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TRANSLATION & INTERPRETING AS INTERCULTURAL MEDIATION

Conference Proceedings

Editor
Igor Lakić

Institute of Foreign Languages
University of Montenegro

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INTRODUCTION

The Conference Proceedings from the 4th International Conference of the Institute of Foreign Langauges (ICIFL4), held in June 2011 in Podgorica, Montenegro, contains selected papers about or related to translation and interpreting.

The Institute of Foreign Languages is a well-known Montenegrin institution in the field of foreign languages and literatures, as well as translation and interpreting. Since our undergraduate and postgraduate study programmes are aimed at educating translators and interpreters, the decision to dedicate one of our conferences solely to this field was logical. The topic was also selected having in mind the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integrations of Montenegro and the need of the country for good translators and interpreters. In addition, our idea is to encourage literary translation in the country, which we lack at the moment.

It was our pleasure to have renowned plenary speakers in translation and interpreting: Claude Durand and Persefoni Pouliu from DG Interpretation of the European Commission in Brussels; Jorge Diaz-Cintas, senior lecturer from the Imperial College in London; Nikola Mićević, a well-known literary translator and Zoran Paunović, professor of English literature at the University of Belgrade and the University of Novi Sad. Our presenters were colleagues from different European countries and Canada.

We hope that you will find the selected papers interesting and useful.

Prof. dr Igor Lakić

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Anđelka Ignjačević

PREVODILAČKE STRATEGIJE, METODE I PROCEDURE: TEORIJA I PRAKTIČNA PRIMENA U NASTAVI JEZIKA STRUKE

Apstrakt: *Izbor metoda, strategija i procedura prilikom prevođenja zavisi od prevodiočevog stava prema budućem kvalitetu prevoda, odnosno od toga do koje mere će težiti postizanju što višeg stepena (i kojih vrsta) ekvivalencije ili, tačnije, aproksimacije svih aspekata komunikativnog značenja originala. Nakon kratkog osvrta na najšire prihvaćene teorijske postavke prevodilačkih metoda, strategija i procedura u radu se ukratko opisuje metodologija nastave prevođenja na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu i iznose rezultati odabranog pristupa i primenjenih procedura.*

Ključne reči: *prevodilačke strategije, prevodilačke metode, prevodilačke procedure, jezik struke.*

1. Uvod

Prema *Enciklopediji studija o prevođenju* Mone Bejker (Baker, 1998), prevodilačke *strategije* "uključuju bazične zadatke izbora teksta i utvrđivanje metoda kako da se tekst prevede sa jednog jezika na drugi" (Venuti, 1998:240). Segvino (Seguinot, 1989) veruje da prevodilac koristi najmanje tri strategije: i) prevodi bez prekidanja dokle god je mogućno, ii) površne greške ispravlja momentalno, a iii) kvalitativne i stilističke greške traži i vrši promene u fazi revizije prevoda.

Najda (Nida, 1964) je prevodilačke *procedure* podelio u dve grupe: tehničke i organizacione. Tehnički postupci uključuju analizu jezika davaoca i jezika primaoca, podrobno proučavanje originalnog teksta pre prevođenja i donošenje odluka o semantičkim i sintaktičkim aproksimacijama (str. 241-45), a organizacione procedure odnose se na konstantnu reevaluaciju u toku prevođenja, eventualno poređenje sa postojećim prevodima istog teksta i proveru komunikativnog efekta kroz ocene i reakcije čitalaca prevoda.

Njumark (1988), međutim, pravi razliku između metoda i procedura. Po njemu prevodne metode se odnose na ceo tekst, a procedure na rečenicu i niže jedinice. U *metode* ubraja:

- *prevođenje reč-po-reč* (prevod prati isti red reči kao original, reči se prevode zasebno i uzima se najčešće značenje bez obzira na kontekst);
- *bukvalan prevod* (gramatičke konstrukcije iz originalnog teksta prebacuju se u najbliži ekvivalent u jeziku prevoda, ponovo van konteksta);
- *veran prevod* (pokušava da stvori precizno kontekstualno značenje originala unutar ograničenja gramatike jezika na koji se prevodi);
- *semantički prevod* (razlikuje se od vernog prevoda po tome što uključuje i estetsku vrednost originala);

- *adaptacija* (najslobodniji vid prevoda i koristi se uglavnom za pozorišne komade, naročito komedije (kultura originala zamenjuje se kulturom jezika na koji se prevodi);
- *slobodan prevod* (tekst na drugom jeziku koji ne odražava stil, formu, sadržaj originala);
- *idiomatski prevod* (reprodukuje "poruku" originala, ali iskrivljuje nijanse značenja upotrebom kolokvijalizama i idioma kojih nema u originalu);
- *komunikativan prevod* (trudi se da prenese tačno kontekstualno značenje tako da i sadržaj i jezik budu razumljivi i prihvatljivi čitaocu.

Prilikom prevođenja, prevodilac se služi brojnim tehnikama čija važnost zavisi od kontekstualnih faktora i jezika originala i jezika na koji se prevodi:

- ***transpozicija*** ili ***pomeranje***, kako je naziva Katford, odnosi se na gramatičke promene kod prevođenja sa jezika originala na jezik prevoda. Njumark (Newmark, 1988) navodi četiri tipa transpozicije:

1) promena vrste i reda reči,

2) nepostojanje identične gramatičke strukture u jeziku na koji se prevodi,

3) slučajevi kada je bukvalan prevod gramatički moguć ali nije u prirodnoj upotrebi u jeziku na koji se prevodi, i

4) gramatička struktura se upotrebi da nadomesti leksički nedostatak u jeziku na koji se prevodi);

- ***modulacija*** (menjanje tačke gledišta da bi se ista pojava izrazila na drugi način. Ovo je semantičko-pragmatični postupak kojim se menja kategorija misli, fokus i gledište i može da bude u vidu tzv. konvencionalne (bilingvalni rečnici) i slobodne modulacije koja je praktičnija kada jezik na koji se prevodi ne dozvoljava bukvalno prevođenje. Vinej i Darbene (Vinay and Darbeinet, u Bayar, 2007) razlikuju jedanaest tipova slobodne modulacije: menjanje negativne u pozitivnu rečenicu (Remember to do it – Ne zaboravi da to učiniš), apstraktnog u konkretno, uzroka umesto posledice, mesta umesto vremena i sl., a opravdanost postupka zavisi od konteksta);

- ***redukcija i ekspanzija*** (vode ka promeni u leksičkom i sitilističkom aspektu);

- ***adaptacija*** (prevodilac menja sadržaj i formu originalnog teksta da bi ga prilagodio jeziku i kulturi jezika na koji prevodi. Koristi se efikasno kada se prevode reči i izrazi specifični za kulturu, metafore i slike. Monia Bajar (Bayar, 2007) smatra da se adaptacija zasniva na tri glavne procedure: kulturnom supstitutu, parafrazi i izostavljanju).

- ***dodaci, napomene, glosar*** (dodaju se informacije o kulturološki specifičnim pojmovima, tehničkim terminima i sl. u vidu napomena unutar teksta, obeležene uglastim ili okruglim zagradama, fusnota na dnu stranice ili glosa na kraju poglavlja ili knjige.

Svaki od ovih postupaka ima prednosti nad ostalima u zavisnosti od teksta koji se prevodi, a prevodilac odlučuje koju proceduru će primeniti u određenoj situaciji.

2. Metodologija nastave prevođenja na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu

Kurs počinje čitanjem autentičnih tekstova i upoznavanjem sa tehnikama čitanja koje najčešće koriste kod studiranja. Veliki naglasak se stavlja na analizu teksta i na sadržajnom i na formalnom planu, jer pravilno sagledavanje vrste, organizacije i lingvističkih osobina teksta značajno pomaže studentima i kod prevođenja i kod pisanja zadataka na engleskom jeziku. Kada studenti mogu sa lakoćom da prepoznaju vrstu teksta s obzirom na cilj komunikacije (informativan, persuazivan, deskriptivan ...) pristupa se prevođenju.

Vežbanja uvek počinjemo grupnim radom ili radom u parovima i uvek uz pomoć rečnika. Tekst se podeli na nekoliko manjih celina, tako da nekoliko grupa/parova dobije isti deo teksta. Prema uputstvima nastavnika, studenti najčešće prevode tekst imajući na umu stručnu publiku, što podrazumeva dozvoljenu upotrebu reči stranog porekla i pozajmljenica koje se koriste u registrima njihovih disciplina. Vreme za prevođenje se ograniči u zavisnosti od dužine teksta, ali ne više od 30 minuta. Nakon toga pristupa se analizi. Obrađuje se rečenica po rečenica. Predstavnik svake grupe pročita njihovo rešenje prevoda iste rečenice, pa se svako rešenje zajednički analizira, a nastavnik ukazuje na eventualne greške koje nastaju usled razlika koje postoje između dva jezika. Potom se za svaku rečenicu bira najbolje rešenje prema kriterijumu ekvivalencije na svim nivoima, koje potom svi upisuju u svesku. Na kraju se pročita ovako sročen prevod i urade eventualne izmene i adaptacije da bi se obezbedila kohezija i koherentnost celog prevoda.

Ovaj metod se pokazao praktičnim jer u toku jednog časa može da se izvrši analiza celog prevoda i u potpunosti se poštuju organizacione procedure koje zagovara Najda, a koje uključuju konstantnu reevaluaciju u toku prevođenja, poređenje sa postojećim prevodima istog teksta i proveru komunikativnog efekta kroz ocene i reakcije čitalaca prevoda.

Poštujući pedagoške principe, u početku su zadaci za prevođenje relativno laki u smislu tema, jer se biraju teme koje su relativno bliske studentima i one koje su obradili ili obrađuju u okviru stručnih predmeta. Na takvoj vrsti tekstova moguće je upoznati ih sa ranije pomenutim tehnikama prevođenja i uvežbavati ih. Na ovom uzrastu naročito je korisno birati tekstove kod kojih će morati da primene tehnike transpozicije i modulacije, jer se naročito studenti koji su relativno nesigurni u svoje poznavanje stranog jezika često ustručavaju da ih primene, a veoma su korisne da se prevaziđu neke krupne razlike između engleskog i srpskog jezika (npr. upotreba pasiva u originalnom tekstu, menjanje reda reči i poštovanje vremenske ravni originala). Vremenom zadaci postaju jezički sve složeniji i uvek u fokusu imaju neku od jezičkih teškoća koja se obrađuje u toku časa.

3. Ocenjivanje

Iako, naravno, nema apsolutnog odgovora na pitanje šta je ''dobar'' a šta ''loš'' prevod, ipak najopštiji i najšire prihvaćeni kriterijumi su sledeći: čitljivost, tačnost, verno prenesena poruka i poštovanje stila i registra kojih se i mi pridržavamo kod ocenjivanja studentskih prevoda.

Ispitivanje veštine prevođenja kao jedne od predispitnih obaveza obuhvata prevođenje naučno-stručnog teksta dužine od oko 1400 karaktera, uz pomoć rečnika i u toku školskog časa od 90 minuta. U školskoj 2010/11 godini testirano je ukupno 136 studenata: 65 studenata psihologije (PS), 49 studenata pedagogije (PE) i 22 studenta andragogije (AN). Rezultati su sledeći:

	Odličan prevod:			Dobar prevod:			Delimičan, slab prevod:			Neprihvatljiv:	
Poeni → Grupa ↓	**10**	**9**	**8**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**0**
PS (65)	7	21	10	10	5	8	1	1			
PE (49)	5	6	4	10	10	3	5	3	1	1	2
AN (22)	1	2	2	8	2	2	2	2	1		1
Ukupno:	**13**	**29**	**16**	**28**	**17**	**13**	**8**	**6**	**2**	**1**	**3**

Tabela 1: Rezultati evaluacije studentskih prevoda školske 2010/11 godine

Ukupno uzev, 58 studenata iz sve tri grupe (42.6%) uradilo je odličan prevod bez grešaka ili sa manjim greškama. Isti broj studenata (42.6%) uradio je relativno dobar prevod sa više grešaka, ali i sa nekim dobrim rešenjima. U grupi ''delimičan ili slab'' prevod bilo je 9 studenata (11.7%), kod kojih preovlađuje tendencija ka bukvalnom hodu od reči do reči i gde je očigledan nedostatak poznavanja strukture engleskog jezika. Potpuno neprihvatljiva bila su samo tri prevoda (2.2%) u kojima je obrađeno manje od polovine originalnog teksta i to sa grubim greškama.

Sve u svemu, rezultat ispitivanja pokazuje da je 85.2% studenata savladalo tehniku prevođenja naučno-stručnog teksta iz oblasti psihologije, pedagogije i andragogije, što potvrđuje ispravnost i delotvornost odabranog pristupa u delu nastave posvećenom prevođenju na II godini studija na Filozofskom fakultetu.

4. Ilustracija ocenjivanja

Za ilustraciju prikazujemo prevod jednog teksta koji su studenti generacije 2010/11. radili u okviru svojih predispitnih obaveza:

(1) *Assimilation is simply the application of an established behaviour pattern to a similar or new situation.* (2) *If the behaviour is successful, the child is not forced to change his behaviour in the new situation.* (3) *However, if the behaviour is not successful, the child must adapt or change his behaviour to the new situation.* (4) *Accommodation is changing an existing behaviour pattern that does not work in the new situation.*

(5)*Piaget believes that a child is more likely to accommodate his behaviour to solve a problem when the new behaviour that is required differs only slightly from those in already his repertoire.* (6) *If parents, day-care workers and other adults caring for the infant understand what the infant is trying to do, they may be able to facilitate learning by providing the right environmental input or match between what the child is able to do and what he cannot yet do.* (7) *For example, the baby may be reaching for something that is far beyond his grasp.* (8) *After several unsuccessful attempts he cries.* (9) *The care-taker who has been paying attention to the baby may pick him up to comfort him or try to stop crying by introducing a new toy or activity, without taking into account what the baby is trying to do; or the adult may simply pick up the distant toy and hand it to the baby; or even worse, the adult may ignore the infant in order not to 'spoil' the child by paying too much attention.* (10) *The person who understands what the child is trying to do can help by placing the toy closer but still out of reach thereby enabling the infant to get the toy himself.* (11) *In this way the infant's development is facilitated without direct teaching.* (Prica, 1996).

U tekstu koji sledi oznaka (-) obeležava da u prevođenju rečenice nije bilo potrebno da se koriste složenije tehnike, a delovi gde jeste su boldirani u prevedenoj rečenici.

Student 1

(1) Asimilacija je prosto primena uspostavljenog obrasca ponašanja u poznatoj ili novoj situaciji. (-)

(2) Ukoliko je ponašanje uspešno dete nije primorano da **ga** menja u novoj situaciji. (transpozicija + redukcija: imeničke fraza *his behaviour* u zamenicu **ga**)

(3) Međutim, ako nije **uspešno**, dete mora da **ga** prilagodi ili promeni ponašanje u novoj situaciji. (transpozicija + redukcija: imenica *behaviour* - glagolski oblik **uspešno**, *his behaviour* - **ga**)

(4) Akomodacija je menjanje postojećeg obrasca ponašanja koje ne funkcioniše u novoj situaciji. (-)

(5) Pjaže veruje da je verovatnije da će dete promeniti ponašanje kako bi rešilo problem kada se novo ponašanje koje je neophodno samo neznatno razlikuje od onih koje već **poseduje** u svom repertoaru. (ekstenzija: *already in his repertoire*)

(6) Ako vaspitači, roditelji i druge odrasle osobe koje brinu o deci razumeju šta dete pokušava da uradi **mogu** da mu olakšaju učenje tako **što će obezbediti** odgovarajući sredinski uticaj,

odnosno voditi računa o tome šta dete može i šta još ne može da uradi. (redukcija: *may be able*; transpozicija: *by providing*; modulacija: *or match between*)
(7) Na primer, beba **poseže** za nečim što je izvan njenog domašaja. (transpozicija: *may be reaching* → stilistički aspekt - dinamika)
(8) Nakon nekoliko neuspelih pokušaja **zaplače**. (transpozicija: *he cries*)
(9) Vaspitač koji obraća pažnju na bebu može je **uzeti u naručje** da je uteši, **pružiti** joj drugu igračku ili uvesti novu aktivnost **kako bi prestala da plače**, ne vodeći računa o tome šta dete pokušava da uradi; **može** jednostavno uzeti igračku i dodati je bebi; ili, što je još gore, **ignorisati** je da je ne bi 'razmazio' preteranom pažnjom. (modulacija: *may pick him up*; modulacija: *try to stop crying by introducing a new toy or activity*; redukcija + modulacija: *the adult may ignore*)
(10) Osoba koja razume šta dete pokušava da uradi može da mu pomogne tako **što će približiti igračku i omogućiti mu da je samo da je dohvati**. (redukcija: *by placing the toy closer but still out of reach, thereby enabling the infant to get the toy himself*)
(11) Na ovaj način razvoj deteta se potpomaže bez direktnog podučavanja.

Student 2 (6 poena)

(1) Jednostavno rečeno, asimilacija predstavlja primenjivanje već postojećih sklopova ponašanja u novim ili poznatim situacijama. (transpozicija).
(2) Ukoliko je ponašanje uspešno, dete nije primorano da promeni <u>svoje ponašanje</u> u novoj situaciji.
(3) <u>Ipak</u>, ukoliko <u>ponašanje</u> nije uspešno, dete će <u>svoje ponašanje</u> morati da promeni ili prilagodi novoj situaciji.
(4) Pijaže veruje da će dete verovatnije akomodirati <u>svoje</u> ponašanje, ne bi li rešilo problem, kada <u>je traženo</u> novo ponašanje koje se samo malo razlikuje od onih koja su mu već u repertoaru.
(5) Ukoliko roditelji, vaspitači i drugi koji brinu o deci, razumeju šta ono pokušava da uradi, oni <u>bi mogli</u> da potpomognu učenje <u>stvarajući tačno</u> potreban sredinski uticaj ili <u>odnos</u> između onoga što dete može i ne može da uradi.
(6) Na primer: dete <u>bi se moglo pružati za nečim</u> što je izvan njegovog domašaja. <u>Ono</u> zaplače posle nekoliko bezuspešnih pokušaja.
(7) Vaspitačica koja obraća pažnju na dete bi mogla da je podigne i uteši ili da pokuša da zaustavi plač predstavljajući <u>joj</u> novu igračku ili aktivnost, bez obraćanja pažnje na to šta beba pokušava da uradi.
(8) Odrasli <u>bi</u> takođe <u>mogao</u> uzeti udaljenu igračku i dati je bebi ili još gore <u>on</u> <u>bi</u> <u>mogao</u> ignorisati bebu <u>ne bi li je razmazili obraćanjem previše pažnje</u>.
(9) Osoba koja razume šta dete pokušava da uradi <u>bi mogla pomoći postavljajući</u> igračku bliže, ali van domašaja<u>, pri tome omogućavajući d</u>etetu da samo uzme igračku.
(10) Na ovaj način <u>je potpomognut</u> razvoj bez direktnog <u>učenja</u>.

5. Zaključak

Naučno-stručni tekstovi iz oblasti psihologije, pedagogije i andragogije razlikuju se od tekstova iz oblasti drugih nauka, npr. hemije, ne samo po usko stručnoj terminologiji (po čemu se razlikuju i navedene tri oblasti), već i po stilu pisanja koji je inače karakterističan za društveno-humanističke nauke i koji podrazumeva veću upotrebu elemenata opšteg jezika, što donekle studentima olakšava prevođenje. Otežavajuća okolnost leži, što se vokabulara u naučnim tekstovima na engleskom jeziku tiče, u činjenici da, budući da se radi o formalnom registru koji treba da se poštuje i u prevodu, veoma je česta upotreba reči i izraza koji nisu frekventni u svakodnevnom govoru. Takođe, upotrebe dugih i veoma složenih rečenica (koja ipak ne jenjava nasuprot deklarativnim opredeljenjima da se stil pisanja u ovim oblastima pojednostavi po ugledu na stil koji se koristi u prirodnim naukama), višečlane imeničkih fraza, nominalizacije i, što se engleskog jezika tiče, velika upotreba pasivnih konstrukcija nisu mali izazov za studente - početnike u prevođenju.

Sve navedeno upućuje na potrebu da se u nastavi prevođenja obrati velika pažnja upućivanju studenata da ne samo reči i složeniji izrazi nego i rečenice imaju kontekstualno značenje, da ih se uputi kako da analizuju rečeničke strukture i za svaki konkretan primer da se navedu mogućnosti prevoda u skladu sa zahtevima dobrog prevođenja unutar jezika na koji se prevodi, a sa ciljem da se dođe do što višeg stepena asproksimacije, odnosno ekvivalencije, u svim njenim aspektima u odnosu na originalni tekst.

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UDK 81'322

Igor Ivanović

KORPUSNA LINGVISTIKA: METOD ILI NAUKA?

Rezime: *U ovom radu pokušaćemo da predstavimo različite odgovore na pitanje koje je veoma aktuelno posljednjih tridesetak godina, a to je; Da li je korpusna lingvistika metod ili nauka? Takođe ćemo definisati vrste korpusa i navesti prednosti i mane sprovođenja lingvističkih analiza kroz korpusnu lingivstiku. Ovakvo bliže definisanje korpusne lingvistike omogućiće da se na kvalitetniji način sprovedu sva buduća istraživanja iz ovog polja na prostoru Crne Gore. Ovaj rad takođe treba shvatiti i kao svojevrsnu promociju upotrebe računara u korpusnim analizama i korpusne lingvistike u Crnoj Gori.*

Ključne riječi: *Korpusna lingvistika, računari, liste učestalosti, prevodni ekvivalenti*

1. Uvod

Osnovna korpusna istraživanja nalazimo na početku 20. vijeka kada su stručnjaci koristili veoma skromne korpuse koji su se nalazili u kutijama od cipela i koji su bili sastavljeni od ceduljica na kojim je tekst bio obično ručno unesen. Ovakvi korpusi obično su se koristili za istraživanja vezana za fonetiku Ling (*Ling* 1999: 240). Sredinom prošlog vijeka Džesperson (*Jasperson* 1949) i Frajs (*Fries* 1952) koriste „papirni“ korpus kako bi sprovodili istraživanja na polju gramatike. Protokom vremena, kvantitativni elementi korpusa su prevazišli mogućnosti koje posjeduje čovjek ili grupa ljudi, pa je uvođenje računara u ovu problematiku bio sljedeći logičan korak. Veoma brzo računari su ponudili idealne opcije za manipulaciju korpusima. Omogućili su brzu i laku obradu velike količine tekstova, kao i tačnu i konzistentnu obradu tih tekstova. Izbjegnuta je eventualna pristrasnost prilikom lingvističkih analiza, a samim tim povećana je pouzdanost dobijenih podataka. Istovremeno, obezbijeđeno je čuvanje ogromnih količina podataka koje neizbježno prate takve vrste analiza. Od tada postoji neraskidiva veza između računara i korpusa.

Prvi moderni korpusi sastavljeni su početkom šesdesetih godina i to je bio *Brown* korpus. Od osamdesetih godina pa na dalje, veličina i broj korpusa, kao i analize koje su zasnovane na njima, postale su veoma učestale Johanson (*Johansson* 1998: 3).

2. Korpusna lingvistika; metod ili nauka?

Postoje različita shvatanja o tome da li je korpusna lingvistika nauka za sebe ili je „oruđe“ tj. metodologija rada koja se koristi prilikom lingvističkih istraživanja. U ovom odjeljku pokušaćemo da odgovorimo na ovu problematiku.

2.1. Definisanje korpusne lingvistike

Stabs (*Stubbs* 2006), u svom pregledu skreće pažnju na nejasnoće analitičara korpusa prilikom opisivanja svojih operativnih metoda u okviru naučnog konteksta. Nedostatak jasnog pristupa u raspravama o metodološkom okviru koji se koristi je, vjerovatno, stvar koja najviše iznenađuje s obzirom na to da se korpusna lingvistika pozicionirala u naučnom okviru i da teži da iskaže svoju naučnu prirodu. Smatramo da je zato neophodno da odgovorimo na pitanje šta je korpusna lingvistika – da li je to disciplina, metodologija ili nešto treće. Naravno, u potpunosti smo svjesni da ne možemo dati definitivan odgovor, ali možemo čitaocu predstaviti različite poglede na korpusnu lingvistiku kroz literaturu koja se bavi ovim pitanjem. Nadamo se da će ovaj kratki osvrt doprinjeti brojnim raspravama među korpusnim lingvistima o tome šta je ili šta bi trebalo da je korpusna lingvistika. U ovom smislu, svakoj osobi koja je počela da se bavi korpusnom lingvistikom odmah pada u oči da postoji veliki broj opisa i definicija. Arts (*Aarts*), jedan od osnivača korpusne lingivstike, kao da je ovo i očekivao. Knjiga dva autora, Artsa i Meijsa (Aarts i Meijs 1984), se često se definiše kao izvor termina korpusna lingvistika, iako se taj termin i ranije javljao, npr. u knjzi, Artsa i van den Hojvela (*Aarts i van den Heuvel* 1982). U ovom radu Arts nam saopštava da je ovaj termin skovan uz oklijevanje:

> “jer smo mi mislili (a ja i dalje tako mislim) da to nije naročito dobro ime: to je čudna disciplina koja je dobila ime po svom glavnom istraživačkom oruđu i izvoru podataka. Možda ovaj termin više i nije koristan“.

Zbog ove izjave neki od istraživača tražili su alternativne definicije i nazive. U smislu toga šta korpusna lingvistika „jeste“ ne samo da su bile nuđene različite definicije, veći su i alternative direktno pominjane ili odbacivane. Tako govorimo o tome da je korpusna lingvistika:

- oruđe,
- metod,
- metodološki pristup,
- disciplina,
- teorija,
- teroijski pristup,
- paradigma (teoretska ili metodološka)
- ili pak kombinacija nekoh od ovih elemenata.

Lič (Leech 1992, 1992: 106), tvrdi da:

> “računarska korpusna lingvistika definiše ne samo novu metodologiju kojom se proučava jezik, već je ona novi istraživački poduhvat, i u stvari novi filozofski pristup ovoj tematici”

i dalje nastavlja sa svojim opisom karakteristika računarske korpusne lingvistike kao nove paradigme. Po sličnoj logici, Stabs (*Stubbs* 1993) ne prihvata ograničenu definiciju korpusne lingvistike samo kao metodologije, i, komentarišući Sinkler (*Sincair* 1991), primjećuje da:

> „u ovom shvatanju problematike, korpus nije samo sredstvo lingvističke analize već i bitan koncept lingvističke teorije“ Stabs (Stubbs, 1991: 23).

Tojbert (*Teubert* 2005: 2) takođe naglašava teoretsku konceptualizaciju i opisuje korpusnu lingvistiku kao: „*teoretski pristup proučavanju jezika*“.

Ovu ideju korpusne lingvistike kao paradigme preuzeo je i Gris (*Gries* 2006a: 191), ali on preferira metodološku konceptualizaciju i navodi da:

> „tokom proteklih nekoliko decenija korpusna lingvistika je postala glavna metodološka paradigma i primijenjenoj i teorijskoj lingvistici“.

Dalje, Malberg (*Mahlberg*) opisuje korpusnu lingvistiku kao: „*pristup opisu engleskog sa svojim teorijskim okvirom*“ (2005: 2), a da bi naglasila svoj pristup, koristi termin: „*korpusno-teorijski pristup*“ (2005, 2006). U daljem pisanju na ovu temu autorka vidi razliku koja proističe iz različitih percepcija istraživača:

> „i dalje postoje neslaganja oko toga da li je korpusna lingvistika uglavnom metodologija ili joj je neophodan sopstveni teoretski okvir. Pobornici pristupa zasnovanog na korpusu prilikom opisivanja engleskog jezika tvrde da su potrebni novi načini opisivanja kako bi se objasnile situacije iz stvarnih tekstova“ Malberg (Mahlberg, 2006: 370).

Mekeneri, Ksijao i Tono (*McEnery, Xiao i Tono* 2006: 7–8:) primjećuju da je

> „korpusna lingvistika čitav sistem metoda i principa o tome kako primjeniti korpuse u lingvističkim istraživanjima“.

Stoga, možemo zaključiti da oni korpusnu lingivstiku definišu kao metodologiju. Korpusnu lingvistiku kao metodologiju takođe definišu i Mekeneri i Vilson (*McEnery i Wilson* 1996), Mejer (*Meyer* 2002). Bouker i Prison (*Bowker i Pearson* 2002: 9) kažu za korpusnu lingivstiku da je: „*pristup ili metodologija koja se koristi prilikom proučavanja jezika*“. MekEneri i Gabrijelotos (*McEnery i Gabrielotos* 2006: 44) takođe dodaju da

> „se korpusna lingvistika može posmatrati kao metodologija, ali metodološke prakse koje primjenjuju korpusni lingvisti su raznorodne“.

Tojbert (*Teubert* 2005) takođe komentariše ove različite metode i kaže da

> „korpusna lingvistika nije sama po sebi metoda: koriste se mnoge različite metode prilikom obrade i analiziranja korpusnih podataka. Ona predstavlja insistiranje na radu samo sa podacima iz realnog jezika koji su uzeti iz diskursa poštujući određene principe a zatim sastavljeni u korpus“ (2005: 4).

Arts (*Aarts* 2002), Tojbert (*Teubert* (2005), i Vilijams (*Williams* (2006), između ostalih, opisuju korpusnu lingvistiku kao disciplinu. Međutim, ovo nam nameće još jedno pitanje, a to je, ako je korpusna lingvistika disciplina – kakva je to vrsta discipline. Stabs (*Stubbs* 1993: 3) opisuje korpusnu lingvistiku kao: „*primijenjenu društvenu nauku*“.

Mekarti (McCarthy 2001: 125) karakteriše korpusnu lingvistiku kao „*najnapredniju promjenu u smislu naučnih tehnika i metoda*“, dok Stabs (*Stubbs* 2001: 243) eksplicitno povezuje korpusnu lingvistiku i nauku uz sljedeći komentar:

> „geolozi su zainteresovani za procese koji se ne mogu direktno posmatrati jer se dešavaju tokom dugih vremenskih perioda [...] Lingvisti koji se bave korpusnom lingvistikom zainteresovani su za procese koji se ne mogu direktno posmatrati jer se dešavaju kada mnogi različiti govornici i pisci koriste jezik“.

Međutim, vjerovatno niti jedan osvrt na bilo koje aktuelno pitanje iz polja lingvistike ne bi bio potpun a da ne pomenemo mišljenje uvaženog autoriteta ove nauke Noama Čomskog (*Noam Chomsky* 2001: 243):

> „moje mišljenje je, ako želite, da mnogo više o jeziku učimo praćenjem standardnih naučnih metoda. Pod tim standardnim naučnim metodama ne možemo podrazumijevati gomilanje velikih količina neanaliziranih podataka i izvlačenje generalizacija iz njih“

Međutim, i korpusni lingvisti često komentarišu, pa i kritikuju lingvistički pristup Čomskog. Sinkler (*Sinclair* 1991: 6) takođe kritikuje introspektivnu lingvistiku riječima: „*ne proučava se cijela botaniku tako što ćete napraviti vještačko cvijeće*“. Tojbert i Krišnamurti (*Teubert i Krishnamurthy* 2007: 28) opisuju korpusnu lingvistiku kao *parole-linguistics* naspram *langue-linguistics* Sosira i Čomskog. Takođe, neki od istraživača napominju da različite definicije i opisi korpusne lingivstike ne moraju da budu loši. Različite definicije su očekivane iz razloga što se korpusna lingvistika neprestano razvija i što se istraživanja sprovode na razičite načine, pokrivajući tako razna pitanja. O ovome se detaljnije može naći kod Hojia (*Hoey* 1993: vi). Pored toga, zbog prirode korpusne lingvistike, korpusni lingivsta može biti analitičar ili kreator tj. sastavljač korpusa, ili i jedno i drugo. Zbog toga su različita tumačenja dobrodoša, pa Tojbert (*Teubert* 2005: 13) ide u tom pravcu:

> „samo ako diskurs korpusne lingvistike ostane kontroverzan i pluralistički, samo tada će ona i napredovati“.

Ipak, da bi se taj napredak desio, moramo raspravljati o različitim tumačenjima, kako se ona preklapaju, ili spurotstavljaju. U tom smislu, veoma je bitno napraviti razliku između različitih gledišta na nivou akademske zajednice i nejasnoće definisanja korpusne lingvistike.

2.2. Elektronski korpus

Korpus se može definisati poštujući različite kriterijume, ali se stručnjaci iz oblasti jeziku i kao takvi variraju od nekoliko rečenica do kolekcije disukrsa i transkripta, a sve u svrhu lingvističke analize. U ovom slučaju, konkretno govorimo o elektronskom korpusu koji, u odnosu na već pomenutu definiciju, ima još jedan detalj. Karakteristika elektronskih korpusa jeste da se mogu sačuvati i da im se može pristupiti elektronskim putem. Na taj način u stanju smo da obradimo mnogo veću količinu podataka, što znači da elektronski korpus ima svoju kvantitativnu vrijednost. Kvalitativna vrijednost korpusa leži u kombinaciji preciznosti analize specijalizovanih računarskih programa sa analizom osobe koja se bavi korpusnom lingvistikom.

Korpus je planski skup tekstova koji su prikupljeni prema određenim kriterijumima (referentnost, uravnoteženost, organizovanost) koji su unaprijed određeni i koji se moraju poštovati kako bi korpus ispunio namjenu za koju je i predviđen. Ovo je elemenat koji korpus razlikuje od neke elektronske arhive ili biblioteke koji čuvaju pomenute tekstove redi neke njihove unutrašnje vrijednosti. Jedan od kriterijuma koje korpus mora da zadovoljava jeste da se sastoji od jezika koji je proizveden u prirodnom komunikativnom okruženju, tj. da nije proizveden samo u svrhu uključivanja u korpus. Tako, na primjer, korpus može da se sastoji od tekstova koji se nalaze u novinskim člancima. Njihova glavna funkcija jeste da prenesu određenu poruku čitaocima, a ne da ih koriste lingvisti prilikom svojih istraživanja.

2.3. Vrste korpusa

Osnovna podjela korpusa jeste na dvije vrste: opšti i specijalizovani korpus.

- **Opšti korpusi** sadrže i pisani i govorni jezik, a takođe mogu uključivati tekstove koji vode porijeklo iz različitih zemalja. Dakle, njihova osnovna postavka jeste da uključe što širi spektar tekstova. Zbog ove činjenice, ovakvi korpus su obično znatno veći od ostalih vrsta korpusa, pa tako korpus *Bank of English* sadrži preko 400 miliona riječi i sastoji se od mnogih manjih korpusa koji obuhvataju različite podoblasti.
- **Specijalizovani korpusi** sadrže tekstove koji su ograničeni na određeni tip teksta, npr. akademske članke o određenim temama i na taj način predstavljaju tu vrstu teksta. Korpus može biti ograničen i u smislu vremenskog okvira kojim se bavi, pa tako imamo korpuse jezika koji se govorio tokom nekih od prošlih vjekova. Korpus može biti ograničen i društvenim okruženjem iz kojeg odabrani tekstovi potiču (korpus razgovora u parlamentu EU). Vjerovatno dva najpoznatija specijalizovana korpusa su: *Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English* (*CANCODE*; koji sadrži neformalni registar britanskog engleskog) i *Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English* (*MICASE*; koji sadrži usmeni akademski registar).

Korpuse dalje možemo definisati kao:

- **Uporedni korpusi** sadrže tekstove iz istih oblasti različitih jezika (npr. novinarski tekstovi na engleskom i francuskom), ili sadrže varijatete jednog jezika (britanski, američki i australijski engleski). Na osnovu ovih korpusa mogu se raditi kontrastivne analize elemenata koji interesuju pojedine naučnike.
- **Paralelni korpusi** sadrže kolekciju prevedenih tekstova sa jednog na drugi jezik, i kao takvi mogu da imaju izuzetnu vrijednost za prevodioce i kontrastivne lingviste. Na osnovu ovih korpusa mogu se uočiti sličnosti ili razlike koje postoje među posmatranim jezicima.

- **Pedagoški korpusi** sastoje se od tekstova koji se prezentuju osobi koja uči neki jezik. Na osnovu njega učenik može lakše naučiti određenu upotrebu neke riječi ili pak naučiti razliku između dvije riječi koje se čine sinonimičnim.

Podjelu dalje možemo nastaviti sa dijahronim i sinhronim korpusom.

- **Dijahroni korpus** prezentuje jezik kroz njegove promjene tokom vremena, dok **sinhroni korpus** daje izgled jezika u određenom vremenu. Zatim možemo da govorimo o **jednojezičnim** i **paralelnim korpusima** i na osnovu njihovih naziva lako možemo da zaključimo da se prvi bavi jednim jezikom, dok je drugi okrenut paralelnim tekstovima koji potiču iz različitih jezika. Primjere ovakvog korpusa predstavljaju prevodi debata u parlamentu EU (koje su prevedene na 23 jezika), ili Kanadski *Hansard* korpus, koji sadrži debate kanadskog parlamenta koje su prevedene na engleski i francuski.

Za sve vrste korpusa bitno je naglasiti da se moraju neprekidno ažurirati kako bi na pravi način odslikavali aktuelni jezički trenutak.

3. Prednosti i mane upotrebe korpusa

Kao i za svaki drugi lingvistički pristup, svijesni smo da i upotreba korpusa tj. korpusne lingvistike i njenih metoda ima svoje prednosti i mane. Iste ćemo pobrojati u naredna dva poglavlja i na taj način pružiti pregled svim onima koji žele da se bave analizom teksta kroz korpusnu lingvistiku.

3.1. Prednosti korišćenja korpusa

Svakako smatramo da je upotreba korpusa veoma bitna jer nam ona omogućava da na konzistentan način posmatramo lingvističke fenomene koje želimo da proučavamo. Iako su prednosti brojne, u tekstu koji slijedi, pokusaćemo da izdvojimo najbitnije i da na taj način damo pregled pomenutih prednosti.

- Jedan og glavnih aduta dobro komponovanog korpusa jeste to što on daje vjerniju sliku o jeziku nego što to može da nam pruži govornikova intuicija. Na osnovu korpusa možemo lakše da dodjemo do kolokacija i fraza nego što to može da uradi izvorni govornik „iz glave". Gotovo je nemoguće odrediti koliko je neka riječ frekventna u određenim žanrovima, osim paušalnih izjava veoma/malo učestala riječ. Tako imamo kod Halliday (1993: 3) da su izvorni govornici svjesniji da je glagol *GO* češći od glagola *STROLL*, ali nikako ne mogu da znaju koje gramatičke kategorije su učestalije od drugih. Naravno, iz ove priče ne treba zaključiti da intuicija nije bitna. Ponekad je intuicija nezamjenljivo sredstvo kada je prave određene lingvističke generalizacije.
- Korpusi se koriste prilikom učenja stranog jezika, jer mogu da pruže detaljniji uvid u jezik kao što je frazeologija. Takav uvid govorniku koji uči neki strani jezik može biti nedostupan na

intuitivnom nivou. Tako na osnovu istraživanja Mindt (2000) znamo da u kolokvijanom engeskom oko 80% fraza koje imaju buduću referencu gradi se pomoću modalnog glagola *will*, *be going to* konstrukcija čini oko 10% fraza, dok sadašnje trajno vrijeme čini oko 5% fraza.

- Uporedni korpusi (korpusi izvornog jezika i prevoda) veoma su korisni za prevodioce jer na taj način mogu da dođu do prevoda odgovarajućih termina, odnosno mogu da saznaju da li prevodni ekvivalenti postoje (i koje su ima varijante) ili ne postoje. Tako smo na osnovu našeg kontrastivnog istraživanja došli do statističkog zaključka da se određeni član *the*, prilikom prevoda na crnogorski, najčešće ne prevodi (u oko 80% slučajeva), ili se prevodi nekom od demonstrativnih zamjenica (taj/ta/to; ovaj/ova/ovo), u oko 15% slučajeva.

3.2. Mane korišćenja korpusa

Međutim, ne treba zaboraviti ni to da ni jedan korpus nije sveobuhvatan, bez obzira na to koliko rada i truda je uloženo u njegovo sastavljanje. Zarad poštenog prikaza i onoga što mi smatramo manama upotrebe korpusa, daćemo i sljedeći pregled.

- Korpus nam ne može dati odgovor da li je nešto gramatički validno ili ne, već samo koliko je učestalo. Tako kod Sinclair (1991: 17) nalazimo da se konstrukcija *EXPIRE OF* u *Bank of English* nalazi u pet linija, tj. 0,1% od cjelokupnog korpusa. Iako ova informacija može biti manje ili više korisna, ne govori nam da li je konstrukcija *EXPIRE OF* gramatički tačna.
- Korpus nam ne može reći ništa van samog sebe. Koliko god korpus težio da bude reprezentativan, uvijek će ostati neki dio jezika koji će biti „nepokriven“. Iako taj dio jezika može biti manji dio ukupnog sistema jezika, opet ostaje činjenica da je apsolutna reprezentativnost nemoguća.
- Korpus nudi informacije, ali ih ne može objasniti. Ovo je idealno mjesti za intuiciju da se uključi u proces analize.
- Korpus ne sadrži vanjezičke elemente (govor tijela, intonaciju i ostale paralingvističke informacije) i kao takav može se smatrati skupom tekstova koji su van konteksta. Naravno, ovo dobija na žnačaju kada pomenemo činjenicu da ista riječ ima različitu konotaciju u zavisnosti od toga kako je emocionalno obojena.

4. Zaključak

Na kraju se dá zaključiti da je korpusna lingvistika prije svega metod, tj. način da se dođe do konkretnijih rezultata koji proističu iz naučnih istraživanja. U to vjeruje i većina naučnika i istraživača koje smo pobrojali u našem tekstu i u to vjeruje i autor ovog teksta, nakon svih istraživanja koja smo sproveli za potrebe našeg doktorskog rada. Takođe, smatramo da će korpusna lingvistika (zajedno sa računarskom lingvistikom) biti sve zastupljenija u naučnim radovima u Crnoj Gori, jer ovaj rad treba shvatiti i kao promociju korpusne lingvistike u našoj zemlji.

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EQUIVALENCE DANS LA DIFFERENCE:
LE CAS DE LA TRADUCTION DES CONSTRUCTIONS CAUSATIVES
DU FRANÇAIS EN SERBO-CROATE (BCMS)

Résumé: *L'article porte sur les constructions infinitives du français régies par les verbes factitifs faire et laisser et les possibilités de leur traduction en serbo-croate (bosnien, croate, monténégrin, serbe). Il traite la problématique confrontée par les traducteurs/interprètes provenant du manque des structures équivalentes en serbo-croate (BCMS). Il présente les particularités sémantiques et syntaxiques des constructions causatives françaises et comporte une analyse du corpus des traductions dans les deux sens, à savoir du français en serbo-croate (BCMS) et du serbo-croate (BCMS) en français. Elle permet de vérifier les principales modalités de traduction et de souligner les avantages et les inconvénients de chacune, dans l'objectif d'aider les futurs traducteurs/interprètes à surmonter l'obstacle que représentent ces tours syntaxiques si répandus et si enracinés dans les langues romanes.*

Mots-clés*: traduction, construction infinitive, factitivité, BCMS*

1. Introduction

Nous nous sommes proposé d'analyser les constructions infinitives du français régies par les verbes factitifs faire et laisser et les possibilités de leur traduction en serbo-croate (bosnien, croate, monténégrin, serbe) guidés par la problématique que confrontent les traducteurs/interprètes provenant notamment du manque des structures équivalentes en serbo-croate (BCMS). Nous commencerons par une courte présentation des expressions de causalité en français et en serbo-croate (BCMS) suivie d'une analyse du corpus[1] des traductions dans les deux sens. Elle permetra de vérifier les principales modalités de traduction et de souligner les avantages et les inconvénients de chacune, dans l'objectif d'aider les futurs traducteurs/interprètes à surmonter l'obstacle que représentent ces tours syntaxiques si répandus et si enracinés dans les langues romanes.

2. Causalité en français et en serbo-croate (BCMS)

La source principale des incertitudes des traducteurs concerne les différences de l'expression de causalité dans les systèmes verbaux de la langue française et des langues bosniaque, croate, monténégrine et serbe. Dans la repartition des informations entre les constituants des constructions causatives étudiées, les verbes régisseurs *faire* et *laisser* perdent

[1] Dans la volonté de faire une analyse objective des possibilités de traduction des constructions infinitives régies par les verbes factitifs *faire* et *laisser* nous nous sommes servis de l'édition mensuelle du journal *Le Monde Diplomatique* et de sa traduction serbe, éditée par *Politika* de Belgrade. Pour les traductions des langues BCMS en français, nous avons analysé les exemples des constructions causatives utilisées dans la traduction française du roman *Le Musée des redditions sans condition*[1] de l'auteure croate Dubravka Ugresic[1], ainsi que les phrases de l'original croate.

leur contenu syntaxique de départ et deviennent porteurs de la valeur factitive à tel point qu'ils sont parfois appelés auxiliaires factitifs. Il est important de souligner que les constructions infinitives régies par les verbes factitifs *faire* et *laisser* représentent les porteurs de la valeur factitive dans le cadre du système verbal du français. La fréquence de leur utilisation s'explique par de nombreux facteurs dont la carence quantitative des verbes simples à valeur causative en français par rapport au serbo-croate (BCMS) nous semble le plus pertinente de point de vue de notre analyse.

En dehors des verbes simples à valeur causative qui représentent les porteurs de la valeur causative au niveau morphologique, les mécanismes d'expression de la factitivité en serbo-croate (BCMS) sont principalement de nature syntaxique: il s'agit des compléments circonstantiels constitués des formes casuelles souvent introduites par les prépositions et des propositions subordonnées circonstantielles de cause que nous n'allons pas examiner dans le présent article. Au niveau lexical, il existe des substantifs à valeur causative, facilement comparables à leurs équivalents français.

A la différence du système verbal français, le système verbal du serbo-croate (BCMS) exprime la factitivité par des moyens morphologiques et les verbes simples en sont les porteurs principaux. Les structures périphrastiques à valeur causative y sont relativement rares et ne peuvent en aucun cas être considéreés comme les équivalents stables des constructions causatives françaises régies par les verbes *faire* et *laisser*. Dans la recherche des formes verbales périphrastiques qui expriment la factitivité en serbo-croate (BCMS), nous avons trouvé, dans la grammaire de Stevanović, une forme intéressante qui pourrait représenter un équivalent digne de la construction infinitive introduite par *faire* dans certains de ses emplois. Il s'agit du verbe *dati* à sens incomplet, suivi d'un infinitif, et dont la fonction se rapproche de celle du verbe français *faire* suivi de l'infinitif qui exprime le transfert de volonté ou des ordres à des grades hiérarchiques inférieurs (sens: *ordonner)*.

