*. Ljubljana: DZS.

The National Council of Teachers of English. 1964. *English for Today, Book Three: The Way We Live.* New York: McGraw–Hill Book Company.

Vitas, D. 1970. *Engleski (Francuski, Talijanski, Njemački, Španjolski, Grčki, Madžarski, Ruski) s izgovorom.* Nova Gradiška: Narodno sveučilište M. A. Reljković.

Wilson, K., and J. Taylor. 1999. *Prospects Intermediate*. Ljubljana: Založba Tuma and Macmillan Heinemann.

Žgur, A., S. Pestotnik, and E. Skalickż. 1945. *Angleška vadnica. Prva stopnja.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Žgur, A., E. Skalickż, and M. Kos. 1947. *Angleška vadnica. Druga stopnja.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Žgur, A., and E. Skalickż. 1950. *Angleška vadnica. Tretja stopnja.* Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Language policy documents mentioned in the text (arranged chronologically)

Začasni UČNI NAČRT na gimnazijah in klasičnih gimnazijah Slovenije za šolsko leto 1945/1946. 1945. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Spremembe k UČNEMU NAČRTU za gimnazije. Šolsko leto 1946/47. 1946. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

UČNI NAČRT za gimnazije, nižje gimnazije in višje razrede sedemletk. 1948. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za prosveto LR Slovenije.

UČNI NAČRT za osnovne šole. 1950. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

UČNI NAČRT za I. in II. razred gimnazije. 1950. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

UČNI NAČRT za štirirazredno nižjo gimnazijo. 1951. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

UČNI NAČRT za nižje razrede gimnazij in višje razrede osnovnih šol. 1954. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

UČNI NAČRT za nižje razrede gimnazij in višje razrede osnovnih šol. Angleščina. 1954. *Objave*, V (7): 4–6.

UČNI NAČRT za višje razrede gimnazij in klasičnih gimnazij. 1955. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Predmetnik in UČNI NAČRT za osnovne šole. 1959. *Objave*, posebna izdaja.

Predmetnik in UČNI NAČRT za VI., VII. in VIII. razred osnovne šole v LR Sloveniji. 1960. *Objave*, XI (4).

Predmetnik in UČNI NAČRT za osnovne šole. 1962. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Predmetnik in UČNI NAČRT za višje razrede gimnazij. 1962. *Objave*, XIII (4).

Gimnazija – Gradivo za sestavo predmetnika in UČNEGA NAČRTA. 1964. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Predmetnik in UČNI NAČRT za osnovno šolo. 1966. *Objave*, XVII (2, 3, 4, 5).

Osnovna šola. Vsebina vzgojno izobraževalnega dela (UČNI NAČRT). 1973. Ljubljana: Zavod za šolstvo SRS.

Osnove UČNIH NAČRTOV. Splošno izobraževalni predmeti v tehniških in drugih šolah za gospodarstvo, za družbene službe in za državno upravo. 1973. Ljubljana: Zavod za šolstvo SR Slovenije.

Gimnazija. Predmetnik in UČNI NAČRT. 1975. Ljubljana: Zavod za šolstvo SR Slovenije.

Družboslovno–jezikovni vzgojnoizobraževalni program v srednjem izobraževanju. 1980. Ljubljana: Zavod SR Slovenije za šolstvo.

Predmetnik in UČNI NAČRT za osnovne šole. 1983. Ljubljana: Zavod RS za šolstvo in šport.

Gimnazija. UČNI NAČRTI za tuje jezike. 1992. Ljubljana: Zavod RS za šolstvo in šport.

Ministrstvo za šolstvo in sport. 1995. *Bela knjiga o vzgoji in izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji.* [White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia]. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport.

Program osnovnošolskega izobraževanja. UČNI NAČRT: Angleščina. 1998. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport, Zavod RS za šolstvo.

Program srednješolskega izobraževanja. Gimnazija. UČNI NAČRT: Angleščina. 1998. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport, Zavod RS za šolstvo.

Program osnovna šola. UČNI NAČRT: Angleščina. 2011. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport, Zavod RS za šolstvo. http://www.mizs.gov.si/fileadmin/mizs.gov.si/pageuploads/podrocje/os/prenovljeni_UN/UN_anglescina.pdf (accessed: 29/9/2013)

UČNI NAČRT Gimnazija (splošna, klasična, strokovna): Angleščina. 2008. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport, Zavod RS za šolstvo. http://portal.mss.edus.si/msswww/programi2011/programi/media/pdf/un_gimnazija/un_anglescina_gimn.pdf (accessed: 29/9/2013)

UČNI NAČRT Gimnazija (splošna, klasična, strokovna): Angleščina. 2008. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport, Zavod RS za šolstvo.

Katalog učbenikov za osnovno šolo za šolsko leto 2013/14. Ljubljana: Zavod RS za šolstvo. https://soca1.mss.edus.si/Trubar/Javno/default.aspx (accessed: 29/9/2013)

IV.

TRANSLATION STUDIES

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.127-137

Lara Burazer
University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Arts, Department of English

Examining the Differences in Assessing Quality of Translations and Acceptability of Texts

Summary

The main focus of modern Translation Studies seems to be the ever changing challenges of successful cross–cultural communication. With globalisation of society, limitations in mutual understanding are surfacing, which are usually followed by the communicator's failure to meet the other party's expectations. Such expectations are not only linguistically, but culturally embedded and might prove difficult to grasp for those who are not closely connected to the particular culture. Mastering linguistic abilities is an inevitable requirement and represents an important aspect of cross–cultural communication, but achieving a high level of acceptability of (translated) texts proves to be just as important, while not always directly related to the traditional linguistic aspects of the text. It requires meeting the expectations of the target audience which exceed the scope of grammar and vocabulary. Prior cultural and discoursal experience with relevant texts proves to play an important role in producing translations which meet the target audience's expectations in terms of linguistic, but more importantly in terms of discoursal characteristics.

Key words: expectations, quality of translation, text acceptability, assessment

Preverjanje razlik med ocenjevanjem kakovosti prevodov in sprejemljivosti besedil.

Povzetek

Moderno prevodoslovje se v sodobnih raziskavah osredotoča predvsem na izzive medkulturnega sporočanja, ki pa se nenehno spreminjajo. Z globalizacijo družbe postajajo vedno bolj očitne omejitve v medosebnem sporočanju, katerih posledica je običajno neuspeh pri izpolnjevanju pričakovanj sogovornikov. Ta pričakovanja niso le jezikovno, pač pa tudi kulturno ugnezdena in se pogosto izkažejo za trd oreh predvsem za tiste, ki niso tesno povezani z dotično kulturo. Razvijanje (tuje)jezikovnih zmožnosti na ravni slovnice in besedišča je nepogrešljivo in predstavlja pomemben vidik medkulturnega sporočanja, toda doseganje visoke stopnje sprejemljivosti na ravni besedila, predvsem prevedenega besedila, se je izkazalo za vsaj enako pomemben dejavnik, čeprav gre za besedilno značilnost, ki ni nujno povezana s tradicionalnimi jezikovnimi vidiki besedila. Doseganje visoke stopnje sprejemljivosti besedila zahteva izpolnitev pričakovanj ciljnega občinstva na ravneh, ki presegajo slovnično in besedno raven. Raziskave so pokazale, da predhodne izkušnje z dotično kulturo in dotičnim besedilnim žanrom pomembno vplivajo na doseganje višje ravni sprejemljivosti prevodov, ki izpolnjujejo pričakovanja ciljnega občinstva na slovnični, predvsem pa na diskurzni ravni.

Ključne besede: pričakovanja, kakovost prevoda, sprejemljivost besedila, preverjanje

Examining the Differences in Assessing Quality of Translations and Acceptability of Texts

1. Introduction

Experience with translation texts has shown that there is an important difference in assessing translation quality as opposed to text acceptability. In order to delineate between the two terms – *quality* of translation and *acceptability* of text – we need to look into various levels and aspects of text processing and emphasise the important differences between them. While the two terms might overlap at certain levels or in certain aspects, they should not be confused or treated as 'interchangeable'.

The following paper is based on a study conducted at the Department of Translation (cf. Burazer 2011). It focuses on identifying the differences between assessing translation quality and assessing text acceptability by examining the different aspects of text processing. It starts by delineating between two sets of assessment criteria, one for assessing quality of translation and the other for assessing acceptability of texts, then it focuses on the differences in the prospective target audience, and it concludes by discussing the target audience expectations.

2. The differences in assessing quality of translation and acceptability of texts

When assessing quality of texts in general, the assessors have to focus on specific textual features or standards which have been determined in advance, prior to the task of assessing. The assessors are usually experts within the particular linguistic community; these could be either linguists or language teachers or other language professionals. The textual aspect we traditionally focus on in assessing quality of texts are usually along the lines of grammatical accuracy, appropriateness of vocabulary choices, phraseology, tense use, and similar micro–level linguistic aspects.

When assessing the quality of translation, the assessors are usually translation experts or translation studies teachers who are measuring the quality of the target text (TT) against the quality of the source text (ST). In order to perform such a task well, the assessors need to have mastered both languages – the ST and the TT. They need to be familiar with the languages' specific characteristics at various levels, their standards and the expectations outlined by the specific language communities pertaining to the text type in question. Quality of translation would then be assessed by close comparison of the TT with the ST, on examining the translator's accuracy of translation choices at word and phrase level, examining the tense structure in both texts, and so forth.

Assessing acceptability of texts, on the other hand, is an entirely different process. It requires the involvement of the target audience, who need not be linguistics or any other language experts, nor do they need to be translation studies experts. They need to belong to the particular discourse community of the target text. It is the actual readers and users of the target texts that will determine, according to their own criteria, whether the task of translation or TT production has been carried out successfully, whether the writer/translator of the text has done a good job in meeting the target audience's expectations.

This would require examining the standards proposed by the expert community against those employed by the target audience. It would require a direct involvement of the target audience in TT assessment by asking them about their opinions on acceptability of the TT at various levels and finding out their preferences. In order to do that, an experimental scientific project has been designed and carried out (cf. Burazer 2011), the results of which have pointed us in a somewhat unexpected direction.

2.1 The assessment criteria

The first important difference in assessing quality of translation and acceptability of texts is the assessment criteria. Assessing a text simply as a text and not as a translation requires an approach where assessors should be able to disregard the original text and not try to imagine or guess what the original structures would have been, but simply read the text as the target audience would read it – not as a translation but simply as a text. This differs considerably from assessing a text as a translation where close comparison with the ST is inevitable and required. It is therefore imperative that the selected assessors grade the (translated) texts on the basis of the proposed criteria of *text clarity, stylistic acceptability, acceptability of vocabulary, acceptability of grammar* (cf. Burazer 2011), with a strong emphasis on *acceptability*, not *accuracy.* The assessment criteria should be designed in such a way as to clearly focus on grading a text as a whole, on text level, and not on the level of specific structures or vocabulary.

2.1.1 The choice of assessors

Another level of approaching the task of assessing texts deals with the choice of assessors. In assessing texts in general, the assessors should be people who would in reality read these texts. It is their opinion that really matters, it is their expectations that really have to be met. On the other hand, assessing a translation as a target text would require a group of experts in the field of Translation Studies, for instance, to apply the previously agreed upon criteria and/or standards to the translated texts and see whether the expectations of the expert community have been met, whether the pre–set and pre–agreed upon standards have been observed. These two processes are entirely different, they require completely different skills to be applied and they also aim at achieving quite different goals.

We therefore first chose a text for translation from the field of law. There are several reasons for the choice of a legal text, such as: legal texts can be broken down into smaller manageable pieces, which aided in the practical aspects of the experiment; students are generally not too familiar with legal texts, they usually find them difficult; legal texts have certain distinctive features which are easily noted; legal texts are part of people's reality regardless of their professional environment.

Then we chose a group of assessors that consisted of Translation Studies experts such as teachers/professors from the Department of Translation (Faculty of Arts), linguistics professors at university level, professional translators specializing in legal texts, and legal experts working as lawyers, prosecutors and judges (12 assessors altogether). They were all asked to assess the texts independently of the ST. They were not given the ST, even though some of them were extremely frustrated by having to assess a translated text as a text, and not as a translation. The TS experts and professional translators were expected to provide feedback on which translation strategies were observed to produce a text that does not 'sound like a translation', but rather one that functions as an independent text. The linguistics experts were supposed to primarily focus on micro–level textual characteristics and assess the use of grammar and vocabulary, while the legal experts were anticipated to be the actual target readers of such legal texts and were thus expected to provide feedback in terms of the texts' purpose, clarity and effectiveness.

2.1.2 The target audience expectations

Expectations in general have been extensively discussed by authors from various fields of study, ranging from linguistics (Yngve 1996) and discourse analysis (DA) (Brown and Yule 1983; Cumming and Ono 1997; de Beaugrande 1996) to translation studies (TS) (Gutt 1991) and cognitive science (Minsky 1974; Wilks 1973). Linguistic processing is heavily dependent on *previous experience* through which expectations are formed. Subsequent experience with texts either consolidates the expectations or not. If consolidated, they might turn into norms, otherwise new expectations are formed.

The expectations of the linguists and TS experts might differ considerably from those of the actual target audience, regardless of the grammar rules, semantic restrictions, translation conventions, and the like, based on the differences in their respective contexts, backgrounds, focus in text processing and goals.

2.1.2.1 Linguistics

Yngve's Human Linguistics theory introduces the so–called expectation procedures, which are mechanisms functioning within an individual as a system. They are formed within the system on the basis of experience with various communicating events and stored in the individual's memory. They are then triggered at the time of communicating and produce the sense of familiarity with the communicating event based on previous experience with similar communicating events. The communicating individual can thus make sense of the communicated substance, provided that the relevant expectation procedures have been triggered and that their expectations have been met.

2.1.2.2 Discourse analysis

Within the framework of DA, the emphasis is placed on *texts* and *processes* related to previous experience with texts, which is the common denominator of several theories within DA. Here are a few examples of DA theories dealing with target audience expectations.

