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Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche, del Linguaggio,  
dell'Interpretazione e della Traduzione

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# Prefazione

## Editorial preface

MARCO RUCCI  
Università di Trieste

Nel volume che presentiamo sono riuniti undici lavori, che si muovono negli ambiti più svariati. Si spazia dalla *Machine Translation* all'espressione multimodale della strumentalità, dalla *peer review* all'operetta in vernacolo libanese, dalle parole di origine turco-ottomana nella lingua slovacca all'interferenza come universale della traduzione, dall'*Easy Language* (nello scritto e nell'orale) all'analisi delle traduzioni (che sia quella tedesca dell'opera massima di Galileo a distanza di 250 anni o l'approccio comparativo transnazionale dei *realia* in un'opera di Cees Nooteboom). Trattandosi di temi ampiamente eterogenei, ci siamo astenuti dall'applicare un qualsivoglia schema gerarchico sia in questa prefazione sia nella posizione all'interno del volume. I testi sono pertanto riportati semplicemente in base all'ordine alfabetico degli autori, con un'eccezione: i tre lavori che ruotano attorno alla semplificazione linguistica vengono presentati anch'essi in ordine alfabetico ma trovano una loro collocazione all'inizio del volume.

MARTINA NICKLAUS e GORANKA ROCCO esplorano alcuni aspetti morfosintattici della versione semplificata (*Easy Language*) in francese e in tedesco della legge svizzera sull'eliminazione della discriminazione nei confronti delle persone con disabilità (BehiG). Due sono i quesiti che lo studio affronta: uno riguarda il modo in cui viene ridotta la complessità linguistica; l'altro riguarda le eventuali differenze tra le due lingue in tema di strategie di semplificazione. Al centro dell'attenzione viene posto anche uno dei principali problemi delle traduzioni in lingua facile,

cioè l'involontario incremento della complessità quando si cerca di semplificare. Per rispondere ai due quesiti, le autrici analizzano e confrontano la formulazione di alcuni brani del testo normativo svizzero con le raccomandazioni contenute in vari manuali di *Easy Language*, per esempio gli standard di Inclusion Europe o le raccomandazioni tedesche in Bredel/Maaß 2016b e Netzwerk Leichte Sprache.

Il progetto biennale SELSI (Spoken Easy Language for Social Inclusion), finanziato tramite il programma Erasmus+ dell'UE, è stato lanciato nel 2022 e ha l'obiettivo di promuovere l'inclusione e l'accessibilità della comunicazione in contesti orali. ELISA PEREGO e DRAGO BRUMEN ci fanno notare come la comunicazione orale rimanga uno degli strumenti principali di interazione quotidiana (fondamentale per la sopravvivenza umana), contatto con il mondo e partecipazione alla vita sociale, oltre al suo ruolo di primo piano nel processo educativo. L'esiguità della ricerca in tale campo è proprio uno dei motivi alla radice del lancio di SELSI, che mira a esplorare le strategie di lingua parlata e a formulare delle raccomandazioni modulabili che aiutino i professionisti europei dell'oralità e della semplificazione (SEL) a produrre contenuti più accessibili in contesti vari, sia monodirezionali (per es. le trasmissioni radiofoniche, gli audiolibri, le audioguide) sia bidirezionali, come nel caso della comunicazione interpersonale. L'indagine condotta dai due autori, sulla scorta di questionari somministrati *online* o in presenza sia ai professionisti SEL sia agli utenti finali, valuta le esigenze e le preferenze dei parlanti con diversi livelli di competenza in contesti orali. I risultati mostrano che, ai fini di una comunicazione orale efficace, occorrono anche elementi non linguistici, come un ambiente tranquillo (dove la fretta e l'impazienza lasciano il posto alle pause, dove l'empatia è sia psicologica che linguistica); uno stretto rapporto fra gli interlocutori (importanza del contatto visivo, dell'ascolto, dell'apertura al *feedback*; ma gli utenti finali dichiarano di trovare pur sempre difficile esprimere le proprie emozioni o il proprio disaccordo – un'area di ricerca futura?). Particolarmente interessante risulta la strategia linguistica della ripetizione, legata al bisogno d'interazione in un contesto di empatia: serve per sottolineare certi punti o rafforzare la comprensibilità del discorso, oltre che a promuovere la familiarità. Ne consegue la necessità di dare priorità alle tecniche di parafrasi nelle future linee guida dell'*Easy Language* nella comunicazione asimmetrica.

In ambito SELSI (esplorazione dei diversi aspetti della semplificazione linguistica in contesti orali) si muovono anche PIERGIORGIO TREVISAN e DRAGO BRUMEN, che hanno analizzato i dati raccolti ed elaborati in Italia fra operatori e utenti finali della Lingua Facile Parlata (SEL) in diversi contesti laddove ha luogo una comunicazione bidirezionale (scuole, centri diurni, istituti di assistenza sanitaria, ecc.). Lo studio tiene conto anche dei dati raccolti presso professionisti SEL (presentatori, speaker, produttori mediatici, narratori audio, ecc.) che producono contenuti orali per persone con bisogni supplementari. Vengono messi in evidenza aspetti sia linguistici sia non linguistici che svolgono un ruolo decisivo nella comunicazione semplificata: le strategie linguistiche, le strategie di miglioramento della testualità e della conversazione, le strategie di coinvolgimento dell'ascoltatore, l'uso di materiali multimodali. Per esempio, l'impiego di *signpost language*, singole parole, espressio-