1. **Dao je** svijetli naš gospodar u Požunu **svoga sina krunisati.** (ŠENOA, dans STEVANOVIĆ, 763)
Nous avons trouvé, dans le corpus analysé, cette même périphrase traduite en français par la construction infinitive régie par *faire.*

2. Gradske vlasti u crnomorskom gradu Varni jedne su godine **dale prekopati** gradsko groblje, odlučivši da na tom mjestu sagrade hotel. (MBP, 171)
La municipalité de Varna a **fait un jour exhumer** les restes des défunts enterrés sur le cimetière municipal afin qu'on puisse construire un hôtel sur ce terrain. (MRSC, 196)

Nous avons trouvé, dans notre corpus, un exemple de traduction de la construction causative française par le verbe *učiniti*, variante aspectuelle de *činiti,* suivi du verbe conjugué introduit par la conjonction *da*:

3. M. Donald Rumsfeld lui, a présidé à «la deuxième guerre froide» (1975-1989), **fait disparaître** le mot «détente» du vocabulaire officiel et passe les années 1980 et 1990 à promouvoir la «guerre des étoiles» et à dénoncer la politique des démocrates. (MD I, 5)
Gospodin Donald Ramsfeld je predsedavao drugim «hladnim ratom» (1975-1989), **učinio da** reč »detant» **nestane** iz zvaničnog vokabulara i proveo osamdesete i devedesete godine promovišući «Rat zvezda» i osuđujući politiku demokrata. (MDSH I, 5)

En dépit de ces rares exemples de constructions équivalentes, la comparaison des systèmes verbaux du français et du serbo-croate (BCMS) nous amène à conclure que l'étendue du champ d'emploi des verbes simples à valeur causative y est inversement proportionnel et que dans la langue française elle va au détriment des verbes simples. Or, le traducteur d'un texte français est obligé de se débrouiller pour transférer ou rapprocher de manière adéquate en serbo-croate (BCMS) toute la complexité de la construction causative française. D'autre part, le traducteur d'un texte rédigé en serbo-croate (BCMS) doit posséder toute la compétence de reconnaître la valeur causative des verbes simples de ces langues pour savoir choisir la construction causative équivalente. Nous trouvons important de montrer les deux visages de la problématique soulignée et pour ce faire, de pouvoir présenter les exemples de traduction dans les deux sens.

Nous avons divisé l'analyse de nos exemples en deux parties portant respectivement sur les modalités principales de traduction et la traduction de la valeur causative.

3. Modalités de traduction

Suite à l'analyse de nos exemples, nous sommes arrivés à une conclusion plutôt attendue : les traductions des constructions infinitives régies par les verbes factitifs *faire* et *laisser* dans les langues BCMS peuvent être divisés en deux grands groupes, à savoir, la traduction par un verbe simple et la traduction périphrastique.

Nous avons trouvé des exemples où traducteur a pu choisir des verbes simples à valeur causative explicite pour traduire la construction factitive française:

4. Les habitants des Kouriles du Sud ont donc proposé leur aide pour retrouver et **faire revivre** ces pans de mémoire et d'histoire japonaise enfouis. (MD II,11)

Stanovnici Južnih Kurila su, dakle, ponudili svoju pomoć u traženju, kako bi **oživeli** te delove nestalog japanskog sećanja i istorije. (MDSH II, 10)

Il est de même pour les traductions du serbo-croate (BCMS) en français dans lesquels le choix des constructions causatives dans la version française s'impose logiquement: les verbes serbo-croates (BCMS) qu'il a fallu traduire sont des verbes à la valeur causative qui n'existent pas au même nombre en français:

5. P-ova strategija ne samo da je **otopila** svaku nadu da ću otvoriti kutiju s uspomenama, nego je i ubila svaku želju za tim. (MBP,201)
La stratégie choisie par P. avait non seulement **fait fondre** tout espoir d'ouvrir avec lui la boîte aux souvenirs, mais encore tué en moi l'envie de la faire. (MRSC, 224)

La traduction périphrastique des constructions infinitives régies par les verbes *faire* et *laisser* concerne la possibilité de les traduire en serbo-croate (BCMS) par des structures verbales ou verbo-nominales à plusieurs constituants. Ainsi avons-nous trouvé des exemples de traduction des deux constructions causatives françaises par la combinaison de deux verbes, dont le premier prend obligatoirement une forme personnelle, tandis que le deuxième se retrouve soit à l'infinitif, soit au présent de l'indicatif introduit par la conjonction „da“:

6. La création à Paris, en novembre 1946 de l'Unesco (Organisation des Nations unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture) **laisse entrevoir** les difficultés à s'accorder sur le concept et à définir une philosophie d'action homogène.
(MD II, 4)
U novembru 1946. u Parizu, kada je osnivan Unesko (Organizacija Ujedinjenih nacija za obrazovanje, nauku i kulturu), **moglo se naslutiti** da neće biti lako usaglasiti koncepciju i definisati jedinstvenu filozofiju djelovanja. (MDSH II, 5)

Les constructions causatives françaises sont souvent traduites en serbo-croate (BCMS) par une structure verbo-nominale constituée d'un verbe à la forme personnelle qui traduit le verbes régisseurs *faire* ou *laisser* et un substantif dont la forme laisse voir son origine verbale et dont la valeur sémantique correspond à celle de l'infinitif français:

7. Au pouvoir depuis six mois à peine, M. George W. Bush et son équipe ont (...) clairement **laissé entendre que,** dans le différend qui les oppose à l'Union européenne sur la fiscalité *offshore* des entreprises américaines, ils déferlaient l'Organe de règlement des différends (ORC) de l'Organisation Mondiale de Commerce (OMC) s'ils venaient d'être sanctionnés. (MD I, 4)

> Iako su jedva šest meseci na vlasti, gospodin Džordž Buš i njegov tim su već (...) jasno **stavili do znanja** da će se, ukoliko bi bili kažnjeni zbog razmirica koje imaju sa Evropskom unijom oko of-šor sistema oporezivanja američkih kompanija, suprotstaviti Organu za rešavanje sporova (ORD) Svetske trgovinske organizacije (STO). (MDSH I, 4)

Nos analyses nous amènent à conclure qu'il existe deux cas de traduction adéquate des constructions analysées en serbo-croate (BCMS), à savoir:

- Les traductions par les verbes simples dans les cas ou il est possible de trouver le verbe correpondant qui contient la valeur causative.
- Les traductions périphrastiques dans les cas où la valeur causative du verbe régisseur de la construction française est fidèlement transposée, sans entraîner l'introduction des informations complémentaires.

Il est évident que les possibilité de faire des traductions aussi précises et fidèles sont fort limitées, du fait des différences entre le français et le serbo-croate (BCMS) ainsi qu'à cause des contraintes contextuelles. C'est pourquoi la traduction des constructions causatives françaises en serbo-croate (BCMS) exige dans la grande majorité des cas un élargissement ou une réduction de l'information sémantique et syntaxique contenue dans ces dernières. Dans ce sens, la (im)possibilité de joindre la valeur causative au contenu sémantique de l'infinitif en BCMS nous semble être la plus problématique.

4. Traduction de la valeur causative

Notre analyse des traductions des constructions factitives nous a amenée à conclure que le rôle causatif des verbes régisseurs *faire* et *laisser* est souvent le plus difficile à traduire en serbo-croate (BCMS), ou plus précisement, à associer à la valeur sémantique fondamentale de l'infinitif de manière à éviter les traductions littérales et les tours artificiels. Nous nous sommes dons proposé de passer en revue les modalités, les moyens et les limites de la transposition de la valeur causative en serbo-croate (BCMS). Qu'il s'agisse d'une suite purement verbale ou verbo-nominale, les traductions périphrastiques sont formellement plus proches des constructions causatives originales que les traductions par une verbe simple, elles facilitent le maintien de la valeur causative grâce à la possibilité de traduire les verbes factitifs *faire* et *laisser* par un verbe, tandis que l'information sur le processus désigné par l'infinitif français est traduite par un autre verbe ou un nom.

Nous avons analysé les moyens utilisés par les traducteurs pour exprimer la valeur causative en serbo-croate BCMS lorsque la construction causative française est traduite par un verbe simple et nous avons divisé les exemples de traduction par un verbe simple relevées dans les éditions traduites du « Monde Diplomatique » en fonction de la présence de la valeur causative et de sa modalité de présentation. Lorsque le traducteur réussit à trouver et à incorporer dans sa traduction en BCMS le verbe simple à valeur causative qui transpose de manière adéquate le sens de la construction causative française il n'est plus nécessaire de renforcer la valeur causative par l'introduction des autres moyens, comme nous l'avons illustré dans l'exemple 4. Cependant, il n'est pas toujours possible de trouver le verbe simple à valeur causative correspondant et cette valeur sémantique finit par être omise, affaiblie ou exprimée par d'autres moyens linguistiques. Suivent les exemples de la perte de la valeur causative :

8. Il est armé et **fait croire** à une prise d'ôtage (MD I, 1)
Naoružan je i **tvrdi** da ima taoce. (MDSH I, 1)

9. Ce sommet déboucha donc sur un échec partiel. Fallait-il pour autant **faire retentir** les trompettes de l'apocalypse ? (MD II, 14)
Tako je samit završen djelimičnim neuspjehom. Da li je zbog toga trebalo da **se oglase** trube apokalipse? (MDSH II. 14)

Nous avons estimé qu'il serait intéressant de vérifier l'existence des exemples similaires dans les traductions en sens inverse, c'est-à-dire, de trouver des cas de traduction des verbes ou locutions verbales du serbo-croate (BCMS) privés de la valeur causative par les constructions causatives françaises :

10. Već je jedan sat iza ponoći, pokušaću čitati i **zaspati.** (MBP, 75)
Il est déjà une heure du matin. Je vais essayer de bouquiner un peu pour **faire venir** le sommeil. (MRSC, 72)

Dans certaines traductions, le verbe simple utilisé pour la traduction de la construction infinitive régie par *faire* possède la valeur causative, mais elle est bien moins forte de celle de la phrase française:

11. Cette goutte d'eau **fit déborder** le vase, déclencheant les foudres de l'establishment politico-militaire, décidé à casser le mouvement. (MD III, 5)
Ova kap je **prelila** čašu, izazvavši burne reakcije vojno-političkog establišmenta koji je rešio da slomi pokret. (MDSH III, 5)

Nous tenons à citer des exemples des verbes serbo-croates (BCMS) qui laissent deviner une valeur causative, traduits en français par les constructions infinitives régies par *faire* et *laisser* qui la renforcent par rapport au texte original :

12. Zahvaljujući svojim dopisničkim strastima Doti je **smanjivala** račune za struju, plin i telefon. (MBP, 275)
Grâce à sa passion de la correspondance, Doti réussissait à **faire revoir** à la baisse ses factures d'électricité, de gaz et de téléphone. (MRSC, 305)

Dans les exemples analysés, nous avons trouvé les cas des traductions de l'infinitif français par un verbe simple serbo-croate (BCMS), tandis que la valeur causative contenue dans *faire* a été transposée par un syntagme prépositionnel complément circonstanciel de cause. Ce syntagme est constitué de la préposition *zbog* et du substantif au génitif, interprété par les grammairiens du serbo-croate (BCMS) comme génitif « causal », une des formes habituelles d'expression syntaxique de la causalité dans ces langues[2]. Le constituant nominal de ce syntagme est le sujet du verbe *faire* de la phrase française:

13. C'est cette **transformation** qui me **fait** vraiment **regretter** de n'avoir pas dix-huit ans! (MD II, 6)
I upravo **zbog** te **transformacije** iskreno **žalim** što mi nije 18 godina! (MDSH II, 6)

Nos exemples des traductions en sens inverse, à savoir du croate en français, confirment que la construction causative française peut représenter un équivalent réussi à la proposition avec un verbe simple et un syntagme prépositionnel complément circonstanciel de cause.

14. Spavali smo iz obijesti, iz lakomosti, **zbog** stečenog prava (...). (MBP, 202)
Nous avons couché ensemble par orgueil, par cupidité, pour **faire valoir** nos droits acquis (...). (MRSC, 225)

15. Da li se od ovoga mršavi ? – pitala je Nuša. (MBP, 249)
Est-ce que cela **fait maigrir** ?, demanda Nuša. (MRSC, 275)

Dans de nombreux exemples analysés, le sujet du verbe factitif désigne la personne ou la collectivité qui logiquement ou de par leur position hiérarchique ne sont pas exécutants directs du procès exprimé par l'infinitif. L'idée de médiation, de l'autorisation etc y est sousentendue même si la construction causative française est traduite par un verbe simple privé de valeur causative. Voici des exemples dans lesquels le sujet du verbe factitif français et le sujet du verbe simple serbo-croate (BCMS) désignent respectivement une personne (15) et une collectivité (16):

[2] Il est possible de considérer les prépositions *zbog, radi ou od* comme porteurs de la valeur causale car elle sont obligatoirement suivies par les substantifs au génitif. Il nous semble pourtant que c'est tout le syntagme prépositionnel à valeur causale qui est sélectionnée par le traducteur pour remplacer le verbe factitif introduire son sujet.

16. Chef, à l'époque, d'un régime « révolutionnaire », il avait préféré **faire édifier** ce ruineux complexe en rase campagne, au milieu des rizières et des collines, pour échapper à la vindicte d'une population tananarivienne réputée frondeuse. (MD I, 8)
U to vrijeme, on je bio vođa « revolucionarnog » režima i više voleo **da sazida** rasipnički kompleks u pustom kraju, usred brda i pirinčanih polja, kako bi se udaljio od iskaljivanja besa tananarivskog stanovištva, poznatog po kritikovanju vlasti. (MDSH I, 8)
17. Enfin aussitôt après la fin de la guerre froide, l'administration Bush (père) **fit publier**, en 1991, **un document** intitulé *Base Force Review.* (MD III, 10)
Najzad, nakon kraja hladnoratovskog perioda, Bušova administracija je 1991. **objavila** dokument nazvan *Base Force Review.* (MDSH III, 9)

Dans l'analyse des traductions françaises du texte BCMS, nous avons également trouvé des exemples de phrases qui impliquent le même transfert de volonté, reconnu par le traducteur et traduit en français par les constructions causatives :

18. Kašmirova djevojka, Nermina, i sama izbjeglica, objesila se na psihijatrijskom odjelu jedne njemačke bolnice dan prije nego što će je **otpustiti**. (MBP, 295)
Sa fiancée, Nermina, elle aussi réfugiée, s'est pendue dans le service de psychiatrie d'un hôpital allemand, quelques jours avant la date où l'on devait l'en **laisser sortir**. (MRSC, 326)

5. Conclusion

En guise de conclusion, nous tenons à donners quelques courts conseils aux collègues traducteurs et interprètes. Il est évident que la traduction préiphrastique des constructions causatives françaises à tous les avantages par rapport à la traduction par un verbe simple serbo-croate BCMS. Cependant le choix de la périphrase s'avère souvent impossible, que ce soit à cause des différences de l'expression de la causalité dans la langue source et la langue cible ou que c'est imposé par le contexte. Dans ce cas, nous conseillons aux traducteurs de tenter le choix du verbe simple causatif ou d'exprimer cette valeur par des moyens non verbaux, tels que le syntagme nominal complément circonstanciel de cause introduit par la préposition *zbog* ou *od.*

Dans l'interprétation, la bonne connaissance des structures analysées conditionne le succès. Or, si l'interprète maîtrise toute la complexité de la construction causative française, il saura trouver le verbe correspondant en serbo-croate (BCMS) ou introduire la nuance causative par d'autres moyens même si les circonstances et le temps disponible ne permettent toujours pas des explications développées.

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(MD II)	- *Le Monde diplomatique,* No 570, septembre 2001
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JEZIČNI STEREOTIPI U MEDIJIMA I PROBLEMI PREVOĐENJA

Apstrakt: *U radu se istražuje jezični aspekt oblikovanja stereotipa u medijima. Na primjeru američke televizijske serije Obitelj Soprano analizira se kulturni stereotip o Italo-Amerikancima u američkoj filmskoj i televizijskoj industriji. Izabrana serija komunicira s ustaljenim kanonima gangsterskih filmova uz postmodernistički odmak, kako na sadržajnoj, tako i na jezičnoj razini. Jezične stereotipe istražuje se kroz dva aspekta: aspekt korištenja talijanskih dijalektalnih riječi i izraza u američkom izvorniku te aspekt njihovog prijevoda u hrvatskom i talijanskom jezičnom sustavu. Analiza obuhvaća nekoliko semantičkih polja i zasniva se na teorijskim strategijama prevođenja kulturoloških pojava. Prijevodni rezultati pokazuju se semantički siromašniji od izvornika. Uzrok je vezan uz širi problem prevođenja kulturoloških elemenata, s kojima su stereotipi suštinski povezani.*

Ključne riječi: *jezični stereotip, televizijska serija Obitelj Soprano, stereotipi u masovnim medijima, prevođenje kulture (kultura u prijevodu)*

1. Uvod

Problematika prevođenja kulturnog konteksta i pojedinačnih elemenata kulture jedna je od osnovnih tema suvremene teorije prevođenja. Interdisciplinarni pristup često povezuje kulturalne studije (*cultural studies*) i teoriju prevođenja, što na praktičnoj razini zahtijeva od prevoditelja sve šire znanje o popularnoj kulturi i pažljivi odabir strategije prevođenja elemenata kulture u tekstu (*culture specific items*). U ovom radu bavit ćemo se prevođenjem za medije, u ovom slučaju televiziju, kroz analizu konteksta američke serije izrazitog trans-kulturnog značaja i prijevoda/sinkronizacije u dva smjera: engleski izvornik → podnaslovi na hrvatskom jeziku, i engleski izvornik → sinkronizacija na talijanskom jeziku.

2. Jezični stereotip u medijima

S ciljem određivanja jezičnog stereotipa u medijima, polazište nam je definicija stereotipa iz društvenih znanosti. Prema Lippmanu (1995) stereotip predstavlja sliku svijeta koju čovjek konstruira kako bi se pripremio za suočavanje s presloženom stvarnošću. Sam proces mišljenja zasniva se na generalizaciji i nužnosti da naučimo kako ignorirati individualne značajke pojedinih članova skupine u korist skupnih. Jezik institucionalizira stereotip, te istovremeno omogućava prihvatljivo jezično djelovanje unutar određene jezične zajednice.

Stereotip kao element kulture predstavlja zgusnuto značenje koje prevoditelj treba prenijeti iz izvornog u ciljni jezik. Masovni mediji, posebice televizija, snažno se oslanjaju na korištenje stereotipa o nacionalnim i etničkim skupinama. U pravilu se nacionalnost ili etnicitet u svijetu komercijalne televizije koriste kako bi se potvrdio stereotip, i samo u rijetkim slučajevima tu ima mjesta za detalje ili nijanse.

Prilikom transponiranja određenog medijskog sadržaja iz jedne kulture u drugu, iz jednog jezika na drugi, izuzetno je važno prenijeti i bogatstvo kulturnog sadržaja pored onog čistog lingvističkog. Nida (1964) te dvije razine naziva formalnom i dinamičkom ekvivalencijom; dok je formalna ekvivalencija najbliži mogući par forme i sadržaja u izvornom i ciljnom jeziku, dinamička se ekvivalencija svodi na proizvodnju jednakog učinka na primatelja. Teorija prevođenja dodano proširuje koncept prevođenja kulture, naglašavajući važnost uključivanja socioloških, kulturoloških, etnografskih i individualnih značajki u prijevod na ciljnom jeziku. Teoretičari nude različite strategije prevođenja kulturoloških pojmova, s tim da smo za potrebe ovog rada odabrali ljestvicu koju koristi predlaže Baker (1992) i navodi najčešća rješenja za kojima posežu prevoditelji[1]:

1. Korištenje općenitog/ nadređenog pojma
2. Korištenje neutralnijeg pojma
3. Korištenje zamjene (supstitucija)
4. Korištenje posuđenice
5. Korištenje parafraze sa sličnim pojmom
6. Korištenje parafraze bez sličnog pojma
7. Ispuštanje pojma
8. Korištenje ilustracije

Odabrani korpus za analizu jest američka serija „Obitelj Soprano“, izvorno prikazivana u SAD-u u razdoblju od 1999. do 2007. godine. Hrvatska radiotelevizija je u roku od godinu dana nakon emitiranja prve sezone u Americi otkupila seriju i započela s tjednim prikazivanjem. U Italiji se sinkronizirana verzija počela prikazivati 2001. godine. Prevođenje podnaslova tradicija je hrvatskih televizijskih kuća i na određeni je način educirala TV publiku. U usporedbi sa sinkronizacijom, titlovanje predstavlja daleko jeftiniju i bržu metodu, te istovremeno promiče korištenje stranog jezika i približava elemente kulture. Ograničenja metode vezana su za broj znakova i vrijeme trajanja prikaza podnaslova, a istovremena izloženost izvornom i ciljnom jeziku gledatelju omogućava lakše uočavanje eventualnih propusta u prijevodu.

Obitelj Soprano (The Sopranos, HBO, 1999-2007) jedna je od najuspješnijih igranih serija posljednjih desetljeća, s jednakim oduševljenjem prihvaćena od strane kritike i publike. Radnja serije prati 'poslovni' i privatni obiteljski život mafijaškog šefa Tonyja Soprana i galerije likova s kojima je povezan poslovnim i obiteljskim vezama. Na prijelazu u novi milenij, suvremena mafija sada je izmještena s njujorških ulica u predgrađe New Jerseya i suočena s problemima globalizacije i vlastitog identiteta. Žanrovski određena kao mješavina sapunice i gangsterskog filma, serija kao središnji moment uzima koncept propasti mafijaškog bosa („il declino del padrino“). *Obitelj Soprano* od prvih se epizoda snažno referira na kultna filmska ostvarenja žanra:

[1] Prilikom analize, valjalo je uzeti u obzir i specifičnosti prevođenja za televiziju, gdje je broj znakova u jednom retku podnaslova ograničen, te se stoga rjeđe mogu koristiti fraze ili ilustrativna objašnjenja. Isto tako, objektivne okolnosti poput kratkih rokova za isporuku prijevoda ili nepostojanja pisane dijalog liste često utječu na kvalitetu konačnog prijevoda.

trilogiju *Kum* F.F. Coppole (1972, 1974, 1990) i film *Dobri momci* M. Scorseseja (1990), čemu je pomogao i pažljivi odabir glumaca.

3. Razvoj stereotipa o Italo-Amerikancima u američkoj filmskoj i TV industriji

Kad govorimo o nacionalnom identitetu Italo-Amerikanaca, važno je prije svega krenuti od korijena i početka naseljavanja talijanskih doseljenika u SAD. Prilikom dolaska u Novi svijet talijanski imigranti nisu posjedovali nacionalni identitet zasnovan na zajedničkom naslijeđu. Relativno kasno ujedinjenje Italije utjecalo je na činjenicu da se njihova pripadnost zasnivala isključivo na lokalnom i regionalnom. Pripadnik prve generacije rijetko se u kontaktu sa svojim sunarodnjacima identificira kao Talijan, već se identificira s malim mjestom iz kojeg dolazi njegova obitelj i inzistira na lokalnim običajima i dijalektu. Stoga možemo reći da je svijest o zajedničkim i jedinstvenom nacionalnom identitetu proizvod Novog svijeta.

U vrijeme porasta kriminala i vladavine prohibicije u SAD-u, 20-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, prevladavajuća skupina bijelaca anglosaksonskog podrijetla i protestantske vjeroispovijesti (WASP) pripisivala je kriminalno ponašanje (koje je navodno bilo karakteristično samo za Sicilijance) svim Talijanima. Prema povijesnim činjenicama, Italo-Amerikanci nikad nisu činili isključivu etničku skupinu koja se bavila organiziranim kriminalom (ozloglašena organizacija Murder Inc. sastojala se uglavnom od američkih Židova).

Beck (2000) objašnjava kako je naša slika i shvaćanje imigrantske kulture ili supkulture i ljudske prirode različitih narodnosti pod snažnim utjecajem onoga što primamo kroz masovnu ili popularnu kulturu. Taj je koncept je specifičan za Ameriku, koja u pop kulturi pronalazi ideološku poveznicu, nešto što je zajedničko svim Amerikancima bez obzira na podrijetlo. U suvremenom svijetu brišu se razlike između zabavnog i informativnog, pop kulturu primamo i koristimo u misaonim i osjetilnim procesima, a narativni žanrovi filma i televizije savršeno se uklapaju u spomenutu konstrukciju.

Talijan kao dio kriminalnog miljea postao je svojevrsna ikona hollywodskog filma klasičnog razdoblja (Mali Cezar, 1931; Lice s ožiljkom, 1932). Zvučni film otvara i dodatnu, jezičnu dimenziju identifikacije talijanskih imigranata: stereotipni filmski junak govori loš engleski s jakim talijanskim naglaskom, a prilikom sinkronizacije na talijanski jezik preuzima sicilijanski ili rjeđe napolitanski dijalekt. Rossi (2007) naziva taj etničko-kinematografski stereotip *Hollywod Italian*, a predstavlja glasnog, nasilnog, vulgarnog i emocionalnog tradicionalista koji se nikad sasvim ne uspijeva integrirati u društvo.

4. Obitelj Soprano i dekonstrukcija stereotipa

Premda redatelj često gotovo intertekstualnim intervencijama komunicira s gledateljem na razini 'već izrečenog', odmak od tradicionalnog filmskog stereotipa mafije i romantiziranja nasilja je izrazit: bez obzira što žele biti veliki kao *Kum*, činjenica je da protagonisti žive u New Jerseyu i sukobljavaju se oko bušilica i *provolone* sira, čime se demitologizira romantična slika o mafiji.

Stereotipi za kojima posežu scenaristi predvidljivi su i savršeno funkcioniraju u kontekstu sapunice: Talijani su gnjevni i poluobrazovani nasilnici koji mir u kući kupuju talijanskim kožnim garniturama, a mafijaši starog kova prikazani su kao karikature. Filmska kritika često uspoređuje šire značenje filma *Kum* i serije *Obitelj Soprano*: baš kao što je početkom 1970-ih *Kum* oslikao naličje američkog sna, tako i *Obitelj Soprano* žali za erom post-ratnog blagostanja (Fraser, 2007). Treća i četvrta generacija talijanskih useljenika se u potrazi za vlastitim identitetom ne oslanja samo na tradiciju, već i na njen hollywoodski prikaz. Na razini osobne identifikacije gledatelja, problemi glavnog junaka na obiteljskom planu toliko su tipični za američko iskustvo više srednje klase da se gotovo poklapaju s profilom tipičnog konzumenta kabelske produkcije.

Preispitivanje identiteta i potraga za odgovorom na pitanje što znači biti Amerikanac talijanskog podrijetla nisu nametnuti od strane prevladavajuće kulture, već dolaze iznutra, iz same zajednice. Giannini Quinn (2004) navodi kako sami članovi italo-američke zajednice prihvaćaju i nastavljaju amerikaniziranu mitologiju koja u svom središtu prikazuje Talijane kao kriminalce.[2]

5. Pištolj, lonac i mama

Specifičnosti jezika serije uvjetovane su radnjom i modelom/stereotipom na koji se serija stalno referira. Govor glavnih aktera, pripadnika treće i četvrte generacije talijanskih imigranata (izravno ili neizravno vezanih za mafiju) karakterizira specifičan i pomalo pretjeran 'Joisey' naglasak i zvučna mješavina talijanskih i engleskih riječi, američkog slanga i mafijaškog žargona. Putem jezika, američka publika precizno smješta pojedine likove na društvenu ljestvicu i pripisuje im tipske osobine iz već poznatih medijskih prikaza Italo-Amerikanaca.

Na početku serije postmodernistička ironija smješta „glavu obitelji“ (*obitelji* u doslovnom i metaforičkom smislu) u ordinaciju psihoanalitičarke i upravo u tom ambijentu prevrće temelje tog poznatog hollywoodskog Talijana definiranog kroz takozvana četiri M: „mafija, mama, makaroni i mandolina“.[3] Ti pojmovi približno odgovaraju semantičkim poljima kojima se bavi ova analiza, a koja su snažno prisutna u medijskoj stereotipizaciji Amerikanca talijanskog porijekla:

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[2] Serija je već nakon prve sezone prikazivanja izazvala snažan revolt kod dijela italo-američke zajednice u SAD-u; predstavnici Udruge za zaštitu Italo-Amerikanaca (American-Italian Defense Association) pokrenuli su i sudski postupak protiv producenata TV serije i mreže HBO radi kršenja Ustava države Illinois i odredbe o zaštiti dostojanstva, te štete nanesene zajednici kroz promicanje kriminalnog stereotipa o Italo-Amerikancima.

[3] F. Rossi, cit. djelo.

polje mafijaškog žargona, obiteljskog života i kulta hrane. Vidjet ćemo koliko je formalne, a koliko dinamičke ekvivalencije u rješenjima hrvatskog prevoditelja serije.

Počevši od elemenata mafijaškog žargona koji su nastali iz talijanskih dijalekata, treba kazati kako se sama riječ MAFIA spominje vrlo rijetko – tek dvaput u analiziranim epizodama. Učestalo se koristi titula za čelnika mafijaške organizacije CAPITANO, ponekad u standardnom talijanskom obliku CAPITANO, a ponekad kao dijalektalno skraćeni CAPITAN. Hrvatski prijevod koristi formalnu ekvivalenciju KAPETAN čija je konotativna vrijednost neutralnija i kulturološki nije vezana uz kriminalni milje. U pluralnom obliku italoamerički CAPITANS, standardni talijanski oblik CAPITANI, postaju NETKO OD NAS, odnosno pribjegava se parafrazi bez korištenja sličnog pojma.

Jezik nasilja nije izrazitije obojen talijanskim, učestalije su onomatopejske riječi američkog žargona. AGITA – talijanski AGITAZIONE sa značenjem tjeskobnog psihičkog stanja koristi se u sintagmi TO GIVE AGITA – talijanski AGITARE koja u hrvatskoj varijanti supstitucijom postaje RAZNJUPATI.

Talijanski standardni oblik COMPAESANO prenesen je u italoamerički GOOMBAH sa značenjem *sunarodnjak*, *zemljak*, ali u hrvatskom prijevodu poprima negativno značenje HULIGAN. Taj pojam dodiruje semantičko polje poslovnog svijeta kriminala, kao i privatnog obiteljskog, odnosno jednako je prisutan u italoameričkoj mafijaškoj obitelji u njenom doslovnom značenju i onom metaforičkom. Isto se može reći i za GOOMAR / GOOMARA, riječ nastalu iz talijanskog COMARE, ali uz promjenu značenja. Na hrvatski je prevedena općenitijim pojmom LJUBAVNICE, iako se često koristi specifično kao oznaka za mafijašku ljubavnicu.

Karakteristična je uporaba italoameričkih izraza za psovke i uvrede najrazličitijih vrsta, usmjerene protiv drugih etničkih skupina, protiv Italoamerikanaca ili vezanih uz obiteljske odnose. Hrvatski se prevoditelj u većini slučajeva odlučuje za ispuštanje pojma ili koristi neutralniji pojam: uvredljivi naziv za pripadnike crne rase MULIGNAN / MELIGNON (postoji više načina pisanja riječi), od talijanskog MELANZANA, ne prevodi uopće, kao ni TIZOON, od talijanskog TIZZONE (ugarak).

Pogrdni izraz MEDIGANS kojim Italoamerikanci označavaju uspješno amerikanizirane sunarodnjake semantički je složen, s obzirom da je nastao iz MERICANO tal. AMERICANO i MERDICANI tal. MERDA DI CANE. U tom slučaju postizanje dinamičke ekvivalencije je zahtjevnije, što prevoditelj rješava ispuštanjem pojma.

Neke psovke i uvrede kod kojih postoji formalna ekvivalencija u jezicima – poput VA FUNGOOL, tal. VA FANCULO ili MANNAGGIA (izraz identičan standardnom talijanskom) – nisu prevedene ili je korištena supstitucija, primjerice za PUZZI preveden kao BUDALE umjesto *smradovi*, CHIACCHIERONE kao KRETEN umjesto *lajavac* i slično. Prevoditeljski nešto zahtjevnija psovka VA FANABLA / VA FA NAPOLI nije prevedena.

Opsesivna ljubav prema hrani jedan je od najuvriježenijih stereotipova o Talijanima koji u liku Tonyja Soprana pronalazi svoje utjelovljenje. Najveći dio jezičnog korpusa utemeljenog u talijanskom jeziku upravo je iz semantičkog polja gastronomije. Prema C. Scarpino[4] vrlo česti razgovori o hrani u seriji mogu se smatrati njenim „najvažnijim doprinosom tradicijskom sjećanju američkih Talijana". U tim razgovorima spominju se brojni talijanski specijaliteti, osobito s juga zemlje (glava obitelji Tony Soprano je porijeklom iz Avellina), tipične talijanske namirnice i napitci. ANTIPASTO i PROSCIUTTO ponekad se izgovaraju dijalektalno okrnjeno ANTIPAST´, PROSCIUT´, ali zadržavaju izvorno značenje, kao i MOZZAREL´, PARMIGGIANO, ESPRESSO. S obzirom da se radi o internacionalno poznatim namirnicama te su dio i hrvatskog gastronomskog konteksta i prijevod je formalno ekvivalentan – PREDJELO, PRŠUT, ESPRESSO). GRAPPA je zadržala izvorni talijanski oblik i supstitucijom postala LOZA, ali namirnice koje su manje poznate u hrvatskom podneblju ili su pogrešno prevedene – poput pikantne šunke GABAGOOL / talijanski CAPOCOLLO/CAPICOLLO koja je postala VINSKI GULAŠ, ili je pojam ispušten, na primjer PASTINA (sitna tjestenina).

U prijevodu je izgubljen i veći dio specifičnih tradicionalnih jela: BRAJOEL, talijanski BRACIOLE, supstitucijom su prevedene u PAŠTICADU, VEEL TONNATOS, talijanski VITELLO TONNATO, pojednostavljeni su u općenitiji pojam TELEĆIH ODREZAKA, baš kao i MACAROONS iz tal. MACCARONE/ od *ammaccare* u KOLAČIĆE, dok su ARANCINI, sicilijanski specijalitet od riže, jezično signalizirani samo pokaznom zamjenicom TO.

Jezični naglasak na gastronomskom užitku kao tradicionalnoj vrijednosti italoameričke obitelji pojačava kontrast prema drugoj strani te iste obitelji – nasilnoj borbi za prevlast u suvremenom mafijaškom društvu.

6. Zaključak

Talijanske dijalektalne riječi u jeziku Italoamerikanaca u televizijskoj seriji Obitelj Soprano funkcioniraju kao elementi stereotipnog prikaza imigrantske talijanske kulture. Njihovo prevođenje stoga pretpostavlja interdisciplinarni pristup neophodan svakom postupku prevođenja kulturnog konteksta. Dodatne zahtjeve postavlja i priroda samog televizijskog medija koji ograničava brojem znakova i vremenom trajanja prikaza podnaslova. Analizirani prijevodni ishodi odabranog korpusa u semantičkom polju mafijaškog žargona najčešće su formalni ekvivalenti, čiji se kulturni kontekst pokušava prenijeti korištenjem općenitijih ili neutralnijih pojmova. Jezik svakodnevnih grubosti u međuljudskoj komunikaciji izrazito je definiran kulturnim kontekstom i zahtjevan za transponiranje u drugu kulturu. Isto vrijedi i za polje stereotipiziranog kulta hrane, pa su i prevoditeljska rješenja slična. Najčešće se pojednostavljuje upotrebom općenitijih pojmova ili njihovim potpunim ispuštanjem. S obzirom na takva prevoditeljska rješenja, gledatelju se ne prenose dinamički ekvivalenti, odnosno ne dobiva stereotipnu sliku italoameričke mafijaške obitelji koja u jeziku izvornika postoji.

[4] C. Scarpino, str. 346.

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ULOGA INTERNETA U PROCESU PREVOĐENJA: NEKI LINGVISTIČKI ASPEKTI

***Apstrakt**: Cilj ovog rada je da se ispita u kojoj mjeri i na koji način korišćenje interneta olakšava proces prevođenja. Govoriće se o potencijalu koji internet ima kao izvor referentnih materijala (enciklopedija, opštih i stručnih rječnika, terminoloških baza podataka itd.), ali i kao višejezični korpus tekstova iz različitih oblasti. Vidjećemo i na koji način internet pomaže u rješavanju prevodilačkih nedoumica, te analizirati njegovu pouzdanost i preciznost na tom planu i pokazati kako se zahvaljujući pretraživačima, alatima i bogatstvu ažuriranih informacija omogućava bolja primjena prevodilačkih metoda i procedura i samim tim doprinosi poboljšanju kvaliteta prevoda.*

***Ključne riječi**: internet, korpus, internet pretraživači, prevođenje, kolokacije*

1.Uvod

Nagla ekspanzija interneta započeta devedesetih godina prošlog vijeka,[1] a dodatno intenzivirana u novom milenijumu vrši veliki uticaj na gotovo sve društvene nauke, pa i na nauku o jeziku. Svega dvadesetak godina od svojih početaka, internet je danas u svijetu predmet proučavanja istraživača iz najrazličitijih naučnih oblasti, između ostalih i lingvistike i traduktologije. Kada govorimo o motivaciji lingvista i prevodilaca da se bave proučavanjem i pretraživanjem interneta, dovoljno je reći da on predstavlja najveći jezički korpus koji je ikada postojao. Internet, naime, već sada sadrži više pisanog teksta od svih svjetskih biblioteka zajedno (Crystal, 2011: 10). Pritom, ne radi se o jednojezičnoj bazi podataka, već tu nepreglednu enciklopediju znanja kolektivno sačinjavaju gotovo svi svjetski jezici. Jasno je od kolike ovo koristi može biti za prevodioce, imajući na umu da prevođenje, pojednostavljeno rečeno, podrazumijeva dekodiranje odnosno razumijevanje poruke u jeziku izvoru, te njenu reprodukciju u jeziku cilju.[2] Da bi taj proces bio uspješan, osim poznavanja izvornog i ciljnog koda (jezika), prevodilac, između ostalog, treba da raspolaže i kompetencijom za tekstualnu analizu originala, te poznavanjem intertekstualnosti i vanjezičke situacije na koju se upućuje, kao i stručnom terminologijom, odnosno pravilima stilske upotrebe (Hlebec, 1989: 14). U svemu ovome, internet tehnologija je od koristi. Govoreći o potencijalu i namjeni veb-mreže,[3] njen tvorac, Tim Berners-Li[4], kaže:

[1] Počeci interneta vezuju se za eru hladnog rata, odnosno pedesete godine prošlog vijeka, kada je u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama vladina agencija *DARPA* (*US Department of Defense's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency*) dobila zadatak da napravi mrežu koja je trebalo da obezbijedi sigurnu komunikaciju između vladinih i vojnih struktura, čak i u slučaju nuklearnih napada, odnosno uništenja jednog njenog dijela. Ipak, vrijeme kada su računari u većoj mjeri postali dostupni široj javnosti i kada internet doživljava procvat su kasne osamdesete i rane devedesete dvadesetog vijeka (Radić-Bojanić, 2007: 9).

[2] U stručnoj literaturi prisutne su najraznovrsnije definicije prevođenja, pri čemu se različiti pogledi na djelatnost mogu svrstati u tri osnovne koncepcije: lingvističku, filološku i komunikacijsku (Hlebec, 1989: 5-7).

[3] Veb-mreža (*World Wide Web*) predstavlja sistem međusobno povezanih hipertekst dokumenata, odnosno način pristupa informacijama posredstvom interneta kao medijuma.

[4] *Weaving the web*, Berners-Lee, 1999: 1-2.

> Vizija koju ja imam za veb mrežu je da je ona o bilo čemu što je potencijalno povezano sa bilo čime. To je vizija koja nam daje novu slobodu, i omogućava nam da rastemo brže nego što smo to ikada mogli dok smo bili sputani hijerarhijskim klasifikacijskim sistemima kojima sebe obavezujemo.

Pitanje koje je u centru pažnje ovog rada je kolika je trenutna upotrebna vrijednost interneta u oblasti primijenjene lingvistike, odnosno teoriji i praksi prevođenja. Za tu svrhu smo, djelimično se oslanjajući na model koji daje Gileva,[5] identifikovali nekoliko oblasti u kojima internet može biti od pomoći prevodiocima, a one se ogledaju u omogućavanju brzog pristupa referentnim materijalima, pristupu višejezičnom korpusu tekstova, vršenju analize statističkih indikatora učestalosti upotrebe pojmova i korišćenju internet tehnologije kao sredstva komunikacije i izvora vanjezičkih informacija.

2. Pristup referentnim materijalima

Vrijeme kada je za uspješno prevođenje bilo potrebno imati na raspolaganju veliki izbor opštih i stručnih rječnika i dovoljno vremena za njihovo pretraživanje polako ali sigurno ostaje za nama. Danas se, zahvaljujući internetu, u zavisnosti od izvornog i ciljnog jezika prevođenja te konkretne oblasti u kojoj se prevodi, relativno lako i brzo može pristupiti čitavom nizu referentnih materijala. Pored izbora velikog broja jednojezičnih i višejezičnih opštih, stručnih i specijalizovanih rječnika (rječnici idioma, kolokacija itd.), te enciklopedija i gramatika, internet softver omogućava nam i pristup stručnim materijalima kao što su glosari, terminološke baze podataka i drugi priručnici.[6] Zahvaljujući njima, prevodioci mogu steći detaljan uvid u različita značenja i kontekste upotrebe traženih termina, što je često od presudnog značaja za utvrđivanje adekvatnih prevodnih ekvivalenata u jeziku cilju. Pritom, što je određeni jezik rasprostranjeniji na internetu, to je veća vjerovatnoća da će prevodilac lako pronaći ono što mu je potrebno. U oblasti prava, primjera radi, kada su u pitanju jezici zemalja članica EU, postoje brojni projekti kao što su paralelni korpusi tekstova (Evrokorpus), baze podataka Evroterm (*Multilingual terminology database*), i Interaktivna terminologija za Evropu (*Inter-Active Terminology for Europe*), baza podataka EU sa preko 1,4 miliona jedinica koja u sebi sadrži i ranije slične projekte kao što su *Eurodicautom*, *TIS*, *Euterpe*, *Euroterms* itd.

Kada je u pitanju crnogorski, ali i drugi slični jezici (srpski, hrvatski i bosanski), manje je, u vrijeme pisanja ovog rada, raspoloživih referentnih materijala u domenu prava, ali se njihov broj uvećava kako se zemlje Zapadnog Balkana približavaju članstvu u EU. Proces pridruživanja, naime, podrazumijeva usaglašavanje velikog broja zakonskih i podzakonskih akata, za šta je neophodno prevesti mnoge od njih, tako da se broj javno dostupnih prevedenih dokumenata na internetu konstantno uvećava. Što se tiče referentnih materijala, trenutno su dostupne baze

[5] *Using the Web as a Linguistic Tool in Translation Practice*, Gileva, dostupno na vebsajtu: http://www.sophista.info/writtenwork.htm.

[6] Naročito su brojni jednojezični rječnici i drugi materijali, pogotovo kada su u pitanju veći svjetski jezici (engleski, njemački, francuski itd.).

podataka kao što su Monterm, Evronim i druge, te priručnici kao što su Priručnik za prevođenje pravnih i drugih akata u procesu evropskih integracija Crne Gore, Priručnik za prevođenje pravnih akata Evropske unije, Priručnik za prevođenje pravnih propisa RH na engleski jezik itd. Korišćenje ovih i sličnih materijala, osim što je od pomoći u procesu prevođenja, zajedno sa zvaničnim prevodima pravnih tekstova dostupnim onlajn, umnogome olakšava rad na standardizaciji terminologije i postizanju veće terminološke ujednačenosti, što je u ovoj oblasti od velikog značaja.

3. Višejezični korpus tekstova

Problem sa kojim se u pretraživanju interneta često suočavamo nije da li nešto na njemu postoji, već kako to nešto pronaći, odnosno kako mu pristupiti. Ipak, proces pretraživanja i pristupa informacijama u novije vrijeme djelimično je olakšan zahvaljujući već pomenutoj rastućoj višejezičnosti interneta koja se ogleda u postojanju višejezičnih resursa i aplikacija, kao i operativnih sistema i pretraživača adaptiranih na lokalne jezike korisnika. Korišćenje postojećih višejezičnih korpusa tekstova iz različitih domena ljudskih aktivnosti izuzetno je značajno, ne samo zbog uvida u ključnu terminologiju i frazeologiju koja se vezuje za određeni istraživački domen, već i zbog izobilja lingvističkih i ekstralingvističkih informacija koje ovi tekstovi čine dostupnim. Pristupom ovim materijalima, prevodioci se upoznaju sa primjerima upotrebe stručnih termina i njihovim pozicioniranjem u određenom kontekstu, što rezultira otklanjanjem eventualnih nedoumica prilikom prevođenja. Nedavno je i na našim prostorima počela praksa objavljivanja važnih državnih dokumenata i izvještaja u elektronskoj formi na crnogorskom i engleskom jeziku, čime je otvorena mogućnost pretraživanja i upoređivanja paralelnih tekstova na dva jezika. Time je u znatnoj mjeri olakšan posao prevodiocima, posebno kada je riječ o prevođenju tekstova vezanih za *acquis communautaire* i proces pridruživanja EU. Sve ovo igra vrlo bitnu ulogu u primjeni prevodilačke procedure priznatog prevoda (*recognised translation*) koja, kako je definiše Njumark, podrazumijeva upotrebu zvaničnih i već postojećih opšteprihvaćenih stručnih termina, a što je jako bitno zbog uniformnosti prevoda, odnosno zarad terminološke standardizacije (Newmark, 1988: 89).

Osim pretraživanja paralelnih korpusa tekstova, terminološkoj standardizaciji umnogome doprinosi i sve učestalija prevodilačka praksa koja podrazumijeva ponavljanje izvornog termina, njegovo definisanje na jeziku cilju i uvođenje prevodnog ekvivalenta u dokumentima na našem jeziku (npr. lica koja prijavljuju korupciju - *whistleblowers*; jasno praćenje ostvarenih rezultata - *track record*).

4. Analiza statističkih pokazatelja kao vid provjere ispravnostifraze, kolokacije ili sintagme

Još jedna od opcija koja nam je na raspolaganju zahvaljujući Internetu je provjera učestalosti upotrebe određenog termina ili fraze, odnosno provjera prevodilačkog rješenja koje prevodilac ima na umu. Ova mogućnost koja se ostvaruje posredstvom internet pretraživača, u prvom redu *Google-la*, od posebne je koristi ukoliko prevodioci nijesu sigurni u ispravnost, odnosno preciznost prevodnog ekvivalenta. Jedan od najjednostavnijih načina da se izvrši provjera učestalosti određene konstrukcije u relevantnim tekstovima je da se odabrani upit na odgovarajući način unese u *Google* pretraživač. Na taj način, dobićemo statističke podatke koji se tiču upotrebe datog termina, prikazane kroz tačan broj pojavljivanja na internetu. Uprkos određenim nedostacima i nepreciznostima ovakvog pristupa,[7] ukoliko se traženi jezički segment javlja u dovoljnom broju slučajeva i ukoliko ta javljanja potiču iz pouzdanih izvora (npr. sa zvaničnih sajtova institucija), može se sa velikim stepenom sigurnosti ustvrditi da se radi o ispravnom prevodilačkom ekvivalentu. Ova metoda naročito je podesna za provjeru ispravnosti fraza, složenih izraza i sintagmi (zvaničnih naziva institucija), prijedloga, kolokacija, idioma itd, a o njenoj tačnosti već postoje i izvjesna istraživanja.[8]

Ilustracije radi, uzećemo kao primjer glagol *učestvovati* i njegov prevodni ekvivalent na engleskom jeziku *participate*. Pretpostavimo da prevodilac u prevođenju rečenica

(1) Crnogorska policija učestvuje u projektima "Kanun" i "Besa" …
(2) Crna Gora je redovno učestvovala na sastancima Američko-jadranske povelje (A5), kojom je predsjedavala Makedonija.

ima dilemu između oblika *participate in* i *participate at*. Uvidom u *Gugl* rezultate dolazimo do sljedećih podataka o učestalosti ovih oblika na internetu:

Participate in - 145 000 000
Participate at - 1 850 000

Kako bismo u potpunosti bili sigurni u odabir prave opcije, proširili smo upit i ograničili pretragu na fraze koje dodatno uključuju i termin projekti (*projects*), a zatim i sastanci (*meetings*). Dobijeni su sljedeći rezultati:

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[7] Primjera radi, internet pretraživači ne odbacuju viškove koji su rezultat dupliranja stranica (Crystal, 2011: 58).
[8] U jednoj od analiza ove problematike sprovedenoj 1999. godine, Gregori Grefenstet je započeo istraživanje kako bi dokazao svoju hipotezu da je u slučaju prevođenja složenica sa njemačkog i španskog jezika, u slučajevima gdje postoji više od jednog mogućeg prevoda, tačan onaj prevod koji se najčešće pojavljuje na internetu. U toku istraživanja, Grefenstet je koristio 724 složenice na njemačkom jeziku i otkrio je da je u slučaju njih 631 (87%) internet kao najbolji prevod na engleski jezik ponudio rješenje koje je najučestalije, dok je tačnost u slučaju prevođenja sa španskog na engleski jezik (na uzorku od 1140 termina) iznosila 86% (Grefenstette, 1999: 1-12).