Sperber and Wilson (1997) in their *relevance theory* presuppose the factor of *relevance to the receiver* of the communication. The target audience selects the relevant message out of a myriad of possible interpretations. We are talking about the so–called "mini–max" or "cost–benefit" strategy, where the communication principle is: *the less energy needed to process a communication with the most benefit the better*. This shifts the attention from the author of the text to its audience and their expectations.

Cumming and Ono's (1997) theory discusses the importance of the so–called *text frequency* and its role in forming expectations about text characteristics. This coincides with the definition of the notion of text acceptability, since the expectations about what texts of a particular genre should be like are formed on the basis of existing texts, not on the basis of linguistic theories authored by linguistics or any other theoreticians. The first approach is pragmatic and based on the discourse community's preferences – the latter would be prescriptive and based on theoretic concepts and preferences of those who might not be directly involved in the particular discourse community at all.

Brown and Yule (1983) introduce the term *local text interpretation,* relating to the analogy principle which presupposes text processing in compliance with previous experience with the genre. This is the so–called prototypisation of the world where our perception needs to comply with some sort of stereotype in order to be interpreted. In other words, the prototypes and the stereotypes are representations of the expectations of the audience.

Van Dijk's (1977) *assumed normality of the world* proposes that in the process of communication, people seek regularities and patterns we as a community share with the other members. Therefore we form expectations within the communicative process and expect them to be met as well as seek to meet other participants' expectations in the communicative process.

De Beaugrande (1996) touches upon expectations within a discourse community by discussing the so–called process of *self–organization of context*, where in the process of communication all possible meanings are triggered, but the context automatically deactivates the irrelevant ones on the basis of close connections between language and general knowledge of the world which trigger expectations in reference to a particular context.

2.1.2.3 Translation studies (TS)

Within the framework of TS, the emphasis has been placed on the translator's specific roles of *reader* and *writer*. When performing the role of the reader, the emphasis is on the importance of *text processing*; on the basis of previous experiences with texts, specifically texts of the particular genre, the translator as reader has certain expectations about the text at hand which in the process of reading the text are either met or not.

Further on, in the role of the writer of the target text, the translator's emphasis is placed on target audience expectations as mechanisms influencing the choice of translation strategies based on experience with texts. At this stage of the translation process, the translator is trying to estimate the expectations of the actual readers of the TT and mould the translation in a way that would be most likely to meet the target audience's expectations.

Gutt (1991), for instance, focuses on how *people share thoughts* with one another. He emphasises the importance of target readers and their expectations, because getting the message across, which is the ultimate goal of any communication, involves knowing your audience, their expectations, having experience with the audience and being willing to meet their expectations.

2.1.2.4 Cognitive science

Expectations based on previous experience with similar situations or events found their way into cognitive science a few decades ago. Back in the 1970s, Minsky (1974) and Wilks (1973) introduced the terms *frames* and *terminals*, respectively. They argued that what makes a written communication successful is the reader's expectation of structure within a story, as well as their expectation of coherence. People have an inherent urge to make sense of the text that is being communicated to them, which is why they manage to make sense of most texts.

Roughly a decade later, Kintsch (1988) discusses *priming in memory* as a way of accounting for successful communication. In the process of communication, there is only one language variant that is primed, not the whole linguistic system; therefore on the basis of expectations within the particualr language variant, the possibilities of achieving success in communicating process are raised.

3. Testing the hypotheses of the role of the preceding experience in achieving a higher level of acceptability in texts

In accordance with the theoretical background presented in the previous chapter, there are several questions that might arise in reference to the extent of the previous experience with texts of a particular genre and its influence on the quality of (translated) texts. Therefore several hypotheses were formed which were tested in a study conducted at the University of Ljubljana (cf. Burazer 2011).

The first hypothesis was formed in reference to how the reader processes the text and which textual features the reader might be more inclined to remember after having read the text, depending on his/her immediately preceding activities. The supposition was that upon reading a text, the reader remembers certain micro level text characteristics (e.g., lexico–grammatical features, collocations, prepositional phrases) and macro level (e.g., informativity, register, terminology, impersonal/ passive structures), depending on the immediately preceding context. If the reader of the ST was exposed to predominantly micro–level context, s/he would focus more on the micro–level features of the ST. S/He would therefore have the familiar micro–level features primed in memory and would consequently be more likely to apply these in the production of the TT.

The second hypothesis was formed in reference to who would then actually produce a better text in terms of its acceptability. We anticipated that the translators who were previously exposed to the content relating to macro–level text processing would produce translation texts graded better on the level of acceptability by the target audience.

3.1 Drawing a demarcation line between micro and macro level textual features

An important task that had to be carried out in the project design stages was also drawing a demarcation line between micro and macro features of the text which the chosen assessors would be able to measure the selected texts against. Of course, we only selected a set of criteria; the assessors would give their own opinions of the acceptability in reference to the pre–chosen criteria based on their own knowledge of linguistics and their own experience with texts.

Drawing a clear demarcation line between micro and macro textual features proved to be a difficult task. Linguistic features are not really independent language pieces functioning either on their own or on the text level. Most of the linguistic features function only in reference to other parts of text. Grammatically they might represent a separate unit that can be studied – to an extent – on its own, but when digging deeper into that feature, one will discover a tight relation to other parts of the text and co–dependent relationships between different linguistic features within the same text as well as on the level of inter–textuality.

We therefore decided to compromise and nevertheless draw a line between micro and macro textual features, bearing in mind that there are no clear cut categories. The group of micro textual features contained cases of the use of specific grammatical structures, prepositional collocations and other mostly grammatical characteristics. The group of macro textual features was defined as a group dealing with linguistic features functioning above sentence level, on the level of the whole text, such as specific (in this case 'legal') terminology, grammatical voice (which is a specific feature of legal texts), sentence length (long in this case), repetition of vocabulary items or structures and similar.

In the process of determining the two groups, we realized that one of the main difficulties of the task was involving subjectivity of the assessors which cannot be switched off at any point. Assessors are only human and linguistic or translation accuracy are elusive categories which cannot be clearly determined since people's language experience differs a great deal and each individual develops their own linguistic patterns and preferences. Which also raises the question of objectivity of assessments, regardless of the fact that we have predetermined the assessment criteria, the categories, as well as provided rough descriptions of the expected evaluations.

So, it is not only the assessors that are a subjective factor in this process; it is also the criteria, the categories, and most of all the very notions of 'acceptability' and 'quality'.

3.2 The experiment

In order to test the first hypothesis, we designed an experiment where we tested 4 groups of students (39 altogether) in a task of translation of a short legal text. Two of them were control groups; one consisted of students from the Department of Translation, mostly 4th year students with at least 3 years of translation experience/practise within the Department, and at least some experience with translation of legal texts; the other consisted of law students from all 4 years of study, with no or extremely limited previous experience with translation. The other two groups were experimental. Prior to the translation task, one of the experimental groups was subjected to a treatment with micro–level textual content (the 'micro group'), the other was subjected to treatment with macro–level textual features (the 'macro group'). The 'micro' treatment consisted of several exercises designed specifically for the purpose of focusing on micro–level textual features, such as searching for the correct preposition in prepositional phrases, or checking accuracy of collocations (legal vocabulary). The macro–group treatment exercises were designed to focus specifically on macro level textual features, such as determining and verifying specific discoursal features of legal texts, comparing legal excerpts on discourse level (cf. also Burazer 2011).

The translation task which followed involved translation of a short legal test (3 short paragraphs, approximately 120 words). The time limit was 60 minutes. The task was carried out in a supervised formal academic environment, and the students were allowed to use any resources except for the internet or computer (such as word processors, grammar and spell checkers, and the like).

The anticipation was that the 'micro group' would remember the micro, while the 'macro group' would remember the macro features and that the students would apply the features that were primed in their memories during the production of the TT. The students' focus on the micro or macro features would lead to achieving a better text on the level of linguistic or discoursal features, respectively.

In reference to the two control groups, we anticipated that the 'legal control group' would remember the macro, while the 'translation control group' would remember the micro features, since the law students are supposed to deal with legal texts on the level of their functionality, efficiency and meaning, while the translation students were supposed to deal with texts not only but mostly on lexico–grammatical linguistic level. To prove this point, we asked the tested students to write down the text related features that they remembered right after having finished the translation task.

In order to test the second hypothesis, we had to carefully select a group of assessors who would grade the translations in terms of their linguistic as well as text level acceptability. For the task we chose a number of professionals from the fields of linguistics, TS and the law. We asked them to grade the translations as texts, not as translations and decide which of them was the best and which was the worst in terms of the proposed assessment criteria of *text clarity, stylistic acceptability, acceptability of vocabulary, acceptability of grammar.* The texts were graded on a grading scale from 1 to 10, where 1 was the least acceptable and 10 was the most acceptable.

We anticipated that the assessors would select a text from either the macro or the legal group as the most acceptable, since the two groups were supposed to process texts predominantly on textual or discourse level.

3.3 Results of the experiment

Generally speaking, research results largely confirmed the theses. In reference to the first thesis, the students from the micro group and the translation control group mostly described micro textual features in the questionnaire, such as individual words, prepositional phrases, collocations, while the students from the macro and the legal groups mostly described macro textual features, such as listing overall terminology or even summarizing the whole text.

At the same time, all groups very closely followed the structures employed in the source text, which would fall into the category of macro textual features. Slight deviations were found in the control groups in which the students used less repetition (a macro textual feature) and focused more on informativity than on accuracy. The latter observation supports our thesis that the readers who are exposed to processing texts on discourse rather than grammatical level will indeed focus more on these levels in text production or translation and apply the discourse textual features, which would result in higher level of acceptability of the translated text.

Based on the questionnaire for the selected assessors, the most acceptable translation/text was deemed a translation from the 'macro group'. It was best rated in 3 out of 4 categories: *stylistic acceptability, acceptability of vocabulary and acceptability of grammar*. Overall it was also rated best.

Rated worst was a translation from the 'legal group', which was a surprise and not in line with our anticipations. Possible explanations for this surprising outcome can be found in various aspects of the experiment. One such explanation might be the fact that the tested subjects were chosen randomly, which means that we could have selected one extremely weak student. Another explanation might be that the student did poorly only in one of the aspects of the text, such as impersonality of structure or terminology, which consequently triggered the negative response of the target readers.

Nevertheless, closely following the 'worst' legal translation was a translation from the 'micro group', which supports our thesis that the readers whose attention had been drawn to the micro textual features prior to the task of text production would have the micro features primed in memory during the task, which would result in their focusing largely on the micro textual features in the process of text production. Focusing mainly on the micro textual features and neglecting the macro discoursal features in most cases generates the overall impression that on some level the text is lacking in acceptability to the target audience.

4. Discussion

In tying the results of the experiment to the theoretical background of the research, we can say that there is indeed evidence that expectations of the target audience are a relevant factor in the process of making translation choices and can be anticipated by the translator based on the relevant experience with texts, which results in a higher level of acceptability of translations.

The selected theories within the field of DA focusing on target reader expectations propose emphasis on processes related to previous experience with texts of a particular genre. By focusing on the genre characteristics in text production and following genre conventions, we make the text relevant to the target audience (cf. Sperber and Wilson 1997). The so–called "cost–benefit" strategy is applied, which serves the audience in terms of investing as little energy as possible in text processing. The macro and the legal control groups were supposed to focus more on these text characteristics, which they did. The translations from these two groups showed more freedom in translation choices; they showed more variety in translation solutions. The students seemed not to be limited by the linguistic or grammatical restrictions, or even limitations of dictionary solutions. They would provide solutions which conveyed the relevant message at the cost of micro–textual level accuracy. This rendered the text more acceptable, but possibly lowered the level of the quality of translation.

The notion of the importance of 'text frequency' (cf. Cumming and Ono 1997) is also related to the formation of expectations of the target audience. People who read a number of texts of a particular genre intuitively perceive the relevant textual conventions of the genre and thus play an important role in determining pragmatically which texts are acceptable on discourse level. Within a discourse community, 'people share thoughts with one another' (cf. Gutt 1991), which makes it easier to recognize and meet each other's expectations. The legal expert assessors and the law students tested had an advantage in this sense, because, as members of the discourse community, they were expected to be familiar with the discourse features and conventions of the legal genre. The TS students were supposed to be slightly handicapped in this aspect, but on the other hand they were expected to be better equipped in terms of translation strategies and linguistic skills in acquiring the genre conventions. However, the results of the experiment show that the legal students did slightly worse than the translation students. The translation from the macro–group (by a translation student) was rated best even by the legal expert assessors.

The pre–treatment in the micro and the macro groups proved to have had an important impact on text processing of the tested students. The micro–linguistic features seem to have been primed in memory (cf. Kintsch 1988) in the case of the students from the micro–group, while the focus on the macro features was more evident in the macro–group. This is shown in the students' questionnaire where the micro–group mostly listed micro–textual features, while the macro and the control groups either listed terminology or produced whole summaries, which proves that their text processing was taking place on discourse level, not on micro–linguistic level.

In order to be able to produce any kind of translation, the translator as reader of the ST needs to first be able to make sense of it. The reader's expectations of text structure and coherence need to be met (cf. *frames* in Minsky 1974 and *terminals* in Wilks 1973). The law students and the translation students control groups both showed evidence of processing the text on discourse level since they displayed a certain level of flexibility in terms of making daring choices. They felt comfortable making changes to the ST, they were not reluctant to change certain vocabulary items for their synonyms or even hypernyms. Because they were able to extract the message of the text, they felt they should make it as easy as possible for the target reader to process (cf. *the relevance theory*, Sperber and Wilson 1997), even if it meant making a few unjustified changes to the ST. This proves that their focus was indeed on the macro level, on the text effectiveness, not on individual vocabulary items or grammatical structures, which are micro level features.

5. Conclusion

Assessing acceptability of texts is an important task especially in the process of educating translator trainees. It is imperative that we do not confuse acceptability of texts with the quality of translation, since the latter focuses on the aspects of accuracy and faithfulness between the ST and the TT, while the former emphasizes the link between the textual features displayed in similar texts of the same genre and the ones displayed in the translation text, which is no longer viewed by the target audience as translation, but simply as text.