ni brevi o lunghe, intere frasi, aiuta a strutturare le diverse parti testuali e a chiarire le relazioni logico-semantiche; il ricorso alle metafore può semplificare concetti più astratti e potenzialmente complicati; l'uso di unità linguistiche e particelle che, lungi dal trasmettere un contenuto specifico legato alla rappresentazione di processi, entità e circostanze sul piano semantico, hanno soprattutto un elevato potenziale interpersonale (ah, sì, ok, tutto bene...); infine i materiali multimodali (immagini, disegni, canzoni, effetti sonori, ecc.) possono contribuire a creare ambienti plurisensoriali, con ricadute positive sulla comunicazione con persone che necessitano di supporto linguistico, a condizione che fattori come leggibilità, organizzazione, strutturazione (*scaffolding*) e personalizzazione siano presi in considerazione e incorporati nella fase di progettazione. Nel complesso emerge un buon allineamento (tranne pochissime eccezioni) fra le strategie impiegate generalmente dagli operatori e quelle che gli utenti finali considerano più utili. I professionisti SEL stanno procedendo sulla strada giusta, ma rimangono pur sempre aree potenzialmente suscettibili di miglioramenti futuri.

La strumentalità, pur essendo un argomento di frequente citato nelle analisi tematiche, raramente viene considerata un elemento linguistico a sé stante. Si tratta di un concetto molto ampio, che è spesso presente nell'uso quotidiano del linguaggio, in modo più o meno palese, ma con diversità da una lingua all'altra in termini di espressione e di criteri interpretativi. ELISABETH BRAEM analizza le diverse tipologie linguistiche e i modelli che sottendono l'espressione di diversi ruoli strumentali in olandese e in italiano insieme alla funzione dei gesti nella strumentalità. Vengono messi in campo i paradigmi della grammatica cognitiva e della grammatica delle costruzioni per far luce sui processi che influenzano l'espressione e le varie tipologie di strumentalità. In particolare, vengono presi in esame i verbi di *cut and break* (C&B), che presentano caratteristiche interessanti, ai fini dell'espressione multimodale della strumentalità. I dati empirici sono tratti da un corpus multimodale basato sull'uso, generato tramite esperimenti con dodici parlanti nativi in italiano e in olandese. L'analisi del corpus consiste nella libera descrizione di stimoli che rappresentano eventi C&B da parte di parlanti nativi e mostra che la strumentalità può assumere quasi tutte le funzioni grammaticali e risulta derivare dalla costruzione congiunta di significato tra due partecipanti alla ricerca di presupposti condivisi.

VALERIO FURNERI utilizza Galileo Galilei a mo' di esempio per sottolineare come l'attività scientifica si configuri in una dialettica incessante tra vecchi e nuovi saperi, tanto più accesa con l'emergere delle scienze empiriche, che si emancipano dalla stretta della vecchia scolastica, rigidamente controllata dalla Chiesa. Ed è qui che entra in scena Galileo, uno dei primi a mettere in discussione il sistema tolemaico a favore di quello copernicano, utilizzando l'italiano nelle sue argomentazioni, a scapito del latino, lingua franca della scienza fino ad allora. Il suo trattato "Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo" è del 1632 e viene tradotto in tedesco più di 250 anni dopo, con difficoltà legate non solo alla diacronia (l'uso di una lingua in parte obsoleta) ma anche al fatto che certi contenuti erano stati ormai superati da nuove conoscenze. Il traduttore sfrutta le risorse linguistiche del tedesco per inter-

pretare, chiarire e modernizzare contenuti in parte datati, dimostrando l'importanza del multilinguismo nella comunicazione scientifica.

Nel suo articolo ELIE KALLAS, attingendo al bagaglio di tradizioni popolari, musicali e teatrali del Libano, terra martoriata, difficilmente riconoscibile rispetto al paese di sogno che l'autore aveva lasciato anni e anni fa, apre una finestra sui suoi ricordi, i suoi sogni di pace, incarnati nella voce magica della cantante libanese Fairuz, sulla base delle composizioni musicali dei fratelli Rahbani. Le loro canzoni, le operette e le commedie musicali, concepite ed eseguite in vernacolo libanese, sono state oggetto di ricerca per lo più in lingua araba; da qui talvolta l'imprecisa rappresentazione data dagli studiosi occidentali. L'autore si lancia nell'impresa di illustrare e tradurre in parte le loro opere teatrali, in un progetto avviato ormai da una ventina d'anni, allo scopo di far conoscere – presso il grande pubblico e gli studiosi – il teatro nazionale libanese creato dai fratelli Rahbani e portato in scena dalla stella di Fairuz: un patrimonio popolare, linguistico e artistico minacciato di estinzione. In questo caso si tratta dell'operetta *Mays er-Rim*, una sorta di Romeo e Giulietta, in cui, però, viene gioiosamente ribaltato il destino tragico dei due amanti, invischiati nella faida infinita delle loro famiglie.