Participate in projects - 1 980 000
Participate at projects – 422
Participate at meetings - 39500
Participate in meetings - 2 980 000

Nakon uvida u dobijene rezultate, može se sa velikim stepenom sigurnosti zaključiti da pomenute primjere treba prevesti na sljedeći način:

(1) The Montenegrin Police **participates in** the projects "Kanun" and "Besa" …
(2) Montenegro regularly **participated in** meetings of the US-Adriatic Charter (A5), chaired by Macedonia.

Identičan pristup može se primijeniti i na sljedeće prevodilačke nedoumice:

!Touristic attractions - 555 000
Tourist attractions - 28 400 000

!Convicted for – 3 575 000
Convicted of - 36 600 000

Presjek statističkih podataka za traženi upit nam i u ovom slučaju nesumnjivo ukazuje na to za koje prevodno rješenje treba da se odlučimo. Uz veliku diskrepancu u učestalosti, izbor prevodiocu olakšava i činjenica da se veliki broj web-strana sa pogrešnim oblicima duplira, dok rezultati po pravilu dolaze sa govornih područja na kojima engleski jezik nije maternji. Ovaj faktor takođe treba imati na umu u razmatranju pouzdanosti dobijenih rezultata, jer u određenim slučajevima nijedna od alternativa ne mora biti pogrešna, ali će nam podaci o učestalosti i izvoru korišćenja često otkriti koji su oblici manje česti te samim tim stilski markirani odnosno neprirodni za izvorne govornike.

5. Sredstvo komunikacije i izvor vanjezičkih informacija

Na kraju, pomenućemo još neke od prednosti koje su prevodiocima dostupne zahvaljujući internet tehnologiji. Pored lake, brze i često besplatne komunikacije sa drugim prevodiocima i ekspertima iz određenih stručnih oblasti koja je omogućena putem četova, foruma, imejla, društvenih mreža i drugih vidova internet komunikacije, postoje i brojni specijalizovani sajtovi namijenjeni upravo prevodiocima, putem kojih je omogućen pristup prevodilačkim terminološkim bazama podataka, kao i jednostavna interakcija među prevodiocima (*ProZ*, *TranslatorsCafe* itd.). Zahvaljujući ovima, moguće je uspostaviti brz kontakt sa drugim prevodiocima i na taj način zajedničkim naporima razriješiti dilemu. Takođe, dostupni su i brojni vanjezički sadržaji, enciklopedije (*Wikipedia*, *Gigapedia* i sl.), stručni tekstovi i razni drugi materijali bez kojih bi proces prevođenja nesumnjivo bio mnogo teži. Treba istaći i da su mnogi materijali dostupni na internetu ažurirani gotovo svakodnevno (za razliku od štampanih rječnika), što je od velikog značaja, jer je neizbježno da se u prevodu nailazi na neologizme i novo-skovane usko stručne izraze kojih često nema čak ni u najnovijim rječnicima, zbog čega internet može uštedjeti dragocjeno vrijeme provedeno u pretraživanju stručne literature i konsultacijama sa ekspertima.

6. Zaključak

Internet bez ikakve sumnje može biti od velike koristi tokom razumijevanja, a potom i dekodiranja poruka na izvornom jeziku, odnosno njihovoj reprodukciji na jeziku cilju. Dostupni internet pretraživači, višejezični alati i softveri mogu biti izuzetno korisni pri rješavanju brojnih prevodilačkih ali i opštih jezičkih nedoumica sa kojima se nerijetko susrećemo. Sve to moguće je uz minimalan utrošak vremena i energije.

Ipak, postoje i određena ograničenja, nerijetko i zablude u koje možemo upasti oslanjajući se isključivo na internet. Internet pretraživači često variraju u mehanizmima, filterima i bazama podataka koje koriste. Bilo koja od tih varijabli može značajno uticati na rezultate pretrage. Tu su, kao što je već pomenuto, i problemi dupliranja stranica, neprovjerenosti podataka, dvosmislenosti koja nastaje iz polisemičnog karaktera riječi itd. Nema garancija, primjera radi, da je određena informacija na *Wikipediji* tačna, iako to najčešće jeste slučaj. U krivu mogu biti i glosari, pogotovo oni od anonimnih autora, a i dostupni gotovi prevodi, zvanični ili nezvanični. Zbog svega toga, prevodilac mora koristiti što je više izvora moguće, jer će samo na taj način svesti mogućnost greške na minimum. Internet je veoma moćan alat, koji će vremenom, zahvaljujući velikim ulaganjima industrije, postajati sve moćniji, ali je upravo to razlog zbog čega mu treba pristupati s povjerenjem ali i dozom opreza.

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UDK 81'25:34

Lejla Zejnilović

PREVOĐENJE PRAVNIH TEKSTOVA – TEORIJA I PRAKSA

Apstrakt: *Ovaj rad se bavi problematikom prevođenja pravnih tekstova. Oslanjajući se postulate opšte teorije prevođenja i teorije stručnog prevođenja, u uvodnom dijelu rada daje se pregled različitih pristupa prevodilačkom procesu i obrazlaže se adekvatnost komunikativnog pristupa. Zatim slijedi predstavljanje prevodilačkih postupaka i metoda kojima prevodioci mogu pribjeći u cilju ostvarivanja leksičke, sintaksičke i stilističke ekvivalencije prilikom prevođenja pravnih tekstova. Istraživanje, zasnovano na kontrastivnoj analizi rezimea presuda Evropskog suda za ljudska prava napisanih na engleskom i crnogorskom jeziku, ukazuje na to da se idiomatičnost prevoda postiže kombinovanjem različitih prevodilačkih postupaka.*

Kjučne riječi: *prevođenje, teorija prevođenja, komunikativni pristup prevođenju, leksička ekvivalencija, sintaksička ekvivalencija, stilistička ekvivalencija*

1. Uvod

Iako je tradicija prevođenja pravnih tekstova veoma duga, činjenica je da ne postoji dovoljan broj studija u kojima se, s teorijskog aspekta, razmatra problematika prevođenja pravnih tekstova. Pomenuto činjenično stanje može se objasniti dosadašnjom prevodilačkom praksom, koja se u velikoj mjeri oslanjala na tradicionalni prevodilački pristup kojim se promovisala ideja o primjerenosti doslovnog ili semantičkog prevođenja pravnih tekstova. Pitanja vezana za izradu teorijskog okvira usložnjavaju i neusaglašeni stavovi lingvista, prevodilaca i pravnika u pogledu mogućnosti primjene principa opšte teorije prevođenja prilikom prevođenja pravnih tekstova.

U savremenoj teoriji prevođenja, sve više je prisutna misao o tome da prevodilački pristup varira u zavisnosti od vrste pravnog teksta koji se prevodi. Drugim riječima, prevodilac se opredjeljuje za određenu prevodilačku strategiju na osnovu vanjezičkih faktora, prvenstveno komunikativne funkcije ciljnog teksta. Shodno tome, Njumark ističe da određivanje pristupa prilikom prevođenja pravnih tekstova zavisi od toga da li pravni dokument koji se prevodi ima informativnu funkciju ili u okviru pravnog sistema ciljne kulture predstavlja dokument sa obavezujućom pravnom snagom (zakoni, testament, itd.), pa za pomenute vrste pravnih dokumenata Njumark sugeriše doslovan i semantički, odnosno komunikativni prevod. (Newmark, navedeno prema Šarčević 2000: 19). Autorov stav u vezi sa primjerenošću doslovnog i semantičkog prevoda pravnih tekstova je u korelaciji sa tradicionalnim pristupom kojim se insistira na vjernom prenošenju semantičkih i sintaksičkih svojstava izvornog jezika kako bi se postigla pravna preciznost.

Kada je riječ o prevođenju sudskih presuda, a rezimei presuda Evropskog suda za ljudska prava čine korpus na osnovu koga je sprovedena analiza, mišljenja stručnjaka iz prakse i teoretičara prevođenja suprotstavljena su u pogledu stepena doslovnosti prevoda, pa se kao preporuke nameću doslovan i idiomatski, odnosno komunikativni prevod. U ovom radu zastupamo tezu o adekvatnosti komunikativnog pristupa prevođenju, budući da su pravni tekstovi prvenstveno namijenjeni stručnjacima, tako da nije dovoljno samo ostvariti ekvivalenciju sadržaja, već ciljni tekst formulisati shodno stilističkim očekivanjima primaoca prevoda. Stoga ćemo se u dijelu koji slijedi pozabaviti prevodilačkim postupcima kojima prevodioci mogu pribjeći u cilju ostvarivanja leksičke, sintaksičke i stilističke ekvivalencije prilikom prevođenja tekstova pravne struke.

2. Ekspanzija

Postupak ekspanzije podrazumijeva širenje struktura izvornog teksta dodavanjem. Dodavanje, odnosno kvantitativno obogaćivanje izvornog teksta može biti uslovljeno opštim razlikama između jezika prevoda i jezika originala, ali i nastojanjem da se poveća stepen razumljivosti prevedenog teksta dodavanjem elemenata koji nisu prisutni u tekstu originala ili, pak, proširivanjem struktura izvornog teksta. Širenje struktura izvornog teksta može pratiti i zamjenjivanje elemenata izvornih struktura u cilju ostvarivanja semantičke ekvivalencije i prirodnosti izraza. Na osnovu primjera iz korpusa možemo zaključiti da je ovaj postupak veoma produktivan kada je riječ o prevođenju pravnih tekstova, budući da se primjenjuje na različitim jezičkim nivoima.

Na nivou leksike, ekspanzija se realizuje putem opisnog prevođenja i hiposemantizacije. Pomenuti postupci, o kojima će biti riječi dalje u tekstu, mogu se definisati kao podkategorije ekspanzije na nivou leksike.

Ipak, ovaj postupak najšire je zastupljen na sintaksičkom nivou, gdje veoma često dolazi do dodavanja elemenata prilikom prevođenja složenih imeničkih fraza radi njihovog lakšeg razumijevanja i postizanja prirodnosti izraza:

Regular Selective Information Flow from the Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights to the Contact Persons of the **National Human Rights Structures**
Redovna selektivna informacija **upućena** iz kancelarije Komesara za ljudska prava kontakt osobama iz nacionalnih struktura **za zaštitu** ljudskih prava

Requirements regarding **effective investigation for police misconduct**
Kriterijumi za **sprovođenje** djelotvorne istrage **kršenja dužnosti pripadnika policije**

State and Municipalities Responsibility for Damage Act 1988
Zakon o odgovornosti za štetu **uzrokovanu od pripadnika državnih i opštinskih vlasti** iz 1988. godine

Ekspanziji podliježu i prepozicione i manje kompleksne imeničke fraze, kada se ovaj postupak primjenjuje iz stilskih razloga ili radi postizanja fluentnosti i boljeg razumijevanja teksta. Primjeri iz korpusa su sljedeći:

The Court therefore held unanimously that there had also been a violation of Article 13 on account of the lack of adequate redress **for the violation under Article 3.**
Stoga je Sud jednoglasno zaključio da je došlo i do kršenja člana 13 usljed neadekvatne naknade **zbog kršenja prava definisanih članom 3.**

The applicants complained **under Articles 11** (freedom of assembly and association) **and 14** (prohibition of discrimination)…
Na osnovu članova 11 (sloboda okupljanja i udruživanja) **i 14** (zabrana diskriminacije), podnosioci predstavke su se žalili...

In September 1995 the applicant was arrested and placed in pre-trial detention **on charges** of aiding and **abetting** murder.
U septembru 1995. godine, podnosilac predstavke je uhapšen i određen mu je pritvor u pretkrivičnom postupku **po osnovu optužbi** za pomaganje i **podsticanje na izvršenje** ubistva.

Two **violations** of article 6
Dva **slučaja kršenja** člana 6

3. Opisno prevođenje

Opisno prevođenje je iskazivanje onoga što je u izvornom tekstu saopšteno jednom riječju ili frazom dužim konstrukcijama. Ovaj postupak, koji zapravo predstavlja jedan vid ekspanzije, često je upotrebljivan u ovom radu prilikom prevođenja, za ciljni jezik, neuobičajenih spojeva tipa **imenica$_1$+imenica$_2$**, kao i prilikom prevođenja leksema koje u ciljnom jeziku imaju korespondentne lekseme, koje su, pak, stilski neobilježene. Primjeri prevodnih rješenja za spojeve tipa **imenica$_1$ + imenica$_2$** bi bili sljedeći:

inadmissibility decision - odluka o neprihvatljivosti predstavke
health data - podaci o zdravstvenom stanju
police statement - izjava data policiji
police misconduct - kršenje dužnosti pripadnika policije
hygiene facilities - prostorije za održavanje higijene
remand prisoner - zatvorenik u istražnom zatvoru

asylum application - zahtjev za dobijanje azila
length-of-proceedings complaint - žalba zbog dužine trajanja postupka
applicant company - privredno društvo koje je uložilo predstavku

Gore navedene primjere možemo dovesti u vezu sa primjerima fraza izvornog teksta, čiji bi doslovan prevod imao za rezultat konstrukcije koje nisu u duhu jezika cilja: **medical data- podaci iz medicinske dokumentacije**, odnosno primjerima fraznih riječi čije opisno prevođenje doprinosi boljem razumijevanju koncepata koje označavaju:

criminal conviction - osuda u krivičnom postupku
striking out judgments - odluke o brisanju predstavki iz registra Suda
criminal remedy - pravni lijek u krivičnom postupku
pre-trial detention - pritvor za vrijeme trajanja pretkrivičnog postupka
preliminary investigation - istraga u pretkrivičnom postupku
ordinary appeal - žalba Osnovnom sudu
constitutional appeal - žalba Ustavnom sudu

Kao primjer drugopomenute okolnosti koja doprinosi upotrebi opisnog prevoda mogu poslužiti leksičke jedinice **conscript, offender** i **detainee** kojima u prevodu odgovaraju fraze **regrutovani vojnik, počinilac krivičnog djela, pritvoreno lice**, pri čemu dopunski leksički materijal u pomenutim frazama nije samo u funkciji stilske markiranosti, već i u funkciji potpunijeg predstavljanja semantičkog sadržaja leksičkih jedinica izvornog teksta.

4. Hiposemantizacija

Sljedeća kategorija ekspanzije na koju ćemo se osvrnuti je hiposemantizacija. Hiposemantizacija „znači da korespondent u L_2 sadrži manji broj obeležja od onih u reči u L_1, što ga čini semantički opštijim i otuda manje preciznim" (Prćić 2005: 172). Hiposemantizacijom dolazimo do prevodnih ekvivalenata koji su rezultat modifikacije korespondenata dopunskim leksičkim materijalom koji može biti distribuiran prije ili posle korespondentne lekseme jezika cilja. Na primjer, riječ **podnosilac** neophodno je bilo modifikovati riječju **predstavka** kako bi se dobio ekvivalent engleske riječi **applicant - podnosilac predstavke**, koja u datom kontekstu označava lice koje podnosi predstavku Evropskom sudu. Ovaj postupak, koji ima za cilj uspostavljanje sadržinske ravnoteže između leksičkih jedinica izvornog i ciljnog jezika, je prilikom prevođenja primjenjivan u više navrata, što se može vidjeti u sljedećim primjerima:

offence - krivično djelo (hiposemantizovan korespondent djelo modifikovan riječju krivično)
conviction - osuđujuća presuda (hiposemantizovan korespondent presuda modifikovan riječju osuđujuća)
discipline - disciplinski kazniti (hiposemantizovan korespondent kazniti modifikovan riječju disciplinski)
confess – priznati krivicu (hiposemantizovan korespondent priznati modifikovan riječju krivica)
prosecution - krivično gonjenje (hiposemantizovan korespondent gonjenje modifikovan riječju krivično)
remedy - pravni lijek (hiposemantizovan korespondent lijek modifikovan riječju pravni)
fine - novčana kazna (hiposemantizovan korespondent kazna modifikovan riječju novčana)
criminal sanction - krivičnopravna sankcija (hiposemantizovan korespondent krivična modifikovan riječju pravna)
damages - naknada štete (hiposemantizovan korespondent naknada modifikovan riječju šteta)

5. Pojednostavljivanje

Prevodni postupak pojednostavljivanja podrazumijeva svođenje jezičkog materijala izvornog teksta. Pojednostavljivanje se može vršiti na nivou fraza, klauza, kao i na nivou teksta. Na nivou fraza, ovaj postupak je primjenjivan iz stilskih razloga kako bi se eliminisali elementi fraza čija bi upotreba u prevodu bila redundantna. Kao primjer navodimo fraze **specific elements, acts of violence** i **prosecution authorities** koje su prevedene jednočlanim leksemama koje dijele isti semantički sadržaj sa frazama iz izvornog teksta:

The Court lastly noted that one of the **specific elements** of the instant case…
Sud je na kraju ukazao na to da je jedna od **specifičnosti** datog slučaja... (umjesto specifični elementi)

perpetrators of **acts of violence** - počinioci **nasilja** (umjesto akt nasilja)
prosecution authorities - **tužilaštvo** (umjesto tužilačke vlasti)

Na nivou klauza, pojednostavljivanje počiva na sintaksičkim transformacijama koje su u većini slučajeva u primjerima iz korpusa podrazumijevale zamjenjivanje finitnih i nefinitnih klauza nominalnim jezičkim iskazima kako bi prevod bio formulisan u skladu sa žanrovskim obilježjima pravnih tekstova. Drugim riječima, osnovu dominantne forme pojednostavljivanja predstavlja transpozicija, odnosno premještanje sadržaja iz jedne jezičke jedinice u drugu, što se može predstaviti sljedećim primjerima:

The applicants are two Lithuanian nationals: Judita Armonienė, **who lives in the village of Ąžuolpamušio (Lithuania)…** (finitna klauza)
Podnositeljke predstavke su dvije državljanke Litvanije: Judita Armonienė, **žiteljka sela Ąžuolpamušia (Litvanija)…** (konstrukcija sa deverbativnom imenicom)

They also found that by **distributing the document in question to journalists**, the applicant had sought to reach a wider audience… (nefinitna klauza)
Sudovi su takođe utvrdili da je **distribuiranjem datog dokumenta novinarima**, podnosilac predstavke pokušao da obezbijedi širu audijenciju… (konstrukcija sa deverbativnom imenicom).

6. Transpozicija

Pojam transpozicije označava promjenu gramatičkih kategorija prilikom prevođenja. Transpozicija vrsta riječi se u prevođenju primjenjuje onda kada direktno preslikavanje gramatičkih vrsta riječi stvara neprirodne strukture koje nisu u skladu sa jezičkim normama jezika prevoda, tako da je zamjena vrsta riječi u takvim slučajevima obavezna. Primjeri iz našeg korpusa su:

imenica + imenica → pridjev + imenica
investigation proceedings - istražni postupak
court fees - sudski troškovi
remand prison - istražni zatvor

imenica + imenica → imenica + prepoziciona fraza
detention facilities - prostorije za pritvor
detention establishments - ustanove za pritvor
educational facilities - prostorije za edukaciju
recreational facilities - prostorije za rekreaciju

Na nivou strukturnih djelova rečenice, transpozicija je ostvarena i premještanjem sadržaja finitnih i nefinitnih klauza u konstrukcije sa deverbativnom imenicom koje u pravnom diskursu predstavljaju stilski markirane strukture. Posebno je zanimljiva tendencija transponovanja finitnih i nefinitnih klauza u konstrukcije sa deverbativnom imenicom kada su klauze u izvornim tekstovima, samostalno ili u okviru prepozicionih fraza, u funkciji dopuna apstraktnih imenica **sloboda**, **pravo**, **zabrana**, **sredstvo, obaveza**, **cilj**, **svrha**, **mogućnost, značaj, suzdržljivost**, **pokušaj**. Data zapažanja ilustrovaćemo primjerima iz korpusa:

- **finitna klauza→konstrukcija sa deverbativnom imenicom**

In 2005 the Supreme Administrative Court allowed them to pay compensation to the applicants **once the amount had been set.**
2005. godine, Vrhovni upravni sud im je omogućio da plate naknadu podnosiocima predstavke **po određenju iznosa naknade.**

The applicant was taken into police custody **when the search began**.
Podnosilac predstavke je odveden u policijski pritvor **na početku pretresa.**

In 1989 two owners of an adjacent plot of land, which had not been expropriated but would increase in value **once the expropriation took place**…
1989. godine, dva vlasnika obližnje parcele, koja nije bila eksproprisana, a čija bi se vrijednost, **nakon eksproprijacije**, uvećala…

- **nefinitna klauza→ konstrukcija sa deverbativnom imenicom**

In view of its findings under Article 11, the Court did not consider it necessary **to examine this complaint separately.**
Imajući u vidu nalaze u skladu sa članom 11, Sud nije smatrao neophodnim **zasebno razmatranje ove žalbe.**

Furthermore, clear instructions **to take further investigative steps** had not always been followed.
Nadalje, jasne instrukcije **za preduzimanje daljih koraka istrage** nisu uvjek bile ispoštovane.

On 14 March 2001 Mr Ismailov was arrested and taken into police custody on suspicion of armed robbery; he was subsequently convicted **as charged.**
Dana 14. marta 2001. godine g. Ismailov je uhapšen i zadržan u policijskom pritvoru pod sumnjom da je izvršio oružanu plačku; kasnije mu je **na osnovu optužnice** izrečana osuđujuća presuda.

- **Transpozicija uz apstraktne imenice**

right **to bargain collectively** - pravo **na kolektivno pregovaranje**

absolute prohibition on **forming trade unions** - apsolutna zabrana **osnivanja sindikata**

obligation **to furnish necessary facilities for the examination of the case -** obaveza **obezbijeđivanja neophodnih olakšica za ispitivanje slučaja**

While religious freedom was primarily a matter of individual conscience, it also implied freedom **to manifest one's religion**...
Iako je sloboda vjeroispovijesti prvenstveno bila pitanje savjesti pojedinca, ona je takođe implicirala slobodu **ispoljavanja vjere**...

Mr Savenkovas was convicted in October 2000 of robbery, illegal possession of ammunition, assault and an attempt **to abscond.**
Oktobra 2000. godine g. Savenkovas je optužen za plačku, nelegalno posjedovanje municije, napad i pokušaj **bjekstva.**

Transpozicija je primjenjivana i prilikom prevođenja rečeničnih konstrukcija sa neanimatnim subjektom kojima u prevodu na crnogorski odgovaraju obezličene konstrukcije ili se, pak, u prevodu subjekat transponuje u prepozicionu frazu:

It therefore concluded that **such interference with the applicants' rights** had upset, to their detriment, the fair balance... (neanimatni subjekat)
Sud je stoga zaključio da **se takvom povredom prava podnosilaca predstavke, na štetu podnosilaca predstavke, narušila ravnoteža... (**obezličena konstrukcija)

It took the view that **the comments in question** had not exceeded the degree of exaggeration or provocation generally allowed to the press... (neanimatni subjekat)
Mišljenje Suda je da **se pomenutim komentarima nije prevazišao stepen pretjerivanja ili provokacije koji je, generalno gledano, štampi dozvoljen**... **(**obezličena konstrukcija)

The Court took into account that **the national law** at the material time did contain norms protecting the confidentiality of information about the state of health of a person. (neanimatni subjekat)

Sud je uzeo u obzir činjenicu da su **u okviru nacionalnog zakonodavstva** u datom trenutku postojale norme koje štite povjerljivost podataka o zdravstvenom stanju nekog lica. (prepoziciona fraza)

The Court observed that **the relevant Regulations** obliged the police to include in their records all information regarding the outcome of any criminal proceedings relating to the accusations. (neanimatni subjekat)
Sud je ustanovio da je **u skladu sa relevantnim propisima** policija bila u obavezi da u svoju evidenciju uvrsti sve informacije o ishodu krivičnih postupaka u vezi sa optužbama. (prepoziciona fraza)

7. Modulacija

Modulacija podrazumijeva promjenu semantičkih kategorija, kao i odstupanja od formulacija izvornog teksta (Alacaraz i Hughes 2002: 185) u cilju postizanja prirodnosti izraza. Drugim riječima, modulacija se primjenjuje na leksičkom i sintaksičkom nivou. Na nivou leksike, ovaj postupak je ostvarivan adaptacijom leksičkog materijala izvornog teksta. Brojni su primjeri u kojima je bilo potrebno korespondentne lekseme, prvenstveno glagole i imenice, zamijeniti leksemama koje u datom kontekstu doprinose idiomatičnosti izraza. Najčešće se radilo o tome da se doslovnim prevodom dolazilo do prevodnih rješenja neprihvatljivih za dati kontekst ili kolokacija koje u našem jeziku ne postoje. Prethodno navedeno ilustrovaćemo sljedećim primjerima:

In May 1999 the newspaper **ran** a series of articles criticising Mr. Bruck…
U maju 1999. godine, u ovom dnevnom listu **objavljeno je** više članaka u kojima se iznosi kritika na račun g. Brucka...

In **giving** its decision the State Security Court relied on…
Prilikom **donošenja** odluke, Državni sud bezbjednosti se oslonio na...

… the Court of Cassation refused to **follow** the solution proposed by the Gaziantep District Court…
… Kasacioni sud je odbio da **postupa** u skladu sa rješenjem koje je predložio Okružni sud u Gaziantepu...

The Court considered that the restrictions imposed on the three groups mentioned in Article 11, namely **members** of the armed forces, of the police or of the administration of the State, were to be construed strictly…

Po mišljenju Suda, ograničenja nametnuta trima grupama iz člana 11, naime **pripadnicima** oružanih snaga, policije i **zaposlenima** u državnoj upravi, treba tumačiti strogo...

Given RŠ's resistance to being placed in the permanent custody of her grandparents, it was decided to **reopen** the proceedings.
Uzimajući u obzir otpor RŠ da bude stavljena pod trajno starateljstvo roditelja preminulih, donijeta je odluka o **ponovnom pokretanju** postupka.

Modulacija se ostvaruje i putem semantičkih preformulacija, što potvrđuju sljedeći primjeri iz korpusa:

For the Court, it was regrettable that the domestic court had failed to ensure a speedy trial for the State agents ...
Sud je izrazio žaljenje što domaći sud nije obezbijedio suđenje po hitnom postupku za državne agente...

Whilst there was no reason to call into question the willingness of the investigating authorities to shed light on the circumstances, they had nevertheless failed to establish **why the military administration had been so ineffectual.**
Iako nije bilo razloga da se dovede u pitanje spremnost istražnih vlasti da rasvijetle okolnosti, one ipak nisu uspjele da ustanove **uzroke neefikasnosti vojne uprave.**

The Court observed that the efficiency of the investigation into the disappearance and death of the applicant's son **had been undermined** at the initial stages.
Sud je ustanovio **nedovoljnu** efikasnost istrage u vezi sa nestankom i smrti sina podnositeljke predstavke u početnim fazama istrage.

Failure to comply with Article 38 § 1 - **kršenje** člana 38 § 1 (a)

8. Zaključak

Prethodnom analizom pokazali smo da su rezimei presuda Evropskog suda za ljudska prava primjer vrste pravnih tekstova koji zahtijevaju komunikativni pristup prevođenju, budući da bi doslovno preslikavanje kompleksnih struktura koje se javljaju u veoma dugim rečenicama izvornog teksta kao krajnji rezultat imalo nezgrapne strukture kojima bi se umanjila idiomatičnost i preciznost prevoda. Analizirani primjeri iz korpusa ukazali su na to da se idiomatičnost prevoda postiže kombinovanjem više prevodilačkih postupaka, što se najbolje može ilustrovati zapažanjem da je transpozicija veoma često u funkciji ostvarivanja prevodilačkog postupka modulacije.

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Meri Petrov

OVERVIEW OF PROVIDING INTERPRETATION SERVICES IN CANADIAN HEALTH CARE

Abstract*: Providing professional medical interpreting in health care is a basis for providing all Canadians their right to an acceptable standard of health care, regardless of linguistic and cultural background, race, class, gender. It is the only way of preventing health inequities as a result of language barriers and is central to providing high quality health care that is accessible, timely, safe and patient centred.*

Key words*: medical interpreting, health care, health equity, language access, high quality health care*

1. Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to give an overview of providing interpretation services in Canadian health care. Providing professional medical interpreting in health care is a basis for providing all Canadians their right to an acceptable standard of health care, regardless of linguistic and cultural background, race, class, gender. It is the only way of preventing health inequities as a result of language barriers and is central to providing high quality health care that is accessible, timely, safe and patient centred.

The overview will be given by exploring the followingv issues:

- What is the legal framework for providing health care interpreting in Canada?
- Why should health care interpreting be provided?
- Where is health care interpreting provided?
- Who provides health care interperting?
- What are the situtations in which interpreters are used in health care?
- What are the types of health care interpreting?
- What are the modes of interpreting used?
- What are the impacts of providing / not providing professional interpreter services?
- What are the challenges for implementing professional health care interpreting services?

2. What is the legal framework for providing health care interpreting?

Canada’s health care system has evolved into a universal system in order to support the needs of Canadians on a fair and equitable basis. The Canada Health Act (1984) identifies principles to guide provinces in designing their health care delivery systems in ways that ensure Canadians have “reasonable access to health services without financial or other barriers.” The principles of Accessibility, Universality and Comprehensiveness are foundational to the current and future strength of the health care system and are becoming even more relevant as Canadian population becomes increasingly ethnically diverse due to evolving immigration patterns. The increase in immigrant population has led to the growing need for language services to systematically reduce actual and potential disparities in health.

Another relevant law that can be directly applied to an individual's rights to equal access to healthcare is the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Charter states, "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical ability." In 1997, an interpretation of the Charter was used in the Supreme Court to defend the human rights of persons with hearing impairment who required communication through American Sign Language (ASL). The court found that not providing a sign language interpreter impaired their ability to communicate with health care providers, and increased the risk of misdiagnosis and ineffective treatment. Although, the ruling does not explicitly address language barriers other than ASL, one could conclude that failing to supply a language interpreter may cause limited-English-proficient (LEP) patients to receive inefficient or suboptimal care processes and outcomes.

Although the equal access to healthcare is guaranteed by the law, the Ontario Ministry of Health and Long -Term Care provides no funding for interpretation services.

3. Why should health care interpreting be provided?

Health care interpeting should be provided to enable speakers not sharing a common language communicate sucessfully during medical encounters as good communication with the patient is the keystone to providing good medical care.

To illustrate the need for providing health care interpreting, we will use statistics for Toronto:

- Toronto is recognized as one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the world with over 150 languages spoken.
- In the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), 213,000 residents have «no knowledge» of either official language.
- Therefore, approximately 7.6% of the GTA, or 426,000 individuals, have limited English proficiency and require an interpreter in medical encounters.
- According to age-specific data from the Toronto Central Local Health Integration Network (Toronto Central LHIN), the number of seniors who require an interpreter is much higher.
- Based on estimations of the Law Foundation of Ontario, the number of individuals requiring an interpretation is double the number of individuals who have no knowledge of English or French.

- By definition, a limited-English-proficient patient falls into the category of low health literacy, and studies are clear that patients with low health literacy have higher costs because they do not understand medical instructions and treatment recommendations. Poor communication means not only more tests and higher costs**,** but there is also a higher risk of lawsuits.

4. Where is health care interpreting provided?

Health care interpreting is provided in hospitals, community health care centeres, community centres and support service agencies, mental health facilities, long term care facilities, as well as home visits.

5. Who provides health care interperting?

After decades of «making-do-without» practice and «wild, wild West» situation where interpreting in health care has been provided by literally everyone: family members, friends, bilingual volounteers, doctors, clinical and non-clinical bilingual staff, it has been realized that it is important to have professional health care interpeters (staff or freelance) as using an unqualifed interpeter is like using a broken X-ray machine: you cannot get an accurate diagnosis.

Professional interpeters are generally affiliated with the larger urban hospitals. For example, The University Health Network, one of Canada's largest teaching hospitals, comprised of Toronto General Hospital, Toronto Western Hospital and Princess Margaret Hospital, apart from their staff interpreters has over 200 contract interpreter team. Health care interpreters are trained, accredited and certified language professionals.

Requirements for health care interpreters include:

- university degree (includes international university), preferably in languages or related field and at least 100 hours of Canadian training and interpreter experience in the field or
- Canadian college certificate in language interpreter training program and documented experience in the filed or
- Canadian community–based interpreter training program certificate (provided by community interpreter training agencies) and documented experience in the field
- language test CILISAT / ILISAT (available in 60+ languages)
- ongoing professional advancement and development opportunites to maintain competency

Health care interpreters have not only skills and competence: linguistic knowledge and competnce (excellent command of both source and target language) , knowledge of medical terminology, interpeting competence, research and technical competence and interpersonal skills, but they also abide by the standards of practice and code of ethics as outlined in the National Standard Guide for Community Interpeting Services (NSGCIS):

1. Accuracy and Fidelity
2. Confidentiality
3. Impartiality
4. Respect for Persons
5. Maintaining Role Boundaries
6. Accountability
7. Professionalism
8. Continued Competence

6. What are the situtations in which interpreters are used in health care?

It can be said that interpreters are used in health care for everything from cradle, or even before cradle, to grave: emergency, admission, consent, assessments, patient teaching, treatment options, counselling, discharge, follow up, palliative care decisions.

7. What are the types of health care interpreting?

Face to face, over the phone and video interpreting are the types of interpeting used in health care.

Face to face is still preferable for long appointments, assessments (cognitive, capacity, nursing), patients who are hard of hearing, mental health encounters, trauma, family meetings and when discussing sensitive issues, such as negative diagnosis or palliative care.

Over the phone interpreting (OPI) is preferred for outpatient visits, particularly follow-up appointments. Where face to face interpeters can work with only four to six patients each day, phone interpreters can serve up to six patients in just an hour thus keeping costs down.

Video medical interpreting was first introduced in 2006 and it is the next wave of remote interpretation, particularly in the U.S. and increasingly in Europe.

The visual cues available to a video medical interpreter enable the interpreter to provide enhanced service to patient and care provider. The ability for the interpreter to see facial expressions and gestures, and read medical labels, further improve communication and outcomes. Patients and providers also report increased satisfaction when interacting with the interpreter through video. Like phone interpretation, the savings to the organizations are substantial.

8. What are the modes of interpreting used?

Consecutive, whispered symultaneous, sight translation (forms, consent forms, medical history) are the modes of interpreting used in health care.

9. What are the impacts of providing/not providing professional interpreter services?

Language barriers have a significant impact on quality of health care and providing interpretation in the delivery of health care is a matter of health equity and patient safety.

In order for providers to be effective there is a need for a mutual understanding of the patient's health status. As well, practitioners need to be able to explain the individual risks and benefits of interventions to enable patients and their family members to meaningfully participate in decision-making and to obtain informed consent. Patient safety literature identifies language barriers as a limitation to informed consent and a contributor to preventable morbidity and mortality. An inability to communicate and share information can lead to delays in necessary services and decreased satisfaction for patients and families. The negative impacts of language barriers are found in terms of health care accessability, quality, efficiency and cost. The cost of not using language services has been linked to adverse events, excessive or unnecessary tests, prolonged hospital stays, more emergency room use, limitations to follow-up care, and increases in 'no-show' appointments resulting in a significant increase in health care provider time.

Evidence reveals that using untrained persons to interpret can lead to adverse effects, medication error, misdiagnosis, inappropriate treatment, inappropriate admissions, poor adherence and lack of follow-up care due to inaccurate interpretation, lack of understanding how to interpret medical terms and omitting of sensitive information.

Advantages of using professional health care interpreter services include greater efficiency and consistent delivery of quality services which has been shown to reduce risk of error, reduce unnecessary tests, procedures, emergency visits and admissions and increased satisfaction of patients and staff.

10. What are the challenges for implementing professional health care interpreting services?

There have been numerous recommendations for professional health care interpretation services over the last two decades, yet little has changed. Gaps include lack of legislation and policy, inconsistent use of interpreter services, and inconsistency in application of standards for training and testing of interpreters.

One of the biggest challenges is funding. Funding for language services in Canada differs across health sectors and among providers with 35% supporting the service at their own discretion through their global budget and 37% having no formal funding structure. A small percentage of organizations fund language services through foundations and corporate sponsorship. For those who reported having budgets for language services, the expenses range from $3000 to $260,000. Across organizations, Interpretation services are operated out of a variety of departments and programs, including Quality & Risk Management, Human Resources, Clinical Programs and Patient Support Services. There is an even distribution between centralized (coordinated by a specific department) and decentralized (coordinated at the program level) language services depending on the organization.

Although the equal access to healthcare is guaranteed by the law, the Ontario Ministry of Health and Long -Term Care provides no funding for interpretation services.

Apart from funding, Toronto's unique challenges for delivery of language services include the variety of languages spoken, different sectors having different needs, and increasing complexity of care both in hospital and in the community, requiring optimal communication.

11. Conclusion

When a delay in communication may place patient safety at risk, immediate access to professional health care interpeters is a critical component of providing high quality health care.

Findings from existing literature highlight that the numerous benefits that patients, service providers and healthcare institutions recieve from professional interpretation services outweigh the costs of implementing such services. More importantly, there is a general consenus that the provision of language access services within healthcare should not be viewed as a separate «add-on» progam, but as an essential component of a strategy to meet broader organizational goals including managing risk, improving quality of care, reducing health disparities, and establishing partnership with marginalized communities thus reducing racialized and ethnic health disparities.

The implementation of a model for centralized integrated interpreter services could potentially be the impetus leading to legislation that facilitates optimal delivery of language services in health care settings broadly and ensuring health equity for all Canadians.

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THE USE OF AUXILIARIES IN ENGLISH AND RUTHENIAN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS (Contrastive approach)

Abstract: *The paper contains a description of the formal differences and similarities in the structure of English and Ruthenian verb constructions. It can be said that Ruthenian verb constructions are mainly formed synthetically, whereas English verb constructions are mainly formed analytically. The use of auxiliaries in English compensates for the sparseness of flexion. There are five auxiliaries in English verb constructions (BE, DO, HAVE, SHALL, WILL) whereas there is only one auxiliary in Ruthenian (БУЦ). Although the author mostly pays attention to the active verb constructions in the study, the passive verb constructions are included as well. The results may serve as a starting point for futher contrastive investigations. The results can be used in teaching English in the Ruthenian speaking area and in teaching Ruthenian in the English speaking area as well as in translating both from English into Ruthenian and from Ruthenian into English.*

Key words: *English language, Ruthenian language, verb constructions, auxiliary verbs, contrastive approach*

1. Introduction

Generally speaking, the subject of this paper is morphological and syntactic contrastive analysis of English and Ruthenian. Emphasis is placed on the relations prevailing between morphosyntactic components and our attention is paid to the verb phrases in the grammatical systems of the Ruthenian and English languages.

Some of the morphosyntactic characteristics of English and Ruthenian languages are visible in simple sentences. For example,. instead of English *I write* and *I love*, the Ruthenian equivalents are both *я пишем*, *я любим* and *пишем*, *любим*. Whereas the subject (nouns, pronouns, NPs) expression is compulsory in English, in Ruthenian it is not the case. The concept of the first person singular in the Ruthenian language can be expressed by a noun phrase or by the verb morpheme {*м*}. This morphosyntactic difference between the two languages is caused by the loss of flexion in English.

If we take into consideration the possibility of changing the order of verbal elements in Ruthenian (for ex. the Ruthenian equivalents for English *I wrote* are: in main clauses *Я писал* and *Писал сом*; in subordinate clauses *Кед сом писал*) we can distinguish two significant characteristics of the Ruthenian verbal system: the ability of varying constructions and free order of elements within constructions. On the other hand, the English verbal system is characterized by a greater degree of fixedness.

2. Analitical Inflectional Verb Forms in Ruthenian and English

There are two analytical inflectional verb forms in both languages. According to traditional Ruthenian grammars, they are called the Present and the Perfect:

Present	Perfect
я пишем	*я писал / писал сом*
ти пишеш	*ти писал / писал ши*
вон пише	*вон писал*
вона пише	*вона писала*
воно пише	*воно писало*
ми пишеме	*ми писали / писали зме*
ви пишеце	*ви писали / писали сце*
вони пишу	*вони писали*

If the subject is not expressed in the Perfect, the presence of the auxiliary *БУЦ*, that is its forms (*сом*, *ши*, *зме*, *сце*) is obligatory.

According to traditional English grammars, the two analytical inflectional verb forms are called the Present Simple Tense and the Simple Past Tense:

Present Simple Tense	Simple Past Tense
I write	*I wrote*
you write	*you wrote*
he writes	*he wrote*
she writes	*she wrote*
it writes	*it wrote*
we write	*we wrote*
you write	*you wrote*
they write	*they wrote*

Unlike the Ruthenian forms, the English forms are not synthetic in interrogative and negative sentences. They become analytic and presence of the forms of the auxiliary *DO – do/does* or *did* – is obligatory. For ex. *I do not write*, *Do you write?*; *I did not write*, *Did you write?*

3. Lexical and Auxiliary Verbs

On the basis of verb functioning in the verb phrase anglists distinguish two main groups of verbs.

The first group consists of verbs that are called differently: main verbs (Leech and Svartvik, 1988: 242), full verbs (Palmer, 1988: 19; Quirk et al, 1991: 96), lexical verbs (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1998: 26), notional verbs (Nesfield, 1956: 53), and sometimes ordinary (Thomson and Martinet, 1990: 105). For the purposes of this paper the most acceptable term is lexical verbs.

Based on the criteria that were used by H. E. Palmer and F. T. Blendford for anomalous finite verbs and based on four basic transformations used by N. Chomsky, F. R. Palmer introduces four criteria applicable to this type of verbs (Palmer, 1988: 18-25). The first criterion is the inversion with the subject (for ex. *He is coming. Is he coming?*). The second criterion is the ability to appear with the negative particle *not* (for ex. *He is not coming*). The third criterion is the code, i.e. the ability of an auxiliary verb to take the meaning of a lexical verb, enabling absence of a lexical verb (for ex. *I like it and so do they*). The fourth is the emphatic affirmation (for ex. *He hás finished them*). Based on these criteria, the following verbs can be treated as auxiliaries: *BE*, *HAVE*, *DO*, *WILL, SHALL*, *CAN*, *MAY*, *MUST*, *OUGHT TO*, *DARE*, *NEED*, *USED TO.* These verbs are not preceded by the particle *to*. They do not have an imperative form.

The first three verbs - *BE*, *HAVE* and *DO* - show certain common characteristics:

a) presence of the inflectional morpheme {s} for the third-person singular (*is*, *has*, *does*);

b) the existence of more than two finite forms (*am*, *is*, *are*, *was*, *were; have*, *has*, *had; do*, *does*, *did*);

(c) the existence of non-finite forms (*be, being*, *been*; *have*, *having*);

(d) the use with the lexical verbs in which they do not change the meaning of lexical verbs; their function is purely grammatical.

Because of these characteristics *BE*, *HAVE* and *DO* are called primary auxiliary verbs, and the others – modal auxiliary verbs.

The remaining auxiliary verbs also share some common characteristics:

a) they do not have formal markers for the third person singular (**cans*, **mays*);

b) they are not found with the morpheme {ing} (**Canning, *maying*);

(c) they have only finite forms;

d) they do not have more than two finite forms, if we accept the view that *should*, *would*, *could*, *might* are forms of *SHALL*, *WILL*, *CAN*, *MAY*; *MUST*, OUGHT TO, NEED, DARE, USED TO, as members of this group have only one finite form;

(e) they can not appear together (**He will should see*, **He may can come*);

(f) they all carry meanings that modify the lexical verb in the statement (such as possibility,
probability, necessity, permission, etc.)

4. Verb Constructions in English and Ruthenian

F. R. Palmer distinguishes 16 different verb constructions (Palmer, 1988: 31). For the purposes of this paper we present them in the way Palmer does – in the third person singular. Italic letters are used to indicate auxiliaries and bold letters are used to indicate lexical verbs.

1. **takes**
2. **took**
3. *is* **taking**
4. *was* **taking**
5. *has* **taken**

6. *had* **taken**
7. *has been* **taking**
8. *had been* **taking**
9. *is* **taken**
10. *was* **taken**
11. *is being* **taken**
12. *was being* **taken**
13. *has been* **taken**
14. *had been* **taken**
15. *has been being* **taken**
16. *had been being* **taken**

The verb constructions are presented in two sets. The first set of formalized constructions is completely given symbolically. The second set retains only the symbolic representation of the lexical verb.

1.**V-s**	**V-s**
2. **V-ed**	**V-ed**
3. *BE-s*+**V-ing**	*is*+**V-ing**
4. *BE-ed*+**V-ing**	*was*+**V-ing**
5. *HAVE-s*+**V-en**	*has*+**V-en**
6. *HAVE-ed*+**V-en**	*had*+**V-en**
7. *HAVE-s+BE-en*+**V-ing**	*has+been*+**V-ing**
8. *HAVE-ed+BE-en*+**V-ing**	*had+been*+**V-ing**
9. *BE-s*+**V-en**	*is*+**V-en**
10. *BE-ed*+**V-en**	*was*+**V-en**
11. *BE-s+BE-ing*+**V-en**	*is+being*+**V-en**
12. *BE-ed+BE-ing*+**V-en**	*was+being*+**V-en**
13. *HAVE-s+BE-en*+**V-en**	*has+been*+**V-en**
14. *HAVE-ed+BE-en*+**V-en**	*had+been*+**V-en**
15. *HAVE-s+BE-en+BE-ing*+**V-en**	*has+been+being*+**V-en**
16. *HAVE-ed+BE-en+BE-ing*+**V-en**	*had+been+being*+**V-en**

The auxiliary verb *BE* occurs in constructions 3, 9, 11 (as *BE-s* or *is*), 4, 10, 12 (as *BE-ed* or *was*), 7, 8, 13, 14 (as *BE-en* or *been*), 11, 12, 15, 16 (as *BE-ing* or *being*); in constructions 11, 12, 15, 16 we perceive two forms of the auxiliary verb *BE*. The auxiliary verb *HAVE* occurs in constructions 5, 7, 13, 15 (as *HAVE-s* or *has*), 6, 8, 14, 16 (as *HAVE-ed* or *had).*

The primary auxiliary verb *DO* (its forms *do/does*) is not found in affirmative sentences; it is found in interrogative and negative sentences of the verb construction 1 (**takes -** *does* not **take**, *does* S **take**). The form *did* is found in interrogative and negative sentences of the verb construction 2 (**took** - *did* not **take**, *did* S **take**).