The results of the research have shown that register and genre appropriateness are the main textual features which trigger the response of text appropriateness, regardless of the grammatical accuracy, accuracy of translation choices, collocational structures, and other aspects. These findings point in the direction of the importance of studying and recognizing discoursal text characteristics, rather than mostly focusing on lexico–grammatical micro–level textual features if we wish to achieve a higher level of acceptability in the response of the target audience to translated texts.

Such goals can be reached by placing more emphasis on corpus work and less on glossary or dictionary approaches in teaching. Another proposed solution is raising awareness of the importance of each translation choice, because the research results have shown that even if the translation is generally good, one unfortunate choice of words or of structure that violates the genre conventions could result in a general impression of low level of acceptability. Working at the global level and emphasising discoursal text features as opposed to solving lexico–grammatical tasks will help develop skills that will ensure better acceptability of (translated) texts.

We have also established that the notion of expectations is not a new formulation within a linguistic or Translation Studies discourse, nor is it restricted to purely psychological, cognitive or sociological notions of human behaviour. Expectations are becoming an inevitable area of investigation within the framework of studying human linguistic behaviour, part of which is represented by the process of translation.

As target text writers, translators carry the great burden of being responsible for revealing communication clues to target audiences and other societal groups. They should therefore be able to anticipate their target audience's expectations and do their best to meet them by making the right decisions in terms of selecting and properly employing appropriate and acceptable textual features that which make the text appropriate and acceptable on the textual level as a whole – that is, that do not merely correspond to the ST vocabulary and structures on the micro, sentential level of text processing. This way they help in the process of development and interconnectedness at the level of cross–cultural communication, as well as at the level of making the discourse knowledge available and acceptable to its target audience.

Bibliography

de Beaugrande, R.A. 1996. The Story of Discourse Analysis. *In Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, ed. T. van Dijk, 35–62. London: Sage.

Brown, G., and G. Yule. 1983. *Discourse Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burazer, L. 2011. Zaznava in upoštevanje besedilnih značilnosti ob prevajanju ter njihov vpliv na sprejemljivost prevoda. Ph.D. diss. University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of translation.

Cumming, S., and T. Ono. 1997. The Study of Discourse. In *Discourse as Structure and Process*, ed. T. Van Dijk, 1–34. London: Sage.

Gutt, E.A. 1991. *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Kintsch, W. 1988. The Role of Knowledge in Discourse Comprehension: A Construction – Integration Model. *Psychological Review* 95/2: 163–82.

Minsky, M. 1974. *A Framework for Representing Knowledge.* MIT–AI Laboratory Memo 306, June 1974.

Sperber, D., and D. Wilson. 1997. Remarks on Relevance Theory and the Social Sciences. *Multilingua* 16: 145–52.

Van Dijk, T. 1977. *Text and Context.* London: Longman.

Wilks, Y. 1973. *Preference Semantics.* Stanford Artificial Intelligence Laboratory Memo AIM–206, Stanford University.

Yngve, V.H. 1996. *From Grammar to Science – New Foundations for General Linguistics.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.139-147

ELOPE

Danica Čerče
University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Economics, Slovenia

Shaping Images of Australia through Translation: Doris Pilkington and Sally Morgan in Slovene Translation

Summary

By examining the Slovene translations of the novels *My Place* and *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* by the Australian indigenous authors Sally Morgan and Doris Pilkington, this article seeks to highlight how they contribute to the bridging of the gap between the two cultures. In particular, and in accord with Gideon Toury's 1995 proposal to analyse a translation in terms of its "'adequacy' in relation to the source text, and its 'acceptability' to the target audience," it aims to establish whether the translators achieved a balance between domestication and foreignisation translation strategies, and how they transposed particular narrative styles and cultural signifiers of Aboriginal writing from the source to the target texts (Limon 2003, 640).

Key words: Australian indigenous literature, Sally Morgan, Doris Pilkington, *My Place, Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence*, source texts, Slovene translation, appropriateness of translation

Oblikovanje podob o Avstraliji v prevodnih besedilih: Doris Pilkington in Sally Moran v slovenskem prevodu

Povzetek

Pričujoča razprava se ukvarja z analizo slovenskih prevodov romanov *My Place* in *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* avstralskih staroselskih pisateljic Sally Morgan in Doris Pilkington in poskuša ugotoviti, v kolikšni meri prevoda prispevata k zbližanju obeh kultur. Opirajoč se na kritiško mnenje Gideona Touryja, da je prevode potrebno ocenjevati z gledišča njihove "ustreznosti originalu in sprejemljivosti za ciljno publiko," avtorica raziskuje, kako je prevajalkama omenjenih del uspelo ustvariti pravilno razmerje med udomačitveno in potujitveno prevajalsko strategijo, in kako sta v ciljno besedilo prenesli posamezne pripovedne načine in kulturne posebnosti aboriginskega pisanja (Limon 2003, 640).

Ključne besede: avstralska staroselska književnost, Sally Morgan, Doris Pilkington, *My Place*, *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence*, izhodiščno besedilo, slovenski prevod, ustreznost prevoda

Shaping Images of Australia through Translation: Doris Pilkington and Sally Morgan in Slovene Translation

1. Introduction

Since the late 1970's, Australia has witnessed an upsurge in all fields of indigenous creative expression. Consequently, and as statistical evaluations of bibliographies have shown, the worldwide appeal and the number of translations of Australian indigenous literature have also increased significantly. The most prolific and the largest market for this literature in translation has been continental Europe, with roughly ninety translations published so far (Haag 2009). The first translated Aboriginal book on the European market was the Polish edition of Kath Walker's *Stradbroke Dreamtime* in 1977. Around the same time (in 1978), Mladinska knjiga published *V sanjskem času: bajanja in verovanja avstralskih rjavih ljudstev*, a book of stories based on Aboriginal oral tradition collected and translated by Dušan Ogrizek. It was not until 2003 that, by means of a series of cultural events organised in Ljubljana and dubbed 'Australian Spring,' Slovene readers became acquainted with contemporary Aboriginal literature. The festival saw the publication of two collections: *Vesolje okrog kuščarja* (translated and collected by Bert Pribac and David Brooks), an overview of contemporary Australian poetry that includes works by two indigenous authors, Oodgeroo Nunuccal and Lionel G. Fogarty, and *Konec sanjske dobe* (translated and collected by Bert Pribac), a small anthology of verse by indigenous authors Oodgeroo Noonuccal, Jack Davis, Kevin Gilbert, Lionel G. Fogarty, Herb Wharton, Mudrooroo Narrogin, Bobbi Sykes, Lisa Bellear, and some others.

In the ensuing years, indigenous peoples' issues have received increasing media attention, and other books have found their way to the desks of Slovene translators and publishers. First came the anthology of short narrative prose *Kenguru na plaži* (translated by Katarina Mahnič and published by Založba Miš in 2007).[1] This was followed by Sally Morgan's autobiography *My Place*, translated by Tamara Bosnič under the title *V objem korenin* (Založba Miš, 2007), and Doris Pilkington's *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence*, published as *Zajčja ograja* in Andreja Blažic-Klemenc's Slovene version (Založba Eno, 2008). In the same year, and only one year after its first publication in Sweden, Sanje published the Slovene translation of *Terra nullius: A Journey through no one's land*, by literary historian Sven Linquist.[2] Most recently, Založba Miš published *Love Like Water* (*Ljubezen kot voda*, 2009), a novel on Aboriginal themes by the Australian writer Meme McDonald. These successive publications are evidence of an important opening of Slovene cultural space to works by indigenous Australian authors or other authors dealing with multicultural coexistence in Australia.

An issue worth considering is the adaptation of these works in Slovene culture. By 'adaptation' I mean, following Aldo Di Luzio, Susanne Guenthner and Franca Orletti, the "translation of culture which aims at making the experience of other peoples understandable" to target readers (Mazi-Leskovar 2009, 58). Particularly in cases when readers are exposed to a remote culture – and Aboriginal cultural space, with its distinctive language and heritage undoubtedly constitutes a cultural specificity for non-Australian readers – closeness to the source text, which is demanded by theorists of equivalence, does not guarantee a translation that will be well received by the target

[1] It includes one story by an indigenous writer, Archie Weller's "The Fish." The rest of the book is devoted to stories by Australian authors Tom Winton, Peter Carey, David Malouf, Frank Moorhouse, Kenneth Cook, and others.

[2] The Slovene version of this "sobering chronicle of the attempted genocide in the 19th century Australia" is entitled *Terra nullius: Potovanje po nikogaršnji zemlji*.

audience. Most critics agree that translators have to aim for a balance between comprehensibility and foreignness (Anderman and Rogers 2003). When evaluating a translation, it is thus of particular importance to establish whether it is a faithful transference of the source text and at the same time communicatively acceptable for the contemporary target readers. In light of these questions, I aim to analyse how particular writing styles and cultural signifiers of the Aboriginal originals (such as oral and colloquial expressions and words in Aboriginal English) have been transferred from the source to the target texts, and to examine the different strategies employed to bring Aboriginal writing to a Slovene readership. In particular, this discussion will focus on the domestication and foreignisation strategies in Slovene translations of Sally Morgan's *My Place* and Doris Pilkington's *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* (in later publications entitled *Rabbit-Proof Fence*), thereby demonstrating how successfully these translations narrow the gap between the culture of the source text and that of the target audience.

2. *My Place*

An immediately noticeable difference between the Slovene translation of Sally Morgan's autobiography and the original publication by Fremantle Arts Centre Press in 1987 is its tripartite division. Like Morgan's *My Place for Young Readers* (1990), an abridged version of the original text, and unlike the source text, the Slovene version consists of three separate books, subtitled *Sallyina zgodba* (Sally's Story), *Zgodba Arturja Corunne* (Arthur Corunna's Story), and *Mati in hči* (Mother and Daughter).[3] The translation of the title itself, from *My Place* into *V objem korenin*, also deserves some attention. Whereas in some other European publications the title is a word-for-word translation (in the Czech translation, the title is *Sem patřím*, in Dutch *Mijn Plek*) or a slight alteration of the latter (the Italian edition is entitled *La mia Australia*), Tamara Bosnič took the liberty of translating it with a poetic noun phrase meaning 'to the embrace of the roots.'[4]

Judging by the title, it would be reasonable to assume that the entire text is translated with sophistication and poetic finesse. However, this is hardly the case with Bosnič regularly manipulating the stylistic patterns and register of the source text. Rather than finding a style that would achieve the same effect as the original, Bosnič did not hesitate to occasionally simplify sentences by omitting various words (very often adjectives) or by reformulating long sentences into shorter and easier ones, as if her target audience were young readers. The translator's tendency to simplification is well-noticed in the translation of the following sentence:

> "Mum," I complained as I tried to fight my way through the buckets to the toilet, "you won't need all these flowers, and what on earth are these for?" I called as I spied a huge carton of plastic roses. (131)

The Slovene translation renders this as:

> "Mama," sem se razburjala, ko sem se poskušala prebiti do stranišča, "saj ne bomo potrebovali

3 The source text is a single entity, consisting of thirty-two chapters, each of them numbered and bearing a title. The titles, "Arthur Corunna's Story," "Gladys Corunna Story," and "Daisy Corunna's Story," introduce the three narratives incorporated within chapters twenty six, thirty, and thirty-two, respectively.

4 Bosnič did not translate the author's introductory dedication, from which Morgan took the book's title; nor did she translate the contents page that lists all the chapters. Contrariwise, the Slovene version opens with a page-long overview of the author's personal and literary life, whereas the phrase in the title, 'v objem korenin,' closes a brief account on the back cover of the main protagonist's tracing of her family's ethnic background. The final sentence of this account reads: "*Odloči se slediti izročilu svojih prednikov in se vrniti v objem korenin*." (She [Sally] decides to follow the tradition of her ancestors and return to the embrace of the roots.)

vseh teh rož. Kaj pa te počnejo tukaj?" Kriknila sem, ko sem zagledala veliko škatlo rezanih vrtnic. (212)

which might be back-translated into English like this:

> "Mum," I complained as I tried to fight my way to the toilet, "we won't need all these flowers." What are these doing here?" When I saw a huge carton of cut roses, I shouted.

We can see that, in addition to providing some incorrect equivalents (*rezane vrtnice* for *plastic roses*, *kriknila sem* for *I called*) and omitting words, Bosnič split one long sentence into three short ones. Moreover, she was not adequately mindful of the word order – in the Slovene language, the word order is a very flexible grammatical category, often adjusted for emphasis or stylistic reasons – so the meaning of the translated passage is to some extent insufficient. In the next example, we can again perceive relevant differences in comparison with the source text. The paragraph is simplified to the extent that it reads as a kind of resume:

> This indulgence took the form of unlimited lollies and fruit, rather than new clothes, toys or books. She'd managed to take us all to the Royal Show the year before, and this year, she told us that, because of her new job, we would really do it *in style*. (68)

In Bosnič's translation it is rendered in the following way:

> Razvajanje pa je šlo predvsem v smeri neomejenega števila lizik in sadja; za novo obleko, igrače ali knjige ga je še vedno primanjkovalo. Leto prej nas je peljala na Kraljevsko predstavo, z več zasluženega denarja pa je to leto načrtovala ogled *na nivoju*. (107)

Translated back into English, this paragraph would read:

> This indulgence took the form of unlimited lollies and fruit mainly; for new clothes, toys or books it [money] was still insufficient. A year before, she took us to the Royal Show; with bigger earnings, this year she was planning to see the performance *in style*.