Risale agli anni 80 del secolo scorso l'idea di ricorrere alla *peer review* (revisione tra pari) – così importante nella ricerca - nei corsi di scrittura per l'apprendimento di una seconda lingua (L2). Nonostante le evidenze scientifiche a sostegno di una tale iniziativa si siano consolidate col passare degli anni, all'Università di Trieste solo con lo scoppio della pandemia di covid-19 si è deciso di lanciare una simile attività nell'ambito del modulo di inglese accademico (AEM) a beneficio dei dottorandi. KATIA PERUZZO riflette su un caso di studio in cui appunto la revisione tra pari degli *abstract* degli studenti viene introdotta come una “nuova” metodologia didattica nell'AEM impartito a distanza a causa della pandemia. Attraverso la somministrazione di due questionari, la docente ricava informazioni interessanti sugli atteggiamenti e sui *feedback* degli studenti impegnati in due compiti di *peer review*, anche alla luce della dicotomia tra insegnamento in remoto e insegnamento presenziale. Ne scaturisce una riflessione critica sull'esperienza in associazione al tentativo di enunciare piani concreti per fare della revisione tra pari uno strumento da inserire in pianta stabile nei futuri AEM: per esempio realizzare una valutazione delle competenze scritte di *Academic English* all'inizio del modulo per comprendere con precisione il fabbisogno dei dottorandi e mettere quindi a punto un approccio *learner-centred* dettagliato e coinvolgente; oppure prevedere quest'attività nel corso del secondo anno del percorso formativo linguistico, una volta che il dottorando abbia acquisito maggiore dimestichezza con le caratteristiche e le convenzioni dell'inglese accademico.

Qual è il grado di fiducia e di affidamento che il traduttore in formazione ripone nella *Machine Translation* (MT)? Questa è la domanda da cui muove CARLA QUINCI nell'ambito del progetto LeMaTTT, uno studio empirico dell'impatto che la traduzione automatica neurale (NMT) potrebbe avere sullo sviluppo di competenze te-

matiche e di estrazione dati (*info-mining*) da parte degli studenti di traduzione giuridica. Sono infatti studenti del primo e del secondo anno di Laurea magistrale in Traduzione presso l'Università di Padova i traduttori in formazione che compongono il campione in esame, caratterizzato da un variegato retroterra formativo. L'incarico loro assegnato consiste o in un *post-editing* o in una traduzione *ex novo*, sempre nella stessa direzionalità, dall'inglese in italiano, sempre con la stessa tipologia testuale. Sia prima che dopo il compito loro attribuito, gli studenti devono rispondere a un questionario per verificare se e come fanno uso della MT per incarichi di traduzione specialistica oltre che sul grado di fiducia e sulla loro percezione riguardo ai testi prodotti dalla *Machine Translation*. L'analisi prende in considerazione sia le tendenze che emergono all'interno di ciascun gruppo sia quelle relative al confronto tra i due gruppi, sulla base delle differenze secondo (a) la tipologia di compito svolto e (b) il grado di formazione e di esperienza dei partecipanti nella traduzione specialistica e nel *post-editing*. I questionari permettono inoltre di correlare tali tendenze all'autovalutazione e alla difficoltà percepita dell'incarico. I risultati mostrano che la *Machine Translation* è percepita come uno strumento affidabile, in grado di rendere più spedito il processo traduttivo e di fornire equivalenti terminologici possibili, ma sempre alla luce di una necessaria revisione. La MT inoltre sembra diminuire la difficoltà percepita del testo originale (ST), e aumenta la qualità percepita del testo tradotto (TT) nel gruppo degli studenti meno esperti e meno competenti.

Numerosi sono gli studi sulla presenza di elementi turchi nelle lingue europee, in particolare in quelle dell'Europa sudorientale, per secoli sottoposta al dominio ottomano, ma non mancano lavori poderosi anche sulle influenze identificabili in polacco e in russo. Sembra invece latitante l'interesse degli studiosi per lo slovacco (al pari dell'ucraino e del ceco). Per colmare almeno in parte questa lacuna, LUCIANO ROCCHI ha passato in rassegna il lemmario del *Historický slovník slovenského jazyka* (HSSJ), un dizionario storico pubblicato dall'Accademia delle Scienze di Bratislava tra il 1991 e il 2008, che copre il lessico slovacco dall'11° al 18° secolo. L'autore ha enucleato una serie di parole di origine turco-ottomana attestate in fonti slovacche anteriori all'800. Si tratta di lessemi la cui etimologia può essere fatta risalire a una voce ottomana, a prescindere dal fatto che sia autoctona o presa in prestito da altre lingue come arabo o persiano. Per ogni lemma vengono forniti, oltre alle eventuali varianti, il significato in italiano, la data di prima attestazione, la voce turco-ottomana fonte ultima del prestito, le varietà parlate, l'intermediario (molto spesso l'ungherese) attraverso cui la parola è giunta in slovacco, e infine i riferimenti bibliografici relativi alla voce.

CHIARA SARNI presenta uno studio empirico incentrato su uno degli "universali della traduzione", cioè l'interferenza, come dall'elaborazione di Gideon Toury nel 1995, secondo cui le traduzioni tendono a sottorappresentare le caratteristiche della lingua di arrivo e a sovrarappresentare quelle della lingua di partenza: in traduzione si parla di *transfer* negativo per gli scostamenti dalle pratiche consolidate del sistema linguistico di arrivo a causa di fattori testuali, linguistici e socio-culturali, e di *transfer* positivo per la valorizzazione di strutture comuni a entrambi i sistemi