The same number of costructions with the modal auxiliariies can be distinguished (Palmer, 1988: 94).

1/17 will **take**
2/18 would **take**
3/19 will *be* **taking**
4/20 would *be* **taking**
5/21 will *have* **taken**

6/22 would *have* **taken**
7/23 will *have been* **taking**
8/24 would *have been* **taking**
9/25 will *be* **taken**
10/26 would *be* **taken**
11/27 will *be being* **taken**
12/28 would *be being* **taken**
13/29 will *have been* **taken**
14/30 would *have been* **taken**
15/31 will *have been being* **taken**
16/32 would *have been being* **taken**

These verb constructions can be presented in the following two ways:

1/17 Mod-*ø*+**V**	Mod+**V**
2/18 Mod-ed+**V**	Mod-ed+**V**
3/19 Mod-*ø*+*BE-ø*+**V-ing**	Mod+*be*+**V-ing**
4/20 Mod-ed+*BE-ø*+**V-ing**	Mod-ed+*be*+**V-ing**
5/21 Mod-*ø*+*HAVE-ø*+**V-en**	Mod+*have*+**V-en**
6/22 Mod-ed+*HAVE-ø*+**V-en**	Mod-ed+*have*+**V-en**
7/23 Mod-*ø*+*HAVE-ø*+*BE-en*+**V-ing**	Mod+*have*+*been*+**V-ing**
8/24 Mod-ed+*HAVE-ø*+*BE-en*+**V-ing**	Mod-ed+*have*+*been*+**V-ing**
9/25 Mod-*ø*+*BE-ø*+**V-en**	Mod+*be*+**V-en**
10/26 Mod-ed+*BE-ø*+**V-en**	Mod-ed+*be*+**V-en**
11/27 Mod-*ø*+*BE-ø*+*BE-ing*+**V-en**	Mod+*be*+*being*+**V-en**
12/28 Mod-ed+*BE-ø*+*BE-ing*+**V-en**	Mod-ed+*be*+*being*+**V-en**
13/29 Mod-*ø*+*HAVE-ø*+*BE-en*+**V-en**	Mod+*have*+*been*+**V-en**
14/30 Mod-ed+*HAVE-ø-*+*BE-en*+**V-en**	Mod-ed+*have*+*been*+**V-en**
15/31 M-*ø*+*HAVE-ø*+*BE-en*+*BE-ing*+**V-en**	Mod+*have*+*been*+*being*+**V-en**
16/32 M-ed+*HAVE-ø*+*BE-en*+*BE-ing*+**V-en**	Mod-ed+*have*+*been*+*being*+**V-en**

If we separate the third person singular forms as representatives of other forms in a particular paradigm, as we did for verbs in English, the Ruthenian language has the following verb constructions:

1\. 1. **бере**
2\. а) **брал**
   б) **брал** // **брал** *сом*
3\. а) *бул* **брал**
   б) *бул* **брал** // *бул сом* **брал**
4\. *будзе* **брац**
5\. а) **брани**
   б) **брани** *є*
6\. а) *бул* **брани**
   б) *бул* **брани** // *бул сом* **брани**
7\. *будзе* **брани**

The first person singular forms have been given behind the two slashes (//) to indicate presence of the auxiliary verb that does not appear in the third person singular form.

The Ruthenian verb constructions are symbolically presented like this:

1. **V-ø**		
2. а) **V-л**		
б) **V-л**[+*БУЦ-м*]	**V-л**[+*сом*]	
3. а) *БУЦ-л*+**V-л**	*бул*+**V-л**	
б) *БУЦ-л*[+*БУЦ-м*]+**V-л**	*бул*[+*сом*]+**V-л**	
4. *БУДЗЕ-ø* +**V-ц**	*будзе*+**V-ц**	
5. а)	**V-ни**	
б)	**V-ни**+*БУЦ-ø*	**V-ни**+*є*
6. а)	*БУЦ-л*+**V-ни**	*бул*+**V-ни**
б)	*БУЛ-л*[+*БУЦ-м*]+**V-ни**	*бул*[+*сом*]+**V-ни**
7. *БУДЗЕ-ø*+**V-ни**	*будзе*+**V-ни**	

The auxiliary verb *БУЦ* is included in the most of the active (2b, 3a, 3b and 4) and the most of the passive constructions (5b, 6a, 6b and 7). There are two forms of the auxiliary verb *БУЦ* in the construction 3b.

Construction 1 and the variant constructions (with uttered subject) 2a and 5a are composed of lexical verbs.

The constructions with the modal auxiliary *БИ* show even greater degree of variation:

8. а) би **брац**
   б) **брац** би // **брац** бим
   в) **брац** би // **брац** би *сом*
9. а) би **брал**
   б) **брал** би // **брал** бим
   в) **брал** би // **брал** би *сом*
10. а) би *бул* **брал**
   б) *бул* би **брал** // *бул* бим **брал**
   в) **брал** би *бул* // **брал** би *сом бул*
11. а) би *буц* **брани**
   б) *буц* би **брани** // *буц* бим **брани**
   в) **брани** би *буц* // **брани** би *сом буц*
12. а) би *бул* **брани**
   б) *бул* би **брани** // *бул* бим **брани**
   в) **брани** би *бул* // **брани** би *сом бул*

It should be emphasized that the construction 10 (together with the construction 3) was frequent in the Ruthenian language at the beginning of the twentieth century (Костельник, 1975: 271) but today it can be considered archaic.

8. а) БИ-ø+**V-ц**	би+**V-ц**
б) **V-ц+**би-ø	**V-ц**+бим
в) **V-ц +**БИ-ø [+*БУЦ-м*]	**V-ц**+би+*сом*
9. а) БИ-ø+**V-л**	би+**V-л**
б) **V-л+**би-ø	**V-л**+бим
в) **V-л+**БИ-ø [+*БУЦ-м*]	**V-л**+би+*сом*
10. а) БИ-ø+*БУЦ-л*+**V-л**	би+*бул*+**V-л**
б) *БУЦ-л*+би-ø+**V-л**	*бул*+бим+**V-л**
в) **V-л+**БИ-ø [**+***БУЦ-м*]+*БУЦ-л*	**V-л**+би+*сом+бул*
11. а) БИ-ø+*БУЦ-ø*+**V-ни**	би+*буц*+**V-ни**
б) *БУЦ-ø*+би-ø+**V-ни**	*буц*+бим**+V-ни**
в) **V-ни+**БИ-ø [+*БУЦ-м*]+*БУЦ-ø*	**V-ни**+би[+*сом*]+*буц*

12. а) БИ-ø+*БУЦ-л*+**V-ни**	би+*бул*+**V-ни**
б) *БУЦ-л*+би-ø+**V-ни**	*бул*+бим+**V-ни**
в) **V-ни+**БИ-ø [+*БУЦ-м*]+*БУЦ-л*	**V-ни**+би[+*сом*]+*бул*

According to the diachronic point of view the modal auxiliary verb *БИ* is treated as an aorist form of *БУЦ* (Костельник, 1975: 277), which leads to the conclusion that there exists only the auxiliary *БУЦ* in the constructions with modal auxiliary *БИ*.

5. Conclusion

With regard to syntactic behavior the English language modal auxiliaries make a special group, and the Ruthenian language has only one modal auxiliary – *БИ*. The Ruthenian equivalents to the English modals are included in the group of lexical verbs in Ruthenian.

There are three primary auxiliary verbs (*BE*, *HAVE*, *DO*) included in the English verb constructions, whereas there is only one primary auxiliary verb (*БУЦ*) in the Ruthenian verb constructions. The maximum number of the forms of primary auxiliaries in the English verb constructions is three, whereas the maximum number of the forms of *БУЦ* in the Ruthenian verb constructions is two.

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TO OMIT THE CHEEK AND SAVE ONE'S FACE: IMPLICATIONS OF THE TRIAD OF CULTURE ON LITERARY TRANSLATION

Abstract: *This paper sets out to explore certain difficulties that arise when translating cultural elements as constituent units of a work of fiction. Literature can hardly be interpreted without taking into account the cultural background it originated in, which includes historical, geographical and political data, references to popular culture, and cultural patterns inherent in people's everyday lives, reactions and behaviour. This paper presents examples from two novels:* Troubles *(J.G. Farrell, 1970) and* The Gift of Rain *(Tan Twan Eng, 2007), both depicting characters who try to cope with the multicultural surroundings. The cultural elements found in these novels are classified into categories based on Edward T. Hall's triadic model of culture, as applied to translation studies by David Katan (*Translating Cultures*, 1999). This paper will aim to point out the most problematic aspects of translating cultural elements in a literary text and to provide the most acceptable ways of solving translators' troubles.*

Key words: *technical culture, formal culture, informal culture, literary translation, cultural mediation*

1. Introduction: A Triadic Cultural Model

Since the interest in culture as an element of translation arose in the early 1980s, quite a few theories have been presented so far with the aim to determine the relations between culture and translation, the significance of cultural differences for translation and the possible impact of translation on the perception and acceptance of various cultural identities. Even the most authoritative authors on the subject stated that "[t]he limits of translatability in total translation are [...] much more difficult to state" (Catford 1974: 93). Generally speaking, it has increasingly been recognised that culture has its own place in translating process (cf. Ivir 1985; Jovanović 2001; Mešonik 2004; Polovina 1990; Sibinović 1983; Šlajermaher 2003). In other words, be it literary or technical, oral or written, translation undoubtedly plays an important role in mediating between cultures and trying to overcome the gaps that often seem so unbridgeable. An approach that certainly provides a detailed classification of cultural elements in translation is the one expounded by David Katan (1999) and based on Edward T. Hall's anthropological 'iceberg model', the so-called *Triad of Culture*. In order to get the clearer picture, we have to see how the term 'culture' is treated within this theory.

Strictly speaking, Katan puts forward three possible meanings of the term 'culture' in his *Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies*: 1) Primarily and originally 'culture' referred to the notion of what is considered as "civilised" in a developed society; 2) Secondly, culture refers to the way of life of people, and 3) with the development of culture as a theoretical discipline, it has been attempting to identify "political or ideological reasons for specific cultural behaviour" (2009: 70). Katan then moves on to present the given definitions as hierarchical frames or levels, each one embedded within a larger frame or frames, and claims that each level and definition is valid for translation. The three levels are based on Hall's *Triad of Culture*, which implies, as all iceberg models do, that there are obvious and hidden aspects of the nature of culture and that the basis of a culture is usually contained in the hidden aspects. Hall contributed to the basic principle of the iceberg model by adding the third aspect – a dimension that alternates between visibility and concealment.[1] This aspect he named *formal culture*, as opposed to the invisible *informal culture* and the evident *technical culture*. According to Katan, the role of the translator in mediating between cultures[2] is consistent with the translator's opinion on which of the cultural levels exerts the greatest influence on translation. Thus, broadly speaking, translation theoreticians are mostly preoccupied with the subsurface levels, whereas the practitioners' attention is largely directed towards what appears above the surface (Katan, 2009: 70). On the other hand, some communication theoreticians regard cultural transmission as an instance of socialisation and discursive knowledge transmission (O'Sullivan et al. 1983: 64), which might also serve as a starting point to re-evaluate the status of culture in the overall translation process.

Indeed, it is precisely because of this disparity between theoreticians and practitioners that translators often find themselves at a loss when they actually start working and then realise that not much of the theory on translation can be of any help to them. Moreover, even the perfect knowledge of a foreign language they translate from cannot always guarantee the ultimate success, as translators are often obliged to go beyond the purely linguistic aspects of the given text and become interpreters, mediators, and even interveners. When it comes to translating cultural elements, the translator is presented with a selection of techniques, such as adaptation, paraphrase, analogy or footnote explanation, to name a few. The choice of the right one should be derived from their awareness of the significance and meaning of a certain cultural element, as well as of the importance of the level it pertains to. Due to the theory/practice disparity, elements pertaining to the subsurface cultural levels are often left untranslated, and sometimes even unexplained.

2. Levels of Culture, or, A General and A Dog

The level of informal culture or, the "out-of-awareness" culture, suggests that there are no rules at this level to be taught or learned. The absence of rules bears impact on the text containing informal culture elements, since these elements place importance not on *what* is expressed, but *how* it is expressed. At the out-of-awareness level, one reacts emotionally and emphasises the connotative meaning of words. Thus comprehended, culture becomes a "fixed internal representation of reality", a mental map, whereby translation becomes a "mindshifting" process (Katan, 2009: 72). The translator first needs to detach from his/her own mental map,

[1] Hall mentions this aspect for the first time in his book *The Hidden Dimension*, published in 1982.
[2] Katan uses the word *intervention* to denote the translator's action that goes beyond sheer linguistic transfer and towards the interpretation and manipulation of the text.

then accept and adjust to the other, foreign map and, finally, transfer the most important elements of the other map to his/her own language and culture.[3]

To illustrate informal culture, the following example is taken from the novel *Troubles* by James Gordon Farrell. The example shows a short conversation between a British major who has recently returned from the First World War and a young Englishman living in Ireland:

> "I suppose you've lived here some time", the Major said, trying to account for Ripon's absence from his sister's letters. "I mean, you haven't recently returned from abroad?"
> "Abroad?" Ripon glanced at him suspiciously. "Not really, no. I'm afraid I haven't." He cleared his throat (2007: 10-11).

As explained further on in the novel, Ripon's uneasiness is brought about by his feeling that the Major's question bears implicit criticism of the fact that Ripon shows no patriotic interest in participating in the war. The cultural gap here is, perhaps paradoxically, the gap between two people who seemingly share the same culture, although one of them has lived in different cultural surroundings for long enough to stop feeling like a true British. Informal culture is reflected in the specific connotation of the word *abroad*, inherent in Ripon's perception of the world, to which he subconsciously ascribes the meaning of "in the war". Translation would in this case require the analysis of the excerpt as well as the enquiry into the reasons for Ripon's suspicion and uneasiness. The explanation is fortunately provided by the author later on in the novel, where the reasons for Ripon's reaction are explicitly given. The translator is thus saved from the trouble of having to provide explanations in this particular case. The only possible way to explain Ripon's mental map would be by inserting a footnote. However, in this case the translator also needs to bear in mind that he/she must not exceed the author's authority: since the author wished to leave certain parts of the text unexplained and possibly confusing for the time being, the translator should in a similar manner "confuse" the readers of the translated text.

When translating from English into Serbian, informal culture generally does not present a huge problem for two reasons: 1) in many cases, the two cultures share similar inherent traits and common cultural heritage and 2) even when this is not the case, long-lasting contacts between the two cultures have enabled a higher degree of understanding between them. However, informal culture might prove to be more difficult to translate than the above given example shows. Informal culture is, namely, embedded into formal culture, which is in turn embedded into technical culture. This implies that informal cultural elements might emerge from the depths and appear at the surface level of technical culture, where they are usually reflected in a specific choice of vocabulary. To illustrate this with an example:

> There would be a list of Edward's dogs again, for example: Rover, Toby, Fritz, Haig, Woof, Puppy, Bran, Flash, Laddie, Foch and Collie (*Ibid*: 6-7).

[3] According to Katan, informal culture is of particular importance in interpreting, where mindshifting is understood as a necessary skill. Nevertheless, the author states that elements of informal culture can be traced in any literary text (1999: 31) and that each level of culture is present to a certain extent in every form of translation (33).

According to some authors, each level of culture corresponds to one of the three previously given definitions of culture, whereby technical culture "coincides with the humanist concept of culture" (Katan, 2009: 70) and formal culture "derives from the anthropological definition" (*Ibid*: 72), which leaves informal culture equalised with political and/or ideological reasons for specific cultural behaviour. While considering the given example, we might notice that some of the dogs bear typically doggish names, such as *Woof* or *Puppy*, for which one might find the appropriate equivalents in Serbian, or any other language the novel is translated into. On the other hand, some dogs are named after politicians or military commanders (the most obvious examples being *Foch* and *Haig*), either of British origin or fighting on the British side in the recently ended war. This seemingly insignificant information serves to portray Edward's character: having served the British Empire in India, he firmly believes in the superiority and power of the English nation, which he often openly proclaims, even though he lives in the Ireland of the early 1920s, where various national movements are making way for the Irish War of Independence from Britain.

At the technical culture level, focus should be put on the denotative meaning of a linguistic sign and its referential function, and the main concern of translators is the translation of the so-called "culturemes", or culture-bound terms.[4] These terms cover a wide range of human experience, including, for instance, geography and tradition, as well as institutions and technologies, historical data and personalities and elements of popular culture. In the above given example, the names such as Foch and Haig denotatively refer to the dogs, whereas their connotation derives from Edward's strong feeling of Englishness and his wish to name his dogs after Ferdinand Foch and Sir Douglas Haig. The translation will not be incorrect if these names are transcribed in the Serbian language. However, the names do not bear the same connotative meaning and emotional value for the average Serbian reader as they do for an English reader.[5] The only possible way for the translator to intervene here would be by inserting an explicatory footnote.[6] If he/she decides against it, no harm will be done to the technical culture level. Informal culture, on the other hand, will be left untranslated, and the translator might be left wondering whether it is translatable at all and whether a footnote explanation could be acknowledged as translation, or as a form of interpretation that is constantly threatening to transcend the authority of the translator. This is the main reason why we propose an ingredient in the form of translator's remark and/or note as a compromise solution.

When it comes to technical culture and culturemes, the already mentioned translation techniques (such as: *adaptation*, *paraphrase*, *analogy*) provide the essential guidelines for translators. The emphasis is put on technical culture, primarily in cases of technical and scientific

[4] *Cultureme* is defined as formalised, socially and juridically embedded phenomenon that exists in a particular form or function in only one of the two cultures being compared (Katan, 2009: 71).
[5] In a survey carried out among the fourth-year students of English language and literature at the Faculty of Foreign Languages, Alfa University in Belgrade, none of the 20 interviewed students knew who Ferdinand Foch or Douglas Haig were.
[6] Nevertheless, this topic will be tackled later.

translations, which normally require high precision and accuracy of expression. However, this is not to say that in literary translation or interpreting no attention should be paid to the level of technical culture; on the contrary, practical experience teaches us that literary works abound in references to technical culture. What is important at this level is the so-called *accuracy* of translation, which might be considered through the following example:

> Late on Monday night considerable excitement was caused in Kilkenny by the news of the "hold up" at Troyswood a mile outside the city, by masked men armed with revolvers, of a number of motor cars and horsed carriages which were taking ladies and gentlemen, in whose number were included Major J. B. Loftus, D.L., J.P., Mount Loftus, and Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart, Knocktopher Abbey, to a ball at the house of Captain J. E. St. George, R.M., Kilrush House, Freshford, about ten miles from Kilkenny City (Farrell, 2007: 158).

In the given example, abbreviations present a particular problem. D.L., for instance, can refer to *Deputy Lieutenant*, *Division Leader*, *District Leader*, *Detachment Leader* and over a hundred more titles. However, *Division Leader* and *Detachment Leader* are military ranks and *District Leader* is a clerical rank. Only *Deputy Lieutenant* refers to the rank of a British official stationed in England, Scotland, Wales or, in this case, Ireland. It is therefore crucial to interpret the text before moving on to its translation. The given excerpt provides cultural background by describing a group of *ladies and gentlemen* on their way to the *ball*. The noble origin of these people and their high positions in society are contrasted with the Irish setting, emphasised by toponyms such as *Kilkenny* or *Troyswood*. *R.M.* stands for *Resident Magistrate*, another title given to British officials holding positions of power throughout the British Empire. What guides the use of technical culture (place names and titles) in this excerpt is the level of formal culture. Formal culture is the culture of customs, tradition, rules and procedures; a culture that is taught in the shape of patterns and practices which guide actual (or technical) language use. Formal culture is usually reflected in culture-specific *genre* preferences, or appropriate style of narrative.[7] The style of the given excerpt dictates the choice of words that appear on the surface level, though their appearance is motivated by deeper levels of culture.[8] The deeper, or hidden, levels aim to emphasise the cultural gap between the English and the Irish; this gap is reflected in the use of vocabulary in the excerpt.

What has emerged as one of the problems in the recent period is the translation of culturemes in postcolonial texts written in English or, more generally, in text that deal with clashes of cultures. The novel that has so far provided examples for this paper corresponds to the definition: *Troubles* depicts Ireland in the early 1920s, a place where the long-dormant revolutionary impulses finally find their outlet and also a place where the Catholic Irish people live side by side with the Protestant royalist "usurpers" from England. Tan Twan Eng's *The Gift of Rain* (2007) is even more culturally diverse, taking place in the World War Two Malaya,

[7] *Genre* is the language of routines of life, the expected way of expression in certain everyday circumstances.
[8] Once analysed, style and genre are reduced to the level of words. This is the reason that formal culture is sometimes below, and at other times above the surface.

where the indigenous mix made up of Chinese, Indian and English ingredients, is faced by both honourable and appallingly cruel manifestations of the Japanese invaders' culture. How the internal clashes between cultures rise to the level of literary language, we can see from the following examples:

1. A young Chinese woman in a red cheongsam waved her handkerchief to catch my attention (Twan Eng, 2007: 205).
2. The sound of the erhu and the peipa, accompanied by clashing cymbals and drums, vied with the singers' high feline voices (*Ibid*: 254).
3. We had decided to provide combination of English and Malayan fare, and my father had chosen his usual favourites: Indian fish curry, beef *rendang*, coconut rice, curry *Kapitan*, *assam laksa*, fried *kuay teow, rojak* and *mee rebus* (*Ibid*: 219).
4. One morning I was taken by Master Chow to the Hall of Thousand for an audience with the Dowager Empress Tzu Xsi (*Ibid*: 124-25).

As can be seen from the above-cited examples, translators should not underestimate or pander to their readers; by preserving some of the culturemes (and provided that the clarity of meaning does not suffer) they should try to incite the readers' curiosity and enhance their perception of different cultures. What is perhaps the best manifestation of cultural influence on translation is the use of footnotes in the texts such as the ones given in the previous four examples.[9] Although footnote insertion often depends more on the editors, proofreaders and publishers of translations than on the translators themselves, when evaluating which culturally-bound terms should be explained in footnotes, it is probably best that translators obey the following rule: *If a term (cultureme) is familiar to an average English reader,[10] while it is not familiar to an average Serbian reader, a footnote should be inserted.* If a term is not familiar to either, no footnotes should interrupt the text. In this way, both readers will receive equal treatments and their expectations will be met in equal manners.

3. Conclusion: Not Losing Your Face

An excerpt taken from Tan Twan Eng's novel exemplifies the interconnectedness of cultural levels, as well as the possibilities offered to the translator to represent the layers of culture permeating the work:

> After generations spent in the East, many of the British had come to understand the concept of "Face", which could be simplified to mean nothing more than mutual respect. To the Chinese, however, it held a deeper meaning than that: if Henry Cross came to my father's parties (which he invariably did) then my father gained considerable face. If my father helped out a servant financially without appearing to do so, he would have saved

[9] In the already mentioned survey, only 10 per cent (two students) said that they *do not* mind if a text they are reading contains too many footnotes. 90 per cent said that footnotes interrupt the natural flow of the text.
[10] The rule applies when translating literary texts from English into Serbian.

> the servant face and, strangely, would not have lost face before his staff. It was a labyrinthine process of transaction and relationship. It had to be absorbed like mother's milk otherwise it would only confuse one. I had given much face to my grandfather by visiting him. And he had reciprocated by accepting me and telling me his tale and showing me his cave in the hills (2007: 147).

To the Chinese, the concept of 'face' is part of their informal culture, inherent in their core beliefs pertaining to their cultural background. After many generations, the British come to accept it as a learned pattern of cultural behaviour: as they live together with the Chinese, the concept becomes part of both nations' formal culture. The concept is, finally, expressed by language as an element of technical culture that might be translated into other languages and cultures. In the case of the Serbian translation, equivalent phrase might be found only for the "lose face" collocation: *izgubiti obraz*, where *obraz* is the semantic equivalent of *cheek*. Such translation would, however, imply that the significance of the Chinese concept of *Face* would be lost in the Serbian translation, though it is of crucial importance in the English text. In order to save the exponents of the Chinese informal culture as explained in the English text, the Serbian translation should use the semantic equivalent of *face* – *lice*.[11] In this way, no face would be lost.

The proposal presented in this paper is only one of the possible ones that could serve a double purpose: 1) training students to become successful translators by making them acquainted with various cultural levels and elements, and teaching them how to recognise these elements in a text, and 2) inciting readers as well as translators to put more effort into perceiving and studying different cultures. As Bassnett and Lefevere claimed in their introduction to *Constructing Cultures* (1998):

> "In the 1970s, translation was seen, as it undoubtedly is, as 'vital to the interaction between cultures'. What we have done is to take this statement and stand it on its head: if translation is, indeed, as everybody believes vital to the interaction between cultures, why not take the next step and study translation, not just to train translators, but precisely to study cultural interaction" (Bassnett, 2007: 18-19).

The disparity between theory and practice need not, after all, be so enormous – a lot can be done by making use of at least some of the available theories in order to raise cultural awareness, bridge the gap between cultures and improve the quality of translations as intercultural media.

[11] This, however, was not the solution that the proofreader and editor of the Serbian translation found acceptable.

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Nataša Šofranac

INTERPRETING – A VIEW OF TEACHER AND PRACTITIONER

***Abstract**: This paper is about teaching interpreting at the university, using both teaching and interpreting skills and experience. Interpreting takes life-long learning. Many believe it is not about knowledge, but about skills, that is a craft. But it would be fair to say it's both. Knowledge is a prerequisite, then comes training, acquiring practical skills and routine. The knowledge required does not end with language proficiency, with accuracy and fluency. In order to do this job, one has to know, or, to say the least, be well-informed of myriad subject-matters. The university can humbly contribute to this because, other than translation (mainly literary) and integrated language skills, it cannot be held responsible for the general information part. The idea is to have them optional as not everybody is apt for this kind of translation, and the capacities could not support the implementation of such a course for all.*

***Key words**: interpreting, teaching, training, skills, practice, simultaneous, consecutive, curricula, university*

1. Intorduction

Conference interpreters are not among the best teachers or most patient trainers. Partly because we have not been taught or trained ourselves, we mainly picked the brains of our senior colleagues (also self-made) and learned along the way - that's what we still do and will keep doing. But, if we happen to also teach at a university, how can we merge our teaching knack and practical skills? Should we lobby for inauguration of interpreting as an academic subject or leave it as it is, keeping our two "hats" strictly apart? Should this be an academic subject or a “craft”, vocational training? Are interpreters born for that, or can talent be made up for by hard work and good guidance? These are just some of the open-ended questions that theoreticians and practitioners can discuss and disagree about, but considering them is definitely more beneficial than finding one-size-fits-all solutions and generic answers. And this is where exchange of experience is invaluable.

2. What interpreting is really about

Hard skills

The thing about interpreting is that it takes life-long learning. Many believe it's not about knowledge, but about skills, that is a craft. But it would be fair to say it's both. Knowledge is a prerequisite, then comes training, acquiring practical skills and routine, and then polishing and maintenance through every-day hard work. These are the building blocks. But where can we find them? There is no one-stop shop. The knowledge required does not end with language proficiency, with accuracy and fluency. In order to do this job, one has to know, or, to say the least, be well-informed of myriad subject-matters and that implies both horizontal and vertical building. The University can humbly contribute to this because, other than translation (mainly literary) and integrated language skills, it can't be held responsible for the general information part.

Young people are very interested in becoming interpreters – which does not necessarily imply that they are equally keen on learning how to do it well. They are excited about travelling, meeting important people, getting insight into all sorts of worlds and celebrities, including show-business and sports. But one minute on TV, sitting between two presidents or whispering to a prime minister's ear, costs a lot of efforts and time. So, young people will generally tell you "I am not interested in politics" or "Listening to the prime time news is boring", as an excuse for not knowing a politician's name or a world crisis hotbed. Not to even mention acronyms and nonce-formations. One has to be in the loop. You never know it all. Languages change faster than ever, underpinned by state-of-the-art technologies and a rather informal trend in global communication, adopted even by top officials. Deregulation often means more rules than ever. It's just that their interpretation can be arbitrarily precarious.

The "Eurocracy" has given rise to a new lingo, the EU English used by internationals, so one has to keep abreast of all the innovative, economical and catchy phrases they produce. If you want to be a good interpreter, you will try to learn as many terms as possible, but that will soon bring you before a *fait accompli*: you either want to peck at the perimetre, doing bits and pieces of serious work, or you get specialised for a couple of areas and bring them to as close to perfection as possible. The choice of those fields will largely depend on the frequency of dealing with them, i.e. on concurrence of circumstances: this author now "rocks" agriculture, because there has been so much work in this field in the past decade, so it is a typical story of growth and accumulation over time. It has nothing to do with personal affinities or preferences. You start studying it hard because you know nothing about it, so you don't want to get embarrassed. And, without even noticing it, you become an "expert", knowing all about gilts or small grains or UHT batch. So, the question (or dilemma) here is: do I go by horizontal or vertical axis? Can I do both?

In consecutive interpreting, taking notes is the crucial part. If the speaker makes small units of one to two sentences, you don't even need to write that down, you can memorise it. But seldom does one find that in practice. Perhaps when interpreting lectures or training sessions where the speakers are experienced teachers as well. Shorthand, just like the whole interpreting business, can be taught or developed individually. Young interpreters tend to write every word down, their notes look like essays. Later they come to feel more self-confident, using abbreviations or symbols for words and phrases and writing only the "facts and figures" down. That is where individualist approach can be convenient, because instead of trying to remember all the symbols and abbreviations someone gives you, you develop your own system and the image you draw immediately rings a bell because it is your own association.

It is very important to know the priority – getting the message across. This is interpreting, not word-by-word translation. You don't go *verbatim* in writing either. So, if you feel you are losing it because the speaker's pace is impossible to follow and it is inappropriate to interrupt them or ask to slow down, try to get the substance. You write the bones and remember the flesh that you will subsequently add. Avoid transcoding, clarity is all – to paraphrase the magnificent Danica Seleskovic, author of a brilliant manual for interpreters of all ages and stages in personal and professional lives (Seleskovic, 2007:94). Don't pronounce statements that you are not sure about the meaning of – others will find it even harder to make something out of it. This is also where versatile knowledge and information can come in handy – the more you know, the easier the process is, because you get the picture and better remember the story about things that you are familiar with.

Soft skills

Interpreters are not some sort of elite club as they are often thought to be, or as they like to think. But it is not a level playing field either. It does require a natural disposition, good memory, concentration, fast reflexes; sometimes you need to pass yourself off as imperturbable although you are shaking in your boots, you have to sound reassuring although you have no idea what the speaker has just said or even what you have just uttered. If you cannot pull yourself together and overcome stage-fright, even if you've had a bad start and if there is a hair-splitter who is picking on you and correcting your rendition, you should not be doing this job. Stress-prone persons can manage, but it is way too hard for their nervous system and health that they should consider doing written translation instead. The brain has to be calibrated for "twin-track" run, which you don't feel while doing it – only when it is all over and you go back to "normalcy", you are startled to find yourself still interpreting automatically every word you hear or read.

Interpreting the conferences of writers and literary translators is always challenging. They out you on your mettle because the language they speak is rich in vocabulary, full of metaphors and idioms, quotations and other "glitterati" stuff. A US conference interpreter of Russian origin, Anna Mazunova, wrote in her paper presented at this year's Belgrade Meeting of Literary Translators that she tried to compare her work to theirs. That is definitely something out of my comfort zone, said she. Translators have their computers, dictionaries and encyclopaediae... Interpreters must think and act quickly. But, that constant pressure and speed imperative makes us impatient and incapable of doing a long search, sifting all synonyms or alternatives through, seeking the best solution. Acceptable is better than optimal, if it saves time.

One of the most common misconceptions about interpreters is that they just reproduce the speech automatically, not understanding it and not even thinking about it. Although sometimes we'd rather not think about (and listen to) what we ought to interpret, it is impossible to do it that way. Pasting words to each other without visualizing or even internalising the message is like automatic translation – poor quality and artificial.

The other misconception, perhaps coming from the fact that (at least in this part of the world) there are more women than men interpreters, is that we are not terribly bright and that we do not have an attitude (just because we are not supposed to state our opinion does not mean we don't have one). The tip here is to suppress vanity, hurt feelings or astonishment. As long as our dignity is not at stake, we should not care about such perception. We are there to interpret, not to educate our clients. Rapport building is important, but you may not want to do it with everyone, just as there are one-off or steady engagements.

What if you forget part of the sentence, mishear it or do not know the word(s)? It depends on whether you are doing simultaneous or consecutive interpreting. In case of the former, you can think of a neutral word or phrase, something close to the context, as a "filler". If it is the latter, feel free to ask the speaker to repeat or clarify. Even in most formal events, ceremonies and the like, you can find a discrete and charming way of doing it and nobody will mind. The tricky bit is with facts and figures. If it is a name or a number, if you are not sure if it was a "million" or a "billion", the golden rule is "when in doubt, leave it out". Better than have people taking notes with incorrect data that they might present somewhere.

Mental strength is half of the "toolkit" here. Our adrenalin is always high because it keeps us focused and awake. It is not good when things are too easy to interpret, especially if you are in the booth – you can get laid back, text phone messages, check your email or exchange lines with your booth partner. If it is too difficult, though, you may study so hard that you can't recall a term when it is due – just like in an exam. Or, what if you pen stops working in the middle of furious note-taking, or if the microphone breaks down and you cannot signalise that to the speaker or the audience? There is always a way out. Staying calm and composed is probably the greatest boon one can get from this job. You learn how to keep unpleasant things at bay, how to be in charge and how to do damage control. If you realise you have made a mistake in a name, number or any other detail, and it is relevant for the rest of discussion, always apologise and correct yourself. This is not about you saving your face but about you-the professional saving the contents of the speech.

Good manners are also very important. Many good interpreters have lost their clients because they were too intrusive, opinionated or "nosy". You also have to be a "people person", especially for consecutive interpreting, because there you have direct contact with your clients. You can't frown at them or look down – people like to be looked in their eyes when you talk to them, even when you just interpret somebody else's words!

Also, we can get the nervous block because of the people we are interpreting for – sometimes they are too demanding, or meticulous, or desperate to show their own knowledge so they start correcting the interpreters and passing comments. Or, sometimes there are high officials you want to impress or you simply feel discomforted with. However, interpreting the speeches of heads of state, in a glossy hall, is simpler than doing it for a doctor or town planning specialist, in a small classroom full of ordinary people nobody has heard of. The former will use general language and known phrases, sometimes platitudes. The latter will talk science!

3. Where the land lies

The interpreters that this author was lucky to work with in the very beginning of her career are those who had been sent to the European Community's interpreting services for official training and who had acquired relevant experience in the prosperous years when public sector employment was a berth. They were used to the mentorship system that was in place while they were working for the Federal Government – when an intern joins the service, the senior colleagues assist and monitor the "novice". That accounts for their excellent teaching skills and knowledge transfer. Running the risk of sounding like an old geezer, I must say that we are not very likely to gain the same experience, as they were the ones to translate every single law and by-law, every meeting and conference, for national and international officials. There were very few interpreters, even fewer top-quality ones, and the Federal Government did all that. The Association of Conference Interpreters monopolised the whole business, and the criteria for new membership were very strict. Now there is almost nobody working as full-time interpreter for any of the governmental or non-governmental agencies, so all this important work of national interest is entrusted to private interpreting agencies. The ones who are now employed with the government full time are not reliable and experienced, so their organisations still hire free-lance interpreters from the market when they really need professional interpreting or when a donor is willing to pay for that service.

What also happens is that we, free-lance interpreters, come to a ministry to interpret a meeting and they delegate one of their interpreters as our partners. You can hardly tell whether it is worse to do all the work alone or to share it with the other one who often blunders it all so the general impression of interpreting is terrible and you feel exasperated. Not all of them are bad interpreters – they are mainly young and inexperienced, without any guidance like the former mentorship used to be. Some of them have good potential, but stagnate instead of advancing as there is no chance of improvement or getting assistance by better/more experienced colleagues, whereas they are not allowed to "moonlight" and get more practice aside. This is why I consider myself lucky to have had the chance of interpreting for the state delegations visits to the Council of Europe, European Parliament, European Commission and the UN Committees. We worked in one of five booths in a row, took relayed interpreting from our colleagues – UN staff and got some clear-cut benchmarks for our own standards and achievements.

The European integration process undertaken by the whole region is also very beneficial for interpreters – frequent meetings with EU officials, training sessions on the *Acquis*

Communautaire, HACCP, negotiations and fact-finding missions. Teamwork is incredibly important here, as we need to coordinate all the work, who covers what, in terms of timing and areas of competence. Professionalism and fairness are two key things here, as you can't have someone interpret an interview with the Chief Veterinary Officer just because that colleague happens to be your best friend. Missions and visits to many institutions within a couple of days help us develop better managerial skills, besides everything else.

My students often ask me if they stand a chance of being interpreters. What they mean is not only becoming so, but remaining there – getting enough work to sustain them and to keep them in good professional shape. I don't know an answer to that. Normally, if you are good – in absolute, not in relative terms - there should always be enough work for you. Even more than you can absorb. But the situation is such that quality is not always the criterion of selection and it can't guarantee you the job. Public and international agencies mainly call for bidders and administer tendering procedures, but they are mainly rigged. Officially, the only criterion is "economical", meaning the lowest price. The risk of getting the lowest quality too is obviously high. Regrettably, foreign organisations take much more heed of quality and professionalism than domestic ones. The treatment interpreters get from them commensurates with it – interpreters are the eyes, ears and voice of foreign speakers, while the locals barely take notice of them. The same is with remuneration – the few recognised interpreters "of yore" had established high rates and nobody complained. Now, the rates vary so much that you must strike a balance between the accusations of dumping and those of exorbitant pricing. So, what can we do for our students before they step into the cruel world of labour and competition?

4. Formalisation and institutionalisaion so for – how far?

There is no interpreting course at Serbian universities at all. Belgrade is the city that provides the whole region with interpreters, as the old capital of former Yugoslavia and its political, administrative and cultural centre. Now it is the only capital city in the region without a university interpreting course. There is one, about 15 years old, organised by a private agency, needless to say – profit-oriented. It consists of four months of consecutive plus two months of simultaneous training. The ideas was that consecutive interpreting was harder, so once you'd mastered it, simultaneous would be an easy follow-up. The trainers used to be the best interpreters of former Yugoslavia, and now there are practically beginners who have just finished the same course without much of practical experience. The Faculty of Philology has also applied for EU funds in 2007, when a project proposal was drafted, envisaging 12 weeks of training. This did not come to being and we are now waiting for the next year's accreditation procedure. The course will probably be at the fourth year of undergraduate studies. The idea is to have it optional as not everybody is apt for this kind of translation, and the capacities could not possibly support the implementation of such a course for all. Again, everybody deserves a chance and you can't know what you are good at unless you try it. But good command of language and, especially, speaking skills, are a prerequisite.

The course I would like to deliver to our students has a relatively simple design – about 80% practice and 20% theory. The theory would not be a dull and abstract matter, but again related to practice, tricks of the trade and setting the scene for the practical work. The exercises would start with easy terms and topics, toward more difficult and less familiar areas, and at the same time with bigger chunks of speech to interpret and at a faster pace. 90-minute sessions twice a week, six months altogether. Both consecutive and simultaneous parts would be mock-conferences or dialogues, with other participants and the trainer speaking and letting their colleague interpret it, analysing the work together and learning new terms after each block.

3. Conclusion

Conference interpreting is a matter of both knowledge and skills, of both theory and practice. It is as relevant for university studies of foreign languages as literary and non-literary translation. The university course would be just a beginning of the long training process which never ends. As both consecutive and simultaneous interpreting imply working with people, they demand good inter-personal and communications skills. Learning from others and learning from own mistakes can make us better professionals and better instructors, as we are never perfect – even when everybody else think we are!

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Olga Panić Kavgić

PREVOĐENJE NASLOVA DUGOMETRAŽNIH ANIMIRANIH FILMOVA[1]

Apstrakt: *Rad se bavi prevodnim postupcima koji se primenjuju prilikom prevođenja naslova dugometražnih animiranih filmova sa engleskog jezika na srpski. Analiza tipova i zastupljenosti prevodnih postupaka sprovedena je na korpusu od približno stotinu i pedeset naslova dugometražnih animiranih filmova sa engleskog govornog područja, otkupljenih i distribuiranih u Srbiji u proteklih trideset godina. Uočeni postupci – direktno prevođenje, kontekstualna reformulacija, transkripcija vlastitih imena i direktno preuzimanje – dodatno su opisani i potkrepljeni primerima manje ili više uspešnih prevoda dvosmislenih naslova koji sadrže igru rečima. U radu su, poređenja radi, dati i primeri prevoda analiziranih naslova na druge evropske jezike. Konačno, deo rada bavi se davanjem naslova nastavcima animiranih filmova i njihovim prevođenjem na srpski jezik.*

Ključne reči: *naslov animiranog filma, prevodni postupak, direktno prevođenje, kontekstualna reformulacija, transkripcija, dvosmislen naslov, igra rečima, filmski nastavak*

1. Uvod

Imajući u vidu funkcije filmskih naslova – identifikacionu, informativnu, estetsku i apelativnu (Panić Kavgić 2010: 84), kao i vanjezičke momente koji bitno utiču na ishod prevođenja filmova i njihovih naslova (sadržinu filma, ciljnu grupu kojoj je ostvarenje namenjeno i, ne i najmanje bitno, komercijalni aspekt prikazivanja filmskog dela, analizirane u Panić Kavgić 2010: 85), moguće je ustvrditi da prevođenje naslova animiranih filmova za današnjeg prevodioca predstavlja jedan od najizazovnijih zadataka. Animirani film, kao umetničko delo, ali i najprofitabilniji proizvod filmske industrije zabave, zahvaljujući dopadljivim likovima, dinamičnoj radnji i, najčešće, krajnje napadnom reklamiranju, po pravilu lako nalazi put do svoje publike – najmlađih (ali i onih malo starijih) gledalaca. Zato je jedan od osnovnih zadataka velikih filmskih studija uspešan plasman ovakvog ostvarenja i van granica engleskog govornog područja, kako bi navedenu formulu uspeha primenili i na globalnoj sceni. Po rečima filmskog kritičara I. Jevića, „kao da je filmska industrija otkupila ekskluzivna prava na distribuciju detinjstva, a taj proizvod neće prestati da se prodaje dok god je dece“ (Jević 2011: 58). Prevođenje naslova animiranih filmova, pored opštih karakteristika i principa koji važe za sve filmske naslove, ima i neke specifičnosti. Naime, izvorni naslov, svojim vokabularom, strukturom i značenjem, uglavnom je prilagođen gledaocima mlađeg uzrasta, ali, istovremeno, treba da bude primamljiv i generaciji njihovih roditelja, pa bi bilo poželjno da tako ostane i u prevodu. Prilikom davanja naslova znatno se češće pribegava duhovitim i deci, ali i odraslima, zanimljivim igrama rečima, te

[1] Ovaj rad sadrži analizu rezultata istraživanja izloženih u vidu usmenog saopštenja pod istim naslovom na *Četvrtoj međunarodnoj konferenciji Instituta za strane jezike „Translation and Interpreting as Intercultural Mediation“*, održanoj na Institutu za strane jezike u Podgorici, u Crnoj Gori, od 9. do 11. 6. 2011. godine. Rad je nastao kao rezultat istraživanja na projektu Ministarstva za nauku i tehnološki razvoj Republike Srbije br. 178002 „Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru“, koji se na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu realizuje pod rukovodstvom prof. dr Snežane Gudurić.

je, stoga, uočljiva kreativnija upotreba jezika na semantičkom, fonološkom, morfološkom i sintaksičkom planu, što će u ovom radu biti potkrepljeno primerima duhovitih i/ili dvosmislenih naslova i njihovih prevoda nekoliko evropskih jezika. Da bi se makar deo te kreativnosti, bilo na sličan ili nešto drugačiji način, ispoljio i u ciljnom jeziku, u pomoć prevodiocu priskaču prevodni postupci, o kojima će više reči biti u narednom odeljku.

Korpus za ovo istraživanje čini 150 naslova dugometražnih animiranih filmova na engleskom jeziku, kao i njihovih prevoda, pre svega na srpski, ali i druge evropske jezike. Izvori za prikupljanje korpusa bili su filmski, TV i video časopisi (*Yu video*, *Video radio-TV revija*, *SateliTV Video – film*, *video reporter* i *Total film*), štampani i elektronski katalozi i vebsajtovi domaćih filmskih distributerskih kuća (*Tuck Vision*, *First Production*, *Pro Vision*, *"M" Export-Import*, *Millennium film*, *VANS*, *DEXIN*, *Delta*, *Jugoslavija film*, *Marsoni*, *Vidcom*), kao i *Internet Movie Database* – najveća elektronska filmska baza, dostupna na internetu (www.imdb.com).

2. Prevodni postupci prilikom prevođenja dugometražnih animiranih filmova

Dva najčešće primenjivana prevodna postupka prilikom prevođenja naslova dugometražnih animiranih filmova sa engleskog jezika na srpski jesu direktno prevođenje i kontekstualna reformulacija. Kako je u kratkim crtama objašnjeno u Panić Kavgić (2012), pod direktnim prevođenjem podrazumeva se doslovno prenošenje sadržine i forme jednočlanog (*Cars* kao *Automobili*, *Robots* kao *Roboti*) ili višečlanog – sintagmatskog ili rečeničnog – naslova (*Alvin and the Chipmunks* kao *Alvin i veverice*, *How to Train Your Dragon* kao *Kako da dresirate svog zmaja*) sa jednog jezika na drugi, po principu reč za reč, pri čemu može doći do određenih strukturnih promena uslovljenih morfosintaksičkim pravilima jezika na koji se prevodi (*Toy Story* – *Priča o igračkama*). Direktno prevođenje je nafrekventniji prevodni postupak i kad su u pitanju kreativni i duhoviti naslovi na engleskom jeziku (videti primere u Tabeli 1), čime se, po pravilu, gubi utisak koji na gledaoca ostavlja igra rečima u izvornom naslovu. U retkim slučajevima postiže se sličan efekat i u prevodu (*Wallace & Gromit in The Curse of the Were-Rabbit* preveden kao *Valas i Gromit i prokletstvo zekodlaka* ili, pak, *Gnomeo & Juliet* kao *Gnomeo i Julija*).