Given the three books' physical appearances, notable for their eye-catching covers, a rather large hardbound format and an appealing typeface, allowing for no more than twenty-nine lines per page, the publisher, too, seems to have been aiming at a young audience. Readers of this essay may also be intrigued by the fact that some Slovene book stores display the book in the youth and children's section.[5]

Bosnič did better in her role as a mediator or negotiator between the two cultures. She operated with an awareness of what was acceptable or alien to the target culture, but her presuppositions regarding Slovene readers' knowledge of the source text culture were not always correct. Only rarely did she find a literal translation insufficient for a certain culturally remote phenomenon or word and supplement it with an additional explanation or description. For example, she thoroughly explained the word *Vegemite* as a "traditional dark brown Australian food paste made from yeast

[5] Although it is not within the scope of this paper to analyse what Gerard Genette refers to as "peritexts," i.e., those textual elements of translated works that are not part of direct translations of the source texts, but have been shaped independently by the publishers, translators, and editors (like introductions, epilogues, and dust covers with cover illustrations and blurb), it should be noted in passing that, in the case of this Slovene publication in particular, these reflect romantic and exotic imaginings of Aboriginal culture (Haag 2009). Like publications in other European languages, Slovene publications of Aboriginal works provide evidence of how translators, editors, publishers, and advertisers tend to project false generalisations and stereotyped images in order to market the books.

extract and vegetable, which is usually consumed as a spread for toast […] or as a substitute for salt," but this is the only footnote in the first book (22). Occasionally, the translator used words with similar connotation in Slovene culture, such as *stave* for *TAB* (Australia's premier betting site), *vojni ujetniki* for *POW* (Prisoners of War) *transport*, *Loterija* for *Raffles*, *Društvo za zaščito živali* for *RCPCA* (Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals), etc., which contributes to the assimilation of the text into Slovene culture, whereas at other times she retained some expressions that have almost no communicative function for a Slovene readership, or are known only to informed readers (for example *Guy Fawkes night*, *Anzac Day*, *Frere Jacques*, *softball*, *Fahrenheit*, and the like), thus reinforcing the foreignising effect. Rather than providing explanations in footnotes, she compelled readers to investigate their meaning elsewhere, which only the most diligent readers will do. Nor was it appropriate to simply omit those culturally marked words that seem to have been too problematic (i.e., *Avon ladies*), because this, too, functions as a hindrance to the effective comprehension of the narrative and inhibits a real encounter between the two cultures. Similarly, and regardless of the prevailing tendency in her translation to retain geographical and personal names in their original forms, Bosnič either translated a few personal names (e.g., *Curly* into *Koder*, which is a literal translation), or chose words that are a kind of adaptation of those used in Slovene culture (*Ciril* for *Cyril*). The same logic must also have been at work behind the translator's decision to render the English word *OK* as *okej* instead of using one of several Slovene equivalents (*v redu*, *prav* or *dobro*).

Not only is the cultural repository contained in the original book somewhat problematic in a text addressing a Slovene readership; the source language, with its occasional departures from Standard English, also presents difficulties. David Limon is right to claim that the communicative acceptability of any translated text depends on both how the translator deals with the cultural and conceptual foreignness of the source text, and how he or she deals with the differences between two languages (641). Of prime importance here is for the translator to differentiate incidental differences between the two linguistic systems (e.g., word order) from the writer's conscious departures from conventional stylistic and lexico-grammatical norms, such as repetitions, colloquialisms, unusual order of sentence elements, etc. (ibid.). Given the differences between the linguistic systems of Slovene and English, establishing a similar mixture of formal and informal language as in the original is surely not an easy task. But this cannot be an excuse for almost neglecting this kind of stylistic marker, as is the case with Bosnič's translation. With a few exceptions, all of them lexical, Bosnič failed to reconstruct the occasional colloquial speech of the original. In the chapter Drinking Men, where the title itself alludes to the crudeness of diction, the translator tried to preserve the flavour of slang by occasionally using words other than those from the formal vocabulary – words such as *mularija* and *ženšče*, pejorative terms meaning *kids* and *woman* respectively, the informal expressions *fentati* and *žreti* for the verbs *to kill* and *eat* in the original text (*žreti* has a negative connotation, meaning 'to gobble,' most often associated with animals), the pejorative adjective *zarukani* for *stupid*, etc. Several other examples show that the translator paid scant regard to Aboriginal English diction because grammatically correct Slovene literary language is used:

> "Če ti bodo še kaj težili zaradi starega denarja, jim reci, da nič ne veš o tem. […] "Babica," sem se nasmehnila, "nikogar iz vlade ne bo, ki bi kaj takega počel." (153)

> "Ničesar ne veš," punca. "Me spet poskušaš prelisičiti, ne? Aah, ne morem ti zaupati. Nisem neumna, veš. Ničesar ne bom rekla. Ničesar, slišiš!" (169)

Translated back into English these passages might read like this:

> "If they pester you about the old money, tell them that you don't know anything about

> it." […] "Grandmother," I laughed, "there won't be anybody from the government to do something like this."
>
> "You don't know anything," girl. "Are you trying to deceive me again? Aah, I can't trust you. I'm not stupid, you know. I won't say anything. Anything, do you hear?"

The original text, however, reads as follows:

> "If they pester you about the old money, you just say you don't know nothin'. […] "Nan," I half laughed, "no one from the government is gunna come round and do that." (96)
>
> "You don't know nothin'," girl. […] "You're tryin' to trick me again. Aaah, you can't be trusted. I'm not stupid, you know. I'm not saying nothing. Nothing, do you hear." (105)

These examples show that the translator not only failed to reconstruct the deviations from conventional forms with a similar effect as the double negative and sound reductions in the source text, but also used formal vocabulary. For example, instead of translating the verb *to trick* with the expressive Slovene idiom 'potegniti za nos,' Bosnič chose a very formal equivalent, *prelisičiti.* When handling swearing, the translator preserved the slang flavour and the expressiveness of idioms. Rather than using English counterparts, she chose phrases and words that are more typical of Slovene, which adds to the domestication of the translation.

The translation of the Aboriginal English words *Blackfella* and *Boong* is also quite interesting. Bosnič translated both as *črnuh*, which is a very offensive Slovene word for a person belonging to a dark-skinned race. Her choice, implying cultural and ethical insensitivity, is a good example that domestication is, in Lawrence Venuti's definition, "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to the target cultural values" and thus not always in the interest of democratic geopolitical relations (Venuti 1995, 20). It also justifies Venuti's claim that "insofar as foreignizing translation seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation," it is highly desirable today (ibid.). Clearly, Slovene translators have not paid enough attention to the complexity of cross-cultural communication: Andreja Blazič-Klemenc, in her translation of Doris Pilkington's *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, entitled *Zajčja ograja*, also used the same ethically problematic and racially prejudiced word *črnuh* for *Blackfella* and *Boong.*[6]

3. *Rabbit-Proof Fence*

How does *Zajčja ograja* compare with the translation of *My Place*, when viewed from other perspectives? Beginning with the book's appearance, like other European translations of Australian indigenous literature, *Zajčja ograja* is visually very attractive, boasting careful design and fine quality paper. The chapter titles are richly adorned with typical Aboriginal ornamentation, similar to those on the delightful pictorial covers. The latter are a product of the European audience's "romantic, misinformed fabulations about Aborigines as a special kind of 'noble savage'" and are not a true reflection of Aboriginal realities (Wimmer 2009, 117).[7]

Unlike Tamara Bosnič, Andreja Blažič-Klemenc operated with the precision and know-how of a

[6] In stark contrast to the Slovene versions of *My Place* and *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, the German and Dutch editions (provided by Orlanda Frauenverlag and Eva Wolff respectively) did not translate the words *Blackfella* and *Boong* with racially prejudiced terminology, but used neutral expressions meaning 'black human'. Maurizio Bartocci, the Italian translator of *My Place*, left these words untranslated and provided the explanation in footnotes. On the other hand, Marina Rullo, the translator of *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, rendered these words into Italian as *muso nero* (meaning 'a very annoying black person'), which is again problematic as it tends to reinforce rather than counteract racism.

[7] As discussed by Oliver Haag among others, the romantic or exotic discourse mostly depicts indigenous people as half-naked, dark-skinned, decorated with body paint and holding artefacts like didgeridoos and boomerangs in their hands (2009).

skilful translator, attentively following the author's words and thoughts, and showing sensibility for the spirit of both languages. In comparing the translation with the source text, there are only a few discrepancies in the meaning of certain words, but this is not detrimental to the story itself. If one puts aside her inability to deal with colloquialisms and some other minor flaws, the translator managed to adequately reconstruct the original text's model of the world and offered an accurate equivalent of the inner-textual narrative perspective. However, these were not at the expense of the communicative function of the translation. On the one hand, Blažič-Klemenc presupposes information known to the Slovene readership, while on the other hand, she brings Aboriginal culture closer to that readership. Yet her translation reveals some inconsistencies. These are particularly evident in geographical names containing words like *sound*, *river*, *lake*, *desert*, and *route*. In most cases, she provided a literal translation of these words, whereas in some others she retained them in English. In replacing the unknown and strange with elements familiar to the target readership, Blažič-Klemenc also made some mistakes. For example, when she translated the expression *native settlement* in "The Moore River Native Settlement," she omitted the adjective *native* and merely rendered it as *naselje*, meaning 'a group of houses and buildings where people live'. To provide a clearer translation, she should have used the Slovene word *naselbina*, which means 'a group of houses and buildings where indigenous people (or ethnical minority) live'. As evident from this definition, this noun is self-sufficient without the accompanying adjective. Clearly, in this instance, the translator was not sensitive enough to historical detail and failed to establish an important aspect of Australian history.

As mentioned earlier, Andreja Blažič-Klemenc, too, translated the word *Blackfella* as *črnuh*, a word that is a product of preconceptions or prejudice. As for other Aboriginal words, they are kept in their original form and explained in the glossary at the end of the book. The Slovene version of the glossary is longer than that in the original (the words added are: *coolamon*, *gidgee*, *mallee*, *marri*, *mulga*, *neked*, *wandoo*, and the Latin expression *Chamaelaucium uncinatum*). In addition, the translated text contains some words (*mulga*, *woomera*, *woodarchy*, *dawuja*, etc.) that are domesticated only in so far as to follow the rules of Slovene declination.

Like Tamara Bosnič, who paid scant regard to the colloquial language in *My Place*, Andreja Blažič-Klemenc failed to produce a counterpart with a flavour of slang similar to Pilkington's colloquial diction. Rather, she mainly used words from formal vocabulary, while producing grammatically correct sentences. For example, "We gotta get away from this bad place" (86) is rendered in Slovene as "Proč moramo s tega zloveščega kraja" (138). This sentence is not only grammatically correct, but is also very formal: the adjective *bad* is translated with the word *zlovešč* (sinister, ominous), which is rare in spoken Slovene. The oral characteristics of Aboriginal literature have in this instance not been translated into Slovene. Several other examples give evidence that the translator gave preference to formal words, and gave undue respect to the conventional order of sentence elements, declination, gender, verb forms, and other stylistic markers of standard Slovene. Let us compare the following passage:

> "Well, you girls want to be careful, this country different from ours, you know," advised the old man […]. "They got a Mardu policeman, a proper cheeky fullah. He flog 'em young gel runaway gels like you three," he added […]. "He follow runaway gels and take 'em back to the settlement. He's a good tracker, that Mardu," the old man told them (91).

Klemenc-Blažič rendered this as:

> Kar previdne bodite, punce, ta dežela je drugačna od naše, veste," jim je svetoval starejši moški […]. "Mardujskega policista imajo, pravega grobijana. Tepe mlade prebežnice, kot ste ve tri," je pristavil […]. "Sledi prebežnicam in jih vodi nazaj v naselje. Tisti Mardu je dober zasledovalec," jim je povedal starec (144).

Except for the word *punce* for *girls/gels* in the original, Klemenc-Blažič used formal words (*grobijan* for *cheeky fullah*, *prebežnice* for *young gel runaway*) and did not manage to reconstruct any of the specificities of English colloquialism.

4. Conclusion

Generally speaking, this discussion has shed light on what happens to a book when it is translated and circulated in a foreign culture, how it functions when the text is transmitted between a source and a target readership. It also shows that translators have to be alert to the dangers that domestication induces if they are to produce culturally and ethically sensitive translations. In particular, my survey of the two Slovene translations reveals that *Zajčja ograja* (*Rabbit-Proof Fence*) is a considerably more successful translation than *V objem korenin* (*My Place*). Neither Andreja Blažič-Klemenc, the translator of the former, nor Tamara Bosnič, who translated *My Place*, considered the act of translating as "mere linguistic transference of signifiers," as it is regarded by theorists of equivalence; rather, each viewed the translation act as a "cross-cultural act that involves the problematic discursive travelling from one culture to another," though only *Zajčja ograja* satisfactorily reproduces the source text and is at the same time communicatively acceptable to the contemporary Slovene reader (Suoqiao 2009, 374). If it were not for the failed reconstruction of the dialect and slang used by the author to reproduce the colloquial diction of the protagonists, and some difficulties with the specificities of Australian history, *Zajčja ograja* would be a good example to oppose Venuti's claim in *The Translation Studies Reader* that the communication of the foreign experience through "domestic" means cannot be but "partial and second-order" (Limon 2003, 642). But even so, the translation is good reading for the target readers and functions as a literary text of its own merit.

Rather than being the work of a skilful translator, *V objem korenin*, on the other hand, is the work of an enthusiast who hoped her translation would enable Slovene readers to be acquainted with the author. There are several reasons to support my premise that this publication does not provide a real encounter between Slovene readers and the author, but the placing of this book in the youth and children's section of some Slovene bookstores alone is indicative enough of the correctness of the critique. As in some other cases of unauthorised editorial intrusions to Aboriginal texts,[8] discussed by leading Aboriginal literature scholars, including Adam Shoemaker, Tamara Bosnič went too far with her interventions in the text, while the publisher was manipulative regarding the design of the book. If anything, this adaptation of Aboriginal text demonstrates the constant need for new translations. If it is to perform its role as an "act of communication occurring in varying cultural contexts" and at the same time function as an aesthetic masterpiece, the new translation of Morgan's book will have to be more reader-friendly, culturally and ethically sensitive, and technically much more competent (Arens 2005, 136).

8 In Slovene translations of Aboriginal literature, such intrusions can also be found in the 2003 collections of poetry, *Vesolje okrog kuščarja* and *Konec sanjske dobe*.

Bibliography

Anderman, G., and M. Rogers. 2003. *Translation Today: Trends and Perspectives.* Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters Limited.

Arens, K. 2005. When Comparative Literature Becomes Cultural Studies. *Comparatist* 29 (May): 123–47.