linguistici interessati. Nella sua ricerca l'autrice unisce gli universali della traduzione alla linguistica dei *corpora*, testando l'influsso del francese, lingua di lavoro della Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea (CGUE), sulla versione spagnola e su quella italiana delle sentenze emesse dalla medesima. Ha non solo creato un corpus ad hoc di traduzioni ma lo ha anche messo a confronto con il corpus di riferimento trilingue COSPE, contenente sentenze penali in spagnolo, italiano e inglese emesse nel periodo compreso tra il 2005 e il 2012. In particolare, vengono presentati un caso di *transfer* positivo, l'esplicitazione del soggetto (visto che in francese il soggetto deve essere obbligatoriamente espresso, a differenza dell'italiano e dello spagnolo), e un caso di *transfer* negativo, le diverse frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive. I risultati relativi alle sentenze in spagnolo e italiano della CGUE effettivamente confermano l'ipotesi di partenza. I giuristi linguisti della Corte, nelle loro traduzioni in italiano e in spagnolo, tendono a ricalcare gli usi del francese per l'esplicitazione del soggetto e a ricorrere a preposizioni complesse che assomigliano a quelle francesi più che a quelle generalmente impiegate nelle sentenze nazionali. Emerge, inoltre, il potenziale d'uso delle sentenze emesse dalla Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea per la ricerca degli universali della traduzione, per esempio la semplificazione, la normalizzazione e le collocazioni atipiche.

L'articolo di MATILDE SOLIANI s'impenna sul romanzo neerlandese *Rituelen* di Cees Nooteboom del 1980, che nella sua ricchezza di *realia* ha costituito uno spunto di riflessione sul piano delle competenze interculturali acquisite dagli studenti e dalle studentesse del terzo anno del corso di Laurea in Comunicazione interlinguistica applicata e del primo e secondo anno del corso di Laurea magistrale in Traduzione specialistica e interpretazione di conferenza, presso l'Università di Trieste. La ricerca è stata condotta nell'ambito del progetto *Dutch Literature in Translation*, che dal 2019 coinvolge dodici atenei europei coordinati dall'Università di Vienna e dall'Università di Wroclaw. Il team triestino di dieci studenti e studentesse si è cimentato in un approccio comparativo in ottica transnazionale, in cui sono state prese in considerazione cinque lingue diverse: il neerlandese come lingua di partenza e l'italiano, il francese, l'inglese e il tedesco come lingua di arrivo. Dall'originale in neerlandese sono stati selezionati dodici frammenti contenenti *realia*. Tramite un questionario i partecipanti dovevano riferire l'esito del confronto tra testo di partenza e di arrivo, analizzando le tecniche utilizzate e/o esprimendo una reazione personale alla soluzione traduttiva o proponendo un'alternativa. L'autrice si sofferma sui risultati relativi a sei elementi culturo-specifici, raggruppabili in due casi di studio tematici: la presenza della Storia e il ricorso all'eterolinguisimo. Per ogni caso di studio sono analizzate le diverse tecniche traduttive oltre ai commenti degli studenti in un'ottica transnazionale.

Buona lettura dunque

# Intralinguale Übersetzung von Rechtstexten in Easy Language(s): syntaktische Aspekte der deutschen und französischen Fassung des Schweizer Behindertengleichstellungsgesetzes (BehiG)“

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores some aspects of Syntax and Textual Grammar in the French and German Easy Language Version of the Swiss *Bundesgesetz über die Beseitigung von Benachteiligungen von Menschen mit Behinderungen* (BehiG; „Federal Act on the Elimination of Discrimination against People with Disabilities“). The study focuses on two main questions: How is linguistic complexity reduced? Do simplification strategies differ in the two languages? Special attention is paid to one of the main problems in translations into Easy Language, i.e. to unintentionally increasing complexity when trying to simplify. To answer the two questions, the wording in BehiG extracts is analysed and compared to the recommendations published in different Easy Language manuals, e.g. the *Inclusion Europe* standards or the German recommendations in Bredel/Maaß 2016b and *Netzwerk Leichte Sprache*.

## KEYWORDS

German Easy Language, intralingual translation, legal texts, Leichte Sprache, Einfache Sprache

## 1. EINLEITUNG<sup>1</sup>

Während die Idee der Barrierefreiheit international ein gut eingeführtes Konzept ist, stehen die Forderung nach *sprachlicher* Barrierefreiheit und die gesetzliche und praktische Umsetzung derselben in vielen Ländern noch in den Anfängen. Tatsächlich formuliert die 2008 in Kraft getretene UN-Behindertenrechtskonvention noch keine Empfehlung zu Barrierefreiheit von Texten, sondern fördert lediglich den gleichberechtigten „Zugang zu Information und Kommunikation“ (Art. 9 Abs. 1), und dies in „zugänglichen Formaten“ (Art. 21). Ausdrücklich *sprachliche* Zugänglichkeit fordert die von der EU unterstützte Initiative *Inclusion Europe*<sup>2</sup>, die 2009 die sogenannten „Easy-to-read standards“ für die Abfassung leicht lesbarer Texte veröffentlicht. Diese Standards sind zunächst sprachübergreifend gedacht, im Unterschied zu anderen auf einzelne Sprachen zugeschnittenen Regelwerken (vgl. 2.1 und 2.2). Sie liegen aktuell in 18 Sprachen<sup>3</sup> vor und wurden bei der Übertragung in andere Sprachen inhaltlich größtenteils übernommen und durch jeweils ein knappes auf die betreffende Sprache bezogenes Unterkapitel ergänzt. Auf die französische Übersetzung wird im folgenden mit *InclEurFr*, auf die deutsche Übersetzung mit *InclEurDt* verwiesen.