IZVORNI NASLOV	PREVEDEN NASLOV	PREVODI NA DRUGE JEZIKE
An American Tail[2] (Don Bluth, 1986, SAD)	**Američka bajka**	*Mađarska: Egérmese Nemačka: Fievel, der Mauswanderer Francuska: Fievel et le nouveau monde Španija: Fievel y el Nuevo Mundo Švedska: Resan till Amerika*
An American Tail: Fievel Goes West (Phil Nibbelink, Simon Wells, 1991, SAD)	**Američka bajka 2: Fivel ide na Zapad**	*Francuska: Fievel au Far West Nemačka: Fievel, der Mauswanderer im wilden Westen Italija: Fievel conquista il West Mađarska: Mesés Amerika – Egérke vadnyugaton Švedska: Resan till Amerika – Fievel i vilda västern Španija: Fievel va al Oeste*
An American Tail: The Treasure of Manhattan Island (Larry Latham, 1998, SAD)	**Američka bajka 3: blago Menhetna**	*Francuska: Fievel et le trésor perdu Austrija: Fievel der Mauswanderer Teil III – Der Schatz von Manhattan Italija: Fievel – Il tesoro dell'isola di Manhattan Španija: Fievel en Manhattan*
Antz[3] (Eric Darnell, Tim Johnson, 1998, SAD)	**Mravci**	*Slovačka: Mravec Z Mađarska: Z, a hangya Italija: 'Z' la formica Nemačka: Antz*
Wallace & Gromit in The Curse of the Were-Rabbit (Steve Box, Nick Park, 2005, SAD)	**Valas i Gromit i prokletstvo zekodlaka**	*Hrvatska: Wallace i Gromit u velikoj povrtnoj zavjeri Slovačka: Wallace & Gromit – Prekliatie králikolaka Mađarska: Wallace és Gromit és az elvetemült veteménylény Francuska: Wallace et Gromit – Le mystère du lapin-garou*
Tom and Jerry: the Fast and the Furry (Bill Kopp, 2005, SAD)	**Tom i Džeri brzi i čupavi**	*Holandija: Tom en Jerry – Een bonte race Grčka: Tom kai Jerry: Grigoroi kai malliaroi*
Ratatouille (Brad Bird, Jan Pinkava, 2007, USA)	**Ratatui**	*Rusija: Рататуй Mađarska: L'ecsó Hrvatska: Juhu-hu Poljska: Ratatuj Portugalija: Ratatui*
Gnomeo & Juliet (Kelly Asbury, 2011, VB/SAD)	**Gnomeo i Julija**	*Španija: Gnomeo y Julieta Rusija: Гномео и Джульетта Mađarska: Gnómeó és Júlia Italija: Gnomeo & Giulietta Francuska: Gnoméo et Juliette*

Tabela 1: Kreativni i/ili dvosmisleni naslovi dugometražnih animiranih filmova i njihovi prevodi na srpski jezik postupkom direktnog prevođenja, uz primere prevoda na druge jezike, primenom ovog ili nekog od drugih ovde opisanih prevodnih postupaka

S druge strane, kao što je napomenuto u Panić Kavgić (2011), suština postupka koji je prvi put nazvan **kontekstualnom reformulacijom**[4] u Panić Kavgić (2010), a koji Xiuquan (2007)[5] zove kontekstualnom adaptacijom, „jeste da se filmskom delu u ciljnom jeziku daje sadržinski i/ili strukturno nov naslov, koji se delimično ili u potpunosti razlikuje od izvornog, a koji je u skladu sa jezičkim i vanjezičkim kontekstom u kom dati prevod nastaje" (Panić Kavgić 2011: 136), kao što je, na primer, slučaj sa naslovima *Happy Feet* (*Ples malog pingvina*), *The Ant*

[2] Ovde se prevod reči *tail* (eng. 'rep') kao 'bajka' samo uslovno može smatrati primerom direktnog prevođenja, pošto su *tail* i *tale* (eng. 'bajka') homofoni.
[3] Detaljnija analiza svakog od ovde navedenih kreativnih naslova, kako u jezičkom pogledu, tako i po pitanju njihovog razdvoznačavanja i razjašnjenja detalja filmske priče na kojima je dvoznačnost utemeljena, izneta je u Panić Kavgić (2009).
[4] Termin 'kontekstualna reformulacija' dat je prema predlogu T. Prćića, u privatnom razgovoru.
[5] Fenomen prevođenja filmskih naslova retko je do sada bio predmet lingvističkih proučavanja, s izuzetkom kineskih autora. Kada su u pitanju drugi evropski jezici, prevođenjem naslova sa engleskog jezika bave se studije Kálmánove (1993a, 1993b) – na primeru prevodâ na mađarski, te Steinsaltz (2000) i Schnetzerova (2003), kada se radi o prevođenju na nemački jezik.

Bully (*Lukas u svetu mrava*) ili, pak, *A Bug's Life* (*Bubice – velika avantura*). Dalja klasifikacija ovog prevodnog postupka na potpunu i delimičnu, te asocijativnu, dopunsku i unutarjezičku kontekstualnu reformulaciju izložena je u Panić Kavgić (2011: 138-141) i ovde neće biti detaljnije razmatrana.

Slede reprezentativni primeri uspelih prevoda naslova dugometražnih animiranih filmova na srpski jezik, primenom delimične ili potpune kontekstualne reformulacije, a zatim, u Tabeli 2, slučajevi u kojima se prevodilac, služeći se istim prevodnim postupkom, uspešno izborio sa dvosmislenošću polaznog naslova animiranog filma:

- ✓ *A Bug's Life* *(Bubice – velika avantura)*
- ✓ *Back to Gaya* *(Povratak na čarobnu planetu Gaja)*
- ✓ *Bee Movie* *(Pčelac Beri Medić)*
- ✓ *Corpse Bride* *(Mrtva nevesta)*
- ✓ *Flushed Away* *(Prošišo kroz šolju)*
- ✓ *Happy Feet* *(Ples malog pingvina)*
- ✓ *Ice Age: Dawn of the Dinosaurs* *(Ledeno doba: dinosaurusi dolaze)*
- ✓ *Kangaroo Jack: G'Day, U.S.A.!* *(Kengur Džek u Americi)*
- ✓ *Nine Dog Christmas* *(Kako su kuce spasile Božić)*
- ✓ *Open Season* *(Sezona lova)*
- ✓ *Pocahontas* *(Pokahontas indijanska princeza)*
- ✓ *Shrek Forever After* *(Šrek srećan zauvek)*
- ✓ *Spirit: Stallion of the Cimarron* *(Neustrašivi Spirit)*
- ✓ *Surf's Up* *(Pravi surferi)*
- ✓ *Tangled* *(Zlatokosa i razbojnik)*
- ✓ *The Ant Bully* *(Lukas u svetu mrava)*
- ✓ *The Land before Time* *(Zemlja daleke prošlosti)*
- ✓ *Up* *(Do neba)*

IZVORNI NASLOV	**PREVEDEN NASLOV**	*PREVODI NA DRUGE JEZIKE*
Hoodwinked! (Cory Edward, Todd Edwards, Tony Leech, 2005, SAD)	**Ko je smestio Crvenkapi** ☺ asocijacija na filmski naslov *Ko je smestio Zeki Rodžeru*	*Francuska: La véritable histoire du Petit Chaperon Rouge Portugalija: Capuchinho Vermelho – A Verdadeira História Nemačka: Die Rotkäppchenverschwörung Mađarska:* ***PiROSSZka – A jó, a rossz, a farkas, MEGAnagyi*** *Španija: La increíble pero cierta historia de Caperucita Roja*
Hoodwinked Too! Hood VS. Evil (Mike Disa, 2011, SAD)	**Ko je smestio Crvenkapi 2**	*Mađarska:* ***Megint Pirosszka!: Ellenrossz a rossz ellen*** *Francuska: La revanche du Petit Chaperon Rouge*
Happily N'Ever After (Paul Bolger, Yvette Kaplan, 2006, SAD/Nemačka)	**Čiča miča (ne)srećna je priča** ☺ asocijacija na izreku *čiča miča gotova je priča*	*Francuska:* ***Cendrillon et le prince (pas trop) charmant*** *Kanada:* ***Au royaume désenchanté*** *Nemačka:* ***Es war k'einmal im Märchenland***
Cloudy with a Chance of Meatballs (Phil Lord, Chris Miller, 2009, SAD)	**Padaće ćufte** ☺ asocijacija na vremensku prognozu (*Padaće sneg/kiša*)	*Mađarska:* ***Derült égből fasírt*** *Francuska: Tempête de boulettes géantes Kanada:* ***Il pleut des hamburgers*** *Nemačka:* ***Wolkig mit Aussicht auf Fleischbällchen*** *Slovenija:* ***Oblačno z mesnimi kroglicami***

Tabela 2: Kreativni i/ili dvosmisleni naslovi dugometražnih animiranih filmova i njihovi prevodi na srpski jezik postupkom kontekstualne reformulacije, uz primere prevoda na druge jezike, pri čemu su istaknuti primeri uspele primene ovog postupka[6]

Osim upravo opisanih najuobičajenijih postupaka, javljaju se još dva, znatno ređa, načina za preuzimanje stranog naslova dugometražnog animiranog filma:

- preuzimanje naslova koji predstavljaju vlastita imena (lična ili geografska), putem njihove transkripcije u ciljnom jeziku: *Madagascar* je preuzet kao *Madagaskar*, *Shrek* kao *Šrek*, *WALL·E* kao *Voli*, *Aladdin* kao *Aladin*, dok je *The Lorax* je na srpskom postao *Loraks*, i
- direktno preuzimanje izvornog naslova, bez ikakvog prilagođavanja ciljnom jeziku, što je slučaj s naslovima *The Polar Express* i *The Trumpet of the Swan*.

Konačno, prilikom prevođenja veoma često dolazi do skraćivanja izvornog naslova „odsecanjem" drugog dela u ciljnom jeziku, što je naročito primetno kod naslova nastavaka animiranih filmova koji su već doživeli uspeh kod srpske publike, te prevodilac novi deo naslova nastavka ne smatra nužnom dopunom (videti primere u Tabeli 3).

[6] Tabela 2 i prethodno naveden spisak naslova prevedenih kontekstualnom reformulacijom preuzeti su iz Panić Kavgić (2011: 146-147).

IZVORNI NASLOV	PREVEDEN NASLOV	PREVODI NA DRUGE JEZIKE
The Lion King 2: Simba's Pride (Darrell Rooney, Rob LaDuca, 1998, SAD/Australija,)	**Kralj lav 2**	<u>Mađarska</u>: *Az oroszlánkirály 2: Simba büszkesége* <u>Nemačka</u>: *Der König der Löwen 2: Simbas Königreich* <u>Francuska</u>: *Le roi lion 2: L'honneur de la tribu* <u>Norveška</u>: *Løvenes konge 2 – Simbas stolthet* <u>Italija</u>: *Il re Leone II: Il regno di Simba*
The Lion King 1½: Hakuna Matata (Bradley Raymond, 2004, Australija/SAD)	**Kralj lav 3**	<u>Mađarska</u>: *Az oroszlánkirály 3: Hakuna Matata* <u>Nemačka</u>: *Der König der Löwen 3: Hakuna Matata* <u>Francuska</u>: *Le roi lion 3: Hakuna matata* <u>Norveška</u>: *Løvenes konge 3 – Hakuna matata* <u>Italija</u>: *Il re leone 3: Hakuna matata*
Sherk the Third (Chris Miller, Raman Hui, 2007, SAD)	**Šrek 3**	<u>Francuska</u>: *Shrek le troisième* <u>Rusija</u>: *Шрек третий* <u>Mađarska</u>: *Harmadik Shrek* <u>Italija</u>: *Shrek terzo* <u>Nemačka</u>: *Shrek der Dritte* <u>Španija</u>: *Shrek tercero*
Horton Hears a Who! (Jimmy Hayward, Steve Martino, 2008, SAD)	**Horton**	<u>Češka</u>: *Horton Hears a Who!* <u>Nemačka</u>: *Horton hört ein Hu!* <u>Mađarska</u>: ***Horton*** <u>Francuska</u>: ***Horton*** <u>Hrvatska</u>: ***Horton*** <u>Portugalija</u>: *Horton e o Mundo dos Quem*
Madagascar: Escape 2 Africa (Eric Darnell, Tom McGrath, 2008, SAD)	**Madagaskar 2**	<u>Mađarska</u>: ***Madagaszkár 2*** <u>Hrvatska</u>: ***Madagaskar 2*** <u>Rusija</u>: ***Мадагаскар** 2* <u>Francuska</u>: *Madagascar 2 – La grande évasion* <u>Španija</u>: *Madagascar 2: Escape África* <u>Italija</u>: *Madagascar 2 – Via dall'isola*
Alvin and the Chipmunks: the Squeakquel (Betty Thomas, 2009, SAD)	**Alvin i veverice 2**	<u>Mađarska</u>: ***Alvin és a mókusok 2.*** <u>Rusija</u>: *Элвин и бурундуки 2* <u>Norveška</u>: ***Alvin og gjengen 2*** <u>Španija</u>: ***Alvin y las ardillas 2*** <u>Danska</u>: *Alvin og de frække jordegern 2*

Tabela 3: Kreativni i/ili dvosmisleni naslovi dugometražnih animiranih filmova koji su u prevodu na srpski jezik pojednostavljeni, uz primere prevoda na druge jezike, u kojima jeste ili nije došlo do istovrsnog pojednostavljivanja

3. Naslovi nastavaka dugometražnih animiranih filmova i njihovo prevođenje

Ako se u obzir uzmu strategije davanja naslova filmskim nastavcima[7], u slučaju imenovanja naslova dugometražnih animiranih filmova, najčešće se primenjuju:

- ponavljanje naslova uz numerisanje arapskim ili rimskim ciframa[8] (*Toy Story – Priča o igračkama*, *Toy Story* ***2*** ***–*** *Priča o igračkama 2*, *Toy Story* ***3*** ***–*** *Priča o igračkama 3*; *Open Season – Sezona lova*, *Open Season* ***2*** *– Sezona lova 2*, *Open Season* ***3*** *– Sezona lova 3*; *Bambi*, *Bambi* ***II***). Prevodni ekvivalenti u ovoj kategoriji, kao što se vidi iz navedenih primera, prate shemu davanja naslova na izvornom jeziku;
- delimično ili potpuno ponavljanje naslova uz, po pravilu, neprevodivo poigravanje numerisanjem koje se često zasniva na homofoniji (*Hoodwinked! – Ko je smestio*

[7] Pod 'nastavkom' kao hiperonimskim i kohiponimskim terminom u ovom radu podrazumeva se svih deset potkategorija filmskih nastavaka, uspostavljenih u Panić Kavgić (2012) na osnovu prirode njihove veze sa prethodno snimljenim ostvarenjem: nastavak, prednastavak, međunastavak, unutarnastavak, paralelni nastavak, asocijativni nastavak, komplementarni nastavak, samostalni/nezavisni nastavak, nezvanični nastavak i dvostruki nastavak.

[8] Strategije davanja naslova filmskim nastavcima kategorizovane su, definisane i potkrepljene primerima u Panić Kavgić (2012).

Crvenkapi?, *Hoodwinked **Too**! – Ko je smestio Crvenkapi? 2*; *Shrek – Šrek*, *Shrek 2 – Šrek 2*, *Shrek **the Third** – Šrek 3*; *Madagascar – Madagaskar*, *Madagascar: Escape **2** Africa – Madagaskar 2*). Kako je prenošenje homofonije na ciljni jezik praktično nemoguće, prevodi u ovoj grupi naslova ne uspevaju da pariraju svojim duhovitim korespondentima ne engleskom jeziku, već se prevodilac uglavnom drži prethodne sheme ponavljanja prvobitnog naslova uz numerisanje arapskim ciframa, naročito ako je prethodno ostvarenje već doživelo uspeh kod domaće publike;

- ponavljanje celog prvobitnog naslova ili ključnih reči uz dodavanje i naknadno variranje drugog dela naslova, neretko uz igru rečima (***Ice Age** – Ledeno doba*, ***Ice Age**: The Meltdown – Ledeno doba: otapanje*, ***Ice Age**: Dawn of the Dinosaurs – Ledeno doba: dinosaurusi dolaze*; ***An American Tail** – Američka bajka*, ***An American Tail**: Fievel Goes West – Američka bajka 2: Fivel ide na Zapad*, ***An American Tail**: The Treasure of Manhattan Island – Američka bajka 3: blago Menhetna*, ***An American Tail**: The Mystery of the Night Monster – Američla bajka 4: misterija noćnog čudovišta*; ***Alvin and the Chipmunks** – Alvin i veverice*, ***Alvin and the Chipmunks**: The **Squeakquel** – Alvin i veverice 2*, ***Alvin and the Chipmunks**: **Chip-Wrecked** – Alvin i veverice 3: urnebesni brodolom*). Kao što se iz navedenih primera može zaključiti, postupak ponavljanja prvobitnog naslova uz dodavanje drugog dela redovno se primenjuje prilikom prevođenja na srpski jezik, ali igra rečima retko biva uspešno prenesena na ciljni jezik (videti tabele 1, 2 i 3);
- kombinovanje strategija (*Aladdin – Aladin*, davanje novog, potpuno različitog naslova nastavku: *The Return of Jafar*, u prevodu *Aladin 2: Povratak Džafara*, ponavljanje ključne reči iz prvobitnog naslova, uz dodavanje drugog dela: *Aladdin and the King of Thieves*, u prevodu *Aladin i kralj lopova*; *The Little Mermaid – Mala sirena*, ponavljanje prvobitnog naslova, uz dodavanje drugog dela i numerisanje arapskom cifrom: *The Little Mermaid 2: Return to the Sea* , u prevodu *Mala sirena 2: povratak u more*, ponavljanje prvobitnog naslova, uz dodavanje drugog dela: *The Little Mermaid: Ariel's Beginning*, u prevodu *Mala sirena: Arijelin početak*).

4. Zaključak

Na osnovu iznesenog opisa davanja naslova dugometražnim animiranim filmovima i njihovim nastavcima, te analize prevodnih postupaka prilikom njihovog prenošenja s jednog jezika i iz jedne kulture na drugi jezik i u drugu kulturu, moguće je potvrditi na početku iznetu pretpostavku da ova vrsta prevođenja za prevodioca predstavlja veoma inspirativan i izazovan zadatak. Ovakvo stanovište potkrepljuju izabrani i ovde prikazani primeri naslova i njihovih ekvivalenata u raznim jezicima, pri čemu se prevodilac najčešće služi postupcima direktnog prevođenja i kontekstualne reformulacije, neretko uspevajući da u ciljnom jeziku sačuva ili, pak, iznova stvori inteligentne, kreativne i duhovite igre rečima, na radost filmske publike svih uzrasta.

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Philippe Humblé

RETRADUIRE ET SAVOIR.
VIARDOT ET FANLO ET L'*INGENIO DE DON QUICHOTTE*

Résumé: La présente intervention a pour but de comparer deux traductions du *Don Quichotte* de Cervantès, celle de Louis Viardot de 1853 et celle de Jean-Raymond Fanlo de 2008. L'accent de cette comparaison sera mis sur la traduction du mot *ingenio*, concept central dans l'œuvre de Cervantès. L'objectif de cette étude ne sera pas de critiquer telle ou telle traduction, mais d'exposer les faits pour tenter de comprendre les raisons pour lesquelles les traductions d'une même œuvre diffèrent. Cette recherche cadre dans un projet plus ample concernant la retraduction, visant à comparer les traductions du *Don Quichotte*, non seulement en français, mais aussi dans plusieurs autres langues européennes. Une des conclusions tirée de la présente comparaison est que la variation perçue dans les traductions de classiques dépend de la fortune critique de ces œuvres, nécessairement incorporée par le traducteur. A l'instar de Pierre Menard, 'héros' de Borgès, il est impossible d'avoir une connaissance critique de l'œuvre et de l'ignorer.

Mots clefs : *Don Quichotte*, traduction littéraire, théorie descriptive de la traduction

1. Introduction

En 2008 fut publié une nouvelle traduction française du *Don Quichotte* de Cervantès. Ce n'était pas la première, ni la deuxième et ce ne sera pas la dernière. En français, nous disposons d'une liste de traductions, commencée au début du dix-septième siècle, et qui se prolonge jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Nous nous référons au traductions de César Oudin, de François de Rosset, de François Filleau de Saint-Martin au dix-septième siècle, de Louis Viardot au dix-neuvième, de Francis de Miomandre, de Jean Cassou, de Jean Canavaggio, d'Aline Schulman au vingtième, et de Jean-Raymond Fanlo pour le vingt-et-unième siècle. Quelques-unes de ces traductions sont devenues des classiques à part entière et sont régulièrement réimprimées. Nous n'avons d'ailleurs cité que les principaux acteurs de cette passion française pour le *Don Quichotte*, passion dans laquelle les français ne sont surpassés que par les britanniques (Alamán, 2010: 187).

Une traduction du *Don Quichotte* est toujours un événement. Il s'accompagne d'articles dans des suppléments littéraires, de numéros spéciaux de revues, d'interviews avec les traducteurs et, non rarement, de polémiques entre eux. L'étude de la 'retraduction', par contre, en tant que phénomène *sui generis* au sein de la traduction littéraire, est un phénomène assez récent et sur lequel nous ne disposons guère encore de bibliographie très étendue. Nous pouvons citer les anthologies récentes de Robert Kahn et Catriona Seth (2010) et d'Enrico Monti et Peter Schnyder (2011). Mais ce sont les articles d'Antoine Berman (1990) et d'Yves Gambier (1994) qui ont établi les fondements de ce nouveau domaine de recherche.

En ce qui concerne spécifiquement les traductions et retraductions du *Don Quichotte*, nous avons l'ouvrage récent d'Enrique Vercher García et Ana Pano Alamán (2010), ainsi que l'article consacré par celle-ci à la question des traductions 'actives' et 'passives' du *Don Quichotte* en France (2011). Il faudrait aussi mentionner l'article merveilleux de Clara Foz (2003), auquel nous sommes redevables.

2. La retraduction comme problème

La retraduction est un problème spécifique, peu étudie et qui offre des possibilités de compréhension de l'acte traducteur que des analyses de traductions uniques n'offrent guère. En effet, la grande majorité des textes ne sont pas retraduits. Ils son traduits une fois seulement et l'on ne peut donc juger de la qualité de la traduction qu'en la comparant avec l'original. Dans le cas de la retraduction, il est possible de comparer différentes traductions entre elles, ce qui nous révèle des aspects méthodologiques, socioculturels, voire psychologiques, moins facilement discernables dans l'évaluation d'une traduction unique.

Une grande traduction, selon Berman (1990), est toujours une retraduction. Les traductions, nous dit l'auteur en citant Goethe, passent par divers stades : la traduction intra ou juxtalinéaire (mot à mot), la traduction libre, qui adapte le texte à la culture du traducteur, et le dernier stade, celui de la traduction littérale, qui reproduit les particularités culturelles et textuelles de l'original (Berman, 1994 : 4). En sommes-nous là dans le cas des traductions du *Don Quichotte* ? Il nous manque ici de temps pour approfondir les aspects théoriques de la question, mais il est intéressant de contraster le point de vue de Goethe et de Berman avec la recherche que nous avons nous-mêmes menée sur la traduction française du *Don Quichotte*. La traduction de Fanlo serait-elle plus fidèle aux particularités culturelles et textuelles de l'original que celle, très différente, de Viardot ? Ou seraient-ce des impératifs d'une autre nature qui se trouveraient à la base de leurs divergences ?

Ingenio

Dans la présente recherche nous nous sommes limités à comparer les traductions proposées par Viardot et Fanlo d'un mot clef dans l'œuvre de Cervantès, notamment, le mot *ingenio*. Pourquoi ce mot-là ? Le mot *ingenio* apparaît dans le *Don Quichotte* sous sa forme substantive 55 fois. C'est un concept central dans l'œuvre de Cervantès et ce n'est pas par hasard que Fanlo lui dédie un chapitre entier dans son Introduction. Il est, en outre, important de se souvenir que le titre complet de l'œuvre de Cervantès est «El *ingenioso* hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha».

Quelques précisions sur le mot *ingenio*. Tout d'abord, le mot n'est plus couramment employé de nos jours. Dans un corpus d'espagnol moderne composé essentiellement de textes journalistiques[9] nous avons trouvé une unique occurrence à chaque 192.291 mots, presque

[9] Un corpus de près de 12 millions de mots provenant de textes journalistiques du vingtième siècle, composé par nous-mêmes.

toujours en référence au Siècle d'Or espagnol. Le mot était à cette époque d'usage courant, il s'agissait d'un mot clé parmi les intellectuels de l'époque. Mentionnons *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* de Baltasar Gracián. Dans le dictionnaire de Covarrubias de 1611, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, le mot *ingenio* est défini de la façon suivante : " una fuerza natural de entendimiento, investigadora de lo que por razón y discurso se puede alcanzar en todo género de ciencias, disciplinas, artes liberales y mecánicas (...)" [10]

Dans la traduction de Fanlo *ingenio* a été traduit de quinze façons différentes : *esprit*, *génie*, *talent*, *astuce*, *compétences*, *écrivain*, *imagination*, *invention*, *capacités*, *habileté*, *un autre*, *subtilité*, *fiction*, *fantaisie*, *facultés*. Dans la traduction de Viardot, nous ne trouvons que cinq traductions différentes : *esprit*, *génie*, *écrivain*, *intelligence*, *sens*.

Que cela signifie-t-il ? On pourrait suggérer que le mot *ingenio* est tout simplement polysémique. Tout comme le mot *banco*, qui peut signifier *banque* ou *banc*, *ingenio* pourrait signifier plusieurs choses en français et le traducteur n'aurait d'autre choix que de traduire *ingenio* de différentes façons selon les contextes. Cependant *esprit*, le mot qui se rapproche le plus du sens original, qui vient à l'esprit le premier et qui a été utilisé le plus par les deux traducteurs, a lui aussi un nombre considérable de significations. Le Petit Robert cite les suivants:

> âme, conscience, moi ; ensemble des dispositions, des façons d'agir habituelles. caractère ; entendement, intellect, intelligence ; pensée; raison; cerveau, cervelle, tête ; aptitude, disposition particulière de l'intelligence ; qualité, valeur intellectuelle (intelligence, talent) ; vivacité piquante de l'esprit; ingéniosité dans la façon de concevoir et d'exposer qqch. (finesse, malice; humour) ; intention, volonté ; le sens profond d'un texte; l'essentiel de la pensée d'un auteur.

Il est vrai que, de la liste de traductions proposées par nos deux traducteurs, seuls 'intelligence' (Viardot), 'sens' (Viardot) et 'talent' (Fanlo) apparaissent dans l'article du Robert, mais on pourrait également se demander si le lecteur actuel d'un livre comme le *Don Quichotte* ne serait pas en mesure de déduire du contexte que dans une expression comme, par exemple, 'los ingenios de España' il s'agit de *personnes*, et donc d'*écrivains*, comme traduit Fanlo.

Tant Fanlo que Viardot ont apparemment pensé que le mot *ingenio* ne serait pas compris de façon adéquate s'ils ne le traduisaient de façons différentes, s'ils ne le précisaient d'avantage. Cependant, les mots que les traducteurs français ont utilisés pour traduire *ingenio* existaient également en espagnol à l'époque de Cervantès, avec la même signification qu'aujourd'hui. Pourquoi Cervantès ne les aurait-il donc pas utilisés lui-même, s'ils étaient à sa portée?
Les choix différents opérés par les traducteurs français impliquent qu'ils aient jugé nécessaire de changer le texte de Cervantès, de l'interpréter à partir d'une seule unité (*ingenio*), ce qui part du

[10] « Une force naturelle de compréhension, qui enquête sur tout ce qui peut être obtenu par la raison et le discours, dans tous les types de sciences, disciplines, arts libéraux et mécaniques. » (Notre traduction.)

principe que *eux*, les traducteurs, comprennent et interprètent de façon correcte ce que Cervantès aurait voulu exprimer, mais sans le faire, ou peut-être sans même savoir comment le faire. On pourrait se demander pourquoi, au cas où Cervantès n'aurait pas voulu s'exprimer clairement, il était nécessaire que les traducteurs le fassent ? Si Cervantès avait trouvé qu'il n'était pas nécessaire de s'exprimer de façon plus spécifique, c'est qu'il pensait que ses contemporains le comprendraient sans aucune explication supplémentaire. Il aurait pu varier son vocabulaire de la même façon que les traducteurs l'ont fait, puisque tous les mots utilisés par Viardot et Fanlo sont attestés dans le Covarrubias, à l'exception de *habilidad/habileté* (Fanlo), *competencia/compétence* (Fanlo) et *inteligencia/intelligence* (Viardot). Que ces trois derniers mots ne figurent pas dans le Covarrubias ne signifie d'ailleurs pas qu'il n'existaient pas à l'époque de Cervantès, comme le prouve une recherche dans le corpus de l'Université de Brigham[11], où tous les mots utilisés par les traducteurs apparaissent comme étant en usage du temps de Cervantès. Pourquoi donc Cervantès n'aurait-il pas utilisé ces mots, s'il les avait à sa disposition ? Rétorquer que si Cervantès ne les a pas utilisés, les traducteurs n'avaient pas non plus le droit de le faire, serait une réponse par trop simpliste. Fanlo est un des grands connaisseurs du *Don Quichotte* et sa traduction est tout moins l'œuvre d'un traducteur non-averti. Il a dédié plusieurs chapitres de son introduction au *Don Quichotte* à la problématique de la traduction et, comme nous l'avions déjà précisé, un chapitre entier est consacré au mot *ingenio*. C'est donc en tout état de cause que Fanlo a traduit *ingenio* de quinze façons différentes.

Si l'on retraduisait le *Don Quichotte* en espagnol moderne –et tenons compte du fait que l'espagnol n'a pas tellement changé ces derniers cinq cents ans–, sentirait-on le besoin d'actualiser le mot *ingenio*, vu qu'il s'agit d'un mot qui n'existe quasiment plus en espagnol moderne ? Nous ne le croyons pas. Des mots comme 'calças', comme 'vellorí', sûrement. Nous nous permettons de croire que cela n'est pas le cas de *ingenio*. Dans certains contextes d'aucuns préféreraient probablement une autre expression, mais l'utilisation du mot *ingenio*, ne rendrait pas le texte incompréhensible, ni même ambigu. Néanmoins, si l'on voulait vraiment moderniser le texte, il faudrait effectivement *interpréter*, à l'instar de ce qu'ont fait les traducteurs français.

Nous nous permettons de croire que tant Viardot, et encore plus Fanlo, auraient eu la certitude d'avoir fait un mauvais travail s'il ne s'étaient pas évertués à chercher ce nombre assez grand de traductions différentes pour le mot *ingenio*. Il aurait été, somme toute, beaucoup plus facile de traduire à chaque fois *ingenio* par *esprit*. Fanlo et, dans une moindre mesure, Viardot sont partis de l'idée selon laquelle le public attendait d'une œuvre comme le *Don Quichotte*, analysée au fil des siècles de plusieurs manières différentes, philosophiquement, psychologiquement, sociologiquement, une précision stylistique qui, dans le contexte du *Don Quichotte* original, faisait défaut. Au XXIème siècle, un traducteur du *Don Quichotte* –et notez l'augmentation du nombre de variantes entre Viardot et Fanlo– croule sous la panoplie critique qui existe au sujet du *Don Quichotte*. Il n'est dès lors pas étonnant qu'il sente une pression

[11] http://www.corpusdelespanol.org/x.asp

insoutenable à prendre en compte un appareil critique qui rend impossible la virginité lectrice. Le traducteur se sent obligé, sous le fardeau de ce qu'il sait, de multiplier les synonymes pour rendre compte du texte original problématisé. Le traducteur ne peut se permettre de faire comme s'il l'ignorait.

Un traducteur est toujours obligé d'interpréter l'œuvre qu'il traduit. Dans le cas du Don Quichotte, néanmoins, Fanlo a s'est vu obligé à prendre en compte un appareil critique et un nombre de traductions antérieures qui n'existait pas à l'époque de Viardot. L'effort d'exégèse qu'a dû entreprendre Fanlo était énorme et obligeait à faire des choix. L'ignorer était impossible. Dans le cas de Fanlo, cette exégèse, il faut bien le dire, concerne bien plus ce que Cervantès dit, le message, que la façon dont il le dit, le style. Cervantès a souvent été critiqué, même par son grand admirateur Borgès, pour son style déficient. Pour bon nombre d'auteurs, Cervantès a, pour ainsi dire, fait un chef d'œuvre malgré lui. C'est le 'mythe de *l'ingenio lego*', du génie naïf, mythe qui renait à tout bout de champ, sans doute pas sans raison. Cervantès nous invite à le corriger, c'est son style, c'est son tempérament que l'on sent battre à travers son texte. Cervantès ne varie pas suffisamment son vocabulaire, disent ses admirateurs-détracteurs, il utilise trop de mots comme *y*, *dijo*, *respondió*. Ce sont précisément ces mots-là que Fanlo éliminera de sa traduction, élimination qu'il justifiera dans son Introduction. Pourtant, ces mots-là, ces répétitions « relèvent d'une véritable esthétique (…) la respiration de la prose cervantine » (Canavaggio, 2010 : 169) En faire l'exégèse revient à dire que Cervantès voulait avant tout transmettre un 'message', ayant l'intention, déclarée, d'attaquer les livres de chevalerie. En voulant uniquement amuser ses lecteurs avec un texte qui les ferait se sentir bien dans leur peau, pour que « el melancólico se mueva a risa, el risueño la acreciente", c'est-à-dire, pour que "le mélancolique se mette à rire, que le sourieur rigole encore plus".

Dans *Pierre Ménard*, *auteur du Quichotte*, le personnage principal est dit avoir réalisé la prouesse de réécrire le *Don Quichotte* de façon identique à l'original. Pierre Menard a réussi à faire comme si les 400 ans qui séparaient sa 'traduction' de l'œuvre originale n'existaient pas. Il s'est obligé à oublier, d'une part et, d'autre part, à réapprendre ce qui avait été oublié. Il a su faire abstraction de tout ce qu'il savait pour réapprendre une langue disparue, celle de Cervantès, afin de reproduire l'œuvre, dans un immense effort d'amnésie et d'érudition, dans son état original. Ceci, évidemment, est impossible à réaliser dans la vie réelle, et tant Viardot que Fanlo le démontrent. S'il est impossible de traduire aujourd'hui le *Don Quichotte* en espagnol du dix-septième siècle, ils est tout aussi impossible de le traduire dans le français de l'époque. Les traductions non seulement présupposent une interprétation, ils n'est pas possible de l'éviter.

Est-ce un hasard que Fanlo, professeur de littérature de la Renaissance, fait précéder sa traduction d'une 'Introduction' de 120 pages, truffée de citations couvrant tout le champ de la critique cervantiste ? Il est vrai que Viardot lui-aussi nous offre une 'Notice' en guise d'introduction, mais elle ne compte que 19 pages et ne concerne que la biographie de Cervantès, mise à part une demi-page, intéressante, dédiée à la traduction. On retrouve là son attitude face à la critique concernant *Don Quichotte* : « Au fait, je n'ai fait qu'une seule étude préparatoire pour traduire Cervantès : j'ai relu Montaigne. » (Viardot 1853 : 19) Le fardeau que Viardot portait quand il commença à traduire *Don Quichotte* était sans aucun doute bien plus léger que celui de Fanlo.

Dans son article succinct sur la retraduction, Berman lance une hypothèse qu'il n'a malheureusement pas eu le temps d'élaborer : « dans la retraduction accomplie règne une abondance spécifique : richesse de la langue, extensive ou intensive, richesse du rapport à la langue de l'original, richesse textuelle, richesse signifiante, etc. » (Berman, 1990 : 5) Pourrions-nous hasarder l'hypothèse que l'inévitabilité de la connaissance critique de l'œuvre y joue un rôle ?

3. Conclusion

Viardot et Fanlo ont traduit le mot clef du *Don Quichotte*, *ingenio*, de plusieurs façons : quinze dans le cas de Fanlo, cinq dans le cas de Viardot. S'il y a donc variation, il y a aussi nette évolution en nombre de traductions. La traduction s'est, de cette façon, 'sophistiquée'. Cette sophistication, ce raffinement dans l'interprétation de l'œuvre, pourrait être expliqué par la 'règle' qui dit que les traducteurs ont tendance à 'expliquer' les auteurs qu'ils traduisent. Mais il existe aussi une règle qui dit que les traducteurs ont la tendance de s'en remettre à des hyperonymes. Il aurait été parfaitement acceptable, et défendable, de traduire *ingenio* par *esprit* à chaque occurrence. Si les traducteurs, et Fanlo en particulier, ne l'ont pas fait, ne serait-ce pas en partie parce qu'ils sentaient sur leurs épaules le poids de générations de lecteurs et de critiques ?

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Traductions de Don Quichotte

1. **L'ingénieux Hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche** par Miguel de Cervantès Saavedra, (1853) traduit et annoté par Louis Viardot. Vignettes de Tony Johannot. Paris. Victor Lecou
2. Miguel de Cervantès (2008) **Don Quichotte**, Traduction, présentation et édition de Jean Raymond Fanlo, Paris. Le livre de Poche

UDC 811.14:811.163.4]:316.7

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ON ANIMAL PUTDOWNS IN MODERN GREEK AND THEIR TRANSLATIONAL EQUIVALENTS IN SERBIAN[1]

***Abstract**: The paper lists the most frequent animal putdowns in Greek that we have compared with the equivalent Serbian translations. Animal putdowns have always been present in almost every language and are a relevant lexical segment, on the grounds of the very fact that there is still a close connection between man and animals. Our list offers an insight into the Greek attitudes and way of thinking, because it reveals the manner in which they see themselves according to their physical, psychological, intellectual and moral characteristics.*

***Key words**: putdowns, insults, characterization, classification, Greek, Serbian*

1. Introduction

In 1999, the French Court of Appeal had an unusual task of deciding whether or not it was offensive to name someone a *gnu*. Carlos the Jackal[2], an international terrorist from Venezuela sentenced to life imprisonment, complained to the court about having been punished in a Paris prison for using this term in addressing a warden. Although the gnu is a splendidly powerful member of the South African antelope family with no offensive habits, in the end the court ruled that Sanchez's expression was a kind of abusive term. Unfortunately, in this story only the gnu, one of many animals slandered in this way by humans, became the real victim of injustice.

There is no human culture in which, during the process of language learning or acquiring a foreign language, children do not usually adopt the names of chosen animals as a part of language training and verbal practice. By doing this, children at the same time adopt characteristics of those animals which are either their metaphoric outer (i.e. physical) or inner (i.e. mental) labels (for instance, a fox is cunning, a hare/rabbit is fearful, an owl is wise, etc.). These labels are, of course, our traditional cultural, social and psychological stereotypes.

On the other hand, there is no human culture which has developed different types of curses and insults based on animal names as particular lexical metaphors for flawed humans. The magical thinking behind insults with animal names is that calling someone by an animal name (e.g. cow, cock, dog, pig, bitch) was tantamount to reducing the victim to the animal itself. To call a person by an animal’s name was to evoke the negative animal traits in the victim. Which animal names form the basis of insults varies from culture to culture and depends on cultural stereotypes for the animals. The concept of animal-based insults is related in part to human eating animals, in general, or to taboos on eating animals (Leach, 1966). The truth is, as Jay

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[2] Born Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, 1949.

pointed out, that we (i.e. the Europeans, North Americans, etc.) neither eat our pets nor any exotic wild animals (Jay, 1999: 196). The animal insults are usually names for domesticated animals, which exist in a cultural-semantic space between three principal types of animals:

- house pets, animals closely attached to owners who would eat them under no circumstances (e.g. dog, cat, guinea pig, parrot);
- domestic animals, which are also close to owners and which belong either to a category ‘eatable’ (e.g. hen, pig, goose, weel, rabbit) or to ‘inedible’ (donkey, mule, goat);
- unfamiliar wild beasts, which are inedible.

Insults always develop when enough is known about the negative models of behavior of domesticated animals to form stereotypes of their undesirable behaviors and properties. Therefore, no one would address any person in Greek or in Serbian using the name LLAMA:

*Είσαι λάμα! - *Ти си лама!
You are a llama!

or even PLATYPUS:

*Είσαι γλοιώδης σαν το πλατύποδα! - *Љигав си као платипус!
You are as slimy as a platypus.

since the proper contextual meaning of the phrases would not be understood. On the other hand, if a speaker calls someone **γουρούνι, свиња** (pig), he is referring to the culture’s very well known stereotype of pig traits. Pigs are dirty, fat, and eat filth. To call someone a pig is to impute porcine traits to the victim of the insult. One would not call someone a **toucan** or a **marmot** to insult them because marmots and toucans are not culturally negatively stereotyped or used as conventional insults. 7 Animal insults usually rely on cultural definitions of the salient properties or behaviors attributed to animals that are assumed to have human parallels, for example, being lazy, dirty, or stupid. Freud in his works (1905/1960; 1913/1950), writing about obscene joking and taboo, noted that insults with curse words derive their power from the idea that the insult reduces the victim to the realm of animal-like qualities. The animal characteristics are determined by the culture to be negative, thus offensive. The assumption is that to be described as an animal with stereotypically negative characteristics (e.g., pig, chicken, jackass) is equivalent to possessing or evoking those same qualities.

2. The Aim and Purpose of Our Paper

Animal putdowns as part of lexical phraseology are considered to be a language universal and include up to one-third of the total phraseology of a language (Moon, 1998: 56;

Ellis, 1997: 133-143). The lexical-semantic part of these expressions is an independent subsystem within the entire lexical system of a language. Animal putdowns are numerous, and differ according to their structure and semantic role that the selected lexical units have in them. .

The principal aims of our paper are:

a) to provide a survey of the most frequent animal putdowns in contemporary Greek which we have compared with the suitable translational equivalents in Serbian, and
b) to classify them in relation to who they are addressed to or what metaphoric or semantic message they convey.

At the same time, our aim was to research the most adequate and precise manner in which expressing animal putdowns in Serbian was possible.

3. Corpora of Animal Putdowns in Modern Greek and Serbian Languages

The basic material for the analysis of animal putdowns was compiled from the following sources:

A) monolingual dictionaries:

Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika (1995), Novi Sad: Matica srpska.
Μπαμπινιώτης, Γ. (1998), *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας*. Β΄ έκδοση. Αθήνα: Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας.
Κριαράς, Ε. (1995), *Νέο Ελληνικό λεξικό – Λεξικό της σύγχρονης ελληνικής δημοτικής γλώσσας*. Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών.
Τεγόπουλος-Φυτράκης (1995), *Ελληνικό λεξικό* (δέκατη έκδοση). Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Αρμονία.

B) bilingual Greek-Serbian and Serbian-Greek dictionaries:

Stojanović, Miodrag – Balać, Aleksandar (2009), *Grčko-srpski rečnik* (2. izdanje). Beograd: Zavod za udzbenike.
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C) foreign bilingual dictionaries:

Dizionario Greco moderno-Italiano, Italiano-Greco moderno (2006), Bologna: Perugia Edizioni.
Collins Ελληνο-αγγλικό λεξικό (2003), Glasgow: Harper Collins Publishers

Collins Greek-English Dictionary (1997), Glasgow: Harper Collins Publishers.

Τσουκανάς, Αλέξανδρος (1997), *Γερμανο-ελληνικό λεξικό.* (2η έκδοση).

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4. Some Remarks on Animal Putdowns

Animal putdowns in every language that knows them as a separate lexical-semantic category reveal a specific world view, first and foremost a perspective on the culture, beliefs and attitudes of a people, both to themselves and to others. However, a real understanding of this subtype of lexis does not only belong to the field of semantics, but to pragmatics as well, which means that language is a very complex system including numerous encyclopedic competences (De Carlo, 1998: 101-102 ff.). According to Galisson and Puren (1999: 188-189),

i) on the one hand, they concern the lexical stratum which is mostly congruous in languages[3] - in other words, that is an approximately identical lexical fund formed in accordance to the cultural, gastronomic, civlizational, geographic and moral factors which dictated the selection and stabilization of the elementary lexical fund of of animal putdowns,

ii) on the other hand, one can discuss the animal putdowns possessing a common cultural value (*des mots à charge culturelle partagée*) to all the speakers of a language, regardless of the territory which they inhabit, since a majority of animal putdowns make up a primeval part of lexis which is not subject to frequent changes and influences from other languages.

As Nesi (1995: 274) stated, "in each culture, certain animal terms are strongly linked with certain attributes and there is common agreement about what these attributes are. This does not mean that such metaphors are 'dead': on the contrary, they form a very vital part of the language. and are frequently used to powerful effect."

5. Classification of Animal Putdowns in Modern Greek and Serbian

One possible classification of animal putdowns which are in metaphoric use in Modern Greek and Serbian languages could be made based on sexual division and regardless of age. In that sense we distinguish three subtypes of these putdowns which can be considered as major

[3] Their research focused on European languages only (French, English, German, Russian).

insults or as insults in general. As our examples demonstrate, some of translational equivalents in Serbian have their feminine correspondents.

a) The first group of putdowns consists of terms addressed only to males:

σαλιγκάρι	puž[4]	
γάτος	mačka	
κόκορας	pevac	
κηφήνας	trut	
λιοντάρι	lav	lavica
ελέφαντας	slon	slonica
τσίρος	saraga	
ασβός	tvor	

b) The second group of putdowns is used only for females. Our investigation on Greek and Serbian linguistic material shows that in general there are up to 75% more animal insults for women in active use than for men:

αγελάδα	krava	
φάλαινα	krmača	
φώκια	svinja	
σκρόφα	prasica/krmača	
μαϊμού	majmun	
κουνέλα	zec	zečica
αλεπού	lisac	lisica
φοράδα	kobila	
σουσουράδα	(no correspondence in Serbian[5])	
γαλιάντρα	(no correspondence in Serbian[6])	
καμήλα	(no correspondence in Serbian[7])	

c) The third group of putdowns usually has both genders in Modern Greek and in Serbian:

μουλάρι	γαϊδούρα	mazga/mula	
γάϊδαρος / γαϊδούρι	γαϊδούρα	magarac	
τράγος	κατσίκα	jarac	koza
σκύλος	σκύλα	džukela/pseto	kučka
γουρούνι	γουρούνα	svinja/krme	krmača

d) The fourth group of putdowns is formed of those which are gender-neutral, i.e. they are ambivalent. Being neither strong insults nor compliments, they simply describe a personal characteristic in a metaphoric way:

4 It metaphorically means SLUGGARD.
5 The translation does not include the animal's name – MINX, FLIRT.
6 The translation excludes the animal's name – BABBLER, TELLTALE.
7 In our opinion, the most adequate translation would be a word of non-animal origin – GABOR (UGLY PERSON).

σκουλήκι	crv
φίδι	zmija/guja
κότα	kokoška
χελώνα	kornjača
πρόβατο	ovca
μέλισσα	pčela/pčelica
τσιμπούρι	stenica
μοσχάρι	tele
νυφίτσα	lasica
μανάρι	*debela svinja
σουπιά	*sipa/hobotnica/oktopod
τσακάλι	šakal/kurjak
γάτα	mačka
βόδι	bik/bika
βδέλλα	pijavica
παγόνι	paun/paunica
καρακάξα	*krava/koza matora
κόρακας (most usual in plural: κοράκια)	*čavka/svraka/
στρείδι	stenica
όρνιο	lešinar

In our opinion, this group also includes the Greek general term for animal – ζώο - which has its two translational equivalents in Serbian, either '' životinja'' or ''stoka''.

e) A special group of animal names is formed of the so-called positive list of terms which are used both for males and females as a sort of compliment which, according to Saville-Troike's opinion, function in language as a means of depersonalizing criticism, thus rendering the addresser less offensive (Saville-Troike, 1982: 98):

αηδόνι	slavuj
αετός (more frequent αητός)	*orao/sova
σκυλί	pas/kuče
μανάρι	riba
γάτος/γάτα	mačka
άλογο	*konj/bik

3. Conclusion

Our preliminary research, which deals with single-word conventional metaphors of domesticated and wild animals, shows that the names of animals are used differently in Greek and Serbian cultures. This means that animal names, in general, are symbolic because they are functional or antifunctional as Sperber (1996: 149) pointed out.