Di Luzio, A., S. Guenthner, and F. Orletti. 2001. *Culture in Communication: Analyses of Intercultural Situations*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin's Publishing Company.

Genette, G. 1997. *Paratexts. Thresholds of Interpretation.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Haag, O. *2009.* Indigenous Australian Literature in German. Some Considerations on Reception, Publication and Translation. *JASAL*, Special Issue. See http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/jasal/article/view/853/1745 *(accessed 19 July 2009).*

Limon, D. 2003. The Slovene Novel in English: Bridging the Cultural Gap. In *Slovenski roman*, ed. M. Hladnik and G. Kocijan, 637–43. Ljubljana: Center za slovenščino kot drugi/tuji jezik pri Oddelku za slovenistiko Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani.

Mazi-Leskovar, D. 2009. Leatherstocking Tales: 20th Century Slovenian Translations. *Acta Neophilologica* 42, no. 1–2: 57–68.

Morgan, S. 1987. *My Place*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.

- - -. 1990. *My Place for Young Readers*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.

- - -. 1994. *Mijn plek. Autobiografie over drie generaties Aboriginals* (*My Place*). Trans. E. Wolff. Amsterdam: In de Knipscheer.

- - -. 2000. *La mia Australia* (*My Place*). Trans. M. Bartocci. Ancona-Milano: Theoria.

- - -. 2002. *Sem patřím* (*My Place*). Trans. V. Piskoř. Praha: Fraktály.

- - -. 2007. *V objem korenin* (*My Place*). Trans. T. Bosnič. Dob pri Domžalah: Miš.

Pilkington, D. 1996. *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence*. New York: Miramax Books.

---. 2008. *Zajčja ograja* (*Rabbit-Proof Fence*). Trans. A. Blažič-Klemenc. Nova Gorica: Eno.

Pribac, B. 2003. *Konec sanjske dobe: Antološki prerez sodobne avstralske aboriginske poezije.* Ljubljana: Društvo 2000.

Pribac, B., and D. Brooks. 2003. *Vesolje okrog kuščarja*. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.

Shoemaker, A. 1989. *Black Words White Page: Aboriginal Literature*, *1929-1988.* St. Lucia: Queensland UP. See http://epress.anu.edu.au/bwwp/mobile_devices/ch08.html (accessed 14 October 2008).

Suoqiaon, Q. 2009. Confucius as an English Gentleman: Gu Hongming's Translation of Confucian Classics. In *Discontinuities and Displacements*: *Studies in Comparative Literature*, ed. E.F. Coutinho, 373–82. Rio de Janeiro: Aeroplano.

Toury, G. 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Venuti, L. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London, New York: Routledge.

- - -. 2000. *The Translation Studies Reader*. London, New York: Routledge.

Walker, K. 1977. *Widziadła* (*Stradbroke Dreamtime*). Trans. A. Przedpelska– Trzeciakowska. Warszaw: Nasza Księgarnia.

Wimmer, A. 2010. Autonomous Aboriginal Communities in Australia: Besieged by Scandal and Corruption, How Can They Move Forward?" *Acta Neophilologica* 42, no. 1–2: 111–22.

DOI: 10.4312/elope.10.2.149-165

Nataša Hirci
Department of Translation Studies
Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

Changing Trends in the Use of Translation Resources: The Case of Trainee Translators in Slovenia

Summary

This paper explores the changes detected in the utilization of translation resources[1] by trainee translators working with the Slovene–English language pair in Slovenia. To test the assumption that rapid advances in information and communication technologies have made a significant impact on translation practice, a study involving two generations of translation students in Ljubljana was designed to examine whether their practice of using translation aids has changed over a certain period of time. This population will soon have to compete with their professional counterparts; it is therefore crucial they are fully equipped not only with the necessary translation knowledge, but also that they are skilled in advanced translation aids, as this will cater for the demands of the modern translation market where an efficient use of translation resources appears to be vital for successful intercultural communication. The results of the study indicate some changes can be detected even within a short period of time.

Key words: trainee translators, translation resources, translation technologies

Novi časi, nove navade: bodoči slovenski prevajalci in raba prevajalskih virov

Povzetek

Članek ponuja vpogled v raziskavo o vplivu tehnoloških sprememb na rabo prevajalskih tehnologij in virov informacij med bodočimi prevajalci v Sloveniji, ki se ukvarjajo s prevajanjem slovenskega in angleškega jezika. Predpostavko, da izredno hiter razmah novih informacijskih in komunikacijskih tehnologij v veliki meri vpliva na prevajalsko prakso in je zato nujno slediti tehnološkemu napredku tudi na prevajalskem področju smo preverjali v raziskavi, v kateri sta bili vključeni dve generaciji študentov prevajalstva Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani. Študenti prevajalstva bodo namreč kmalu postali ključni igralci na prevajalskem trgu, kjer bodo morali tekmovati s svojimi profesionalnimi prevajalskimi kolegi. Za uspešen prodor bodočih prevajalcev na prevajalski trg in njihovo uspešno medkulturno komunikacijo se zdi nujno usvojiti ne le prevajalske kompetence, temveč je predpogoj tudi dobro poznavanje novih prevajalskih tehnologij in njihova uspešna aplikacija na prevajalsko delo. Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da je možno zaznati vpliv tehnoloških sprememb na prevajalsko prakso v že zelo kratkem času.

Ključne besede: bodoči prevajalci, prevajalski viri, prevajalske tehnologije

---

[1] *Translation resources* is used throughout this paper: these include both languages resources such as dictionaries and glossaries, as well as other reference resources available not only on paper, but also electronically and on the Internet.

Changing Trends in the Use of Translation Resources: The Case of Trainee Translators in Slovenia

1. Introduction

We live at a time when getting an e–mail from an internationally renowned publisher, inviting you to take part in an electronic survey on how digital you are with a chance to win an iPad is quite ordinary. This is the time of international globalisation and the EU integration processes when there seems to be an ever–increasing demand for interlingual and intercultural communication. In response to the needs of the translation market, where a significant predominance of texts is produced in English, translators have to provide a wide array of translations into and out of this language. In the age of rapid changes in the information and communication technologies we can no longer imagine undertaking translation work without the use of electronic translation tools and information resources (cf. Austermühl 2001; Hirci 2003, 2007; Fišer 2005; Vienne 2000; Vintar 1999, 2008). These changes have actually made a profound impact on every aspect of the information society, as we can no longer picture our lives and our daily functioning without the existence of computers, the Internet and e–mail accounts, while texting on the phone and chatting online are considered part of the daily routine for most of the Western population. Just a few decades ago a typewriter was the main translation tool and a stereotypical image of an over–worked translator sitting at a desk full of paper dictionaries and encyclopaedias was fairly true to reality. Today, however, a much more realistic picture of a professional translator at work will portray someone working on a computer with a number of dictionary icons and other electronic applications on a computer screen, with an Internet connection constantly switched on, and most likely a *Trados*[1] bar or other translation software tools active at the same time. Now it seems vital for any translator to be in possession of the necessary computer skills (cf. the EMT guidelines[2] on essential competences required from translators), while an efficient utilization of translation tools and information resources appears to be a must for successful intercultural communication.

Since changes in the ICT[3] world can be observed almost daily, we wanted to explore what impact such changes might have on a regular translation practice of trainee translators and how quickly these changes can be detected. Our study was driven by the incentive that taking a deeper look at the digital world of this target group might help us discover whether the practice of applying electronic translation resources during translation work undertaken by translation students in Slovenia has changed in any way over the past few years. Such changes will, in fact, need to be reflected in the designing of future translation studies curricula, since this population will soon become actively engaged in professional translation work and will have to compete with other professional translators. It can be argued that it is quite crucial for trainee translators to be trained properly; at the end of their studies they need to be in possession of both the necessary translation competence and translation knowledge, as well as skilled in using translation and information technologies. This paper examines translation practice among trainee translators who are working with the Slovene–English language pair and who constantly need to rely on various aids to verify their translation choices in the foreign language – especially when translating out of Slovene, their first language or L1.

1 SDL Trados is a leading translation desktop products and software provider.
2 For more details on the EMT see http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/programmes/emt/index_en.htm
3 ICT stands for the Information and Communication Technologies.

2. Translation resources past and present

Can translators who are not fully computer–literate still successfully compete on the translation market of today? The most likely answer to this question is probably a plain *no*, keeping in mind that over the past few decades communication in our society has undergone some serious technological changes and life without computers and various hi–tech gadgets is simply unimaginable. What used to be a common everyday translation practice in the past is now, in the digital age of rapid ICT developments and technological breakthroughs, considered highly outdated and time–consuming, if not completely inefficient. Translators working with tons of paper dictionaries and encyclopaedias are a thing of the past and hi–tech equipment, combined with advanced computer skills, have become indispensable for any translator wishing to be a major player competing successfully on the translation market. The next section of the paper is therefore dedicated to a brief discussion on different types of translation resources.

2.1 Traditional paper resources and modern translation aids

Even in the not so distant past, perhaps just a couple of decades ago, translation resources most frequently used during translation work usually comprised paper dictionaries and other reference materials in a paper format. An attempt is made here to provide a brief list of what might still be considered as traditional translation resources for the Slovene–English language pair:

- monolingual dictionaries and other reference materials (for example Slovene monolingual dictionaries such as *SSKJ, Besedišče, Odzadnji slovar, Slovenski pravopis, Slovar tujk*,[4] and English monolingual reference dictionaries by various publishing companies such as Collins Cobuild, Longman, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Merriam–Webster, Random House and similar), various dictionaries of collocations (for instance the *BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English*), and grammar books,
- bi– and multilingual dictionaries (such as *Veliki angleško–slovenski slovar* and *Slovensko–angleški slovar*, i.e. the English–Slovene and Slovene–English bilingual dictionary respectively, possibly also specialised dictionaries such as the Slovene–English *Dictionary of Legal Terms* or the English–Slovene and Slovene–English *Business Dictionary* to name but a few),
- specialised glossaries and encyclopaedias,
- various parallel texts.

These are still used by translators working with the Slovene–English language pair (for more on the different types of translation aids in Slovenia see also Hirci 2003, 2009; Fišer 2005, 2008; Gorjanc 2005; Mikolič 2009; Pisanski Peterlin 2003; Vintar 2008).

However, an updated, modernised version of the above list of aids constituting an essential part of professional translation practice today would most likely also include translation and information resources such as (cf. Figure 1):

- electronic mono– and multilingual dictionaries, encyclopaedias and similar reference language resources (for example CDs with *SSKJ*, *Slovene–English bilingual dictionary*, *English–Slovene bilingual dictionary*, Collins Cobuild *English Language Dictionary*, *Oxford Advanced Learner's*

[4] *SSKJ* stands for the *Dictionary of Standard Slovene*, followed by various monolingual reference dictionaries for Slovene, the *Slovene Orthography Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of Words of Foreign Origin*.

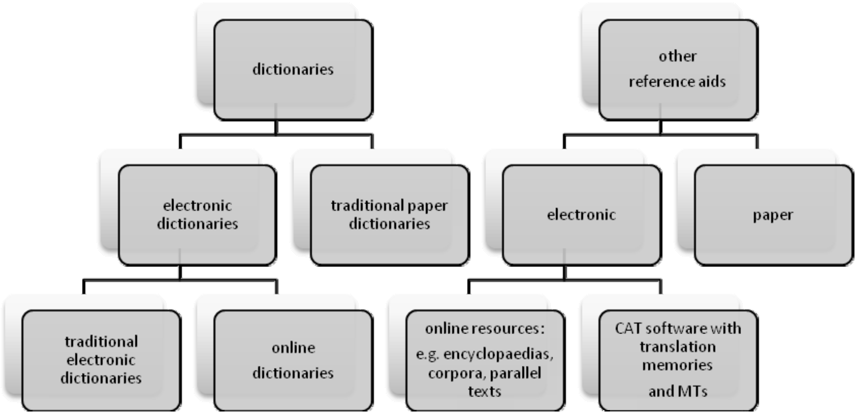


Figure 1. ***Basic division of translation aids into dictionaries and other reference aids.***

Dictionary, *Merriam–Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, dictionaries of collocations, other specialised dictionaries and encyclopaedias, even resources on I–phones or smartphones),

- the Internet, through various search engines, which can be considered the largest online 'library', providing an enormous source of different types of information; in addition to various online dictionaries (one such example is a vast collection of hyperlinks to various dictionaries for the Slovene–English language pair available freely at <http://evroterm.gov.si/slovar/>), terminology websites (cf. the *InterActive Terminology for Europe* database for the EU terminology),[5] glossaries and encyclopaedias, it also gives insight into a vast array of parallel texts,

- other online tools and resources, such as mono– and multilingual corpora, which can provide a complex linguistic search through these texts with the help of concordancers and other search options (the *British National Corpus* or BNC[6] and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* or COCA[7] for English, *FidaPlus*[8] for Slovene, or *Evrokorpus*[9] for the Slovene–English EU documentation for example),

- computer–assisted translation software programmes with translation memories (such as *Translator's Workbench* by SDL Trados or Atril's *DéjaVù*[10] for instance),

- and machine–translation programmes (such as *Systran*[11] for the needs of the EU, and various others used by large multinational corporations).

As mentioned in the previous section of the paper, the main point of interest when designing this study was to determine which of these translation aids are actually used by trainee translators at the Department of Translation Studies at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, Slovenia. In the next few sections the experiment design is presented first, followed by the presentation of the results of the questionnaires given to trainee translators.

5 The IATE database is available at http://iate.europa.eu/iatediff/SearchByQueryLoad.do?method=load.
6 BNC is available at http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/.
7 COCA is available at http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/.
8 FidaPlus is available at http://www.fidaplus.net/.
9 Evrokorpus is available at http://evrokorpus.gov.si/.
10 More details on these software providers available at http://www.trados.com/en/ and http://www.atril.com/en.
11 More on *Systran* is available at http://www.systran.co.uk/.