Neben diesen sprachübergreifend angelegten Richtlinien begegnet man in einigen Sprachen bereits mehreren – wissenschaftlich begründeten wie auch laiensprachlichen – Regelwerken (für Deutsch z.B. den Regeln des *Netzwerks leichte Sprache*, vgl. 2.1) sowie den Definitionen von Schwierigkeitsniveaus, z.B. *Leichte Sprache – Leichte Sprache plus – Einfache Sprache* (für Deutsch vgl. Maaß/Maaß 2022, Hansen-Schirra et al. 2020: 197; für Finnisch, Lettisch und Schwedisch vgl. Leskelä 2021: 163ff.; Anča & Melņika 2021: 309), während die Bearbeitung des Themas für andere, u.a. für die romanischen Sprachen, erst begonnen hat (2.).

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzt sich ausgehend von einem konkreten Rechtstext und seiner Übersetzung in *Easy Language*-Varianten des Deutschen und Französischen mit zwei Fragen auseinander: Wie manifestiert sich die syntaktische und textgrammatische Komplexitätsreduktion bzw. Vereinfachung in intralingualen Übersetzungen von Rechts- und Verwaltungstexten? Im Mittelpunkt stehen dabei die folgenden drei Aspekte: 1. die infiniten Formulierungen mit ihren sprachspezifischen Komplexitätsgraden, 2. die Herstellung von Konnektivität in Satzgefügen, 3. die transphrastische Verknüpfung durch Anaphern und Kataphern. Darüber hinaus wurden punktuell einige Aspekte von Genus verbi und Negation behandelt. Daran

1 Die Forschungsfragen und das Untersuchungsdesign wurden gemeinsam konzipiert. Ausführungen zur deutschen Sprache: Rocco, Ausführungen zur französischen Sprache: Nicklaus, Einleitung und Fazit: beide Autorinnen.

2 Im weiteren abgekürzt: *InclEur*.

3 Stand am 1.9.2023: Albanisch, Deutsch, Englisch, Estnisch, Finnisch, Französisch, Italienisch, Kroatisch, Lettisch, Litauisch, Polnisch, Portugiesisch, Serbisch, Slowakisch, Slowenisch, Spanisch, Tschechisch, Ungarisch. Vgl. <https://www.inclusion-europe.eu/easy-to-read-standards-guidelines/> (Zugriff am 1.9.2023)



schließt die Frage nach intersprachlichen Unterschieden an: Welche Tendenzen zeigen sich beim Vergleich der Ergebnisse dieser Vereinfachungsverfahren, gibt es sprachspezifische Tendenzen?

Analysiert wurden exemplarisch die ersten fünf Artikel des 2004 in Kraft getretenen Gesetzestextes *Schweizer Bundesgesetze über die Beseitigung von Benachteiligungen von Menschen mit Behinderungen* (auch *Behindertengleichstellungsgesetz* genannt, im Folgenden *BehiG*), das, wie auch andere Gesetzestexte der Föderation, in mehreren Sprachen<sup>4</sup> und darüber hinaus in drei sprachlich vereinfachten Fassungen vorliegt (*Leichte Sprache*, *Langue facile à lire et à comprendre* und *Linguaggio semplice*<sup>5</sup>) und sich daher als Gegenstand einer vergleichenden Untersuchung besonders eignet.

Punktuell soll auf die erste der von von Peruzzo und Rocco im Abschnitt *Current language accessibility related issues and desiderata* (2022: 11-15) hervorgehobenen Qualitätsanforderungen eingegangen werden:

1. *Reducing complexity without increasing complexity*
2. *Profiling target groups and establishing appropriate degrees of simplification*
3. *Addressing shared problems with possibly shared solutions*
4. *Narrowing the gap between research and practice*
5. *Fostering higher education courses and professional training*
6. *Overcoming reservations*

Vor der Analyse soll ein kurzer Überblick über die Richtlinien in beiden anvisierten Sprachen gegeben werden.

## 2. BLICK AUF DIE RICHTLINIEN ZU SPRACHLICHER VEREINFACHUNG

Die „Easy-to-read standards“ von *Inclusion Europe* umfassen sprachübergreifende Hinweise, die in allen Versionen übernommen werden. Für die hier behandelten Forschungsfragen sind Empfehlungen aus den folgenden Abschnitten interessant: „Allgemeine Regeln für leicht verständliche Informationen“ (9-11, Unterabschnitte „Wörter“, „Sätze“)/„Règles générales pour les informations faciles à comprendre“ (9-12, Unterabschnitte „Les mots“, „Les phrases“) und Abschnitt 2 „Regeln für geschriebene Informationen“ (12-22, Unterabschnitt „Wie man einen Text schreibt“)/

- 4 Neben den Nationalsprachen Deutsch, Französisch, Italienisch und Rätoromanisch findet man auch eine englische Übersetzung, vgl. <https://www.fedlex.admin.ch/eli/cc/2003/667/en> (Zugriff 2.2.23).
- 5 Hier werden vollständigkeithalber alle drei sprachlich vereinfachten Varietäten genannt, obwohl nur die deutsche und die französische analysiert wurden. Es ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass für Französisch und Italienisch die Terminologie wenig einheitlich ist (Peruzzo/Rocco 2022: 13).