Our brief research is concerned with the occurrence of nouns referring to names of animals in the context of putdowns, insults and metaphors whose functions and meanings in language are purely symbolic, yet semantically quite explicit. The truth is that there are a great number of different nouns referring to various genera and species of animals in Greek and Serbian. In traditional folk taxonomy, animals are classified in accordance with their locus or physical spatial position (water, land, air). In societies, animals possess social (spatial) position, according to which their special categorizations and subcategorizations are made in each society. These taxonomies usually reflect the metaphoric, logical and semantic roles of ''chosen'' animals within the society. In a great number of cases, animal names addressed or attributed to humans reveal types of social discrimination and insults. Paradoxically, in this way the distance between animals and humans is rather decreased than increased in physical and mental senses. We would like to point out that, having in mind the origin of animal names in all researched corpora, farm names are more frequent in Modern Greek and Serbian than the names of pets, birds or wild animals.

Human interest in animals always serves some human purpose, in the first place to negatively show a particular characteristic of a human being, to insult, or on the other hand, to depict a positive human feature, usually similar to the animal one.

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SLOVENO VS. ITALIANO: LA TRADUZIONE DI TESTI LETTERARI CONTEMPORANEI

Abstract: *Gli studi riguardanti la ricezione di opere letterarie slovene tradotte in Italia, anche nella comparazione con lo stesso fenomeno in Slovenia, indicano che il flusso principale di traduzioni letterarie, come del resto in passato, avviene dall'italiano verso lo sloveno. Alcuni fattori prevedibili, come le diverse dimensioni dello spazio culturale possono, esercitare un'influenza sulla diversa percezione del prestigio letterario e aiutano a comprendere le motivazioni della notevole discrepanza nel manifestare l'interesse nei confronti della cultura del vicino. Se da un lato ciò è radicato nella storia e nelle relazioni tra i due paesi, altre motivazioni alla scarsa ricezione in Italia vanno altresì ricercate sul piano testuale benché, essenzialmente, siano da ascrivere alla sfera socio-politica e quindi extratestuale. Al fine di individuare ulteriori elementi rilevanti per la discussione, che tiene conto anche di questioni relative all'efficacia di una più mirata politica culturale orientata verso le traduzioni, il contributo mette in luce la tendenza dell'ultimo decennio che indica un mutamento di atteggiamenti di segno positivo sia nella scelta delle opere tradotte sia nell' affermazione di alcuni autori contemporanei presso il pubblico di arrivo. In questo senso si discute della fortuna dell'opera tradotta di Boris Pahor, autore sloveno di Trieste, distintosi prima in Francia poi in Austria e Germania e infine in Italia.*

Parole chiave: *Translation Studies; Traduzione sloveno-italiano; Traduzione italiano-sloveno; Letteratura slovena contemporanea; Prosa slovena*

1. Introduzione

Il presente studio si inserisce in una più ampia indagine che intende esplorare le esperienze traduttive di prosa letteraria slovena contemporanea[1] in Italia, in particolare nei due ultimi decenni in cui si è assistito a un particolare sviluppo dei rapporti letterari oltre che al susseguirsi di eventi di notevole portata riguardanti la storia della Slovenia: nel 1991 diventa stato indipendente e nel 2004 entra a far parte dell'Unione Europea. Ci è nota l'enorme discrepanza temporale e quantitativa che contraddistingue, sin dagli esordi, la mediazione traduttiva nei due Paesi (sloveno vs. italiano e viceversa) nonché il dato reale secondo cui la quasi totale maggioranza del pubblico italiano non conosce abbastanza o affatto la letteratura slovena per essere in grado di esprimere un giudizio su di essa. Dopo aver riassunto le problematiche principali, che in vari modi ostacolano una più ampia diffusione di opere tradotte di letteratura slovena, si tenta di riassumere la situazione dell'ultimo decennio che rivela nuove tendenze, soprattutto in relazione all'autore sloveno contemporaneo più tradotto, ossia Boris Pahor.

1 Si escludono dall'analisi le tipologie di testi relativi alla letteratura per l'infanzia o alla tradizione popolare.

2. Cenni di storia delle traduzioni e problematiche generali

Dagli esordi, le esperienze traduttive che hanno interessato il mondo culturale italiano e sloveno sono anche metafora dei rapporti, in epoca contemporanea, tra i due universi letterari. La storia della traduzione a stampa di testi in prosa prodotti in Italia in versione slovena supera infatti i 450 anni ed è riconducibile alla versione, realizzata da Primož Trubar nel 1555, dell'*Orazione de perseguitati e forusciti per lo evangelio e per Giesu Cristo* di Pier Paolo Vergerio (Košuta, 2005: 132). La prosa slovena in Italia invece compare per la prima volta nel 1885 con la versione italiana di *Vita vitae meae* di Ivan Tavčar, effettuata dal maggiore intellettuale della Slavia Friulana vissuto tra Otto e Novecento, ossia Ivan Trinko.[2]

La questione riguardante il flusso delle traduzioni italiano vs. sloveno cela tuttavia un altro aspetto e più precisamente il rapporto assai sbilanciato anche sul piano quantitavivo delle opere tradotte. Dagli studi e repertori bibliografici[3] riguardanti le traduzioni dei vari generi letterari, quindi non soltanto della prosa, risulta che i titoli nella direzione italiano vs. sloveno sono di numero notevolmente maggiore rispetto alla direzione opposta. Infatti se dal 1555 al 2000 si registrano oltre un migliaio di versioni letterarie dall'italiano in sloveno, dal 1878 al 2002 le edizioni librarie nella direzione opposta ammontano soltanto a 276 unità. Se tuttavia nel 1878 si contava una sola pubblicazione, l'andamento risulterà in continua crescita specialmente nei tempi più recenti (Košuta, 2005: 135-137). Gli studi precedenti ci informano inoltre che nel *corpus* di testi tradotti si annoverano prevalentemente titoli riguardanti la poesia,[4] che si traducono soprattutto i classici (sebbene venga rivolta sempre maggiore attenzione agli autori contemporanei), che i traduttori sono in sostanza slavisti o slovenisti oppure gli sloveni bilingui cittadini italiani (Košuta, 1997a).

Le opere tradotte dallo sloveno in italiano, riferendoci al genere della prosa letteraria, sono aumentate nell'ultimo decennio. Inoltre, se i classici rappresentavano la tendenza prevalente fino agli anni Settanta o agli inizi degli anni Ottanta (vedi ad esempio Ivan Cankar, l'autore classico più tradotto) ora si traducono quasi esclusivamente autori contemporanei che esprimono, oltre alle tematiche storico politiche (cfr. l'opera di Boris Pahor o Alojz Rebula), anche

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2 L'opera fu pubblicata sul quotidiano cattolico udinese *Il Cittadino italiano*, più precisamente in nove puntate nell'*Appendice del Cittadino italiano* tra febbraio e marzo 1885 (Ferluga Petronio, 2006: 131).

3 Lo studio più completo riguardante la fortuna delle traduzioni letterarie slovene nello spazio culturale italiano dal 1945 al 2000 è stato realizzato, attraverso due pubblicazioni complementari, da Zoltan Jan (2001a, 2001b). Poiché rappresenta la prima analisi approfondita, queste due opere vanno considerate una vera azione "pioneristica" nel settore (Ožbot, 2002: 287). In Košuta (1997b, 43-61) invece sono annoverate le edizioni librarie dal 1878 al 1997.

4 Nonostante le predilezione per il genere della poesia, ancora nel 1985 Bressan scriveva: "Il padre della poesia slovena, France Prešeren, è uno dei grandi romantici europei; benché in versioni massacranti, è ampiamente tradotto da noi: ma chi lo conosce? Di Srečko Kosovel, uno dei maggiori poeti sloveni ed europei del 900 esistono due antologie italiane e lavori abbastanza recenti: ma chi non li ignora, al di qua del Tagliamento? Tra i più significativi poeti sloveni contemporanei, Ciril Zlobec è il primo a offrirci una sua «antologia personale»: ma da che spazi e che mani ci arrivi, chi ne sa qualcosa?" Questo è l'*incipit* del saggio intitolato *Ciril Zlobec. Tentativo di un ritratto di confine* (Bressan 1985: 177).

questioni percepite per eccellenza come attuali dalla società contemporanea (es. la letteratura a tematica omosessuale con opere di Brane Mozetič, Brina Svit, Suzana Tratnik).[5]

Gli studiosi che hanno recentemente trattato la fortuna delle traduzioni letteraturie slovene in Italia (Jan 2001a, 2001b; Košuta 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2005; Ožbot 2011)[6] hanno anche individuato dei fattori critici che avrebbero determinato la condizione in cui la letteratura slovena versa in Italia: scarsamente o affatto conosciuta ma tra le letterature slave risulterebbe la più tradotta in italiano dopo quella russa. Poiché tali fattori sono conseguenza di un insieme di elementi relativi al piano sia testuale o letterario sia, e soprattutto, extraletterario o sociale, in questa sede si annoverano alcune questioni o circostanze (in buona parte già rilevate dagli studi precedenti) pertinenti anche alla nostra discussione che, in sostanza, si rivolge alla situazione attuale.[7]

1. Sul piano strettamente testuale e linguistico va messa subito in evidenza la questione della qualità delle traduzioni che possono, inoltre, rivelare uno stile superato apparendo più evidente man mano che si retrocede nel tempo. Si profila dunque il problema della resa del testo sul piano delle aspettative dei lettori nella lingua d'arrivo, ossia la capacità del traduttore di utilizzarne adeguatamente il sistema e le tradizioni stilistiche staccandosi dai modelli testuali e retorici della lingua di partenza aspirando a raggiungere l'imprescindibile idiomaticità del testo d'arrivo (cfr. anche Ožbot 2001: 392). Si mette allora in evidenza la professionalità dei mediatori che tuttavia rivela ora una netta tendenza all'elevazione della qualità, verosimilmente grazie all'acquisizione di una professionalità e quindi di una più acuta coscienza degli strumenti e delle strategie traduttive anche dal punto di vista teorico.

2. Per quanto riguarda l'efficacia, sul piano della comunicazione, delle opere tradotte, riconosciamo, oltre ai classici, i contenuti storico-politici di ampio respiro come una costante, mentre sono più rare le opere i cui temi si presterebbero a una ricontestualizzazione nel mondo contemporaneo. Emblematico è il caso del romanzo pseudostorico *Alamut*[8] (1938), di Vladimir Bartol, il cui tema principale risulta di assoluta attualità politica ossia il terrorismo islamico di tipo fondamentalista. Il potenziale comunicativo dei testi tradotti può variare nella cultura di partenza (dove si compie solitamente anche la selezione delle opere da tradurre) e in quella d'arrivo così che la scelta può rivelarsi in questo senso inadeguata. Ciò è spesso conseguenza del

5 Varie opere a tematica omosessuale sono effettivamente state tradotte in italiano nonostante il fatto, sottolineato anche da A. Zupan Sosič, che nei romanzi sloveni più recenti (1995-2005) tali motivi non siano frequentemente documentati. In ogni caso la frequenza rispetto ai decenni precedenti è aumentata (Zupan Sosič, 2006: 330).

6 Cfr. anche gli studi di Marija Pirjevec (1983, 1989) che già negli anni Ottanta pubblicò alcune raccolte di saggi in lingua italiana da interpretare anche come operazioni volte alla diffusione della storia letteraria slovena, ai rapporti tra le letterature slovena e italiana, senza escludere il piano traduttivo. Per ulteriori indicazioni bibliografiche riguardanti gli studi, si rimanda alla presentazione critica delle fonti riguardanti la ricezione della letteratura slovena in Italia di Jan, 2001a: 13-69; mentre i titoli di opere in italiano riguardanti la pubblicistica e la storia letteraria dedicata alla letteratura slovena sono annoverati alle pp. 120-144.

7 Per una trattazione più dettagliata e completa delle problematiche rimando tuttavia agli autori appena citati.

8 È stato pubblicato in italiano per la prima volta nel 1989 (Trieste ZTT/EST) a cura di A. Bressan. La prima edizione slovena risale tuttavia al 1938 ma in Slovenia non riuscì a richiamare l'attenzione del pubblico fino agli anni Settanta. Riscosse un considerevole successo soltanto dopo la traduzione francese uscita a Parigi nel 1988 e ciò avvenne improvvisamente, rappresentando in questo senso un caso eccezionale di affermazione della letteratura slovena nel mercato mondiale (Paternu, 2006: 58).

fatto che l'attività di traduzione è, il più delle volte, iniziativa di singoli intellettuali o studiosi, soprattutto slavisti o slovenisti, amanti dell'arte della parola: ne consegue che sul piano della fruibilità i testi risultavano spesso tra i più difficili per un pubblico italiano e tra i meno comunicativi nonostante la qualità della traduzione.

3. Il ritardo nell'affermazione della letteratura d'autore slovena rispetto ad altre letterature europee determina una più lenta percezione della stessa confinandola alla periferia dei sistemi letterari. Gli esordi di una letteratura d'arte in lingua slovena, quindi non religiosa, si collocano infatti alla fine del Settecento per la poesia, sviluppandosi notevolmente nel romanticismo, e per la prosa un po' più tardi, nell'epoca del cosiddetto realismo romantico. A questo ritardo storico si può aggiungere anche la scarsità di opere storico-letterarie e critiche pubblicate in lingua italiana dedicate soprattutto sulla letteratura contemporanea.

4. La differenza numerica di pubblico e spazio culturale è un dato dalle comprensibili conseguenze e richiama le problematiche trattate attualmente anche dagli studi traduttologici, ossia dei rapporti tra le piccole e le grandi letterature, rispettivamente definite anche periferiche e centrali.

5. I mediatori nello spazio culturale italiano sono rari e si concentrano in particolare nell'area di interazione dove vive la comunità linguistica slovena, ovvero in Friuli Venezia Giulia, oppure nel Litorale sloveno dove vive assieme a quella italiana. Le strategie assunte dagli editori assieme ai traduttori possono perciò, legittimamente, riflettere motivazioni ed esigenze proprie a quello spazio culturale. L'editoria del settore fa infatti riferimento soprattutto alla comunità slovena in Italia, talvolta nel Litorale in Slovenia. Va da sé che pure la distribuzione raggiunge difficilmente la dimensione nazionale.

6. La comunità slovena in Italia svolge, per vocazione naturale, un ruolo importantissimo di mediazione culturale che, tuttavia, viene in parte neutralizzato proprio nello stesso spazio vitale a causa di storiche vicende connesse, sul piano sociale, alle opinioni e soprattutto alle ideologie, anche politiche, a sfavore dell'alterità minoritaria slovena. Simili pregiudizi hanno prodotto effetti anche nei confronti della letteratura slovena che nei vari periodi storici, alcuni veramente drammatici, non soltanto non riusciva ad imporsi ma nemmeno a distinguersi come tale. Si confrontino ad esempio i titoli di antologie in cui la letteratura slovena appariva piuttosto come espressione del mondo slavo o jugoslavo. Un simile atteggiamento pregiudiziale andrebbe valutato anche nei confronti della civiltà slovena in generale la cui storia è condizionata dalla difficoltà di affermazione nazionale, dalla diversità linguistica e culturale, dalle vicende del secondo Novecento quando il Paese visse una fase politica che ancora oggi lascia tracce profonde nell'immaginario di un potenziale pubblico italiano. Ciò è visibile in particolare nella regione confinaria, nonostante lo sviluppo a livello politico e legislativo, sia nazionale che europeo, e l'evoluzione dell'atteggiamento, in generale, nei confronti della diversità linguistica e culturale.

7. Nei due paesi si riscontrerebbe un valore diverso attribuito alla letteratura che presso gli Sloveni, accanto alla lingua, ha continuato, durante tutto il Novecento, a esercitare un ruolo

simbolico di estrema importanza nella formazione di una coscienza nazionale. Se per gli italiani la letteratura è un'arte tra le tante, vari indizi indurrebbero a immaginare un'esperienza diversa per il mondo sloveno.[9]

Oltre alle problematiche appena abbozzate si possono identificare, a nostro avviso, nuovi fattori positivi sul piano extratestuale (extraletterario) o sociale.

8. Come già accennato, la Slovenia entra a far parte dell'Unione Europea nel 2004 e nel 2007 adotta la moneta unica. Lo status di membro è destinato, inesorabilmente, a emanare effetti positivi a livello di integrazione e, sul piano interculturale, a modificare anche la percezione dell'esistenza di una nazione, legittimando la ricerca delle relative espressioni culturali. Ciò è tuttavia aggravato anche dalla disparità nel numero di opere e di fruitori della cultura che, anche attraverso i nuovi media, sono esposti a un'enorme offerta con le conseguenti difficoltà nel discernere le espressioni delle piccole letterature.

9. Un incentivo allo sviluppo dei rapporti va riconosciuto alla politica culturale perseguita a livello governativo in Slovenia anche a favore della traduzione. Sottolineiamo ad esempio l'esistenza dal 1 gennaio 2009 dell'Agenzia slovena per il libro (Javna agencija za knjigo) che nell'ambito della cooperazione internazionale considera la traduzione tra le modalità più importanti per la diffusione della letteratura e più in generale delle opere umanistiche slovene nel mondo.

10. Va sottolineato infine il dato reale secondo cui nuove case editrici, oltre il territorio regionale, alcune di portata nazionale, hanno scelto di pubblicare traduzioni letterarie slovene con le prevedibili favorevoli conseguenze. Ciò andrebbe ascritto, a nostro avviso, a una più diffusa pratica della mediazione traduttiva che oggi, più che in ogni altra epoca, avviene tra le piccole lingue o culture e quelle grandi (Ožbot, 2011: 158).

3. Traduzioni recenti di opere in prosa dallo sloveno in italiano

Nonostante le debolezze intraviste nelle relazioni tra le due letterature sul piano traduttivo, va sottolineato che entrano ora in scena nuovi autori contemporanei (tra questi alcuni già affermati anche a livello internazionale), le cui opere trattano tematiche più adatte, sul piano della comunicazione, al pubblico italiano di oggi. Ricordiamo allora una serie di autori[10] che, nella maggior parte dei casi, possono annoverare nella propria opera più volumi indipendenti di prosa tradotti in italiano (possono risultare anche bilingui) a partire dai primi anni del terzo millennio:[11] Drago Jančar,[12] Dušan Jelinčič,[13] Feri Lainšček[14], Florjan Lipuš[15], Miha Mazzini[16], Brane Mozetič[17],

9 Cfr. anche il paragrafo *La letteratura, gene fondante del DNA nazionale sloveno* in Košuta, 2005: 141-143.
10 Poiché il presente studio si inserisce in una ricerca in fase di svolgimento, l'elenco di opere e autori non ha la pretesa di essere esaustivo. Ringrazio la dott.ssa Maria Bidovec per averni fornito alcuni dati bibliografici pertinenti.
11 Per i titoli relativi all'epoca precedente rinviamo ai repertori di Jan 2001b e Košuta 1997b.
12 Drago Jančar: L'allievo di Joyce, racconti, Empoli: Ibiskos / Trieste: Editoriale stampa Triestina, 2006 (Traduzione di Veronika Brecelj); Il ronzio, Udine: Forum, 2007 (Traduzione di Roberto Dapit e Martin Vidali, a cura di R. Dapit); Aurora boreale, Milano: Bompiani, 2008 (Traduzione di Daria Betocchi); Appunti dalla Schiavonia – Zapiski iz Schiavonie, immagini Posta di Topolò/slike Pošta Topolove Piermario Ciani; [Topolò], Associazione Topolo/[Topolove], Društvo

Vinko Möderndorfer[18]**,** Boris Pintar[19], Alojz Rebula[20], Marko Sosič,[21] Bruna Svit,[22] Zorko Simčič,[23] Aleš Šteger,[24] Suzana Tratnik,[25] Evelina Umek,[26] Sergej Verč.[27] A nostro avviso va trattato a parte invece il caso di Boris Pahor la cui fortuna dell'opera letteraria tradotta in italiano rappresenta un caso emblematico, essendo l'autore sloveno contemporaneo più tradotto. Si confronti l'elenco cronologico delle traduzioni ovvero le prime edizioni e le eventuali ristampe che, a parte la prima edizione di *Necropoli* (1997), si concentrano tutte nel decennio 2001-2011:

- 1997, **Necropoli**, San Canzian d'Isonzo: Edizioni del Consorzio culturale del Monfalconese (Traduzione di Ezio Martin; postfazione di Marija Pirjevec).
- 2005, **Necropoli**, Ronchi dei Legionari: Edizioni del Consorzio culturale del Monfalconese (Traduzione di Ezio Martin; revisione del testo a cura di Valerio Aiolli; postfazione Marija Pirjevec).
- 2008 (ristampa 2009), **Necropoli**, Roma: Fazi Editore (Introduzione di Claudio Magris; traduzione di Ezio Martin, revisione del testo di Valerio Aiolli).

- 2001, **Il rogo nel porto. Novelle**, Rovereto: Nicolodi (Traduzioni dallo sloveno di Mirella Urdih Merkù, Diomira Fabjan Bajc e Mara Debeljuh).
- 2004, **Il rogo nel porto. Novelle**, Rovereto: Nicolodi (Traduzione dallo sloveno di Mirella Urdih Merkù, Diomira Fabjan Bajc e Mara Debeljuh).
- 2008, **Il rogo nel porto**, a cura di Anna Raffetto, Rovereto: Nicolodi (Traduzioni dallo sloveno di Mirella Urdih Merkù, Diomira Fabjan Bajc, Mara Debeljuh).

- 2002, **La villa sul lago. Romanzo breve**, Rovereto: Nicolodi (Traduzione dallo sloveno di Marija Kacin).
- 2004, **La villa sul lago. Romanzo breve**, Rovereto: Nicolodi (Traduzione dallo sloveno di Marija Kacin).
- 2004, **La villa sul lago**, Trieste: Editoriale FVG, cop. (Traduzione di Marija Kacin).

- 2004, **Il petalo giallo**, Rovereto: Zandonai (Traduzione dallo sloveno di Diomira Fabjan Bajc).

Topoluove-[Cividale], Circolo di cultura Ivan Trinko/[Čedad], Kulturno društvo [Ivan Trinko], 2008 (Traduzione di Ivana Placer; disegno di Giorgio Vazza).

13 Dušan Jelinčič: Scacco al buio, Trieste: Hammerle Editori, 2002 (Traduzione di Paolo "*Paolin*" Privitera); L'amore ai tempi della solitudine, Trieste: Antony, 2010 (Traduzione di Patrizia Vascotto); Il gioco dell'amore, Trieste: Antony, 2010 (Traduzione di Daria Betocchi).

14 Feri Lainšček: La storia di Lutvija e del chiodo arroventato**,** Firenze: Barbès, 2009 (Traduzione di Sabina Tržan); La ragazza della Mura, Trieste: Beit, 2009 (Traduzione di Martin Vidali).

15 Florjan Lipuš: L'educazione del giovane Tjaž, Rovereto: Zandonai (Traduzione di Michele Obit, prefazione di Peter Handke).

16 Miha Mazzini: Il giradischi di Tito, Roma: Fazi Editori, 2008 (Traduzione di Michele Obit); Mi chiamavano il cane: versione 17.2 [i.e. 1.72], Firenze: Nikita, 2011 (Traduzione dallo sloveno di Sabina Tržan).

17 Brane Mozeti**č:** Passion, Forlì: Zoe, 2005 (Traduzione di Michele Obit); Storia perduta, Trieste: Beit, 2010 (Traduzione di Daniele Furlan).

18 Vinko Möderndorfer: A carte da Maria e altri racconti, Messina: Mesogea, 2002 (Traduzione di Enrico Lenaz); Luogo numero 2, storia di un assassino, Messina: Mesogea, 2003 (Traduzione e note di Enrico Lenaz).

19 Boris Pintar: Parabole familiari, Forlì: Zoe, 2009 (Traduzione di Peter Senizza).

20 Alojz Rebula: La peonia del Carso, Ronchi dei Legionari: Consorzio culturale del Monfalconese, 2005. (Traduzione di Alessandra Foraus); La vigna dell'imperatrice romana, Trieste: Mladika (Traduzione di Martina Clerici; a cura di M. Pirjevec); Notturno sull'Isonzo: romanzo, Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo, 2011 (Traduzione di Martina Clerici).

21 Marko Sosič: Ballerina, ballerina: romanzo breve. Empoli: Ibiscos, 2005 (Traduzione di Darja Betocchi); Parole d'avena = Ovsene besede, Trieste: Associazione temporanea di scopo Jezik - Lingua = Trst : Ciljno začasno združenje Jezik - Lingua, 2011 (Traduzioni di Darja Betocchi e Jasmina Guštinčič).

22 Bruna Svit: Morte di una primadonna slovena, Rovereto: Zandonai, 2001 (Traduzione di Sabina Tržan e Simonetta Calaon).

23 Zorko Simčič: Racconti romani, Trieste: Mladika, 2006 (Traduzine di Alessandra Foraus; postfazione di Marija Cenda).

24 Aleš Šteger: Berlino, Rovereto, Zandonai (Mori, La grafica), 2009 (Traduzione di Michele Obit).

25 Suzana Tratnik: Massima discrezione, Forlì: Zoe, 2009 (Traduzione di Luka Pieri).

26 Evelina Umek: La parrucchiera. Una storia triestina, Trieste: Mladika, 2009 (Traduzione di Alessandra Foraus, postfazione di Patrizia Vascotto).

27 Sergej Verč: La colonna di Rolando, Roma: Robin, 2006 (Traduzione di Laura Sgubin); Il mistero della medusa turchina: [il commissario Perko e lo scheletro decollato], Roma: Robin, 2007 (Traduzione di Laura Sgubin).

- 2007, **Il petalo giallo**, Rovereto: Zandonai (Traduzione dallo sloveno di Diomira Fabjan Bajc).
- 2008, **Il petalo giallo**, Rovereto: Zandonai (Traduzione dallo sloveno di Diomira Fabjan Bajc).

- 2009, **Qui è proibito parlare**. Roma: Fazi Editore (Traduzione di Martina Clerici).

- 2009, **Una primavera difficile**, Rovereto: Zandonai (Traduzione di Mirella Urdih Merkù).

- 2010, **Piazza Oberdan**, Portogruaro: Nuova Dimensione (Traduzione di Michele Obit; apparati critici a cura di Angelo Floramo; La farfalla sull'attaccapanni: traduzione di Mirella Urdih Merkù).

- 2011, **Dentro il labirinto**, Roma: Fazi Editore (Traduzione di Martina Clerici).

Nonostante l'enorme ritardo nella versione dell'opera oggi più nota, ossia *Necropoli*, edita in lingua originale nel 1967 e da un editore locale pubblicata in italiano per la prima volta dopo trent'anni, nel 1997, l'autore, benché le altre traduzioni inizino a circolare dal 2001, si è veramente affermato nello spazio culturale italiano soltanto nel 2008: è il momento in cui Fazi Editore di Roma pubblica una nuova edizione dell'opera che è stata immediatamente recepita dai media. Subito dopo la sua apparizione, Boris Pahor è stato invitato a parlare di *Necropoli* nella trasmissione televisiva, inserita nel palinsesto del terzo canale RAI, *Che tempo che fa*,[28] occasione in cui affermati scrittori, artisti e intellettuali di fama nazionale e internazionale discutono delle proprie opere. Va ancora sottolineato il fatto che nel volume del 2008 Claudio Magris, studioso e scrittore di fama internazionale, ha redatto l'introduzione oltre ad aver pubblicato degli articoli su importanti quotidiani italiani dedicati a Pahor[29] e ad altri scrittori sloveni come Drago Jančar.

Tutto ciò gioca senza dubbio un ruolo importantissimo, ma mi preme mettere in rilievo soprattutto la figura dell'autore, la dedizione dimostrata ai temi della propria letteratura che sono connessi alla storia del Novecento in Europa, in particolare nell'area di interazione tra sloveni e italiani, nonché a Trieste che diventa scenario letterario ma anche “laboratorio” in cui si sperimentano le tragiche esperienze storiche del secolo scorso. Pahor, infatti, è continuamente presente nelle scuole e università in Italia o Slovenia nonché nei dibattiti pubblici, incontri e convegni sia nella regione che nel resto di Italia o all'estero. Nel valutare la fortuna della sua opera non va perciò dimenticata l'incessante attività in un vasto spazio internazionale, la capacità di narrare continuamente, e non soltanto attraverso la letteratua, la propria esistenza intrecciata alle vicende storiche della società europea dal primo Novecento, nonché il suo anelito di libertà dell'individuo che è l'essenza del suo umanesimo. All'inizio del suo ultimo libro scritto in italiano appaiono le seguenti parole “In memoria delle vittime del Periodo fascista / del nazismo / e della

28 Intervista andata in onda il 17/02/2008 visualizzabile su http://www.rai.tv/dl/RaiTV/programmi/media/ContentItem-f42d9bb2-766d-402d-ac62-191ddde1fd9d.html.

29 Cfr. ad es. l'articolo di Claudio Magris, “Pahor. La colpa di essere sopravvissuto. Un deportato torna al Lagher che aveva inghiottito i compagni”, Corriere della sera, 3.2. 2008, p. 33. I contributi di vari autori pubblicati sulle maggiori testate nazionali sono stati numerosi, cfr. in particolare l'Archivio Storico del Corriere della Sera e le occorrenze delle notizie dedicate a Pahor dal 2008 (http://archiviostorico.corriere.it), oppure la pagina Cultura-Domenica de Il Sole 24Ore (http://www.ilsole24ore.com), anche con accesso a un'intervista video (http://video.ilsole24ore.com/SoleOnLine5/Video/Cultura/Domenica/2012/domenicale-figlio-di-nessuno/figlio-di-nessuno.php) o ancora gli articoli e le notizie pubblicate su la Repubblica (http://www.repubblica.it/). Un confronto con i media francesi ci infomra invece che Pahor è costantemente presente già dal 1990, anno in cui fu edita in Francia la prima traduzione di Necropoli (Klinar 2011).

dittatura comunista" (Pahor – Battocletti 2012: 5) ma la ricezione della sua letteratura in Europa è condizionata dalla capacità dei vari Paesi di affrontare il discorso radicato in un passato di regimi del Novecento di cui Pahor è testimone.[30] In questo senso l'Italia sta riconoscendo la sua opera con notevole ritardo rispetto alla Francia, soprattutto, e ai paesi di lingua tedesca. La candidatura al premio Nobel per la letteratura, più volte inoltrata all'Accademia svedese,[31] è un'ulteriore testimonianza del riconoscimento di un autore che, nella continua ricerca di una relazione empatica con il suo pubblico, rappresenta una delle storie più affascinanti che raccontano dell'affermazione di una piccola lingua e letteratura nelle più grandi d'Europa. Sul piano interculturale ciò va senza dubbio considerato il maggiore impatto che la letteratura slovena abbia mai potuto provocare nell'ambiente italiano.

4. Risultati

Il bilancio relativo alla ricezione della letteraura slovena tradotta in italiano indica che la cerchia di destinatari è ancora molto ristretta e che le due letterature non riescono a svilupparsi attraverso un discorso interculturale vero e proprio. L'andamento dell'ultimo decennio e la fortuna dell'opera di Boris Pahor tuttavia indicherebbero alcuni punti di forza a favore di uno sviluppo dei rapporti sul piano letterario.

1. Nell'ultimo decennio, come sopra documenato, si registra un incremento delle opere in prosa indipendenti[32] tradotte in italiano rispetto al decennio precedente.[33] Di queste va messa in luce, in special modo, la varietà di temi e contenuti nonché la prevedibile efficacia comunicativa. Benché non si possa individuare una politica culturale concertata e condivisa, pare che le nuove generazioni di mediatori abbiano scelto spontaneamente di tradurre quasi esclusivamente autori contemporanei anche se il più delle volte si tratta di scelte o iniziative personali. Pare dunque che l'interesse per i classici si sia notevolmente affievolito a vantaggio dei contemporanei. Un simile atteggiamento rilevato presso i traduttori, ovvero i mediatori in vari ambiti e livelli, può essere interpretato come una maggiore attenzione rivolta ai fattori propulsivi sul piano della comunicazione.

2. Benché non disponiamo di dati ottenuti da indagini mirate riguardanti il fenomeno in questione, è possibile ipotizzare un lieve aumento di interesse nei confronti della cultura

30 A questo proposito si confronti il contributo di Škrabec 2011.
31 Nel 2009 è stata presentata anche dallo scrivente in qualità di docente dell'Università degli Studi di Udine.
32 Simili opere, per l'intrinseca valenza, si distinguono in questa sede dalle opere antologiche del resto abbastanza rare nel periodo dell'ultimo decennio, cfr. Ad esempio La prosa breve slovena, antologia di autori contemporanei, a cura di Roberto Dapit. Traduzione di Irena Jelerčič, Laura Sgubin, Martin Vidali, Bari: Levante Editori, 2006.
33 Per Boris Pahor ad esempio si registra un incremento anche della sua produzione saggistica o di altri generi redatta in italiano dallo stesso autore. Si confrontino i recentissimi scritti autobiografici Boris Pahor, con Mila Orlić, Tre volte no. Milano: Rizzoli 2009; Pahor, Boris, con Battocletti, Cristina, Figlio di nessuno. Un'autobiografia senza frontiere, Milano: Rizzoli, 2012.

letteraria della comunità linguistica slovena. Se è lecito ipotizzare che ciò avvenga prevalentemente negli spazi di maggiore interazione, allo stesso tempo ci poniamo la questione seguente: quali altri autori, oltre a Boris Pahor, sono veramenti noti al grande pubblico italiano? Nel caso di questo autore, con le sue numerose traduzioni, gioca un ruolo non secondario la scoperta dell'autore da parte di un ampio pubblico a un dato momento grazie anche al ruolo di intellettuali ed editori di rilievo nazionale nonché dei media.

3. La formazione universitaria specialistica si sta rivelando una strategia culturale con risultati davvero tangibili. L'esistenza di sezioni di studi slovenistici negli atenei italiani, specialmente presso la Scuola superiore per interpreti e traduttori dell'Univesrità degli Studi di Trieste, luogo deputato per vocazione agli studi nel campo delle scienze della traduzione e dell'interpretazione, ha fatto emergere diverse figure di traduttori professionisti che si dedicano con successo anche alla traduzione letteraria.

5. Riflessioni conclusive

In base a quanto fin qui esposto, nell'ambito della traduzione sloveno vs. italiano si pongono di fronte agli operatori culturali alcune sfide che, almeno dal nostro punto di vista, dipendono da motivazioni extratestuali o più precisamente di politica culturale. Sintetizziamo nel modo seguente alcuni degli ambiti individuati.

Benché si registri un livello qualitativo decisamente maggiore nella produzione di testi tradotti, grazie essenzialmente a una formazione universitaria adeguata, l'orientamento tecnico-scientifico nei corsi di traduzione universitari prevale a scapito dei corsi dedicati alla traduzione letteraria. Per le lingue meno diffuse, questo insegnamento può essere compreso con maggiori difficoltà nell'offerta formativa, anche a causa di un mutevole atteggiamento generale a sfavore della cultura umanistica.

Le strategie di selezione degli autori da tradurre e di divulgazione nello spazio culturale d'arrivo rappresentano una vera e propria sfida. Un efficace coordinamento degli addetti ai lavori, possibilmente anche istituzionale, permetterebbe di superare le modalità con cui le mediazioni traduttive si sono finora realizzate poiché, in mancanza di una condizione più favorevole, si sono sviluppate prevalentemente all'insegna dell'iniziativa personale e grazie alle favorevoli relazioni tra letterati, traduttori e editori. Affinché un autore possa più facilmente affermarsi è necessario, solitamente, che il pubblico abbia a disposizione più testi tradotti. Una simile strategia dovrebbe essere incentivata mediante l'attuazione di una più mirata politica culturale che coinvolga tutti i soggetti interessati. Dall'osservazione dei dati sappiamo inoltre che sono proprio gli scrittori sloveni di opere in prosa che, rispetto ai poeti, si affermano in più culture d'arrivo (Ožbot, 2011: 161).

Il superamento degli stereotipi sviluppati in seno alle grandi letterature nei confronti delle piccole letterature europee appare, nell'esperienza italiana, un processo assai lento. Un esempio della resistenza di simili opinioni si riflette ancora in Italia in varie forme nei confronti del mondo sloveno. Basti prestare attenzione all'abitudine, anche se ormai in situazioni comunicative sempre più rare, di utilzzare l'ambigua definizione dell'altro collettiva di "slavo" oppure "jugoslavo", quest'ultima come reminiscenza anacronistica della storia del Novecento, mentre la prima come ambiguità semantica di slavo-schiavo che si perpetua dall'antichità. Simili percezioni anacronistiche dell'alterità potranno convertirsi soltanto in seguito a una maggiore concretizzazione dell'ordine dichiarativo che, almeno nella formulazione dei principi, avrebbe raggiunto un livello elevato anche sul piano legislativo o della cooperazione internazionale. Ulteriori sforzi inevitabilmente si impongono lungo la via che conduce a un più vivace discorso interlinguistico e interculturale riconducibile a una condizione di pari dignità.

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PRAGMATIC AND CULTURAL ISSUES
IN DIPLOMATIC AND BUSINESS TRANSLATION/INTERPRETING

***Abstract**: Nowadays, business is becoming more global and it is obvious that the constant influx of people from other countries and cultures is producing changes in the society structure and relations established between countries. In everyday society, interpreters are often engaged in mediating communication between clients who do not share the same language and who come from differing cultural backgrounds. In translation process, the translated text should transmit the same intentions as the original and the translation is bound by each language's culture and system; it is not merely transcending between the source language (SL) and the target language (TL). Diplomatic translators must be familiar not only with international affairs, but also with the political, social and economic situation of their own countries. The translation of specialized texts and official documents requires expertise and good understanding of linguistic as well as of pragmatic and cultural issues. This paper aims to describe the work in translation and interpreting in a diplomatic and business environment, especially with regard to rendering pragmatic commercial and principled political negotiation and cultural references from source texts.*

***Key words**: translation/interpreting, business, diplomacy, pragmatics, culture.*

1. Introduction

It is generally understood that the process of translation or interpretation involves the reproduction of a source language (SL) text or speech into the target language (TL). When we translate we are transporting words or text from one language into another in writing, whereas when we do this orally, we are interpreting. However, each act of translation and interpretation is in reality act of communication in which we do not transport words or text, but ideas or meaning of the original text or speech of a source language (SL).

With the process of globalization and technological advancements, economic relationships and political systems have expanded globally. Although in the globalizing market of international cultural co-operation English has gained the status of international language or business *lingua franca* (common language) for cross-cultural communication, due to value differences between different cultures and the ambiguity and complexity of legal discourse basically used for diplomatic purposes as well as for business negotiations, business and diplomatic translation/interpreting must be regarded as a special-type process with different goals and unique linguistic framework, which requires specific translation approaches.

However, before we analyze the specificity of diplomatic and business language, it is perhaps noteworthy to emphasize some of the key reasons for researching pragmatic and cultural issues when speaking of translation/interpreting.

First, it is established that translation and interpreting are two processes of interlingual and intercultural mediation since, as well as linguistic differences, cultural differences have a direct effect on the translation/interpreting process due to the inseparable relationship between language and culture.

Second, many lexical semantic issues, such as polysemy and semantic relations, can only be examined in the light of pragmatic competence. Accepting the premise that "there are no meanings waiting around to be encoded; the meaning is created in language" (Halliday, 1994:xii), we find that translators must pay special attention to the contributions of context (pragmatics)[1] when engaged in the light of specialized non-literary functional translation.

Third, because of the fact that cultures provide people with different ways of interpreting the world, the same words can mean different things to people from different cultures. Each culture has its own rules and conventions about proper behavior and, while some cultures speak in a more or less literal way, other cultures speak in what is generally referred to as *coded* language. Therefore, in a specialized translation activity and consequent cross-cultural adaptation process, the potential for misunderstandings is inevitably increased.

In this paper, we will focus on the work in translation and interpreting in a diplomatic and business field and under the heading of pragmatic and cultural issues we will try to examine the core principles of translator's decision making process and commercial and political negotiation strategies. Also, we will analyze the concepts like confidentiality, accuracy and equivalence, impartiality, professionalism and the more controversial issue of advocacy, and we will try to emphasize the importance of possible pragmatic translation problems and cultural translation errors related to diplomatic and business translation/interpreting. But before moving on, we would like to explain the concept of functional approach to translation process, as well as the importance of culture-based pragmatic adaptation and genre-based approach.

2. Functionalist Aspects of Translation: Culture-based Pragmatic Adaptation and Genre-based Approach

Taking into account the variability, negotiability and adaptability of language, Verschueren (2000:61) holds that language use is a process of choice-making, so that the translation process can be regarded as a process in which the translator's intervention is crucial. From this point of view, the translation/interpreting process is equal to a pragmatic adaptation process and represents the production of a functionally appropriate target message, not necessarily determined by the SL, but by the *skopos* (purpose) of the TL, which is, in accordance with the target recipient's requirements, basically adjusted by the translator (Schäffner, 1998b:236).

Communicators from different cultures often differ in their way of speaking, use of words and strategies and intercultural communication necessarily involves a great number of

[1] For Peccei (2000:2), pragmatics concentrates on those aspects of meaning that cannot be predicted by linguistic knowledge alone and take into account knowledge about the physical and social world.

factors, e. g. verbal communication (syntactic structure and the organization of discourse, culture-specific expressions, proverbs, etc.), as well as non-verbal communication (body gesture, the use of time, space, silence, etc.). Such being the case, there can be no single method or strategy for one particular source text, and any decision between two or more available solutions to a translation problem must be guided by some kind of intersubjective criterion or set of criteria (i.e. strategy).

For Jaaskelainen (1999: 71), strategies are entirely heuristic and flexible in nature and their adoption implies a decision influenced by modifications in the translator's objectives. Thus, there can be no single method or strategy for one particular source text, and any decision between two or more available solutions to a translation problem is necessarily influenced by the translator's objectives.

Describing the adequacy of a translation, Nord (1997: 35) says that although the translator cannot offer the same amount and kind of information as source-text producer, he can offer another kind of information in another form. Due to differences between the original and the new communicative situation, the process of pragmatic adaptation[2] refers to various adaptations or changes necessarily made by the translator in order to achieve the adequacy of a translation. Within the framework of Skopostheorie[3], Nord considers that the translation should be "adequate" to the requirements of the translation brief[4].

Although functionalists claim that their theory is applicable to all text-types in all situation (Vermeer, 1982: 99), legal and political texts form a specific genre and, in relation to its translation strategy, business and diplomatic translation/interpreting must be regarded as a special-type processes with different goals and unique linguistic framework which, due to its generic knowledge and text typology, requires specific translation approaches.

Taking into account that genre is identified by Swales (1990: 58) as a class of communicative events, created in a particular social context by the members who share some set of communicative purposes, in order to produce successful translation/interpreting process based on specialized genre of diplomacy and business sector, the translator must be able to participate in that specialist communicative event and, thus, must acquaint himself not only with the communicative goals of a particular discourse, but also with the communicative goal-oriented purposes associated with a specific use of mentioned genres.

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[2] According to Vehmas-Lehto (2002: 100), there are four types of pragmatic adaptation: additions, omissions, substitutions, and changes of order.

[3] *Skopos* is a technical term for the aim or purpose of a translation. (Vermeer, 2000: 221)

[4] The commissioner or client who needs a translation usually defines the translation purpose in the translation brief.

3. Language and Diplomacy: "Pitfalls" in Diplomatic Translation and Interpretation Related to Cross-cultural Communication

Due to increased number of countries taking active role in international affairs, diverse ethnic groups have become more conscious of their cultural identity and consequently of their linguistic rights. Translation and interpretation play an important role in maintaining cordial diplomatic relations between nations and, according to various researches, diplomatic language can be described as a constructive and peace-promoting force conducive to the collaboration among nations. (Rommetveit, 1974; Cohen, 1997).

Although each field of diplomatic activity has its specialised type of diplomatic language[5], one of the typical characteristics of diplomatic language in general way is a very carefully balanced and controlled vocabulary and moderated tone. In diplomatic practice, particularly in multilateral diplomacy or for negotiations at a very high political level, the main purpose of international diplomatic discourse is to maximise the effect of spoken or written text and to achieve to talk the interlocutor in, convincing him or dissuading him. For that reason, despite the formalized and conventional diplomatic communication, a successful translator/interpreter must always be conscious of its hidden baggage, historical and legal precedent and possible political implications.

In order to provide the indispensable pragmatic meaning of diplomatic translation/interpreting process, every translator or interpreter must act as a mediator or cultural intermediary and try to fit different cultural core ideas and values to appropriate translational procedural adjustments. Although it is possible to speak of cross-cultural consensus on the mechanics of negotiation and persuasion, each culture has its own communication style and standards of justice, fairness, reason and so on. While some cultures speak in a more or less literal way[6], others speak in so called *coded* language and try to soften what is being said for fear of offending. For instance, while in the English-speaking world the negotiations are an open decision making process, closely connected with notions of mercantile virtues of *hard bargaining*[7], *give and take* and a *good deal*, for the representatives of Arab states they represent a deeply serious, principled activity infused with moral purpose. On the other hand, some cultures place far greater emphasis on the importance of written communication and prefer to start from agreement on general principles, while other cultures value more spoken communication based

[5] For example, the atmosphere of friendliness, cordiality and complete openness is characteristic for the redaction of *communiqués*, while in negotiations we can distinguish between the so-called *soft* and *hard* negotiators. Also, there is a difference in language usage in unofficial contacts outside of official premises and informal occasions, as well as in the participation in international conferences or in the conclusion of international treaties, etc.

[6] Literal cultures include Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, USA, Australia, while coded cultures include Japan, India, Korea, UK and Belgium.

[7] As described by Fisher, Ury, and Patton in their book *Getting to Yes*, hard bargainers are highly competitive and see the participants of negotiation as adversaries. They refuse to make concessions and the victory is their number one goal. On the contrary, soft bargaining involves the negotiation of positions, rather than interests and the negotiators treat the participants as friends, offering concessions easily.

on strong, trusting relationship. That is why, for example, when Americans insist on a binding contract, Japanese tend to perceive it as a sign of distrust.[8] While American conflict resolution techniques are directed toward the process of win-win agreement, Asian-Pacific societies tend toward emotional issues and reciprocal-forgiveness exchange. (Sally Engle, 1987: 5).

We must also bear in mind that difficulties posed by interpretation can not only be related to metaphoric uses of language but also to extra-linguistic signaling. Thus, in bilateral and multilateral meetings, interpreters working at embassies or diplomatic missions must dominate the evaluative dialogic attitude and specific techniques of active or empathic listening and, like diplomats, sometimes they must assume an advisory function for all participants involved.[9]

Also, apart from being aware of the subtlety and ambiguity of diplomatic language, diplomatic translators or interpreters have to surmount possible linguistic misunderstandings due to regional differences and have a vast wealth of knowledge in different fields. In order to create a good translation, rather than with the words themselves, they should start with the understanding of specific language context and therefore have good analytical and critical thinking skills, as well as the ability to use the proper words in proper places (*diction, register* and *style*). Nevertheless, regardless of their multidisciplinary work, diplomatic interpreters, as well as translators, should always respect principles of confidentiality, faithfulness and impartiality.

4. International Business Negotiations and Translation/Interpreting Process

As well as in diplomacy, cultural differences have a significant impact upon communication styles. Therefore, the communication strategies engaged in international business negotiations must be profoundly affected by differing cultural conventions and norms. For example, while in some cultures calmness and reserve in all business situations are viewed as an absolute professional necessity, some cultures exhibit their feelings openly and regard haste as a virtue. While some cultures prefer eye contact and close physical proximity when communicating, in some cultures making direct eye contact and maintaining interaction distances can be regarded as a sign of disrespect.