3. Experiment design

The results presented in this paper are drawn from a comparative study on the utilization of various translation tools and information resources by two generations of trainee translators in Slovenia from two different periods, 2005 and 2012. The data for 2005 is part of a wider study (cf. Hirci 2007, 2012) which was designed to look at translations from Slovene into English undertaken by two ten–member groups of translation undergraduates from Year 3 at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, Slovenia. All participants in the study took the same translation courses where they became familiar with various translation aids and were taught how to apply such resources to their translation work as part of their studies. One of the aims of this study was to gain an insight into the attitude held by trainee translators towards the application of various translation aids during their translation work. We wanted to establish whether they work primarily with traditional paper resources or prefer using modern electronic tools and resources, which aids they use most frequently and which they consider most useful when undertaking a translation task. The respondents, who were commissioned a Slovene to English translation, were allowed to make their own list of required paper resources and selected the following:

- *SSKJ*, i.e., *Dictionary of Standard Slovene*,
- SL–EN bilingual dictionary,
- EN–SL bilingual dictionary,
- *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of English Language*,
- *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*,
- *English Advanced Learner's Dictionary*,
- *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*,
- *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*,
- *Essential Activator*,
- *Oxford Pictorial Dictionary*,
- *LTP Oxford Dictionary of Selected Collocations*,
- *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English*,
- Collins Cobuild *Thesaurus of English Language*,
- *Random House Thesaurus: a Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms*,
- *Roget's Thesaurus*,
- *Phrases & Sayings*,
- *Pears' encyclopaedia*,
- and *Swan's Practical English Usage*[12].

More details on the results obtained from the questionnaire assessing respondents' views on their translation practice are provided in the next section of the paper. An updated version of the questionnaire from 2005 was then designed in 2012 to detect possible changing trends in the utilization

[12] Detailed references for these resources are provided in the Bibliography section.

of translation resources by another generation of trainee translators. The twenty respondents who took part in the second study seven years later were also undergraduate translation students from Year 3. These participants had similar background knowledge on translation aids and their utilisation in translation work. The studies from 2005 and 2012 focused on two main questions:

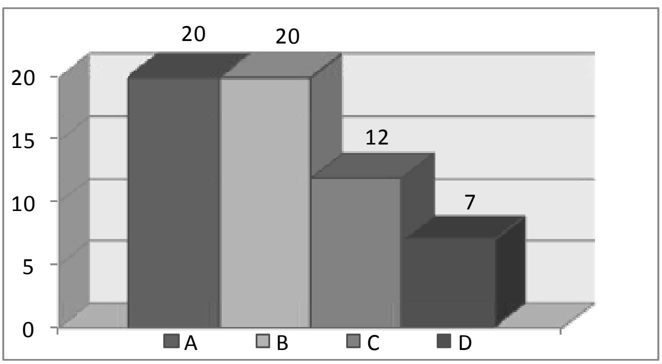
- Which translation aids and information resources are considered most useful?
- Which translation resources are used most frequently during translation work?

In addition, the questionnaire revolved around various issues concerning the conviction generally held by trainee translators that electronic translation tools and information resources are indispensable during their translation work, and that such aids undoubtedly have a positive impact not only on their speed of translating, but also on the quality of their final output. A number of queries were posed to the participants on their attitude towards the paper and electronic resources, the use of the Internet and online corpora, as well as CAT and MT[13].

4. Presentation of results

This part of the paper reports on the results from the questionnaires of 2005 and 2012 to show the changes detected in the application of translation aids. A comparison of the data from the two chosen periods is made to illustrate the changing trends in the utilization of such aids by trainee translators over the past seven years. It ought to be added at this point, however, that the responses given reflect the participants' subjective views on their translation practices and a follow–up study would be necessary to provide further validation of the data offering a platform for a more objective interpretation and possible generalisation of the results.

Figure 2. ***Translation resources used by trainee translators in 2005.***



A – bilingual dictionaries (SL–EN, EN–SL)

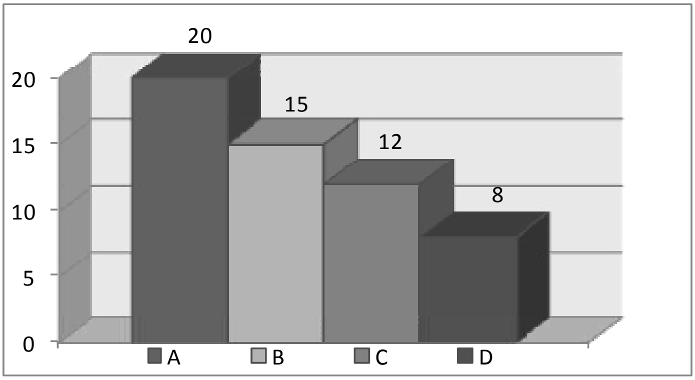
B – monolingual dictionaries (English, SSKJ)

C – parallel texts (e.g., on tourism)

D – other

As evident from Figure 2, in 2005 all 20 trainee translators reported consulting both bilingual and monolingual paper as well as electronic dictionaries during their translation work; 12 respondents reported using parallel texts on a given topic, i.e., books with similar text types, and 7 using dictionaries of collocations such as the *BBI ,* as reported under the section *other*.

[13] CAT stands for computer–assisted translation software, while MT stands for machine translation.



A – bilingual dictionaries (SL–EN, EN–SL)

B – monolingual dictionaries (English, SSKJ)

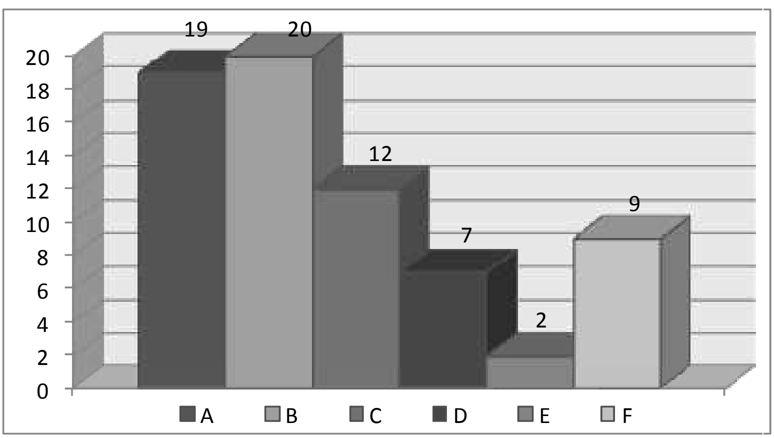
C – parallel texts

D – other

Figure 3. ***Translation resources used by trainee translators in 2012.***

Figure 3 is an illustration of how translation practice has changed since 2005. In 2012, 20 responses by trainee translators for bilingual, followed by 15 for monolingual, dictionaries indicate that the participants use the latter somewhat less frequently; still, the main shift can be noted in the use of the medium, as they now seem to be using electronic versions almost exclusively (as participants reported under the section *other*). In addition, 12 respondents regularly consult vast collections of texts offered in corpora such as the *COCA* and *BNC*,[14] and parallel texts found with the Google search engine. This, in fact, is the most striking difference observed in translation practice in 2012 compared to the data from 2005. Resources in paper format seem to be increasingly replaced by resources in electronic form, as only 3 participants reported using both paper and electronic aids, while all the rest used only those resources which can be accessed electronically.

In 2005, 6 respondents were convinced that electronic resources influence their speed of translating quite considerably, while another 11 responded that such aids influence their translation speed only slightly; 3 participants believed their speed would remain the same with or without the use of electronic resources. The main difference in translation practice is illustrated in the responses from 2012: an increase from 6 in 2005 to 18 in 2012 signifies trainee translators firmly believe their translation speed is heavily influenced by the use of electronic resources.



A – dictionaries, glossaries, encyclopaedias – in electronic form

B – the Internet (parallel texts)

C – corpora (monolingual, bilingual)

D – e–mail (friends, translator forums (Slovene, international))

E – TR technologies (translation memories with similar texts)

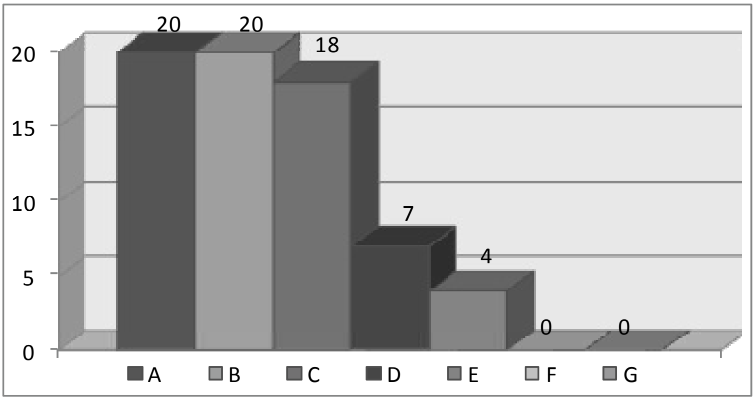
F – mobile phones

G – other

Figure 4. ***Electronic resources used while translating in 2005.***

14 *COCA* – the Corpus of Contemporary American, *BNC* – the British National Corpus.

Figure 4 shows responses from 2005 on which electronic resources, in addition to their paper counterparts, they most frequently consult for translation solutions. Almost all participants answered they use electronic dictionaries and the Internet, while 12 out of 20 stated they also check the usage in monolingual and bilingual online corpora. Seven participants believe that e–mail and translator forums can also be useful, while 9 responded they also use mobile phones to consult their knowledgeable friends or experts in the field. Only 2 reported using CAT programmes with translation memories.



A – dictionaries, glossaries, encyclopaedias – in electronic form

B – the Internet (parallel texts)

C – corpora (monolingual, bilingual)

D – e–mail (friends, translator forums (Slovene, international))

E – TR technologies (translation memories with similar texts)

F – mobile phones

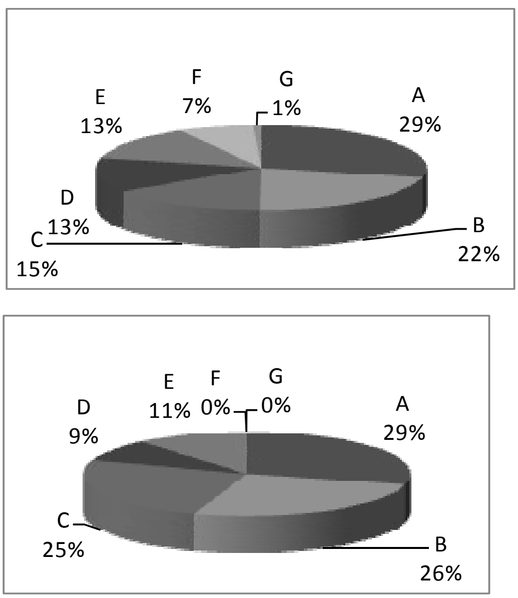
G – other

Figure 5. ***Electronic resources used while translating in 2012***

Data in Figure 5 is somewhat similar to Figure 4, showing responses for 2012. All respondents reported using only electronic dictionaries, online encyclopaedias such as *Wikipedia* and *britannica*, and the Internet for parallel texts, while 18 out of 20 were convinced monolingual and bilingual online corpora are also useful. Seven responded they also use e–mail and consult translator forums, while 4 reported using CAT software. This time no responses were given on the use of the mobile phones.

2005

2012



A – dictionaries, glossaries, encyclopaedias – in electronic form

B – the Internet (parallel texts)

C – corpora (monolingual, bilingual)

D – e–mail (friends, translator forums (Slovene, international))

E – TR technologies (translation memories with similar texts)

F – mobile phones

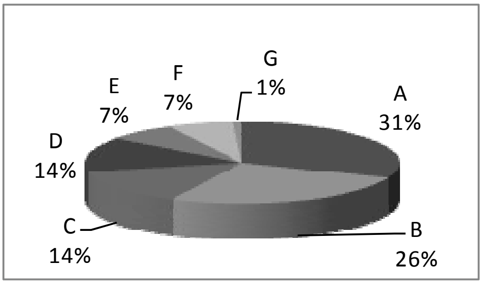
G – other

*Figure 6.****: Most useful sources of information.***

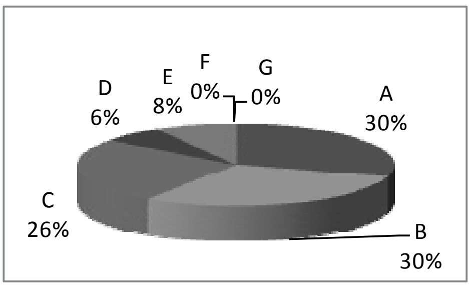
When answering the question on which sources of information they find most useful during their translation work, just under 30% of respondents in 2005, as illustrated in the pie chart on the left, stated they find dictionaries, glossaries and encyclopaedias most useful, while 22% thought that parallel texts on the Internet are also worth consulting. About 15% voted for the use of computer corpora, 13% for looking for translation solutions with the help of e–mail and forums of translators, 13% were in favour of using translation memories with similar texts, and 7% liked using mobile phones.

As evident from the pie chart on the right, about 30% of participants from 2012 regularly consult electronic dictionaries and similar resources, and 26% the Internet, making these numbers almost identical to those from 2005. A significant increase can be observed, however, in the percentage ascribed to the benefits of using various types of computer corpora, as this time 25% of respondents believed this resource is highly useful. This signifies a growing awareness on part of trainee translators of the significance played by both monolingual as well as bilingual corpora in translation work.

in 2005



in 2012



A – dictionaries, glossaries, encyclopaedias – in electronic form

B – the Internet (parallel texts)

C – corpora (monolingual, bilingual)

D – e–mail (friends, translator forums (Slovene, international))

E – TR technologies (translation memories with similar texts)

F – mobile phones

G – other

Figure 7. ***Translation resources used most frequently.***

The two pie charts are an illustration of which translation resources trainee translators used most frequently in 2005, as shown in the pie chart on the left, compared to the situation in 2012, evident from the data provided in the pie chart on the right. The most striking difference can be observed in the use of corpora, with a significant increase from 14% in 2005 to 26% in 2012, while a serious fall in the use of e–mail and forums of translators to consult friends or professionals in a given field indicates that the frequency of use fell by half.