Règles spécifiques aux informations écrites (13-25, Unterabschnitt: „Ecrire un texte“). Zu nennen sind:

- Konnektivität: Bevorzugung kurzer Sätze. Abschnitt 1: Regel 14 und Abschnitt 2: Regel 19; „Schreiben Sie nur einen Gedanken in einem Satz“ *InclEurDt*, S. 17; /“écrire une seule idée par phrase“ *InclEurFr*, S. 19).
- Textgrammatik: Eindeutige Referenz bei Nomen und Pronomen. Abschnitt 1: Regel 9 und Abschnitt 2: Regel 12. „Verwenden Sie im ganzen Text dasselbe Wort für dieselbe Sache“ (S. 10)/ „Utilisez le même mot pour parler de la même chose dans tout le document (S. 10). „Seien Sie vorsichtig, wenn Sie Pronomen verwenden. (...) Achten Sie darauf, dass immer eindeutig klar ist, wer oder was gemeint ist.“ (S. 15)/ „Faites attention à l’utilisation des pronoms (...) Vérifiez qu’il est toujours clair de qui ou de quoi parle le pronom“ (S. 18). Darüber hinaus sind die Empfehlungen zur Vermeidung von Negation (Abschnitt 1, Regel 16), und von Passiv (Abschnitt 1, Regel 17) zu erwähnen, die in der hier vorgenommenen Analyse punktuell aufgegriffen werden.

Es lässt sich insgesamt feststellen, dass zum einen zu den Infinitivstrukturen keine expliziten Regeln vorliegen (das Prinzip der Satzkürze jedoch indirekt auch Infinitive betrifft) und zum anderen relativ wenige Empfehlungen die jeweils anvisierten Strukturen explizit und terminologisch klar nennen: So ist aus Empfehlungen wie „19. Schreiben Sie kurze Sätze. (...) Schreiben Sie nur einen Gedanken in einen Satz. (...) Machen Sie einen Punkt und fangen Sie einen neuen Satz an“ (S. 17) eher indirekt abzuleiten, dass bevorzugt einfache und kurze Hauptsätze verwendet werden sollen. Am Ende des zweiten Abschnitts werden jeweils (wenige) sprachspezifische Empfehlungen ergänzt, die allerdings syntaktisch und textgrammatisch nicht relevant sind (*InclEurDt*, S. 23; *InclEurFr*, S. 25).<sup>6</sup>

## 2.1. DEUTSCH

Das Ziel dieses Abschnitts ist, die auf die deutsche Sprache zugeschnittenen Empfehlungen zur Syntax und Textgrammatik zu skizzieren. Für einen Überblick über die inzwischen breit gefächerte und ausdifferenzierte Forschung sei hier auf die einschlägige Fachliteratur verwiesen (Maaß 2020, 2021, Bredel/Maaß 2016a, Maaß/Schwengberg 2022, Bock 2019).

Zunächst ist anzumerken, dass sich die vorhandenen Regelwerke hinsichtlich ihrer sprachwissenschaftlichen bzw. laienlinguistischen Fundierung unterscheiden. So stehen auf der einen Seite die in Bredel und Maaß (2016a, b) und auch Maaß (2020) systematisch dargestellten und ausführlich diskutierten bzw. begründeten Regeln,

6 Für das Deutsche betreffen diese Empfehlungen lange Wörter und Komposita, Tempora, Gendern und Zahlwörter (S. 23).

und auf der anderen Seite die insgesamt eher laiensprachlich-intuitiv formulierten Regelwerke wie das vom *Netzwerk Leichte Sprache* (im Folgenden NLS), die *BitV* (Verordnung zur Schaffung barrierefreier Informationstechnik) und die *InclEurDt*, d.h. die oben behandelte deutsche Fassung der Regeln von *Inclusion Europe*.

Ebenfalls an ein breites, linguistisch nicht vorgebildetes Publikum richten sich die neu aufgelegten Empfehlungen im *Netzwerk Leichte Sprache* (2022)<sup>7</sup>: Relevant für die vorliegende Studie sind einige der in folgenden Kapiteln enthaltenen Regeln: „Wörter“ (Regeln W1-W12, S. 11), „Sätze“ (Regeln S1-S4, S. 29), „Texte“ (Regeln T1-T4 S. 41). Der o.g. textgrammatisch relevanten Empfehlung von *InclEurDt* entspricht hier *W4. Benutzen Sie immer die gleichen Wörter für die gleichen Dinge* (S. 14). Die Konnektivität wird in mehreren Empfehlungen angesprochen. Die als „neue Regel“ ausgewiesene Regel S1 (*Benutzen Sie kurze Sätze. Machen Sie in jedem Satz nur eine Aussage*) veranschaulicht anhand der Beispiele, dass nicht nur Satzgefüge (der Relativsatz „Das Buch, das auf dem Tisch liegt ...“), sondern auch einfache Sätze mit komplexen Nominalausdrücken („Ich habe meinem guten Freund Leo ein Buch über die Geschichte von Berlin geliehen“) in mehrere Hauptsätze aufzulösen sind. Weitere „neue Regeln“ betreffen:

- die empfohlene unmarkierte Wortfolge (*S2. Benutzen Sie einen einfachen Satzbau. Schreiben Sie die Wörter in dieser Reihenfolge: • Erst steht: Wer macht etwas? • Dann steht: Was macht die Person? (...) Schlecht: Die Rechnung bezahlt Frau Weber. Gut: Frau Weber bezahlt die Rechnung; S. 31*).
- elliptische Strukturen, die hier „erlaubt“ sind, wodurch also indirekt von zusammengezogenen Strukturen abgeraten wird: *S3. Sie dürfen verkürzte Sätze benutzen. (...) Schlecht: Wollen Sie nach Berlin oder nach Hamburg fahren? Gut: Wollen Sie nach Berlin fahren? Oder nach Hamburg? (S. 32f.)*
- die Erklärung und Exemplifizierung der Fachbegriffe Haupt- und Nebensatz (34f.): *S4. Trennen Sie lange Sätze. Vermeiden Sie Nebensätze. Benutzen Sie besser mehrere Hauptsätze.* Dabei wird auch von in der Praxis der Leichten Sprache oft verwendeten *weil*-Sätzen abgeraten und der Ersatz durch *deshalb* empfohlen: Dieser Punkt wurde früher nur im sprachwissenschaftlich begründeten Regelwerk von Bredel und Maaß (2016a,b) beachtet, nicht aber in früheren Fassungen des Regelwerks *Netzwerk Leichte Sprache* (vgl. Bredel/Maaß 2016a: 384f.).