[8] Cohen argues that particular negotiation styles of non-Western and Western states are related with their cultural differences. In his opinion, non-Western cultures can be regarded as high-context cultures that emphasize interdependence and collective identity, while Western cultures are more individualistic and can be regarded as low-context cultures. Cohen finds that in collectivist cultures, which are also polychronic (have richer sense of the past) communication is very context-sensitive and politeness, trust and indirectness are dominant features of negotiation. On the contrary, individualistic cultures are monochronic (future-oriented) and do not pay special attention to the communication context and personal relationships. Negotiation approach is direct, confronta and explicit, with little patience for rhetoric and allusions. Broadly speaking, most of the Germanic and English-speaking cultures are low-context, while high-context cultures can be regarded those of Far Eastern and South East Asia, the Middle East and Latin America, as well as those of the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe.

[9] In accordance with previously set goals, diplomatic interpreters can resort to *yesable propositions* (Fisher, 1980) or de-escalatory language and tone down strong statements that would be considered appropriate in one culture but not in another.

Although different cultural variables daily affect all business practices in domestic business dealings such as management, hiring, communication and performance evaluations related to the implementation of the product, its price and promotion, international business employs fundamentally different negotiation and distribution strategies. For Salacuse (1991: 252), domestic business dealings have about the same relation to international business as domestic politics do to international diplomacy. Likewise, besides understanding the technical jargon and terminology of specific business area, in order to keep negotiations running smoothly and speedily, a skillful translator or interpreter must also become familiar with the concepts behind the terms he needs to translate and understand how these concepts organize and interact with each other in different negotiating tactics. When faced with challenges of a negotiation process, the interpreter must demonstrate flexibility and inspire trust by being able to adjust his tone and words so that they effectively transmit the intent behind the business offer. At the same time, he must be able to asses the hidden implications of language and avoid potential misunderstandings, as well as to suggest beneficial proposals and make the most of the sometimes brief windows of opportunity in business interaction.

Taking into account all aforementioned distinctions related to cross-cultural communication engaged in business negotiations, as well as in diplomatic ones, a successful translator/interpreter needs to be in charge in all situations and know how to exercise more refined control over nuances in the meaning of words by developing soft bargaining negotiation strategies.

5. Conclusion

Regarding translation/interpreting as a process of production of a functionally appropriate target message, the main goal in diplomatic and business translation/interpreting is to make the parties' interests compatible, so that negotiations can proceed and both sides can reach an agreement.

Nevertheless, even though the modern language of diplomacy, as well as the langage of international business, should be formalised and not culture-bound, cultural differences have a significant impact on ccommunication styles and often can be the source of major misunderstandings.

Taking the view that application of genre analysis implies not only a particular text type and speech, but also their particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming, to be able to transfer the culture of the specific communicative activity and ensure its pragmatic success, every specialized translator/interpreter has to understand the underlying principles of genre analysis and become aware of appropriate rhetorical procedures and conventions typically associated with the specialist discourse in particular context.

However, although every specialist discourse has its prototypical structures, a successful diplomatic and business translation/interpreting does not impose generic structures as rigid models to imitate, but, on the contrary, due to its communicative purpose and variety of cultural and ideological factors, requires their adaptations and modifications as the most common solution.

In other words, due to its profoundly pragmatic nature, the diplomatic and business translation/interpreting requires the skilled translator/interpreter who is able to behave as an effective negotiator and has the ability to soften the potential problems of cross-cultural communication or, as Schiffrin (1987: 4) rightly remarks, the skilled translator/interpreter has to decide which cultural context he should adapt to and which translation strategy he should choose.

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DEVELOPMENT OF GENERIC COMPETENCIES THROUGH ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

Abstract: *The paper deals with the possibility of developing certain generic competencies at tertiary level such as: the capacity for analysis and synthesis, the capacity for applying knowledge in practice, basic general knowledge in the field of study, information management skills, interpersonal skills, the ability to work autonomously, elementary computer skills and research skills by courses that develop another generic competence- Language for Specific Purposes, or more particularly ESP courses. All these competencies can contribute to better translation of texts that students use for the purpose of their studies and work.*

Key words: *generic competencies, Tuning Project, ESP*

1. Introduction

Education experts have always been aware of the importance of clearly defining competencies that are supposed to be achieved by particular education programs. However, certain current changes on different levels of education call for redefinition of the competencies too. Such a case is the implementation of the Bologna Declaration in the programs of tertiary education throughout Europe and the introduction of three cycle degree programs. Hence "the Tuning Project has been launched to (re) design, develop, implement, evaluate and enhance quality of the first, second and third cycle degree programs". In the part that redefines the competencies of undergraduate, special attention has been paid to a type that has long been neglected by the education system worldwide, the so-called generic competencies. The aim of this paper is to reveal the potentials of LSP, and ESP in particular, to contribute to successful development of the generic competencies in tertiary education.

2. Generic competencies

The research has shown "the relevance of using the concept of competences as a basis for learning outcomes" (ibid.). The competences have been divided into two main groups: specific and generic. The former refer to subject specific knowledge and skills that are expected to be developed on the basis of the undergraduate program and the latter, also called 'transferrable skills' represent competencies that undergraduate students should develop during the first cycle of tertiary studying that will prepare students to fit better in the future roles in the society.

These so called generic competences include:

- Instrumental competences: cognitive abilities, methodological abilities, technological abilities and linguistic abilities;

- Interpersonal competences: individual abilities like social skills (social interaction and co-operation);
- Systemic competences: abilities and skills concerning whole systems (a combination of understanding, sensibility and knowledge; prior acquisition of instrumental and interpersonal competences required).

This means that studies should comprise not only gaining knowledge in a particular field by studying theory and memorizing data, but should also enable development of higher order thinking skills and skills for successful communication as well as the ability to combine them.

Here is an extensive list of 30 generic competences:

1. Capacity for analysis and synthesis
2. Capacity for applying knowledge in practice
3. Planning and time management
4. Basic general knowledge in the field of study
5. Grounding in basic knowledge of the profession in practice
6. Oral and written communication in your native language
7. Knowledge of a second language
8. Elementary computing skills
9. Research skills
10. Capacity to learn
11. Information management skills (ability to retrieve and analyze information from different sources)
12. Critical and self-critical abilities
13. Capacity to adapt to new situations
14. Capacity for generating new ideas (creativity)
15. Problem solving
16. Decision-making
17. Teamwork
18. Interpersonal skills
19. Leadership
20. Ability to work in an interdisciplinary team
21. Ability to communicate with non-experts (in the field)
22. Appreciation of diversity and multiculturality
23. Ability to work in an international context
24. Understanding the cultures and customs of other countries
25. Ability to work autonomously
26. Project design and management
27. Initiative and entrepreneurial spirit
28. Ethical commitment
29. Concern for quality
30. Will to succeed

The results show that participants in different scientific fields recognize different priorities concerning generic competencies and different ways of achieving them. However, on the basis of the teaching experience of the authors of this paper in the field of ESP, we strongly recommend that the 'second language' mentioned in point 7 be considered as Language for Specific Purposes, which is actually an academic subject comprising many first cycle programs worldwide. In addition, in this paper we shall prove that ESP can be the means by which many of the generic competencies are developed.

3. ESP as a tool for the development of certain generic competencies

We shall apply our ESP experience to the following eight generic competencies that have been chosen and treated separately within the discussion of the basic Tuning Project Publication:

- The capacity for analysis and synthesis.
- The capacity for applying knowledge in practice.
- Basic general knowledge in the field of study.
- Information management skills.
- Interpersonal skills.
- The ability to work autonomously.
- Elementary computer skills.
- Research skills.

3.1. The capacity for analysis and synthesis

This competence is recognized as crucial for all Subject Area Groups (SAG), but is also most differently understood. Namely, while SAG in Business expect this competence to enable them to *"identify the right research question or problem, the ability to describe as well as to conclude and formulate recommendations as indicators",* SAG in mathematics expect it to help them use their previous knowledge and apply it to a new situation or a problem. Other SAGs understand 'analysis' as activity by which one understands information, evaluates it critically and assesses it properly, while 'synthesis' is understood as an activity by which they can: combine, formulate, describe, conclude, summarize, interpret, relate, argue, predict, solve etc., which clearly point to CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS.

And this is what an ESP course includes. Since it is a language course, it deals with the communication skill development, and since it treats content based materials, it "makes use of the underlying methodology and activities of the discipline it serves" (Dudley-Evans). Here the critical thinking is revealed to be crucial for advancement in the area, as the specific communication competencies planned to be developed by the course include the ability to understand***, interpret and communicate information*** within a particular scientific area. The training includes respective activities as follows:

1. Activities for ***understanding*** the content:

- **studying the structure of the paragraph:** definitions, fully developed main points, topic sentences, excluding inappropriate pieces of information, major and minor support sentences;
- **applying the cognitive process in the processing of information** by *defining the main point* of a paragraph which comprises: putting forward questions to which the passages are answers, making use of rhetorical functions and logical connectors;

2. Activities for ***interpretation*** of the content:

- **representing respective information** by *individual sets of notes*, which includes: acquaintance with types of notes and with the note-taking activity; practicing it on different texts throughout the EST course;

3. Activities for ***communication*** of the content:

- **Interpretation or paraphrasing**, which is done by *writing a summary* of the texts on the basis of the individual notes. As an alternative, students may use their notes to interpret the information orally.

4. Activities for ***autonomous presentation*** of the content:

- After mastering the information processing and its interpretation, students may extend the skill of writing by **preparing seminar papers** and the skill of speaking by **giving short presentations on scientific topics** as well as **participating in discussions** on their colleagues' presentations.

In order to compare the similarities between the ESP activities just mentioned and those recognized by students participating in the Tuning Project by which capacities for analysis and synthesis can be increased, here is the list contained in the basic Tuning Project publication: "formulating ideas of a concept as a result of the reading, researching, discussing and brainstorming in highly specific, subject-focused work, either academically and professionally oriented; learning to describe objectively, categorize, relate categories; making independent autonomous interpretations, evaluations, distinctions and differentiation and sharing insights from learning through debates, theses; becoming aware of their own, and challenging others', taken-for-granted assumptions; revealing links between contemporary concepts; quantifying information; applying relevant theory to source material; incorporating new conclusions into existing knowledge; placing specific events and/or problems into wider contexts; giving proof and / or counterexamples, essays, assignments, projects, examinations, theses"**.**

3.2. The capacity for applying knowledge in practice

This competence is developed by the ESP courses mostly through written and oral activities. So, all ESP students may write a seminar paper or prepare and give a presentation on a topic closely related to their subject area, thus combining linguistic skills with specific content. In addition, all of them may practice writing of all sorts of business letters and other types of formal correspondence regarding their specific field, including application letters or letters of motivation for different opportunities. ESP is also a suitable means for practicing writing reports, graphic presentation of data and other ways of presenting the information that is included in their textbook materials which are most frequently authentic. One very successful exercise is making a commercial on a product that students are supposed to make up. This can be used by students of marketing who should develop their skill of persuasion, or by students of any applied science area who need to practice creativity, giving instruction and who should learn to distinguish between persuasion and argumentation.

3.3. Basic general knowledge in the field of study

The Tuning Project distinguishes three aspects by which basic knowledge can be perceived: "the first, the basic facts; and second the basic attitude considered specific to the subject area. The third aspect is constituted by related or necessary general knowledge which is not strictly subject specific: e.g. knowledge of mathematics or a foreign language for physicists and of history and politics for education students." (ibid.) Here, the LSP/ ESP are directly referred to. On one hand, the ESP course presupposes more than basic knowledge of English on behalf of the students and, on the other, it contributes to their acquiring basic general knowledge in their field of study by carefully chosen content-based materials which deal with basic notions of the respective scientific field.

3.4. Information management skills

The characteristic of this competence implies the ability to retrieve and analyze information from different sources.

"This competence is fairly uniformly understood to mean knowing how to find information in the literature, how to distinguish between primary and secondary sources or literature, how to use the library – in a traditional way or electronically – how to find information on the Internet" (Harper, 1986). While preparing seminar papers or presentations on topics related to their field of interest, students of ESP use different sources of information, ranging from encyclopedias and other reference publications, to Internet sites which they are able to evaluate rather critically, distinguishing between those that offer scientifically supported materials from those that are quite unreliable sources. When writing a seminar paper, they are instructed on how to cite references, and through activities used for the development of analysis and synthesis, they are taught how to choose and analyze information, regardless of the sources.

3.5. Interpersonal skills

Although the participants in the Tuning Project have recognized this competence as crucial for three subject areas: Education, Nursing and Business Studies, it is obvious that interpersonal skills are crucial for every individual in the course of her/his personal development.

Interpersonal skills, or the ability to communicate successfully, are dependent on its counterpart –intrapersonal competency, which is the ability to cope with one's own feelings. As

ESP is taught among student teachers of different disciplines at different faculties, it can contribute to the development of their interpersonal competence by asking students to reflect on their future profession as teachers, to work in pairs or groups, to give a presentation and to cope with the criticism of the colleagues, and in turn to direct critical attitude without offending their colleagues. Their intrapersonal competencies may be increased by *the development of students' self-respect and self-confidence* and more precisely by treating the students as whole personalities, not only as learners; by accepting their different intelligences, attitudes, traditions and by respecting their true efforts to use the foreign language as a tool in their future professions to the extent they are capable of. Here the role of the teacher is most appreciated as s/he should be the model or the template the students should try to achieve. ESP teachers fit in this role perfectly because they have already accepted the switch of the teacher-centered approach to learner-centered one including needs analysis and autonomous learning.

In order to support the above argument, here is a final comment on interpersonal competencies given by the authors of the Tuning Publication: These competencies may be of less importance in "the case in wholly mono-cultural contexts, but how many of those are there in 21st century Europe, or, indeed, 21st century anywhere? It is not proposed here that all subject areas imitate the Education, Nursing and Business Studies SAGs in the emphasis given to this group of skills and competences, nor that the same teaching and learning strategies be used. However, students in all subject areas would benefit if programs were to address more explicit, analytical and practical attention to this group of competences because there is no doubt that, whatever employment a graduate will find, these skills will be of use to them. Hence, a useful direction of endeavor to educate the educators could be to develop awareness, both in our capacity as teachers and as learners, of this group of skills" (ibid).

3.6. The ability to work autonomously

This competence is highly supported in every subject area and it includes organization of one's time, the ability to define priorities and stick to them, to show responsibility in the choice of knowledge gained, sources used, etc. The point is to prepare future graduates to accept the lifelong learning concept and undertake the responsibility for self development throughout one's life. ESP teachers encourage students: to choose topics of presentation on their own; to conduct research and choose sources of information; to decide when to give the presentation thus having the opportunity to organize their own time.

At the same time, ESP teachers, as most FL teachers nowadays, include the students actively in the course design, conduct needs analysis and give different sorts of homework that support autonomous learning. In addition they may encourage the students to prepare and keep developing professional portfolios (following the example of the European Language Portfolio), which will help them define their future learning tasks, and enable them to follow their progress.

3.7. Elementary Computer Skills

Most faculties introduce computer and information technology skills within their studying programs, regardless of the specific subject areas. FL teaching gives its share in this process by having developed the so-called Computer Aided Language Learning, which enables complete language course to be performed in the computer laboratory. Consequently, many ESP courses include exercises and activities that involve use of computers, including assignments that require Internet research, teacher-student communication by e-mail, and even the possibility of performing computer aided testing.

3.8. Research skills

These skills are again strongly related to the specific subject areas and their specific methodology approaches. ESP can contribute to this competency again by encouraging students to prepare and give presentations which are based on quite simple and not very deep research projects and to present the results in front of the classmates.

4. Conclusion

At the end, we can conclude that the potential of ESP (and any LSP) in the development of some generic competencies of undergraduate students is real and quite substantial. The cognitive approach that enables successful processing of information used by most LSP teachers contributes to the increase of both analysis and synthesis skills, to the capacity to apply knowledge in practice and to gaining basic general knowledge in the field of study. This can indirectly help students to translate the texts necessary for their studies and work. Preparation and giving presentations may help to develop: information management skills, the ability to work autonomously, elementary computer skills and research skills. Finally ESP course may also increase interpersonal skills providing that the teacher has high level of consciousness (which should be achieved, preserved and increased by the teacher's constant personal and professional development) and is able to help the students improve their communication skills (from a psychological rather than linguistic point of view).

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Tatjana Radanović Felberg

MUCH ADO ABOUT THE INTERPRETER'S FUNCTION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN NORWAY: ENTER THE INTERPRETER-USER

***Abstract**: This paper addresses various constructions of the interpreter's function in the public sector in Norway. On the one hand, there is the official construction of the interpreter as neutral and impartial, based on individuals' right to express themselves freely without interference. On the other hand, there are various unofficial constructions of interpreters as helpers and/or culture brokers, based on the understanding of immigrants as representatives of their culture and thus in need of help. One possible reason for the tension between these competing constructions is the incomplete professionalization process of interpreting in the public sector in Norway. This is a complex process in which the personal and professional ethics of participants in communication meet and sometimes collide. In order to avoid too many collisions, which otherwise may result in grave consequences for the parties involved, this article also focuses on the professionalization of interpreter-users as an important element in successful communication in institutional dialogues.*

***Keywords**: role of the interpreter, public sector interpreting, interpreter's function, Norway, interpreter-user training*

1. Introduction

The extensive need for interpreting in the public sector[1] in Norway has developed in connection with a steady increase in immigration. The Norwegian authorities were not prepared to tackle the interpreting challenge in the 1970s, when the first major group of migrant workers came to Norway. The government's response was ad hoc[2] with a short-term perspective. Realizing that the need for interpreting was not going to disappear, it decided to develop a comprehensive response to the interpreting need in the form of interpreter training, an accreditation system, a national interpreter register and training of interpreter-users. The question about the role[3] of the interpreter probably appeared the moment the social event of interpreting started taking place. As in many other countries, in Norway one can differentiate between official and unofficial constructions of the interpreter's function. One of the reasons for this situation probably lies in interpreting still being in a professionalization process and not an accepted profession in the same way as other professions. The lack of trained interpreters and

[1]Public-sector interpreting has been given various names based on the setting where interpreting takes place or on the interpreting mode, usually in contrast to conference interpreting. Thus, there are terms such as public-service interpreting, court interpreting, community interpreting, cultural interpreting, ad hoc interpreting, contact interpreting, dialogue interpreting, liaison interpreting, three-cornered interpreting, and so on (Gentile, 1997; Pöchhacker, 2008). This terminological and thus conceptual fragmentation of the field could be one of the reasons that the interpreter's role in public-sector interpreting has been a much-debated and somewhat controversial issue during recent years.

[2] For various types of official responses, see Ozolins (2010).

[3] The metaphor of "the role of the interpreter" is slowly being exchanged for the expression "the interpreter's function" in Norway in order to avoid the negative connotation that "role" may carry.

interpreter-users creates situations in which personal and professional ethics do not overlap, or from time to time collide.

The official Norwegian view on the interpreter's function is clearly expressed in the Code of Ethics for Interpreters (1997), and is based on strict adherence to two main principles: fidelity and impartiality. This view is based on Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which addresses freedom of opinion and expression "without interference."

The unofficial constructions, which coexist in practice with the official one, are primarily based on seeing interpreters as helpers and/or cultural brokers at different levels. Some of these views rest on understanding immigrants as the a priori weaker part, constrained by their culture and in need of help from "their own," here represented by the interpreter. Such constructions foreground group culture and ignore the individual in institutional dialogues. Furthermore, they can also jeopardize the interpreter's neutrality and the consequences can be grave for both the minority-language speaker and public servants. Nevertheless, the constructions of interpreters as helpers or culture-brokers[4] seem to be strong, and the author of this article encounters them on a regular basis while training both interpreters and interpreter-users.

Nevertheless, I would claim that there has been a change of primary focus in the public sector in Norway from minority-language speakers as a "needy" side in institutional dialogues to professionals working in the public sector and their need to exercise their profession without interference by interpreters. This has happened in step with the process of professionalization of interpreters, which, as a chain reaction, created the need for systematic training for interpreter-users. This change of focus is expressed in the following definition of public-sector interpreting in Norway: "Public sector interpreting enables professionals to guide, inform and 'hear' the parties in the case at hand, despite language barriers" (Skaaden, 2001: 171). This focus shift has proven useful in raising public servants' awareness about their understanding of the intersection between their own and the interpreter's areas of expertise (Skaaden & Felberg, 2011: 535).

2. Immigration and the need for interpreting in Norway

Norway has been a multilingual country for a long time (Kjeldstadli 2003), but the need for extensive interpreting in the public sector appeared with immigration in the 1970s. Figure 1 shows the development of immigration to Norway from 1970 to 2011. An increase from 50,000 to 600,000 immigrants happened during the relatively short period of 40 years.

[4] For examples of various roles that "interpreters" assume see IMDi (2007, 2008, 2009), Jareg and Pettersen (2006), Nilsen (2011), and Skaaden and Felberg (2011).

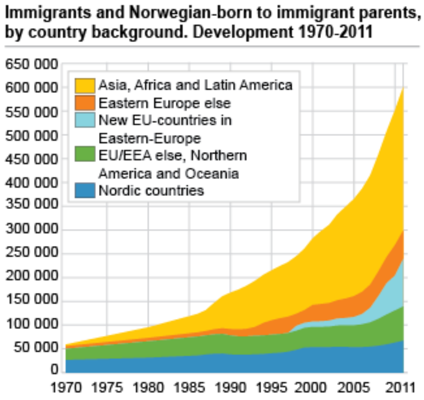

Figure 1: Immigrants and Norwegians born to immigrant parents by country background, 1970–2011 (source: Statistics Norway, www.ssb.no)

Today, in 2011, Norway's immigrant population consists of people from 215 different countries and independent regions, and comprises 11.4% of the overall population.[5] There is a registered need for interpreters in 105 languages (IMDi 2007a: 12).

The areas in which the authorities and immigrants need to communicate, the public sector, include immigration services, health services, social services, legal settings, police matters, schools, child protective services, prisons, and so on. In these types of institutional dialogues via interpreters, the legal safeguard largely depends on the quality of the interpreting (Skaaden, 1999). The quality of interpreting is a multi-faceted category, depending on both cognitive and structural factors (Skaaden & Felberg, forthcoming). By structural factors, I mean the government's response to multilingual communication needs; for example, in setting up an accreditation system or interpreter training. These are addressed in the following section.

3. Towards a comprehensive approach to interpreting in the public sector in Norway

After the initial group of labor immigrants mentioned above came to Norway, it became clear that interpreting was necessary in order to communicate both in and outside the workplace. The first reaction by the authorities was an ad hoc response in the sense that anybody that could speak two required languages could be used as an interpreter. The main languages were Urdu, Turkish, Arabic, Berber, Spanish, and Serbo-Croatian, and none of the persons working as interpreters at that time had any interpreting courses because the first interpreting courses were given at the end of the 1970s (Mortensen, 2005).

The first services offered were at the local government level. In the 1980s the Norwegian authorities realized that the need for interpreters was there to stay and that they needed to organize more permanent solutions, also through the central government. The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDi) and later the Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi) took a leading role in developing interpreting in the public sector in Norway

[5] Statistics Norway, www.ssb.no.

through a comprehensive, planned response including: interpreter accreditation (1997), a code of ethics for interpreters (1997), sporadic interpreter training since 1985 that became permanent in 2007, a national register (2005), and sporadic interpreter-user training. The following is a short description of these measures.

After a 2-year pilot project, interpreter accreditation was established in Norway in 1997. The test is organized annually for three to six languages (Mortensen, 2005). Because there are no academic prerequisites required or offered, many candidates fail. This can also mean that many candidates underestimate the skills that a professional interpreter should have, regarding both language and interpreting skills (Mortensen, 2005). As of September 2011, there are 185 accredited interpreters in 22 languages in Norway.[6] In connection with establishing interpreter accreditation, a code of ethics was adopted[7] and all accredited interpreters are obliged to follow it.

Interpreter training has existed in Norway since 1985 (Frøili, 2001: 156). It followed various models and various lengths of training, from one-semester courses at the university and university college levels to a short-lived bachelor's degree program at the University of Oslo. As of 2007, permanent, distance-interpreter training was established at the Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences (HiOA). This is a flexible training option available to students in Norway and abroad, and for the various languages offered. So far, around 400 students from over 50 languages have taken a 30 ETCS course in interpreting in the public sector in Norway. Of these, 150 have taken additional courses that are offered (court interpreting, interpreting monologues: memory and note taking, curriculum for interpreters' communicative competence, and multicultural perspectives in interpreting; each 15 ETCS). The aim is to develop a full bachelor's degree in interpreting in the public sector by 2015.

The Norwegian national register of interpreters was established in 2006 and is administered by the IMDi. The register gives a systematic nationwide overview of interpreters qualified for practicing in public services. As of September 2011, there are over 1,000 interpreters in the register that interpret in 72 languages, divided into five categories.

Interpreter-user training has been offered by various institutions but in a non-systematic manner. In order to systematize this area as well, a pilot project was initiated by the IMDi in cooperation with the HiOA in 2011, with the aim of developing an introductory course for all interpreter-users in the public sector in Norway.

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6 http://www.tolkeportalen.no/no/Artikler/Liste-over-statsautoriserte-tolker/ (accessed 23 September 2011)

7 "Retningslinjer for god tolkeskikk" was a result of a working group formed by the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (KAD). There were two representatives from the University of Oslo, one from the UDI, one from the KAD, and one from the Norwegian Association of Interpreters.

4. Various constructions of the interpreter's function in the public sector

Various constructions of the interpreter's function in the public sector have been the subject of greater international research interest, especially in the last two decades. The literature contains descriptions of interpreter roles that range from interpreters as neutral and impartial to interpreters as helpers, and all the nuances in between (Roy 1993, Wadensjö 1993, Valero-Garcés & Martin 2008). Similarities notwithstanding, the following paragraphs concentrate only on the Norwegian experience.

5. Interpreters in the public sector: fidelity and impartiality

As previously mentioned, the official construction of the interpreter's function in Norway is described in the code of ethics and is based on two main principles:

- Fidelity toward the content of the source message: to render what was said without changing, omitting, or adding any information; and
- Impartiality towards the communicating parties: to act impartially and not allow own opinions and attitudes to influence the interpreting.

This construction of the interpreter's function is based on Article 19 from the Declaration on Human Rights:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions <u>without interference</u> and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

This is not unique to Norway; other countries such as Sweden, Canada and Australia also follow a similar model (Ozolins, 2010).

Like any other text, the code of ethics leaves room for different interpretations. The questions about how to understand the principles of fidelity and impartiality or whether they are attainable at all are being discussed among students of interpreting, practicing interpreters, interpreter-users, various authorities, and researchers (Skaaden 1999; Nilsen & Hitching, 2011; Øvrig, 2007; Jareg & Pettersen, 2006). These discussions point to different constructions of the interpreter's function and to ethical and practical dilemmas that result from them. Indeed, the official response to a particular social problem and what happens in real life do not necessarily go hand in hand.

6. Interpreters in the public sector as helpers

Interpreters are sometimes perceived as helpers for various participants in communication. Who they are helping depends on whose view one adopts: the minority speaker's point of view, the public servant's point of view, or the interpreter's own point of view.

In the following paragraphs I illustrate some of the possible constructions of interpreters in the public sector as helpers.

The interpreter in the public sector as a helper to a minority-language speaker

The interpreter's function is sometimes understood as a helper for the minority-language user, seen from the interpreter's point of view. Example (1) illustrates such a self-ascribed helper role assumed by the interpreter:

(1)[8] Police: How much money do you have?
Interpreter: He's asking how much money you have; say that you don't have any.

Instead of interpreting the question posed by the police officer about the amount of money the asylum seeker had, the "interpreter" added his own piece of advice to the asylum seeker, warning him not to reveal the amount of money he had with him. The police officer was not aware that the "interpreter" was doing this, so he was excluded from the conversation. The asylum seeker was confused at the beginning, and asked for repetition of what was being said. He then quickly realized that the "interpreter" wanted to "help" him, with the result that he did not reveal the actual amount of money he had. Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview the interpreter about the reasons for assuming this role in this (and possible other) case(s). Was it ignorance about possible negative consequences for the asylum seeker if his lie was discovered? Was it a personal quest against the Norwegian government and its asylum policy? One can only speculate, but the consequences for the asylum seeker could have been grave.

The interpreter in the public sector as a helper to a public servant

The interpreter can also be seen as a helper of the public servant, seen from the minority language user's point of view. Usually, this construction is connected with another role that "interpreters" play: that of culture brokers/informants. This role could be exercised not only during, but also before and after institutional meetings (Jareg & Pettersen 2006: 90).

Example (2) shows how this role can be exercised during an institutional meeting, in this case a court hearing:

(2)[9] Defendant: I told her that I was going to kill her.
Interpreter (to the court, not translating for the defendant): He told her that he was going to kill her, but in his culture it means that he was very angry with her.
Defendant (to the interpreter): What did you say to the court?

[8] This story was related to the author of this article in 1993 by an asylum seeker that decided not to stay in Norway and now lives in another country. All translations are by the author.
[9] This example was given by an interpreting student.

The interpreter is helping the court by explaining the actual meaning of the phrase "to kill somebody" in that particular culture. It is possible that the interpreter's understanding of the defendant's utterance is true, but that could have been cleared up by the court official asking the defendant to elaborate what he meant. What are the consequences if the interpreter's understanding is not true? The unprofessionalism of this particular interpreter (as also seen in Example 1) could also be seen in using the third-person singular instead of the first-person singular ("he told her" instead of "I told her"). This is a common strategy observed among interpreting students, who often express a need to distance themselves from the situation; they do this by using the third-person singular when the original requires the first-person singular.

This also represents an example in which culture is called upon as a magic word that gives an interpreter-user the right to expect the interpreter to intervene. Indeed, it is difficult to differentiate between culture and language because they are intertwined in different ways in different situations. However, the problem is often misplaced to a fuzzy category of culture and it probably lies in not knowing about possible solutions, be they language-specific (not knowing the right term) on the part of the interpreter, or communication-strategy–specific (involving the interpreter instead of asking the minority-language speaker) on the part of interpreter-users.

Example (3) from a medical setting given in Jareg and Pettersen (2006: 91) shows two possible solutions that involve different degrees of interference by the interpreter:

(3) Medical doctor (to interpreter while the patient is present): The patient says that his heart hurts, but there's nothing wrong with his heart. Does a hurting heart mean something else in his culture?
Interpreter: a) Yes, that can mean that he's sad, for example.
b) Yes, that means that he's sad, I believe it's because his mother is sick.

The medical doctor asks the interpreter for his own opinion about a patient that is present. The interpreter falls into a trap and answers the medical doctor by giving him his opinion: a) in general linguistic terms, and b) going a step further, involving his own personal knowledge of the patient. This example could seem an innocent one on the surface because the consequences do not seem so grave. What actually happened in both cases was that the interpreter was involved as a participant in somebody else's private medical consultation, while the person in question was present but not involved. The medical doctor transferred his professional responsibility and power to the interpreter. The solution in this case could have simply been for the medical doctor to treat his minority patient as a real participant in the communication: by asking him directly what it means when he says that his heart hurts.

When it comes to being a culture broker/informant before and after the institutional dialogues, the interpreting students from the HiOA report that they are sometimes asked the following questions by public servants: "What would you (interpreter) do in my place?" "What does he/she really mean by that?" "Is he/she telling the truth?" or "Is he/she really sick?" By asking the interpreter about what particular individuals "actually" mean, the public servants may give away their responsibility to the interpreter, who after all may not know the answer to these questions. Instead, they should assume the responsibility to resolve possible misunderstandings, ask the user when appropriate and not the interpreter, and be aware of power relations in institutional dialogues (Jareg & Pettersen 2006: 92).

7. Conclusion

The examples above illustrate some challenges that exist in interpreters' everyday working life when there are different, competing constructions of the interpreter's function. There are, of course, other interpreting dilemmas that will not be solved by mainstreaming a particular construction of the interpreter's function in the public sector. However, some of the negative consequences caused by a lack of knowledge about the interpreting process and areas of responsibility could be avoided. The official Norwegian response to these challenges - ocusing on professionalization of interpreting, which also involves professionalization of interpreter-users - seems to yield positive results. The goal is trained interpreters and trained interpreter-users that are aware of their areas of responsibility and thus contribute to creating meaning within their professional boundaries.

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Tatjana Đurović

PRED EVROPSKIM VRATIMA – KONCEPTUALIZACIJA EVROPSKE UNIJE KAO SADRŽATELJA U JAVNOM DISKURSU SRBIJE

Apstrakt: *U ovom radu bavimo se konceptualizacijom Evropske unije u javnom diskursu Srbije, tj. analizom kognitivnih i lingvističkih sredstava kojima se Evropska unija predstavlja u srpskim medijima. Jedna od najčešćih metafora pomoću koje se konceptualizuje Evropska unija u javnom diskursu Srbije je metafora* SADRŽATELJA*. Uz primenu najvažnijih načela teorije pojmovne metafore i kritičke analize diskursa u radu se analizira metafora* SADRŽATELJA *kroz podmetafore (*EVROPSKA UNIJA JE NEZAVRŠENA GRAĐEVINA *i* EVROPSKA UNIJA JE KUĆA*) i realizovane metaforičke izraze, i ukazuje na moguće aspekte takve konceptualizacije koji proističu iz motivisanosti metafore* SADRŽATELJA *i dualnosti pojmova* IZVAN *i* UNUTAR*.*

Ključne reči: *pojmovna metafora, metafora* SADRŽATELJA*, kritička analiza diskursa, javni diskurs*

1. Uvod

Brojna dešavanja koja su obeležila Evropu u poslednjih šest decenija doprinela su drugačijem poimanju prostora koji danas okuplja 27 zemalja i gotovo 500 miliona stanovnika najrazličitijih nacija. Političke, ekonomske, socijalne i druge promene dovele su do stvaranja kompleksnog novog entiteta pod nazivom Evropska unija (EU), što iziskuje potrebu za približavanjem novom prostoru i u kognitivnom smislu, i to ne samo onih koji u njemu žive već i onih izvan njega. Mnoge studije koje istražuju institucionalni diskurs Evropske unije (Musolff, 2000, 2004; Drulák, 2004; Zbierska-Sawala, 2004; Sabaté Dalmau, 2005), kao i one koje se bave predstavljanjem Evropske unije van njenih granica (Rasulić, 2008; Đurović, 2009; Šarić, 2005; Chaban et al., 2007; Retzlaff/Gänzle, 2008), pokazale su da se kognitivno i jezičko prilagođavanje drugačijim političkim idejama, procesima integracije i proširivanja ostvaruje putem pojmovnih metafora (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980), kao razumevanje jednog pojma pomoću drugog, poznatijeg i konkretnijeg pojma. Stoga se u ovom radu bavimo konceptualizacijom Evropske unije u javnom diskursu Srbije – analizom kognitivnih i lingvističkih sredstava kojima se Evropska unija predstavlja u srpskim medijima.

Metafora poseduje i izrazitu ubeđivačku moć, koja proizlazi iz jedne od najvažnijih njenih funkcija, a to je razumevanje jedne pojave na osnovu neke druge pojave, tako da dolazi do osvetljavanja ili isticanja jednog aspekta pojma, što nužno vodi ka zaklanjanju ili izostavljanju drugih aspekata istog pojma. Time što putem metafora biraju koje će aspekte nekog pojma istaći, tvorci teksta manje ili više svesno otkrivaju svoje vrednosne sudove i ideološke stavove. Glavno polje istraživanja kritičke analize diskursa (KAD) jeste diskurs gde se kroz upotrebu jezika prenose misli i uverenja ljudi unutar nekog društvenog konteksta. U ovom radu, međutim, više smo zainteresovani za ono područje KAD koje objašnjava kognitivne realnosti kroz upotrebu jezika, tj. diskursa (Chilton/Ilyin, 1993).

Tako je jedan od glavnih predmeta istraživanja KAD *izbor* koji se donosi pri stvaranju teksta, što ima za rezultat da su „*svi* iskazi *potencijalno* ograničeni – i, zapravo, određeni – društvenim odnosima koji postoje među učesnicima" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 30). Kao jedno od diskurzivnih sredstava, metafore takođe postaju jedan od svesnih lingvističkih izbora. Opredeljujući se za određenu metaforu, tvorci diskursa mogu da otkriju ili sakriju svesnu nameru koja iziskuje interpretaciju pomoću metafora. Lejkofljeva i Džonsonova ideja po kojoj metafore „igraju ključnu ulogu u konstruisanju društvene i političke stvarnosti" (Lakoff/Johnson, 1980: 159) može se povezati sa osnovnim poljem istraživanja KAD, a to su društveni problemi i način na koji se kroz jezik ispoljava „moć upravljanja diskursom" (Koller, 2003: 57). Iz toga sledi da se naše društveno iskustvo organizuje preko metafora, te se one u ovom radu tretiraju kao diskurzivna sredstva koja pomažu u razumevanju određenih društvenih procesa i pojava – u ovom slučaju, shvatanje političkog projekta *Evropska unija* kroz proces pridruživanja i integracije Srbije u EU.

Analiza metafora zasniva se na materijalu od oko 100 tekstova objavljenih u periodu od 2000. do 2009. godine. Materijal prvenstveno čine tekstovi objavljeni na internet stranicama mesečnika za evropske integracije, *Evropski forum* (dodatak nedeljnika *Vreme*), dnevnih novina *Blic*, *Danas*, nedeljnih novina *NIN*, veb-časopisa *Balkan magazin*, kao i internet-stranica radio-televizije *B92*. Određeni broj primera ekscerpiran je iz govora i intervjua javnih ličnosti srpske političke scene, komentara političkih analitičara, novinara, kao i samih čitalaca. Korpus primera pripada političkom diskursu, premda se on u ovom slučaju dosta široko određuje, te obuhvata govor ne samo učesnika u *primarnom diskursu* (samih političara), koji putem metafora nastoje da kreiraju društvenu stvarnost, već i onih koji u *sekundarnom diskursu* prihvataju takav pojmovni aparat (politički analitičari i novinari) i kroz jezik medija utiču na najširu javnost.

U nastavku rada ukratko ćemo opisati jednu od najčešćih metafora pomoću koje se konceptualizuje Evropska unija u javnom diskursu Srbije – metaforu SADRŽATELJA, a zatim analizirati najvažnije podmetafore nadređene metafore EVROPSKA UNIJA JE SADRŽATELJ[1], koje ćemo ilustrovati odgovarajućim metaforičkim izrazima kao površinskim realizacijama podmetafora.

2. Slikovna shema SADRŽAVANJA

SADRŽAVANJE je jedna od osnovnih slikovnih shema (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987) pomoću koje je organizovan naš pojmovni sistem. Utemeljena je u čovekovom telesnom iskustvu, u doživljavanju naših tela kao sadržateljâ koja poseduju unutrašnjost, spoljašnjost i granice (delovi sheme SADRŽATELJA). Slikovne sheme su prepojmovne i nastaju usled interakcije našeg tela sa stvarnošću, kretanja u prostoru, rukovanja predmetima, i sl. One su „dinamičkog karaktera i predstavljaju ne samo obrasce iskustva, već i obrasce za nova iskustva, kako u domenu fizičkog, tako i u domenu netelesnog, apstraktnog" (Rasulić, 2002: 22). Drugim rečima, kada se shema

[1] Detaljnu analizu konceptualizacije Evropske unije u javnom diskursu Srbije v. u Silaški/Đurović/Radić-Bojanić (2009: 117-138).

SADRŽAVANJA prenosi na entitete koji nisu više fizički ili prostorni, onda SADRŽATELJI mogu biti različiti apstraktni, mentalni entiteti. Jedan od takvih entiteta je država, ograničeni dvodimenzionalni prostor, površina ograničena administrativnim granicama (Klikovac, 2000: 79). Iako još postoje oprečna mišljenja u pogledu toga da li je Evropska unija u političkom i pravnom smislu država ili ne[2], u pojmovnom smislu ona se doživljava kao omeđen prostor, kao SADRŽATELJ koji može da primi različite SADRŽANE OBJEKTE, od kojih je najvažniji svakako čovek. Otud i proizlazi različita konceptualizacija pomenutog SADRŽATELJA iz vizure čoveka u zavisnosti od njegovog mesta – da li se on nalazi unutar granica SADRŽATELJA ili, pak, izvan njih. U tom pogledu, posebno smo zainteresovani za jednu od implikacija sheme SADRŽATELJA koju navodi Džonson po kojoj „relativna utvrđenost mesta SADRŽANOG OBJEKTA unutar SADRŽATELJA znači da on postaje ili dostupan ili nedostupan pogledu posmatrača – ili se drži tako da se može videti, ili SADRŽATELJ skriva SADRŽANI OBJEKAT od pogleda" (Johnson, 1987: 22, citirano u Klikovac, 2000: 26). Navedeni deo sheme SADRŽATELJA poprima dublje konotacije u konceptualizaciji EU kao SADRŽATELJA i Srbije kao objekta izvan granica, na putanji koja vodi do pomenutog SADRŽATELJA.

U nastavku rada prikazaćemo najvažnije podmetafore pomoću kojih se Evropska unija (ciljni domen) konceptualizuje kao SADRŽATELJ (izvorni domen) u medijima na srpskom jeziku.

3. Konceptualizacija Evropske unije kao SADRŽATELJA

Konceptualizacija Evropske unije kao SADRŽATELJA ostvaruje se preko pojmovnog domena GRAĐENJE/GRADNJA. Metafore i metaforički izrazi koji pripadaju ovom izvornom domenu imaju izrazito pozitivne konotacije, budući da ističu težnju za ostvarenjem željenog društvenog cilja (Charteris-Black, 2004: 70).

3.1. Evropska unija kao nezavršena građevina

Slikovna shema SADRŽAVANJA, tj. Evropske unije kao SADRŽATELJA projektuje se preko podmetafore EVROPSKA UNIJA JE NEZAVRŠENA GRAĐEVINA, što ćemo ilustrovati sledećim primerima:

(1) U prošlosti, napori na *izgradnji* Evropske unije bili su bazirani na dominaciji jedne grupe nad drugom. Današnje ambicije su potpuno drugačije: *izgradnja* Evrope koja poštuje slobodu i identitet svih ljudi i zemalja u njoj jer jedino ujedinjenjem Evropa može da kontroliše sopstvenu sudbinu i da razvija pozitivnu ulogu u svetu. (*Danas*, 9. maj 2003.)
(2) „*Gradimo* Evropu zajedno", naziv je konferencije koju je 17. i 18. aprila u Briselu organizovala Evropska komisija (EK). (*Evropski forum*, maj-jun 2008.)

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[2] V. Böröcz/Sarkar (2005).

Podmetafora EVROPSKA UNIJA JE NEZAVRŠENA GRAĐEVINA potencijalno ima dvostruku ravan rezonovanja. Naime, metaforički izrazi poput *izgradnja* Evropske unije, *gradimo* Evropu, nose izuzetno pozitivne konotacije – iako se Evropska unija percepira preko postojećih granica SADRŽATELJA, ovi metaforički izrazi ukazuju na nezavršenu konstrukciju čiji se okviri još mogu pomerati. Drugim rečima, podmetafora NEZAVRŠENE GRAĐEVINE implicira proces integracije i pristupanja zemalja kandidata Evropskoj uniji. Prostor unutar SADRŽATELJA nije do kraja ispunjen, te se granice mogu otvoriti za zemlje koje još nisu ušle u taj prostor. Nadalje, podmetafora NEZAVRŠENA GRAĐEVINA konotira izgradnju konstrukcije Evropske unije u kojoj se slike graditelja ili arhitekte preslikavaju na različite nacije koje nastanjuju unutrašnjost prostora EU, što ukazuje na njihovo aktivno učešće u samom procesu gradnje, a time i na preuzimanje odgovornosti. No, u primerima (1) i (2) nedostaju jasne referentne tačke gradnje, te se NEZAVRŠENA GRAĐEVINA može shvatiti i kao nezavršene zajedničke institucije Evropske unije, nerešena pitanja oko evropskog ustava, poljoprivredne politike, jezičke politike, i sl. koje, svaka ponaosob, predstavljaju „vezivni materijal" od kojih je GRAĐEVINA EU sazdana (up. Đurović, 2009: 56). U oba slučaja, podmetafora EU kao GRAĐEVINE, uz to još NEZAVRŠENE, implicira pozitivnost, svrsishodnost i isplativnost procesa izgradnje.

3.2. Evropska unija kao kuća

Konceptualizacija Evropske unije kao KUĆE predstavlja najčešću podmetaforu iz domena SADRŽAVANJA. Podmetaforu EVROPSKA UNIJA JE KUĆA ilustrovaćemo sledećim primerima:

(3) Evropska unija treba da služi svojim građanima, tako što će oni zadržati svoje specifičnosti, običaje i jezik i što će se osećati „kao kod *kuće*", odnosno, „u svojoj *evropskoj kući*". (*Danas*, 9. maj 2003.)

(4) Sačekajte, kažu, da mi prvo dovedemo svoju *kuću* u red, da nam privrede počnu bolje da rade i da institucije Unije prilagodimo daljem širenju, a onda ćemo vam otvoriti vrata. (*Evropski forum*, maj 2006.)