In 2005, 12 out of 20 students responded using CAT software was useful when translating, while in 2012, 15 out of 20 participants believed using CAT can contribute quite significantly to their translation output. Both groups of respondents were familiar with similar CAT software, the leading being the *Translator's Workbench* by SDL Trados. This is hardly surprising, since all trainee translators in Ljubljana are taught how to use this programme as part of their undergraduate studies. In 2012, however, several participants also reported using other CAT programmes such

2005

2012

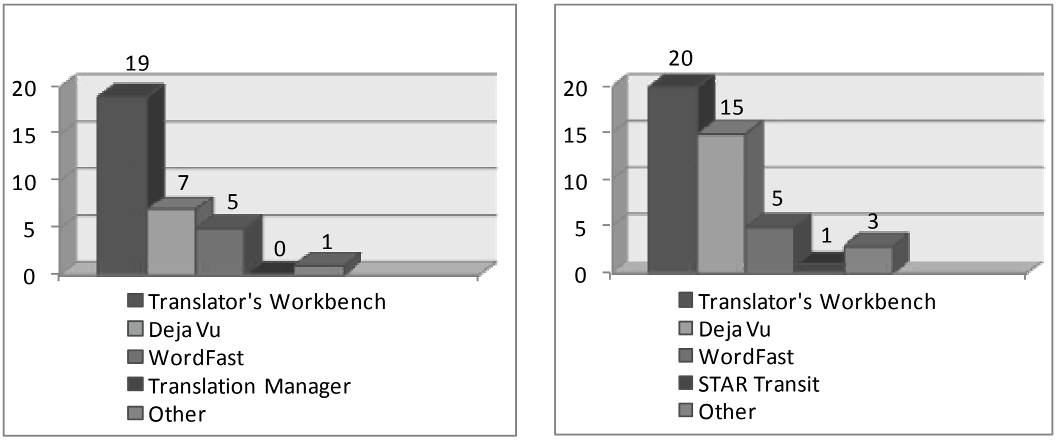


Figure 8. ***Familiarity with CAT programmes.***

as T–Stream, Across, MemoQ and Omega, which, in fact, they learnt how to use on their own. This signifies the importance ascribed to the CAT programmes and a growing awareness among the student population of the CAT software currently available on the translation market.

2005

2012

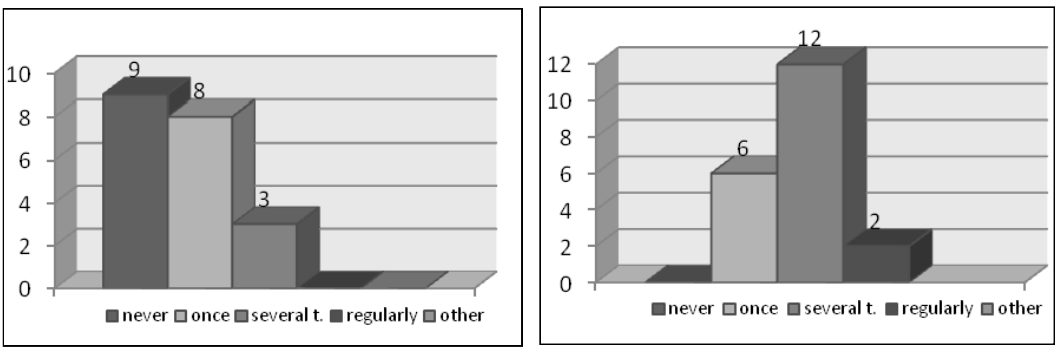


Figure 9. ***Frequency of using CAT programmes.***

The data from 2005 and 2012 show that the frequency of using CAT programmes is on the rise; all respondents in 2012 reported using CAT programmes at least once compared to 9 out of 20 participants from 2005, who stated they had never used such translation aids, and 8 reported having used them only once, as part of their studies. In addition, 12 out of 20 trainee translators in 2012 reported having used them several times, some even regularly or frequently (as stated under *other*).

In 2005, 11 respondents believed the quality of their translation is influenced quite considerably by the use of electronic translation aids, while 8 stated that the use of electronic resources influenced the quality of their final product only partly. Only one participant believed that the use of electronic aids bears no influence on their translation work. In 2012, however, the attitude towards the utilization of electronic translation tools and information resources has changed; this time 19 respondents believed that using such tools and resources influences their translation quality quite considerably and only one respondent was not convinced that this is the case.

Since the participants from 2012 reported on their frequent use of the Internet when translating some additional questions were posed on their utilization of this source of information.[15] All 20 respondents from 2012 use the Internet while translating; 16 reported they heavily rely on it all the time, while 4 stated they use it frequently when they work on their translations.

monolingual | bilingual

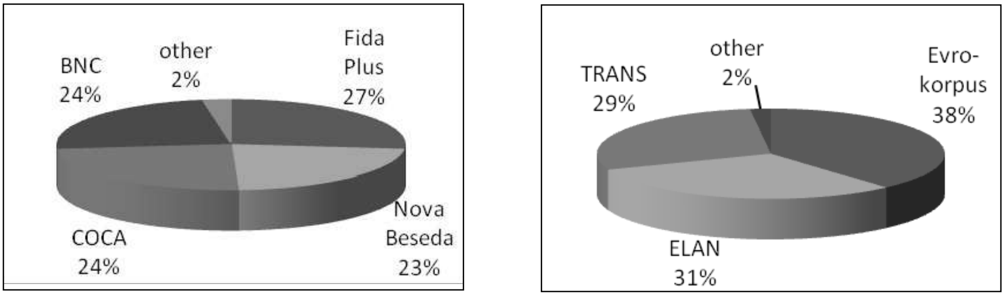


Figure 10: ***Familiarity with monolingual and bilingual corpora for Slovene–English language pair in 2012.***

The pie chart on the left illustrates trainee translators' familiarity with the major monolingual corpora available for Slovene and English. The responses show that almost all respondents are familiar with the most representative reference corpora for this language pair, i.e., the *FidaPlus* corpus for Slovene and the *COCA* and *BNC* corpora for English. The pie chart on the right illustrates which bilingual corpora available for the Slovene–English language combination have so far been encountered by trainee translators. The participants of the study are all familiar with the *Evrokorpus*, a large multilingual corpus of about 240 million words which consists of texts mainly gathered and translated for the purposes of the European Union documentation; 16 and 15 out of 20 trainee translators are also familiar with the *ELAN* and *TRANS* bilingual Slovene–English corpora respectively. IJS–ELAN is a one–million parallel corpus of 51 texts, while TRANS is a corpus of 41 texts from different fields (medicine, engineering, geology, tourism and legislation), created by translation students of the Faculty of Arts.[16]

Figure 11 is an illustration of how frequently trainee translators actually use major corpora available for the Slovene–English language pair. They all stated that they regularly use the *Evrokorpus*, while 16 reported also frequently consulting the *FidaPlus* corpus. There were 10 out of 20 respondents who reported often looking for translation solutions also in the *COCA* and *BNC* corpora.

In addition, all 20 participants stated that they find the use of electronic resources, in particular the Internet, extremely helpful also when searching for appropriate culture–specific terms. Further details on their search strategies for culture–specific terms while translating are provided in the next section of the paper.

15 No additional data on this available for 2005.

16 TRANS was compiled in one of the translation courses at the Department of Translation Studies in Ljubljana under the supervision of Špela Vintar. More details on these two corpora can be found at http://nl.ijs/elan. Together with the SVEZ IJS Acquis, a corpus produced in the process of translating the EU legislation into Slovene, they have a joint parallel concordancer available at http://nl2.ijs.si/index–bi.html.

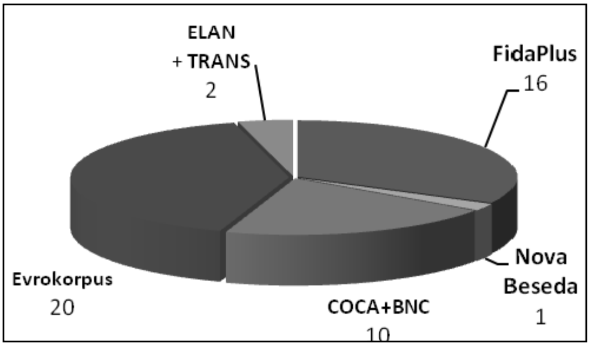
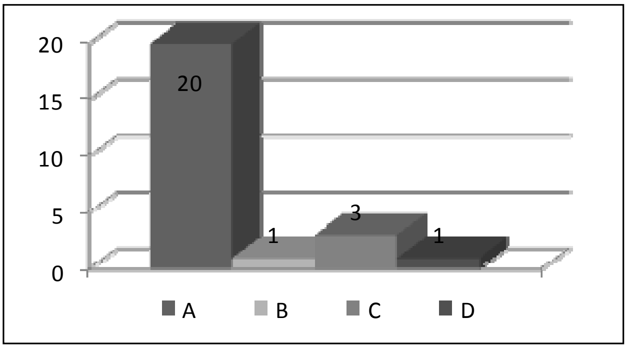


Figure 11. ***Frequency of using corpora for Slovene–English language pair in 201.***



A – the Internet (parallel texts)

B – corpora (monolingual, bilingual)

C – e–mail (friends, translator forums (Slovene, international))

D – other

Figure 12. ***Appropriate solutions to culture–specific terms in 2012.***

As illustrated in Figure 12, all 20 respondents again reported that the Internet is the most important source of translation solutions to culture–specific terms. Three respondents stated they look for culture–specific terms by sending a query via e–mail to their colleagues and experts in the field or to translator forums. One participant responded that they find corpus–based results most useful, while another reported using an etymology dictionary, although without specifying which one, or whether online or its paper version.

Below is a list of some strategies and approaches to searching for culture–specific terms provided by trainee translators in 2012:

- Internet search 1 – they look for similar texts on Google to find the meaning of a particular culture–specific term, then check parallel texts of the target language websites using keywords (e.g., for gastronomy: names of dishes or ingredients in recipes known only locally; for architecture: names of objects, parts of buildings; names of holidays, customs and festivities) or they make use of the Google image search

  → if the term is found, trainee translators double–check the use in Google books or in online corpora,

  → if the term is not found, they usually provide a description of a given term;

- Internet search 2 – trainee translators look for similar texts with similar content in *Wikipedia*:

first they search through Slovene webpages, then copy–paste the term into the target language (e. g. potica – nut roll);

- Trainee translators make use of parallel texts on the Internet and also perform a dictionary or an encyclopaedic search (on *britannica* or *Wikipaedia*); to double–check the frequency of use (and/or use of prepositions/collocations) they do newspaper search and corpus search (in *Evrokorpus* or *COCA* for example);
- they search through the websites with the blogs of people who love to travel;
- they make use of the *Google Translate* service;
- trainee translators use another language – if they know the term in Slovene and German or Italian – they use these languages as an intermediary to find the appropriate term in English (knowing that German/Italian–English dictionaries are much more extensive compared to Slovene–English language combination);
- they make use of the *Sketch Engine*;[17]
- they seek help from their colleagues, knowledgeable friends or professionals in a given field.

This clearly shows how translation practice among trainee translators has changed quite significantly even over a fairly short period of time. What used to be a regular search strategy when looking for appropriate collocation patterns in paper resources such as the *BBI* or images in the *Oxford Pictorial Dictionary* is no longer practiced. Today trainee translators make use of electronic resources exclusively. They are heavily engaged in textual search through more – yet often also less – appropriate websites or do a Google image search.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to determine if and how translation practice among trainee translators in Slovenia has changed over the past seven years. With an ever–present increase of technological developments it is fair to assume that the nature of translation work in the future will be influenced even more heavily by technological advances. Therefore the aim of our study was to explore trainee translators' awareness of the recent trends in the information and communication technologies that might enhance their translation speed and translation quality. Two questionnaires were used to gather the data on their translation practices in 2005 and in 2012. Participants in the study were members of two different generations who took the same translation courses and shared similar background knowledge on translation aids and their utilisation in translation work.

Trainee translators in general hold a highly positive view of electronic tools and information resources. Today sources of information are easily accessible, which inevitably influences translators' speed and the quality of their translating. The data obtained from both questionnaires yielded results which can also be used for further studies on translation practice as well as for pedagogical purposes.

The main difference observed from the results of the questionnaires from 2005 and 2012 is that trainee translators now tend to limit their search to the Internet exclusively; they look for translation solutions to collocations and culture–specific items on the websites rather than in the *BBI* or other

[17] The *SketchEngline* is a corpus query system incorporating word sketches, an automatic, corpus–derived summary of a word's grammatical and collocational behaviour, available at http://www.sketchengine.co.uk/.

dictionaries of collocations, or in the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, for example, although this used to be a regular translation practice just a few years ago. Also rarely will they seek help in the *Oxford Pictorial Dictionary* or similar reference works which in the past were considered some of their primary sources of information; they now prefer searching through visual prompts found through a Google image search or even look for solutions on various blogs which might contain relevant information. A significant increase in the use of corpora can also be observed; this seems to be a positive outlook for the future, since various types of mono– bi– and multilingual corpora are an increasingly useful as well as reliable source of information showing real language usage and the necessary relevant contextual information.

Trainee translators now seem to be convinced that traditional paper resources are no longer a sufficient aid when translating. Also popular is their conviction that limited access to translation resources is restrictive while solving translation problems, and prolongs the time spent on translation. Trainee translators generally find the use of electronic aids an absolute necessity when translating, and perceive the use of electronic translation resources and translation technologies as influencing not only their speed of translating, but also the quality of their final product. Search results found on the Internet are in general taken as an absolute authority, as trainee translators seem to trust search results indiscriminately. However, the non–selective use of the Internet results may often lead to inappropriate or even wrong translation solutions. In the future, a more in–depth and selective use of translation aids needs to be addressed as part of regular translator training. It is necessary to familiarise trainee translators with sufficient skills for a successful and effective utilization of electronic translation aids and give them sufficient knowledge to make informed choices about the search results necessary for a successful intercultural communication.

I would like to thank Neža Pisanski Peterlin for her invaluable assistance and support, as well as the issue editor and two anonymous referees for their insightful comments and suggestions.

Bibliography:

Adab, B. 2000. Evaluating Translation Competence. In *Developing Translation Competence*, ed. C. Schäffner and B. Adab, 215–28. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Austermühl, F. 2001. *Electronic Tools for Translators. Translation Practices Explained.* Manchester: St Jerome.

Bajec, A., et al. 1997. *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika (Dictionary of Standard Slovene)*, ZRC SAZU, Fran Ramovš Institute. Ljubljana: DZS.

Beeby, A., P. Rodríguez–Iňez, and P. Sánchez–Gijón, ed. 2009. *Corpus Use and Translating: Corpus use for learning to translate and learning corpus use to translate*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Benson, M., E. Benson, and R. Ilson. 1997. *The BBI Dictionary of English Word Combinations*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary. 2003. Third Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, M., and B. Mohan. 1996. *The Oxford–Duden Pictorial English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fišer, D. 2005. Jezikovne tehnologije od študija do zaposlitve. *Jezik in slovstvo, 50/1*, 101–16.

– – –. 2008. Recent trends in the translation industry in Slovenia. *The journal of specialised translation* 10 (July). http://www.jostrans.org/issue10/art_fiser.pdf (accessed in June 2012)

Fujii, Y. 2007. Making the Most of Search Engines for Japanese to English Translation: Benefits and Challenges.

Asian EFL Journal 23: 41–77. http://www.asian–efl–journal.com/pta_Oct_07_yf.php (accessed in September 2010)

Gorjanc, V. 2005. *Uvod v korpusno jezikoslovje*. Domžale: Izolit.

Gorjanc, V., and D. Fišer. 2010. *Korpusna analiza*. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete.

Grad, A., R. Škerlj, and N. Vitorovič. 1998. *Veliki angleško–slovenski slovar (English–Slovene Dictionary)*. Ljubljana: DZS.

Grad, A., and H. Leeming. 1997. *Slovensko–angleški slovar (Slovene–English Dictionary)*. Ljubljana: DZS.

Grosman, M., M. Kadrič, I. Kovačič, and M. Snell–Hornby, eds. 2000. *Translation into Non–Mother Tongues in Professional Practice and Training*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag.

Hill, J., and M. Lewis. 1997. *LTP Dictionary*, London: Commercial Colour Press.

Hirci, N. 2003. Prevajanje danes in jutri: delo s sodobnimi prevajalskimi viri in orodji. *Jezik in slovstvo* 48, May–Aug., no. 3/4, 89–102.

– – –. 2007. Učinkovitost uporabe sodobnih prevajalskih virov pri prevajanju v nematerni jezik. PhD diss. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta.

– – –. 2009. Uporaba sodobnih prevajalskih virov pri izobraževanju prevajalcev. In *Jezikovni korpusi v medkulturni komunikaciji*, ed. V. Mikolič, 117–32. ZRS Koper: Založba Annales.

– – –. 2012. Electronic Reference Resources for Translators. Implications for Productivity and Translation Quality. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 6/2, 219–35.

Hornby, A.S. 2005. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

House, J. 2000. Consciousness and the Strategic Use of Aids in Translation. In *Tapping and Mapping the Process of Translation and Interpreting: Outlooks on Empirical Research,* ed. S. Tirkkonen–Condit and R. Jääskeläinen, 148–62. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Kelly, D. 2005. *A Handbook for Translator Trainers*. Manchester: St Jerome.

Kenny, D. 1999. CAT Tools in an Academic Environment: What Are They Good For? In *Target* 11(1): 65–82.

Koby, G.S., and B.J. Baer. 2003. Task–based instruction and the new technology. In *Beyond the Ivory Tower. Rethinking Translation Pedagogy. ATA/Volume XII,* ed. G.S. Koby and B.J. Baer, 211–27. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Krek, S., V. Gorjanc, and M. Stabej. 2005. Dictionaries, corpora and word–formation. In *Meaningful texts: the extraction of semantic information from monolingual and multilingual corpora,* ed. G. Barnbrook, P. Danielsson and M. Mahlberg, 70–82. London/New York: Continuum.

Livbjerg, I., and I.M. Mees. 2003. Patterns of dictionary use in non–domain–specific translation. In *Triangulating Translation: Perspectives in process oriented research.* ed. F. Alves, 124–36. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Longyka, T. 2001. *Slovensko–angleški pravni slovar*. Zbirka Komunikacije. Ljubljana: Samozaložba.

Mackenzie, R., and J. Vienne. 2000. Resource Research Strategies: A Key Factor in Teaching Translation into the Non–mother Tongue. In *Translation into Non-Mother Tongues in Professional Practise and Training*, ed. M. Grosman, M. Kadrić, I. Kovačič and M. Snell-Hornby, 125–31. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag.

Madžarevič, B. 1995. *Angleško–slovenski in slovensko–angleški poslovni slovar*. Ljubljana: DZS.

Madžarevič, B., ed. 1999. *Password: English dictionary for speakers of Slovenian.* Ljubljana: DZS.

Merriam–Webster's Collegiate Dictionary. 2003. Eleventh edition. Springfield, Mass.: Merriam–Webster Inc.

Mikolič, V. ed. 2009. *Jezikovni korpusi v medkulturni komunikaciji*. ZRC Koper: Založba Annales.

Mikolič Južnič, T. 2009. Vzporedni korpus – prevajalsko orodje in orodje za jezikoslovne analize. In *Jezikovni korpusi v medkulturni komunikaciji*, ed. V. Mikolič, 75–87. ZRS Koper: Založba Annales.

Neufeldt, V., and D.B. Guralnik. 2000. *Webster's New World Dictionary of American English*. Third College Edition. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Neunzig, W. 2000. The Computer in Empirical Studies for the Didactics of Translation. In *Investigating Translation.* ed. A. Beeby, D. Ensinger and M. Presas, 91–8. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Pisanski Peterlin, A. 2003. Uporaba novih tehnologij pri jezikovnem pouku. *Jezik in slovstvo* 48, May–Aug., no. 3/4, 103–12.

– – –. 2009. Izražanje svojilnosti v prevedeni slovenščini : korpusna analiza. In *Jezikovni korpusi v medkulturni komunikaciji*, ed. V. Mikolič, 105–16. ZRS Koper: Založba Annales.

Rees, N. 1995. *Phrases & Sayings*. London: Bloomsbury.

Roget, P.M. 1995. *Roget's II: The New Thesaurus*. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Sinclair, J.H. 1995. *Collins Thesaurus of English Language*. London: HarperCollins Publishers.

– – –. 2001. *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*. London: HarperCollins Publishers.

Summers, D. 2001. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. Harlow: Longman.

– – –. 1993. *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*. Harlow: Longman.

Swan, M. 2005. *Practical English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Titelman, G.-Y. 1996. *Random House Dictionary of Popular Proverbs and Sayings*. New York: Random House.

Toporišič, J., et al., eds. 2001. *Slovenski pravopis.* Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU.

Urdang, L. 1995. *Random House Thesaurus: a Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms*. New York: Random House.

Varantola, K. 1997. Translators, Dictionaries and Text Corpora. In *I corpora nella didattica della traduzzione. Biblioteca della Scuola Superiore di Lingue Moderne per Interpreti e Traduttori, Proceedings of the Workshop "Corpus use and learning to translate",* Forli/ Bertinoro, 14–15 Nov. 1997, ed. S. Bernardini and F. Zanettin, 117–33. Forli: Bertinoro.

Varantola, K. 2003. Translators and Disposable Corpora. In *Corpora in Translator Education*, ed. F. Zanettin, S. Bernardini and D. Stewart, 55–70. Manchester: St. Jerome.

Vienne, J. 2000. Which Competences Should we Teach to Future Translators, and How? In *Developing Translation Competence*, ed. C. Schäffner and B. Adab, 91–1000. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Vintar, Š. 1999. Računalniške tehnologije za prevajanje. *Uporabna Informatika* VII/1. 17–24.

– – –. 2003. Kaj izvira iz jezikovnih virov? In *Jezik in slovstvo* 48, May–Aug., no. 3/4, 77–88.

– – –. 2008. Corpora in Translation: A Slovene Perspective. In *The Journal of Specilaised Translation.* ed. N. Kocijančič Pokorn. issue 10/July 2008. http://www.jostrans.org/issue10/art_vintar.pdf (last accessed in June 2012)

Williams, I.A. 1996. A Translator's Reference Needs: Dictionaries or Parallel Texts? In *Target* 8(2): 275–99.

Zanettin, F., S. Bernardini, and D. Stewart, eds. 2003. *Corpora in Translator Education*. Manchester: St. Jerome.

Online Resources

EMT guidelines on translation competence: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/programmes/emt/index_en.htm (last accesses June 2012)

EU Translation and drafting resources for English:

http://ec.europa.eu/translation/english/english_en.htm (last accesses June 2012)

EU Translation and drafting resources for Slovene: http://ec.europa.eu/translation/slovenian/slovenian_en.htm (last accesses June 2012)

Additional websites for the EU terminology, esp. the IATE website: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/publications/index_en.htm (last accesses June 2012)

Dictionaries:

ASP32 (www.amebis.si) (last accesses June 2012)

SSKJ http://bos.zrc–sazu.si/sskj.html (last accesses June 2012)

Besedišče http://bos.zrc–sazu.si/besedisc.html (last accesses June 2012)

Odzadnji slovar http://bos.zrc–sazu.si/odzadnji.html (last accesses June 2012)

specialised dictionaries: http://www.gov.si/slovar (dictionary of medical terms, business dictionary, dictionary of legal terms (Longyka),

EU terminology http://www.sigov.si/evroterm (last accesses June 2012)

Corpora:

COCA + BNC [http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/] (last accesses June 2012)

FIDA [http://www.fida.si] (last accesses June 2012)

Nova beseda [http://bos.zrc–sazu.si/a_beseda.html] (last accesses June 2012)

ELAN + TRANS [http://nl2.ijs.si/corpus/index–bi.html] (last accesses June 2012)

EVROKORPUS [http://evrokorpus.gov.si/ (last accesses June 2012)

A collection of links to over 100 corpora [http://devoted.to/corpora (last accesses June 2012)

Terminology and translation software:

TRADOS [http://www.trados.com] (last accesses June 2012)

STAR [http://www.star–ag.ch] (last accesses June 2012)

ATRIL's DejaVu [http://www.atril.com] (last accesses June 2012)

V.

CONTRIBUTORS

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Danica Čerče
Correspondence address:
Partizanska 3, 280 Slovenj Gradec
Phone: +386 41 637-347
E-mail: danica.cerce@ef.uni-lj.si

Iva Polak
English Department
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of Zagreb
Ivana Lučića 3, 10 000 Zagreb, Croatia
Phone: +385-1-6120062
E-mail: iva.polak@zg.t-com.hr

Martin Adam
Department of English Language and Literature
Faculty of Education
Masaryk University, Brno
Porici 7
602 00 Brno
Czech Republic
martinadamcz@gmail.co

Paul Brocklebank
Department of Liberal Arts
Tokyo University of Technology
Katakura-machi 1404-1
Hachioji-shi
Tokyo-to 192-0982
Japan
Tel: +81-42-637-2962
cpaulb@stf.teu.ac.jp

Lara Burazer
University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Arts, Department of English
Aškerčeva 2
SI-100 Ljubljana
Slovenia
e–mail: lara.burazer@guest.arnes.si

Nataša Hirci
Department of Translation Studies
Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana
Aškerčeva 2
SI-100 Ljubljana
Slovenia
e-mail:
natasa.hirci@guest.arnes.si

Laura Mrhar
Trubarjeva 77
1000 Ljubljana
e-mail: lauramrhar@gmail.com

Janez Skela
Department of English
Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana
Aškerčeva 2
SI-100 Ljubljana
Slovenia
e-mail: janez.skela@guest.arnes.si

Mojca Šorli
Trojina, Institute for Applied Slovene Studies
Dunajska 116
1000 Ljubljana
Email: mojca.sorli@trojina.si

1. ELOPE

English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

General. ELOPE publishes original research articles, studies and essays which address issues of the English language, literature, teaching and translation. The language of contributions is English. Manuscripts are welcomed from all countries and should be sent to Gašper Ilc, Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko, Aškerč**eva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia,** gasper.ilc@ff.uni-lj.si.

Submission of manuscripts. Manuscripts should be submitted for review on three anonymous printed copies and a diskette or a CD in Word (.doc, .rtf) and PDF. A separate sheet with the title of the paper, the name of the author, affiliation and address should be attached. Only one contribution by the same author per volume will be considered. Each paper should be accompanied by abstracts in English and Slovene (maximum 150 words) and keywords. Abstracts by non-native speakers of Slovene will be translated into Slovene.

Suggested length of manuscripts is between 5,000 and 8,000 words.

Manuscript style. *Page one* should contain the following information:

- article title in the language of the article
- author(s) name(s)
- author(s) affiliation(s)
- correspondence address (full address, phone number, e-mail address)

The manuscript starts on *page two*, in the following format:

- title in English
- abstracts in English and Slovene (between 150 and 180 words each)
- the paper should be divided into:
    - introduction
    - body of the paper (possibly subdivided)
    - conclusion

References. References should comply with *The Chicago Manual of Style* (15th edition, 2003).

English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

ELOPE / Volume X / Autumn

Editorial Policy

ELOPE. English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries is a journal devoted to the research and academic discussion of linguistic and literary issues from theoretical and applied perspectives regardless of school of thought or methodology. Its aim is to promote original enquiry into linguistics, literary and translation studies, language and literature teaching with the main focus on English. ELOPE will publish two issues per year.

Free copies of individual articles are available online in PDF format http://www.sdas.edus.si/elope.html.

English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries

Publisher's address
Slovensko društvo za angleške študije, Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Slovene Association for the Study of English, Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana and
Oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani
Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

UDK classification
Angelika Hribar

Design
Gašper Mrak

Cover
Marjan Pogačnik, Zimsko cvetje, 1994
7,6 x 10,0 cm; colour etching, deep relief
Owner: National gallery, Ljubljana
Photo: Bojan Salaj, National gallery, Ljubljana

Printed by
Birografika Bori

Number of copies
300

Ljubljana, 2013
ISSN 1581-8918