(5) U stvarnosti, Srbija je samo jedan mali, siromašni, devastirani zemljičak sa margine Evropskog kontinenta, i *Srbiji je EU potrebna kao što je topla kuća* potrebna nekom jadniku koji se smrzava na ulici, u epicentru januarske košave. *Kući* je manje-više svejedno: ona je topla pa je topla, sa tim jadničkom ili bez njega. Ako će ovaj *unutra*, lako će ga ogrejati. Ako neće, neka se mrzne *napolju*, ali onda neka, molićemo fino, ne stružucka više tom britvom po fasadi! Zvaćemo, bre, miliciju! (http://www.pescanik.net/content/view/1619/74)

Podmetafora EVROPSKA UNIJA JE KUĆA daleko je složenija u odnosu na podmetaforu NEZAVRŠENE GRAĐEVINE, budući da se EU konceptualizuje preko različitih strukturnih elemenata – *predsoblja*, *vrata*, *prozora, ključa, praga*, *sobe*, *dvorišta*. Izdvajanje iz koncepta KUĆE njenih pojedinačnih elemenata u konceptualizaciji EU u srpskim medijima služi za racionalizaciju kriterijuma koje Srbija mora ispuniti kako bi postala deo jedinstvenog prostora SADRŽATELJA EU. Zanimljivo je primetiti na koji način se pojedini strukturni delovi percepiraju sa stanovišta učesnika i u primarnom i u sekundarnom diskursu. Jedan od njih je *predsoblje*, koji ćemo ilustrovati sledećim primerima:

(6) U *predsoblju* Evropske unije. Sudeći po reakcijama, izvesno je da naši građani nisu svesni da je odluka za naše „in" doneta istovremeno kad i odluka za „out", koja se odnosi na Rusiju, Ukrajinu i sve druge bivše sovjetske republike, osim baltičkih. Ove zemlje su, slikovito govoreći, ostale i dalje na ulici, a mi smo, rastajući se od njih, sa ulice ušli u *predsoblje zgrade Evropske unije*. Ko ne razume da dosad nismo bili ni u *predsoblju* – neće shvatiti značaj ovog *otvaranja i zatvaranja vrata* za nama. (*Evropski forum*, jun-jul 2003)

(7) Imali smo šansu da budemo hit decenije i da se priključimo toj regati koja je već ušla u Evropsku uniju ili je na njenom *pragu*. Sada, mi smo država koja je poslednja po ispunjenim uslovima za pristupanje Evropskoj uniji. Tada, 2003. bili smo u *predsoblju EU* a sada smo dve ulice daleko od *kuće* u kojoj stanuje Evropska unija. To je naš najveći gubitak. (http://www.balkanmagazin.net/kolumna/portreti/bili_smo_u_predsoblju_eu.xhtml)

Metaforički izraz *predsoblje* odnosi se na vremenski period vladavine bivšeg premijera Zorana Đinđića i prijema Srbije u članstvo Saveta Evrope, na period od 2001. do 2003. godine. U tom periodu Srbija se konceptualizuje kao da je prošla kroz ulazna vrata i već zakoračila u *kuću* Evropske unije, te se nalazi nadomak glavnog prostora SADRŽATELJA. Motivisanost upotrebe izraza *predsoblje* sastoji se u prenošenju pozitivnih konotacija do tada već pređenog puta u integraciji zemlje u EU, ali i poruke da smo u pojmovnom smislu veoma blizu ulaska u jedinstveni evropski prostor, te da na tome treba istrajati. Međutim, deo primera (7) koji kaže da smo „Tada, 2003. *bili [smo] u predsoblju EU* a sada smo dve ulice daleko od *kuće* u kojoj stanuje Evropska unija", pokazuje da se Srbija danas pojmovno nalazi izvan granica SADRŽATELJA EU. Navedeni deo zanimljiv je iz još jednog razloga. Naime, *predsoblje* se u odnosu na EU može percepirati dvojako: ono može biti *predsoblje* EU kao *kuće*, kako to implicira primer (7), ali i *predsoblje* EU kao *zgrade* ili *institucije* (primer [6]), što može ukazati na drugačiju prirodu odnosa koji unutar takvog SADRŽATELJA vladaju. Drugim rečima, *kuća*, a samim tim i *predsoblje kuće*, ukazuju na veći stepen emocionalne bliskosti „stanara" u odnosu na *predsoblje zgrade*, tj. institucije (up. Šarić, 2005: 162). Osećaj zaštićenosti, prihvaćenosti i solidarnosti prisutan je i u primeru (5) gore, premda deo primera u kome se kaže „*Kući* je manje-više svejedno: ona je topla pa je topla, sa tim jadničkom ili bez njega. Ako će ovaj *unutra*, lako će ga ogrejati", implicira da dobrodošlica nije bezrezervna, te iako upotrebljeni pridev „topla" unosi izvesnu emocionalnu obojenost, kontekstualno okruženje je u velikoj meri potire. Ukažimo i na to da primer (7) sadrži dvojaku konceptualizaciju EU, kao

SADRŽATELJA (*predsoblje* EU), i kao OSOBE (... kuće *u kojoj stanuje* Evropska unija). U tom smislu, EU postaje SADRŽANI OBJEKAT, što potencijalno ukazuje na dodatni nivo pojmovne apstraktnosti EU.

Pored *predsoblja*, koje se odnosi na različite forme građevine, kuće za stanovanje ili institucije, metaforički izrazi *predvorje* i *čekaonica* jasno pretpostavljaju službenu, institucionalnu namenu SADRŽATELJA.

(8) Oli Ren (...) izjavio je nedavno da „posle ulaska Rumunije i Bugarske u EU, neće biti prijema drugih država sve do kraja ove decenije". Ova izjava komesara EU za proširenje ne samo da je potresla sve zemlje koje se pripremaju za pridruživanje Uniji, nego je poništila njegovo sopstveno obećanje, iz ne tako davnog vremena kad je stupio na ovu funkciju, „da očekuje da do kraja njegovog mandata (dakle do 2009) sve zemlje Zapadnog Balkana već budu *u predvorju Evropske unije*". (*Evropski forum*, jun 2006)
(9) Državna zajednica Srbija i Crna Gora se, dakle, nalazi *u velikoj čekaonici* u kojoj može da ode do blagajne i kupi kartu u jednom pravcu ka normalnim zemljama ili da, poput nervoznih prosjaka ili višestruko izlečenih alkoholičara, spavaju po klupama dok ih šef železničke stanice ne izbaci napolje. (*NIN*, 10. april 2003)

Za razliku od *predsoblja kuće EU*, koje makar izdaleka izaziva osećaj topline i zajedništva, *predvorje* i *čekaonica*, strukturni elementi SADRŽATELJA EU kao institucionalne zgrade, pojačavaju sliku EU kao zatvorenog prostora gde vladaju pravila koja se ne mogu lako menjati.

Dakle, Srbija se kroz metaforički izraz *predsoblje* (*predvorje, čekaonica*) konceptualizuje kao osoba koja samo što nije ušla u glavnu odaju *kuće* (*zgrade*), EU. Međutim, u godinama koje su usledile nakon 2003., pojmovno udaljavanje Srbije konceptualizuje se dolaskom, ili bolje rečeno, povratkom, pred *vrata kuće* Evropske unije, odnosno, pred *prag* evropske *kuće*. *Prag* predstavlja graničnu liniju između onog što se poima kao evropsko i ne-evropsko. Iako njegovo značenje implicira tranzitivnost, utisak je da je *prag* u primerima tekstova na srpskom jeziku stanje koje poprima karakter učestalosti i trajanja, te je i sâm zapravo SADRŽATELJ iz kojeg će Srbija teško izaći da bi dospela nadomak glavnog prostora, *kuće* EU. Ilustrujmo strukturni element *prag* sledećim primerima:

(10) Najveći deo stanovništva Srbije danas živi gore nego 1990, kada smo prvi put bili na *pragu EU*, jer je Srbija odustala od integracije u EU. (*Evropski forum*, maj-jun 2008.)
(11) Imali smo šansu da budemo hit decenije i da se priključimo toj regati koja je već ušla u Evropsku uniju ili je *na njenom pragu*. Sada, mi smo država koja je poslednja po ispunjenim uslovima za pristupanje Evropskoj uniji.
(http://www.balkanmagazin.net/kolumna/portreti/bili_smo_u_predsoblju_eu.xhtml)

Vrata i prozori u realnom svetu neophodni su delovi svake građevine ili konstrukcije. Oni su, pored zidova, naša veza sa onim što se nalazi izvan kuće. Ako kuća nema prozora i vrata, onaj u kući ostaje večno zaklonjen, ne znajući šta se nalazi izvan tog prostora. No, i oni koji su izvan takve kuće, ne mogu ni ući ni videti šta je u prostoru unutar granica kuće. Preko *vrata i prozora EU* preslikavaju se politička i ekonomska pomoć, nova radna mesta i mnoštvo drugih pogodnosti koje članstvo u Uniji donosi. Oni simbolizuju pristup sadržaju prostora koji je sada izvan domašaja Srbije. Na koji način se kvalifikuje odnos prema potencijalno novom „ukućaninu" pokazuju pridevi koji opisuju pomenute metaforičke izraze.

(12) „Zato Demokratska stranka nudi *otvaranje svih vrata prema EU*", rekao je Petrović. (http://www.ds.org.rs)

(13) Kako je Savet ministara EU mogao da dopusti da, posle svih „žrtava i poniženja", za našu zemlju *briselska vrata ostanu i dalje zatvorena* (mada i dalje nisu ubeđeni da bi ikada trebalo *da zakoračimo iza njih*)? (*Evropski forum*, jul-septembar 2008)

(14) Sve se, dakle, svodi na to da evropski put mora da bude naš sopstveni izbor i rezultat našeg sopstvenog rada. Pomoć sa strane je dobrodošla, ali je *ključ koji otvara teška briselska vrata* – u našim rukama. *Okrenimo ključ, otvorimo vrata*! (*Evropski forum*, maj 2007)

(15) Ta kombinacija *zatvorenih (zabravljenih!) vrata* i *otvorenog prozora* ... ne može da izazove ništa drugo nego frustraciju i želju da pobegnete na „slobodnu teritoriju". (*Evropski forum*, jun 2006)

Vrata EU za Srbiju su *zatvorena*, *zabravljena* (primer [15]), što doprinosi percepiranju EU kao samosvojnog prostora koji ne dočekuje posetioce raširenih ruku. Spoj *zatvorenih vrata* i *otvorenog prozora* iz primera (15) tek je nagoveštaj svekolikih mogućnosti koje se Srbiji nude kad jednom kroči u za sada pojmovno veoma udaljeni okvir. No, simbolično *otvaranje svih vrata prema Evropskoj uniji* (primer 12), Srbiju čeka tek nakon ispunjenja mnoštva preduslova koje evropske institucije postavljaju pred nju u tu svrhu. Čak i tada, deo primera (13) u kome autor u zagradi dodaje da „... i dalje nisu ubeđeni [Savet ministara EU] da bi ikada trebalo *da zakoračimo iza njih* [*briselskih vrata*]" implicira da će prijem novog „stanara" biti više kroz „poluotvorena vrata".

Prolaskom kroz *sva vrata i prozore EU* Srbija ne dolazi do svog krajnjeg odredišta. Iz primera (12) uviđa se da Evropska unija ima više *vrata* kroz koja Srbija mora proći, čime se ponovo ističu prepreke koje se moraju savladati da bi svaka sledeća *vrata* Unije bila otvorena. Slika više *vrata* Evropske unije dopušta mogućnost da unutar Evropske unije kao *kuće* ima mnogo *soba*, kao što pokazuje primer (16).

(16) On [Solana, *prim. aut.*] je ponovio da Srbija „ima *svoju sobu* u porodici Evropske unije". (*B92*, 22. februar 2008.)

Postojanje pojedinačnih *soba* unutar *kuće EU* implicira svest o nacionalnom prostoru (i identitetu) unutar nadnacionalnog. No, istovremena izdeljenost jedinstvenog prostora može ukazati i na pomanjkanje potpunog stapanja svih delova i nemogućnost sagledavanja celine tog prostora. Mnoštvo *soba evropske kuće* preslikava se na mnoštvo pojedinačnih zemalja-članica EU, te simbolično otvaranje *vrata* i ulazak u jednu *sobu* ne znači da smo zašli u sve *sobe* i videli celu *kuću*. U svoju *sobu* Srbija još nije kročila, no prijemom u Savet Evrope nalazi se, barem pojmovno, nadomak glavnog prostora, kako to izraz *devojačka soba* u primeru (17) pokazuje.

(17) Savet Evrope jeste samo predsoblje ili, možda, *devojačka soba Evropske unije*, ali ulazak u te krugove podrazumeva da vlast više nema prava na retorička takmičenja u disciplini pod radnim naslovom – ko će lepše pričati o demokratiji i ljudskim pravima. (*NIN*, 10. april 2003)

Budući da je *devojačka soba* doslovno i pojmovno dalja u odnosu na glavne *sobe evropske kuće*, ovaj metaforički izraz iznova pojačava negativno određenje procesa integracije u slučaju Srbije.

Metaforički izraz *dvorište* takođe spada u „ograđeni dvodimenzionalni prostor” (Klikovac, 2000: 80), koji se prenosi na državu Srbiju kao SADRŽANI OBJEKAT. U fizičkom smislu, dvorište predstavlja sastavni deo kuće, ograđeni prostor oko kuće. U tom pogledu, iako i sâm SADRŽATELJ, konceptualno se poima kao deo nadređenog SADRŽATELJA. Drugim rečima, *dvorište* (Srbija) u odnosu na *kuću* (Evropska unija) pretpostavlja druga dva SADRŽATELJA, *periferiju* i *centar*. Ilustrujmo metaforički izraz *dvorište* sledećim primerima:

(18) Mi smo *unutrašnje dvorište EU* i NATO i veoma je teško zamisliti gde bi Srbija mogla osim u EU. [...] EU nije savršenstvo, ali je najmanje rđava destinacija za Srbiju – kaže Vejvoda. (*Blic*, 4. avgust 2008)

(19) *Izvan* ili ispod Evrope. Mereno ostalim dostignućima, reći da je Srbija danas „*izvan*” Evrope je nažalost neprecizno, čak eufemistički. Izvan Evrope su i Koreja i Japan. Srbija, sa još par gubitnika, figurativno rečeno je „ispod” Evrope, ili još bolje, ona je sa celim Zapadnim Balkanom *zapušteno zadnje dvorište*. (*Evropski forum*, mart 2004)

(20) Evropska perspektiva je ključ za održivo rešenje za Kosovo, kao i za demokratski razvoj u Srbiji i ostatku regiona. To je osnova koja drži region na miroljubivom i reformističkom koloseku. U interesu Evrope, hajde da ne drmamo tu osnovu, kako nam još uvek krhki Balkan ne bi pao na noge, ili u *naše sopstveno dvorište*! Oli Ren, komesar EU-a za proširenje, u govoru u Evropskom parlamentu, 15.3.2006. (*Evropski forum*, mart 2006)

I pored drugačijeg kontekstualnog okruženja, gde u primeru (18) pridev *unutrašnji* pojačava osećaj pripadnosti granicama SADRŽATELJA, u pojmovnom smislu postoji jasno razgraničenje jednog prostora od drugog, na šta ne ukazuju samo primeri (18) i (19), već i posredno primer (20), kroz reči komesara EU za proširenje. Izrazito negativno konceptualizovanje Srbije kao *zapuštenog zadnjeg dvorišta* koje je *„ispod" Evrope*, preko pojmovne metafore LOŠE JE DOLE, još više ističe njenu izolovanost od glavnog SADRŽATELJA, *evropske kuće*.

4. Zaključak

Metafora SADRŽATELJA pokazuje se kao vrlo pogodan okvir u kome se sistematski javljaju, u ovom slučaju, dve podmetafore, EVROPSKA UNIJA JE NEZAVRŠENA GRAĐEVINA i EVROPSKA UNIJA JE KUĆA. Daleko češća je konceptualizacija Evropske unije kao *kuće*, koja je zastupljena sa velikim brojem strukturnih elemenata metonimijski vezanih za pojam kuće (*vrata*, *prozori*, *prag*, *predsoblje*, *sobe*). Pojedini primeri pokazuju da se SADRŽATELJ *kuća* konceptualizuje kao zgrada ili institucija, koja je u nadređenoj vezi sa pojmom *kuće*. U pojmovnom smislu, Srbija se u najboljem slučaju nalazi na *pragu evropske kuće*, dok se u izvesnim periodima izrazitog pomaka u približavanju Evropskoj uniji konceptualizuje putem metaforičkog izraza *predsoblje*. Negativne ili pozitivne konotacije pojedinih podmetafora zavise u velikoj meri od date političke situacije i poteza koji se u Briselu, ali i u Beogradu, ocenjuju kao dobri ili loši. Iz ugla predstavljanja Evropske unije u diskursu na srpskom jeziku, u osnovi slikovne sheme SADRŽAVANJA naglasak je, čini se, na pojmu ekskluzivnosti i udaljenosti od „jezgra"[3] SADRŽATELJA.

Kontekst budućih događaja, naročito posle 19. decembra 2009., datuma ukidanja viza za građane Srbije[4], ali i nova istraživanja, pokazaće da li će se pojam evropejstva u javnom diskursu na srpskom jeziku i dalje konceptualizovati preko osnovnih konotacija metafore SADRŽATELJA, ili će, pak, društvena realnost ponuditi neka druga kognitivna rešenja.

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[3] U Evropskoj uniji sve više se zagovara ideja o tzv. „Evropi koncentričnih krugova", gde bi pojedine članice bile u „jezgru", a neke druge na „periferiji", što u pojmovnom smislu takođe pripada shemi SADRŽAVANJA, a implicira još veću nejednakost među članicama i zatvaranje granica centra (v. u Teokarević, 2006: 3).

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EC's PROGRESS REPORTS AS SPEECH ACTS

Abstract: *The present paper analyses the EC's progress reports as speech acts. The corpus, composed of 2006-2009 reports for Montenegro, has been investigated to find an answer to the question of how it is possible that the reports were seen as realistic by both position and opposition parties in spite of their conflicting views of reality at the time the reports were written. The results show that the speaker carefully selected linguistic means that allowed him to remain objective but at the same time to indirectly convey the intended message.*

Key words: *speech acts, genre, power, institutional language*

1. Introduction

The study of speech acts began in an effort to distinguish among different types of acts that any communication includes, i.e. "the act of saying something, the act of doing something, what one does in saying it, such as requesting or promising, and how one is trying to affect one's audience" (Bach 1998). It also accounts for the situational context, positions and roles held by participants, and the speaker's attitudes.

This paper analyses sample of written discourse composed of four progress reports[1] the EC made for Montenegro from 2006 to 2009 totalling around 100,000 words. These texts are standardised annual reports that present an overview of the achievements in the EU accession process in the reporting period and point to areas where more work is still required. Surprisingly, the 2006-2009 reports were positively assessed by both political position and opposition as realistic accounts of the state of affairs. At the same time, both sides were surprised to hear the opposite side was also satisfied with the reports.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to explore the following:

1) what linguistic means[2] were employed to create these speech acts, and
2) why these speech acts were unsuccessful.

2. Theoretical framework

Austin's theory of speech acts initially focused mainly on performatives (Austin 1962) or speech acts that make use of performative verbs such as *I name...*, but he later comes to the conclusion that constatives may work in the same way. He later identifies three layers of action in

[1] accessible via the following links: 2006.mn_sec_1388_en[1].pdf; 2007.montenegro_progress_reports_en[1].pdf; 2008.montenegro_progress_reports_en[1].pdf; 2009.mn_rapport_2009_en[1]

[2] The 2009 report for Montenegro was used as corpus for the analysis of the grammatical categories of aspect, tense, and mood as used in the text. That analysis was published, see Bulatovic (2012).

a speech act, locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. This sheds more light on the intentions behind individual speech acts, the roles of participants, and the situational context. Austin's work was later developed by Searle (1969), while for the purpose of this paper the nomenclature used by Bach and Harnish (1979) is employed. They combine elements of previous taxonomies to include constatives (announcing, claiming, confirming, denying, identifying, informing, reporting, stating), directives (advising, admonishing, instructing, ordering, requesting, suggesting, urging, warning), commissives (agreeing, guaranteeing, offering, promising), and acknowledgments (apologizing, congratulating, greeting, thanking).

Bach (1998) points to a correlation between the type of speech act and the type of attitude expressed and explains that "a statement expresses a belief, a request expresses a desire, and an apology expresses a regret [and that] a speech act succeeds if the audience identifies, in accordance with the speaker's intention, the attitude being expressed". This, of course, is a general classification as in actual communication almost all combinations are possible. To account for such examples also useful is Searle's notion of indirect speech acts, in which "the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, together with the rational powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer" (1975: 60-61). Therefore, the speaker who speaks from the position of power may choose to speak indirectly to mitigate the threat and show respect for the hearer. The hearer, on the other side, may infer a lot from situational context.

Over time, the focus has shifted to written discourse where texts are analysed as "group speech acts" (Hughes 1984:379). This contributed to a greater interest in genre analysis and analysis of different registers. In that context, individual genres may be viewed as speech acts.

3. Analysis

3.1. Situational context

The reports involve the EC as the speaker and Montenegro as the hearer. The speaker avoids polarisation by employing impersonal statements often expressed in passive voice. A few examples where the speaker is explicitly mentioned (in the third person though) are written in a telegraphic style, with the focus on the steps in the accession process:

> (1) On 12 June 2006, the EU decided to establish relations with Montenegro as a sovereign and independent state.
>
> (2) The Commission has continued to closely monitor progress made by Serbia and Montenegro, notably in the context of the Enhanced Permanent Dialogue.

The hearer is referred to as: Montenegro, the authorities, public administration, the system, this sector, but only rarely so.

The speaker's position of power is implied by the fact that the EC holds the authority and the tools by which to judge whether Montenegro has complied with the requirements:

(3) In the framework of the visa liberalisation dialogue, Montenegro has made important progress … Therefore, the Commission proposed in July 2009 lifting the visa obligation for Montenegro citizens.

(4) Provisional application of Protocol 8 … started in 2007. As a result, Montenegro can join Community programmes which are open to Western Balkan countries.

The connecting phrases therefore and as a result in (3) and (4) respectively introduce the prize for the achievements.

The accession to the EU is not mandatory. The hearer has decided that it is in his own interest to join the EU and has signed a number of agreements for that purpose. The speaker lists such legal instruments at the beginning of each section to remind the hearer of the obligations it has undertaken but also to prove that it has a legal basis for writing the progress report, e.g.:

(5) The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter of Local and Regional Languages were ratified by the former Serbia and Montenegro.

(6) By signing the European Common Aviation Area Agreement, Montenegro has undertaken to integrate into the EU internal aviation market.

However, because this information is slightly isolated from the words of praise and criticism, it may not have a sufficiently strong impact on the hearer. The hearer knows his obligations but they are more often implied than mentioned.

The speaker's position of power is additionally enhanced by metaphor. The EU accession process is conceptualised as an examination where the EC plays the role of a teacher and Montenegro that of a student who develops skills and capacity in order to satisfy the criteria for a pass grade:

(7) A key challenge for Montenegro … will be to upgrade its administrative capacity so that it is in a position to implement the provisions of the agreement.

(8) This section examines progress made … towards meeting the … political criteria.

(9) Montenegro is gradually upgrading its capacity to perform its new competencies.

The speaker often reminds the hearer (as in 2 above) that he is being observed closely.

Another metaphor is that of the EU accession process as a healing process in which the system and structures in Montenegro need to develop, for which they need support in the form of pillars, to show that they have become stable. These concepts are present in the name of Stabilisation and Association Agreement, and phrases like judicial structure, foundation of institutions, develop capacity, corruption is a disease, etc.

Pretty pervasive is also the conceptualisation of the accession process as movement, or a journey, which is manifest in the frequent use of the nouns accession, integration, road, path and enlargement, as well as of the verbs accede, accelerate, speed up, move toward, *etc*. This conceptualisation implies two things: one, this process has its own dynamics and you may catch the train only if you take the right steps, which also implies that the train continues its journey with or without you on it, and two, if you are not in, you will be out, namely, your failure to comply will lead to isolation.

On the whole, the situational context relies a lot on what is implied and not (at least not often) clearly stated. This leads to an impression that both sides are objective observers of a third party, which is the object of the report. The EC has a somewhat ambiguous position. Its role is similar to a role of a strict parent or a parent who is at the same time your teacher. Maybe ambiguity could be avoided if the EC were not at the same time the authority which provides assistance.

The reports are of utmost significance to the hearer. He always waits in suspense to read the speaker's attitudes because it is the formulations in the report that will decide the hearer's future progress in the accession process. This must be taken into account as it increases the speaker's responsibility in the selection of words.

3.2. Speech acts

The reports may be generally expected to include mostly constative speech acts because that is what they do - they report on the current state of affairs. Commissives and acknowledgments are also expected, though in smaller numbers. As for directives, the speaker, being the observer, may not wish to impose too much as it is the hearer's choice to comply or not. The hearer from the political position may want to get some hints on what he should do next to satisfy the next set of criteria. The opposition hearer supports EU integration but wants more directives for two reasons: to get confirmation for his belief that the picture is not as bright as the position wishes to show and to express his attitude that Montenegro should not be allowed to progress further until it has done more work.

3.2.1. Constatives

In the sample, the majority of speech acts are constatives. They belong to different semantic classes of words and may be classified here based on whether the speaker's attitude is positive or negative.

The examples from the corpus that express a positive attitude include the following:

(a) examples with action verbs in the passive voice:

(10) Specific coordination frameworks have been set up...
(11) Efforts have been made on the side of the Government to upgrade ...
(12) Progress in establishing the legislative framework for public administration reform has continued.
(13) Improvements have been made with regard to transparency.

The above are typical samples of institutional language where the focus is on the action and outcome and not on the actor. They may also be read as acknowledgments in which case the indirect speech acts serve to take note of the progress but at the same time to protect the speaker's position of power and his role of a distant and objective observer.

(b) communication verbs in the passive voice in the following two examples have a similar function:

(14) Good progress can be reported on energy efficiency and renewable energy sources.
(15) Steady but overall slow progress has been noted in this area.

(c) rare examples with action verbs in the active voice:

(16) Montenegro has made progress in the area of judicial reform, a key European Partnership priority.

(d) rare examples with modal verbs:

(17) This practice needs to continue and expand.

In the case of (17), the practice that it refers to is positive and this speech act may be read as an indirect directive making a suggestion.

The examples of constative speech acts used to convey the speaker's negative attitude are:

(a) examples with state and relational verbs:

(18) The progress on implementation on the ground is still slow.
(19) Progress in the area of consumer protection has been limited.
(20) The capacity of the authorities ... remains low.

In the examples (18-20) above the speaker's chooses to express his negative attitude by verbs of state, which reduces their illocutionary force. The use of states may give rise to an implication that the situation is such only temporarily, particularly since the states follow the thematised positive concepts of *progress* and *capacity.* The implication is that the progress and capacity are present, though not to a sufficient extent. The hearer should read these as indirect directives since he has committed himself to implementation and progress.

(21) Montenegro lacks a comprehensive framework on consumer protection.
(22) Despite falling unemployment ... the labour market continues to face significant challenges.
(23) The significant backlog in both civil and criminal cases is a matter of serious concern.

In (21-23) there is no conflict between positive concepts and negative attitudes. In (23) the thematised negative concept of significant backlog is in line with the negative comment is a matter of serious concern. However, they would be much stronger if they were realised as direct directives.

(b) examples with action verbs:

(24) The lack of guarantees... limit the capacity of the state to fight corruption successfully.
(25) The existing legal framework does not provide sufficient protection...
(26) The political parties failed to respect the legal guideline to include...
(27) The police often treat such cases with indifference.

The above are true constatives. The use of third person and of administrative phrases adds to the impression of distance and impersonality. More importantly, the phrases *limit the capacity, not provide sufficient, failed to respect,* and *often treat* imply that *there is capacity, they* *do provide*, *they at least tried to respect*, and *often but not always* respectively. These speech acts are inherently ambiguous and the speaker's attitude is unclear.

(c) example with a communication verb:

(28) No progress can be reported in the area of market surveillance.

3.2.2. Directives

The corpus contains a large number of examples that can be classified as both constatives and directives. They can be interpreted either as directives disguised as constatives, in which case they belong to 3.2.1. above, or as literal directives. The speaker's intention is not just to inform but to direct, since the hearer is bound by the agreements. With the exception of rare examples similar to (17) above, directives are used to express negative attitudes. Modal verbs are employed for this purpose:

(29) Reform plans need to be finalised and resources need to be allocated for implementation.
(30) The Parliament will have to upgrade its capacities.
(31) Montenegro must effectively resolve the status of displaced persons.
(32) The Concession Committee should be set up to address complaints.

It is important to note that need as the weakest modal of those listed above is by far most frequently used. It expresses an obligation in the disguise of a necessity. Read by a native speaker of Montenegrin, the verb need means not much more than the fact that such a need exists. Translators, on the other hand, may not take the liberty of adjusting the words to fit the (alleged) intended meaning. In the corpus, the majority of examples are indirect directives:

(33) Montenegro needs to align with the EU position.
(34) Montenegro needs to fulfil the necessary steps to adopt the relevant treaties and conventions.
(35) The Constitution needs to be developed and adopted in line with European values, standards and practices.
(36) Montenegro needs to upgrade its administrative capacity in the areas covered by the agreement.

3.2.3. Commissives

Commissives, whose function is to commit the speaker to some future action, are not found in the corpus. The speaker is one of the two parties in a contractual arrangement and his commitment to future obligations is not questioned. Alternatively, the whole report can be interpreted as a commissive speech act in the sense that the speaker promises to take the hearer to the next level in the accession process if the hearer meets most requirements.

3.2.4. Acknowledgments

Just one example of acknowledgments was identified in the corpus:

(37) This intense activity... following its independence ... and should be commended.

3.3. Additional semantic and syntactic tools

3.3.1. Hedging

The positive effect of implicit and, more rarely, explicit praise is often mitigated by hedging techniques that employ the words such as overall, largely, broadly, relatively, generally, etc.

(38) Overall, administrative and management capacities of the local authorities have been strengthened.
(39) Legislation and practice in the field of social rights is largely in line with the provisions of the revised European Social Charter.
(40) Macroeconomic stability has been broadly maintained.
(41) Strengthening of human resources has been relatively limited.

As a result, the force of the positive comments in (38-39) is mitigated, and the validity of rather neutral comments in (40-41) protected.

3.3.2. Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is used in the sample to emphasize a contrast between positive and negative findings. In other words, the speaker is cautious and expresses an attitude that positive findings should not delude the hearer into believing that he has met all the requirements in a specific field. Similarly, negative findings are usually presented alongside acknowledgments for the good work in the same field. The opposing statements are joined by the words but, however, yet, etc. For example, (37) above is followed by a series of negative findings related to the same subject:

> (42) However, parliament has not made good use of... remains problematic. Furthermore, inspection and control mechanisms... are not being used appropriately. Parliamentary work is not yet efficient and transparent enough...
>
> (43) Parliamentary elections ... were largely in line with international and European standards. However, a number of challenges were identified, related mainly to media behaviour and selection of MPs.
>
> (44) Specific coordination frameworks have been set up... However, overall strategic planning and coordination are weak.

4. Conclusion

The results indicate that these speech acts are ambiguous because positive attitudes are expressed neutrally by the use of third person, passives, while the negative ones are mitigated by the use of states, weak modals, and thematised positive concepts. In addition, positive attitudes are immediately followed by negative ones and vice versa. This mixture of attitudes goes hand in hand with absence of polarisation and it additionally mitigates the effect of metaphor and clearly stated legal obligations. As a result, the hearer picks from this mixture what best serves his political goals and does rightly so because arguments can be found for either interpretation.

There remains an open question of whether the speaker did more than to fit in the convention of institutional reports, whether he shaped the acts in this way deliberately to make everyone happy.

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TRANSLATOR'S EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE IN ACCESSION COUNTRY

Abstract: *Education for translator's profession requires not only, language knowledge and skills, but also intercultural communication, use of ICT, terminology work, project management, translation theory and language culture, as defined by the European Master's Translation (EMT) which combines different teaching methods. Educational university programmes should adopt new educational and professional requirements at different levels of education. This paper analyses interests among students at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb regarding the use of translation technology and need for the development of proper language resources. The results are compared with the real situation among translators in Croatia regarding their use of translation technology and their need for professional specialization.*

Key words: *translator's profession, education, changes, accession country*

1. Introduction

According to data on web regarding the profile for translators working for the European Commission, the DGT (Directorate General for Translation) and the translation services of other European institutions require professional translators not only when it comes to their language competences, but also flexible and communicative specialists open to different cultures, who are going to translate, use and coin new phrases by using translation tools. The translators working for the European Commission must have perfect command of their mother tongue and at least two foreign languages (each additional language is an advantage when applying for the position), having in mind that English, French, and German are the working languages. To satisfy the Commission's demanding requirements for the translator's profession, the candidate should be a university graduate with corresponding qualifications in any scientific discipline relevant for working in European institutions, but also the ability to adapt, as well as ambitions for professional development.

In the Profile for Commission's Translators section, the DGT's website categorizes the criteria by competences and skills: ability to understand complex and demanding scientific issues, flexibility and ability to adapt, information control and efficient communication, initiative, creativeness, and motivation, ability to function in a team and in a multicultural environment, ability to translate under the pressure of deadlines, and the ability to function within the framework of the administrative rules and regulations.

2. Translator's competences

According to DGT, the modern-day translator is characterized by six professional competences (EMT 2009).

1. *Language competence:* Perfect command of all aspects and stylistic levels of the translator's mother tongue; Knowledge of two or more foreign languages (at least one of which must be English, French, or German).
2. *Terminology competence:* Ability to learn background information required for a professional translation in source and target languages quickly and efficiently (facts, terminology), even if the translator is not so familiar with the specific field. Ability to use translation tools and learn research strategies.
3. *Thematic competence:* Thematic skills require competence in a specific field of expertise, such as economics, finances, law, technology, medicine, or education, as well as the capacity to understand texts in the source language and to reproduce them correctly in the target language using computer translation tools.
4. *Technological competence:* Ability to use computer-aided translation tools, machine translation and terminology tools, as well as ICT and standard office software. Capacity to use research tools and the knowledge of research strategies and methods.
5. *Intercultural competence*: Familiarity with the means and strategies for identification and solution of cultural issues in translation. Ability to systematically analyze communication situations and their constituent parts, as well as the characteristics of often linguistically complex texts pertaining to a variety of situations (source texts, parallel texts).
6. *Managerial competence*: Knowledge of the own profession, including the history of translation as well as ethical and loyality principles in translation. Familiarity with the relevant national and global translation institutions. Knowing how to organize approaches to potential clients (marketing knowledge). Ability to negotiate with the client and protect business partners from possible damages; how to plan time, work, budget.

Furthermore, translators should have the ability to expand their competences quickly and efficiently both in their mother tongue and the source language, but also the knowledge required to produce a professional and superior-quality translation, including the capacity to use electronic translation tools such as terminology databases, translation memories, and other types of computer-aided translation tools. Using contemporary information-communication technology is one of the key requirements for employment in EU institutions. The European Commission has defined their ideal profile translator as "a university graduate with broad and interdisciplinary knowledge" and listed the basic competences required of a translator.

In addition to professional competences, some characteristics are mentioned, such as initiative, intellectual curiosity, preparedness to learn and professional motivation. The DGT website mentions the basic competences required for translators who wish to apply for a position with one of the European institutions (Figure 1). In addition to language, thematic, and terminological competences, the translators need intercultural, technological, and managerial competences.

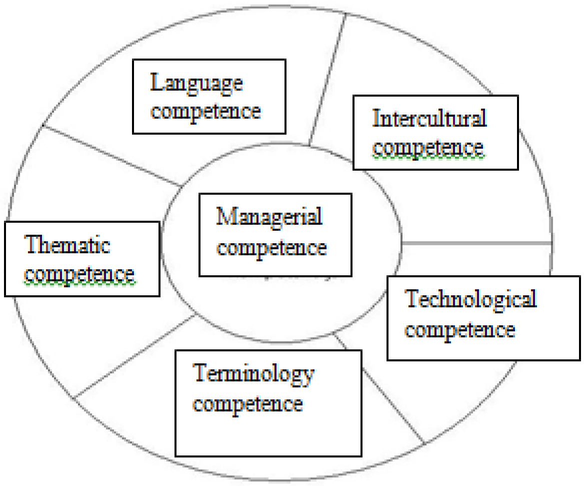

Figure 1. Translator's competences according to DGT

3. Translation education and training model – European Master's in Translation

A number of recently joined EU member states encountered problems in the department of translation training and curriculum adaptation. According to Kučiš (2009) reforms are required in translation training in view of the European integration process to achieve compatibility in theoretical, professional, and training fields. Translation training should be compatible with the existing European training model. Translators are asked to use information and communication technologies and computer-aided translation tools which are in accession countries sometimes insufficiently represented in the curriculum. It would be a g mistake to equate practice with theory and to follow the "the cheaper, the better" principle.

In an attempt at profiling and positioning the translation profession, the European Union made a draft graduate studies model for future generations of translators called the EMT (European Master's in Translation), available at website, which is based on theoretical and practical competences and skills. Even though many European countries have a long tradition of translation training based on the theoretical and practical research concept, many translation training programs are still based only on the traditional model of foreign language studies. The European Union, as one of the major employer of translators, assumed an active role in translator training and translator's profession profiling. Monitoring and development of the training for European translators is in the interest of the European Union because it provides the required number of highly skilled translators for the needs of the EU and the broader multicultural and multilingual translation market.

The MA program focuses on translation skills and competences and not so much on language competences, which the trainees are expected to have mastered during their undergraduate studies. The EMT program is supposed to produce a sufficient number of professional translators who meet the criteria of the European Commission, DGT and other EU institutions. To enable the students and potential translators to master the abovementioned translation skills and competences, a special task force consisting of translation specialists was established to come up with a proposal of the following MA curriculum based on a detailed analysis of the existing European curriculums and the DGT's needs.

The recommended basic components of the programme include:

- translation as a profession,
- translation theory,
- source text and translation analysis,
- intercultural communication,
- terminology work,
- information and communication technology (ICT),
- language culture,
- special terminology and languages,
- and translation practice (including more than one language combination).

There are no foreign language learning courses among the recommended courses because the attendants of the MA in translation program are expected to have knowledge of their mother tongues and at least two foreign languages. It is particularly important that all the courses listed above are closely integrated, emphasizing the modern interdisciplinary translation approach. This means that the students of the European MA programme are expected to produce their translations using the existing information/ translation technology and bearing in mind the basic postulates of translation theory, and that they are expected identify and analyze the text or discourse from cultural aspects and solve and comment on practical translation problems using specialist terminology in their specialist fields.

As explained at DGT, universities and institutes are expected to define the structure of the MA in translation programmes. Some of the components obviously have to precede other components (some areas of information technology should be studied at the very beginning of the program to enable the students to use ICT tools in practical translation). It is recommended to introduce practical translation, i.e. translation practice, as early as possible so that the students could begin the practical part of their studies as soon as possible (Kučiš 2009). The European Commission, i.e. DGT recommends the admission requirements to be identical or similar to those for other MA university programmes.

As specified at website, an applicant must satisfy the following requirements:

- Hold a recognized first degree university degree (BA or equivalent);
- Have an excellent command of his or her mother tongue (a wide range of interdisciplinary and intercultural knowledge of a wide range of topics and registers is required in addition to grammatical and spelling rules);
- Have an excellent knowledge of two foreign languages in addition to his or her mother tongue;

- Be well-informed about the economic, political, social, and cultural background of target language countries.

The MA translation program anticipates a combination of different modern teaching and learning modes (contact teaching, remote learning, e-learning). However, personal contact between trainees and trainers is tremendously important, especially in teaching practical skills, such as document handling skills and use of translation tools. Personal contact is equally important in practical translation courses, where discussion and debate among students are of vital importance.

4. European translation market

The European Union is a political and economic union composed of 27 member states since January 1st, 2007 and has 23 official languages, with the tendency of enlargement. Plurilingualism is one of the EU's principal characteristics and advantages, and it is based on the Old Continent's democratic and pluralistic political and economic concepts. Equal status of all official languages represents the democratic principles of transparency and legitimacy of the EU. The decisions of the European institutions affect the everyday life of the EU citizens and the legitimacy of a multicultural union such as the EU requires the citizens to actively participate in the decision-making processes, without language barriers.

Since ECC was established in 1957 (originally as the European Economic Community) the EU has been pursuing a policy of equality or "language policy equalization" (Gojmerac; Mikić 2008:21) in its treatment of the official languages of all its member states. The directive from 1958 states[1]: "Residents of member states have the right to communicate with (EU) institutions in their own language" (*European Commission, 2004*). The directive is still in force and defines the official and working languages and the obligation to write directives and other texts having general application in all official languages in which the *Official Journal of the EU* is published[2]. The directive states that member states or their residents may contact EU institutions and bodies in written form in any official language and receive a reply in the same language, and that documents sent by the institutions to member states shall be written in the language of the state in question. In the territory with 490 million inhabitants, each member state defines its official language in the process of European integration, which makes it possible for all European citizens to be adequately informed and to exercise their right to communicate in their mother tongue: "Each country, before it joined, stipulated which language it wanted to have used as an official language for EU purposes. The agreement on this matter is then recorded in the Act of Accession" *(European Union, Act of Accession 2005a*). The official languages of the member states

[1] Source: http://www.entereurope.hr/page.aspx?PageID=23
[2] Source: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOIndex.do The document is available in 23 official languages of the EU.

automatically become the official languages of the EU. 506 translation directions are required to cover all the language pairs between 23 official languages (Seljan 2008).

The EU encourages cooperation between its member states and supports their activities through a number of educational projects and programs, such as language learning, promotion and endorsement of plurilingualism and multiculturalism, and establishment of common translation resources and tools for public use, and all of these activities are designed to contribute to the establishment of a sense of belonging to the EU. Under the motto "Unity in Diversity", the EU emphasizes the significance of cultural and national identity that is not diminished when a country joins the EU. On the contrary, the European multiethnic and multilingual community is perceived as an advantage and a challenge for the European Union.
The official regime of equality of all languages is applied consistently to legislation, documents of general significance, and highest levels of political representation, such as the meetings of the European Council, the Commission, the Council of Ministers, and plenary sessions of the European Parliament, at which simultaneous interpreting is provided and all documents are translated into the official languages of the EU.

5. Multilingual environment

In the past ten years the European Union has been working intensively on the problems of multilingual environment, a demanding and ambitious project. EU is supposed to encourage cooperation between its member states and support and supplement their local activities, at the same time respecting their responsibility for education and culture contents.

As already mentioned one of the world's largest translation services operates as a part of the European Commission and is called DGT-*Directorate-General for Translation*. It employs about 2,350 professional translators and other language specialists, such as terminologists, computer linguists, lawyer linguists, and 600 support staff members. The DGT is larger than all other EU's translation services and is considerably larger than OECD's and NATO's translation services. The DGT is playing the key role in European Commission's communication with other institutions and EU member states, because it actively participates in the translation of the European Commission's written documentation. The DGT is headquartered in Brussels and Luxembourg and works primarily for the European Commission, but may offer its services in the commercial market as well.

According to Lönnroth (DGT 2010), two thirds of the staff, 60% of them women and 40% men, work and translate in Brussels, and they translate 54% of all documents and texts, while a third of the translators are posted in Luxembourg, and they translate 46% of the texts for the needs of the European Commission on annual level. After its last enlargement, the EU translates more than 1.5 million pages of text a year with a tendency of growth. The DGT's basic principle of operation is to translate from different source languages to the translators' mother tongues, and to specialize in specific areas. The translation units are therefore organized by official languages.

According to Seljan and Gašpar (2009), in spite of the considerable staff and the considerable number of translators, the volume of work exceeds their capacities and about 23% percent of the texts are sent to freelance translators for translation. DGT receives approximately 700 translation requests a day (http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/). DGT reports that they translated 1,125,709 pages in 1997, 1,270,586 pages in 2004, and 1,805,689 pages in 2008. DGT most frequently translates legal texts (directives, regulations, and decisions) and international treaties. However, the activities of the European Commission are heterogeneous and the DGT also translates speeches, press releases, financial reports, minutes from meetings, and the EU's promotional materials.

	1997	**2004**	**2008**
Translated pages	1,125,709	1,270,586	1,805,689
Freelance translators	16%	23.0%	23.8 %
English source text	**45%**	**62%**	**72.5 %**
French source text	40%	26%	11.8 %
German source text	5%	3.1%	2.7 %
Other EU languages	8%	9%	13%

Table 1: Pages translated by DGT

All legislative texts are published in the *Official Journal of the EU* (http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOIndex.do/). The EU's official journal is closely tied to official language status, since a special edition of the *Official Journal* is published when a new country joins the European Union, containing the translation of EU legislation to the language of the country. A new official language of the EU thus gets inaugurated. All the activities we described only apply to written translation.

The plurilingualism policy and the fact that EU citizens communicate with each other in more than one language drove the EU to encourage a number of scientific debates and projects concerned with translation, laying a special emphasis on translation theory and practice. The analytical and specialized debates initiated and financed by the EU can be divided into several thematic categories (Ramljak, 2008):

- Function, development, and use of modern translation technology;
- Dominance of English and French[3] as the EU's working (procedural) languages;
- Implementation of new languages of the candidate countries[4];
- Increased costs and optimization of cost-effectiveness of translation.[5]

[3] English, French, and German are the EU's working languages, which clashes with the EU's policy of multilingualism. There is an important distinction between EU's working languages and official languages.
[4] At the moment Turkey, Macedonia, and Croatia have the status of candidates for EU membership.
[5] Source: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/index_en.htm

The activity of the translation services is crucial for all European institutions and working bodies. The growing number of EU member states resulted in a complex system of possible language combinations for translation, which requires additional funds. Europe's political and cultural diversity and the desire to preserve multilingualism are worth the investment, since the EU cultivates the fundamental values of the freedom of expression, free flow of information, and the respect of democratic, cultural, and human principles.
It constitutes the basis of European principle of the autonomy of the individual, of the critical thinking, and of the culture of negotiation, argumentation, communication, and translation in general.

The EU is considered an exemplary organization when it comes to translation practice and the services that exist in all its areas of activity. All EU politicians may speak their own language during parliamentary discussions. The EU automatically grants official language status to the languages of candidate countries. "Translation is an important service industry, but it is only noticed when the translation is not understandable and thus makes communication more difficult[6] (Gojmerac, Mikić 2008: 22).

One of the fundamental rights that the European Union guarantees to its every citizen is the right to freedom of movement and residence in EU territory, including the right and the possibility of study and work, and of active participation in the social and cultural life of the EU. Language and cultural rights must be guaranteed to everyone so that they could participate actively in these processes. Intercultural communication of European citizens is a very important segment in the formation of European identity. Ongoing cooperation and coordination between EU member states and institutions is therefore vital for the development of European language equality and cultural diversity. The new Treaty of Lisbon from 2007, which entered into force after ratification by all member states in 2009, and its Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union emphasize the advancement of plurilingualism and Europe's diverse cultural heritage.

6. Pilot research

Translators' education in accession country, such as in Croatian, is still in the development phase. Although considerable changes in accordance with Bologna principles, European guidelines for translator's activities, university and professional changes and market needs have been made, it is necessary to formally accept and acknowledge the translator's professional qualifications.

This pilot research was conducted at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb among students of information sciences. In the research 48 students

[6] Original: (*German* "Die Übersetzung stellt eine wichtige Dienstleistung dar, die jedoch erst dann Aufmerksamkeit erregt, wenn sie mangelhaft ist und die Kommunikation erschwert.")

studying information sciences as major or minor study group, among which 64% to undergraduate and 36% to graduate levels. Out of the total number of students, 42% of interviewed students study information sciences and language group.

75% of students declared that they have already attended one or more classes on language technologies, relating to machine translation, translation memories or language processing. 83% of students have declared to have previous experience with translation (out of which 42% for the faculty needs, 19% professionally and 22% for personal needs). The average mark given to usability of translation resources is 3.00, while for other resources in various languages is 3.57.

The question relating to types of text translated by free online translation tool (Google Translate which is available for the Croatian) gave the following answers: almost 67% of students use it for translation of domain specific text (ecnomy, law, etc.), 39% in the technology domain, 31% for travels, 20% for e-mail, 8% for conferences (multiple answers were allowed).

When researching the use of translation resources, students mostly use online/CD dictionaries (83.30%), free Internet translation tools (89.60%), then thesaurus, glossaries, term bases (43.80%) and professional translation software (16.7%)

Regarding average grades given to free online translation tools, the highest grades are given to Systran (3.74) – free online version and to Google Translate (3.73).

This pilot research has show, although as preliminary results, high interest in use of language technologies, but also critical opinion in evaluation of language resources for the Croatian and for various languages. Students would like (almost 65%), if given a chance, to continue the education in the translation profession.

7. Conclusion

According to Eco (2007) *the language of Europe is translation*. We can therefore conclude that Europe is faced with the reality of plurilingualism with all its advantages and problems. In this context, translator profession has gained considerable changes in the European context, adapting the university education to the new professional demands. Translation profession requires today not only language knowledge and skills, but also technical knowledge and skills, intercultural competences, managerial skills, asking for an open-minded, intellectually curious and flexible person, willing to react in challenging situations. Education in accession countries, such as in Croatia, should follow the European trends and adapt the programs to students needs, market demands and create flexible, well-educated person aware of the valuable proper national language and willing to use it in the translation process between different cultures and civilizations.

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