Textgrammatisch sind für diese Arbeit die folgenden Regeln von Relevanz: persönliche Ansprache durch deiktische Pronomina anstelle unpersönlicher Konstruktionen (*T1. Sprechen Sie die Leser und Leserinnen persönlich an.*), Vermeidung von Querverweisen (*T3. Schreiben Sie alles zusammen, was zusammen gehört. Vermeiden Sie Verweise. Verweisen Sie nicht auf andere Stellen im Text.*)

7 Netzwerk Leichte Sprache (2022) [https://www.leichte-sprache.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Regelwerk\\_NLS\\_Neuauf12022\\_web.pdf](https://www.leichte-sprache.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Regelwerk_NLS_Neuauf12022_web.pdf) (Zugriff 30.8.23).

Die BITV 2.0 (Barrierefreie-Informationstechnik-Verordnung 2.0) bietet in der Anlage 2, Teil 2 u.a. Regeln für „die Bereitstellung von Informationen in Leichter Sprache im Internet oder Intranet“. Dort heißt es unter 5: „Es sind kurze Sätze mit klarer Satzgliederung zu bilden.“ und unter 2 wird formuliert: „Die Leserinnen oder Leser sollten, soweit inhaltlich sinnvoll, persönlich angesprochen werden“. Darüber hinaus wird unter 1 empfohlen u.a. Verneinungen und Passiv zu vermeiden.

Schließlich sei nur kurz auf das Regelwerk von Bredel und Maaß (2016a) verwiesen, das im Unterschied zu den erwähnten, sichtlich um Verbesserung bemühten, jedoch immer noch nicht vollständigen Richtlinien im Netzwerk Leichte Sprache vielfältige Aspekte erfasst und begründet. Im Folgenden seien diese mit Blick auf die Fragestellungen dieser Arbeit kurz systematisiert:

1. Auf die gesonderte Behandlung von infiniten Formulierungen wird unter dem Verweis auf Analogien zu den – im Buch behandelten – Adverbial- und Ergänzungssätzen verwiesen.<sup>8</sup> Infinite Formen kommen z.B. im Abschnitt „Mittelfeldentlastung“ zur Sprache: Beim Hinweis auf den Nachteil der analytischen Realisierung von Tempusformen, da zu weite Entfernung zwischen finitem und infinitem Prädikatsbestandteil das Verständnis erschwert und daher bei Perfektkonstruktionen komplexe Mittelfelder entlastet werden müssen (Bredel/Maaß 2016a: 494; vgl. auch die Ausführungen auf S. 538)
2. Herstellung von Konnektivität in Satzgefügen: Nebensätze, darunter auch Relativsätze sind in Leichter Sprache nicht lizenziert. (ibid., S. 15, 383, 401)
3. transphrastische Verknüpfung durch Anaphern und Kataphern: Es wird empfohlen auf anaphorische Pronomina zu verzichten (ibid., S. 374).

## 2.2 FRANZÖSISCH

Neben den in 2.1. erwähnten *InclEur*-Standards liegen für sprachliche Komplexitätsreduktion im Französischen spezifischere Richtlinien bisher z.B. für rechnergestützte Textvereinfachung vor („automatic text simplification“, ATS; Brouwers et al. 2014, 47). Brouwers et al. (2012) erarbeiten einen Katalog von Vereinfachungsstrategien auf der Basis der Einträge in der französischen Version von Wikidia<sup>9</sup>, einer für jugendliche Leser erstellten Version von Wikipédia. Für den Bereich „syntaxe“ ermitteln Brouwers et al. fünf übergeordnete Strategien: Wahl bestimmter Tempora, Auslassung, Modifikation, Teilung, Neugruppierung (ebd.: 215). Als Tempora z.B. sind *présent* und *passé composé* zu bevorzugen, unter „modification“ fällt z.B. die Umformulierung von Passiv in Aktiv (ebd.: 215, vgl. *InclEurFr*,

8 „Insgesamt nicht behandelt werden im vorliegenden Band Infinitivsätze (*Brutus kam, um zu töten; Brutus versprach, Cäsar zu töten*), die häufig analog zu Adverbialsätzen und Ergänzungssätzen behandelt werden können.“ (Bredel/Maaß 2016a: 386)

9 Brouwers et al. nutzen lediglich die französische Wikidia, es gibt diese vereinfachte Version jedoch auch in anderen Sprachen.

Abschnitt 1: Regel 17, S. 12). Ausgelassen werden sollen Präpositionalergänzungen (*compléments circonstanciels*, ebd.: 215) und Adverbien (*relativement*, ebd.: 215). Dies entspricht der generellen Regel in *InclEur*, nur wichtige Informationen zu geben (*InclEurFr*, Abschnitt 2: Regel 22, S. 20). Die Strategie der Modifikation betrifft die Umformulierung von negativen in positive Formulierungen (ebd.: 215-16), Teilungen und Neugruppierungen betreffen lange Satzperioden, die aufgespalten oder neu verknüpft werden (ebd.: 216).

Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia (2020) legen eigene Regeln für FALC, „facile à lire et à comprendre“ vor, die auf Korpora des gesprochenen Französisch basieren. Die Autorinnen weichen bewusst z.T. von den *InclEur*-Standards ab, die noch zu vage, zu intuitiv seien und nicht nach Textsorten und Zielgruppen differenzierten (Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia 2020: 184). Laut Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia hätten eine Reihe von Fragen (ebd.: 185) vor der Erstellung der Regel-Liste beantwortet werden müssen, etwa nach der Definition von „mot“ und „mot complexe“. Die von den Autorinnen schließlich erstellten einfachen Texte richten sich an junge Migrant\*innen, „Mineurs non accompagnés“ (MNA), deren Französisch-Kenntnisse nicht ausreichen, um die Mitteilungen der Ämter zu verstehen. Basis für diese einfachen Texte ist der von Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia erarbeitete Merkmalkatalog für FALC, in den sowohl die Beobachtungen aus Studien zu gesprochener Sprache als auch die Standards von *InclEur* (ebd.: 189) integriert wurden. Hinsichtlich der syntaktischen Gestaltung wird, neben der Bevorzugung von aktivischen Formulierungen und analytisch gebildeten Tempora auch der Einsatz von Fügungen mit *verbes support* (etwa: ‘Funktionsverben’) empfohlen. Adjektive sollten, aufgrund eines relativ seltenen Vorkommens in gesprochener Sprache, vermieden werden, Nebensätze dagegen sollen, anders als z.B. bei Maaß (2015: 100<sup>10</sup>), wenigstens zum Teil zugelassen werden. Restriktive Relativsätze etwa und mit *parce que* eingeleitete Kausalsätze sind gestattet, auch die Verknüpfung von immerhin bis zu drei Propositionen ist akzeptabel (ebd., 190). Die Empfehlungen in *InclEurFr* lassen ebenfalls Nebensatzfolgen zu, jedoch typographisch markiert als Punktliste (*InclEurFr*, Abschnitt 2: Regel 27, S. 22).

Da Wörter in schon präformierten, komplexen Ausdrücken gebunden sein können, in „configurations syntaxiques particulières (des collocations, des chunks, des expressions figées) qui sont prioritairement mémorisées“ (Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia 2020, 188) sollen solche als Ganzes abrufbare Ausdrücke bevorzugt eingesetzt werden („on privilégiera les formes figées“, ebd., 190).

10 Auch Brouwers et al (2012: 218) lassen vom System nur „une partie des subordonnées“ löschen („suppression“) - erklären allerdings nicht, welche Nebensätze zu diesem Teil gehören.

### 3. ANALYSE

#### 3.1 DER UNTERSUCHTE KONTEXT

Was das Angebot an sprachlich vereinfachten Informationen auf institutionellen Seiten betrifft, so ergeben sich im internationalen, aber auch im international-int-ralingualen Vergleich bedeutende Unterschiede. Anders als in Deutschland und in Österreich sind die Texte in italienischen und französischen *Easy Language(s)* in den jeweiligen Ländern insgesamt eher Ausnahme als Regel bzw. auf wenigen institutionellen Internetseiten zu finden. Was jedoch die Schweiz angeht, so sind auf institutionellen Seiten verschiedene auf Verständigung und Verständlichkeit ausgerichtete bürgernahe Initiativen<sup>11</sup> zu finden. In der mehrsprachigen Schweiz haben Bemühungen um sprachliche Klarheit und Verständlichkeit eine lange Tradition (vgl. Canavese 2022), die sich in zahlreichen Regelungen, Maßnahmen und wissenschaftlichen Publikationen und Projekten reflektieren: Erwähnt sei als Beispiel die jüngste Publikation von Ferrari/Pecorari (2022). Andererseits muss aber auch festgestellt werden, dass bislang nicht viele institutionelle Seiten eine Auswahl an Texten in *Easy Language* bieten.

Die hier analysierten Texte findet man auf der „Rechte für Menschen mit Behinderungen in zugänglichen Formaten“ betitelten Webseite des Bundesrates *Der Bundesrat / Das Portal der Schweizer Regierung*<sup>12</sup>. Dort wiederum sind zwei thematisch relevante Dokumente in Leichter Sprache, das *Behindertengleichstellungsgesetz* (BehiG) und die *Vereinbarung über die Rechte von Menschen mit Behinderungen* (BRK) in den drei Amtssprachen deutsch, französisch, italienisch veröffentlicht.

In den folgenden Abschnitten werden die Erklärungen<sup>13</sup> in *Easy Language* im Hinblick auf ausgewählte morphosyntaktische und textgrammatische Merkmale analysiert. Im Vordergrund stehen die Bildung von infiniten Formulierungen sowie die Herstellung von Konnektivität in Satzgefügen und von transphrastischen Verknüpfungen durch z.B. Anaphern und Kataphern.

11 Z.B. „Einfache Antworten zum Leben in der Schweiz“/“Risposte semplici sulla vita in Svizzera“ mit praxisnahen Informationen über Abstimmungen und Wahlen, Arbeit, Gesundheit, Wohnen usw.

12 Vgl. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/de/start/bundesrecht/10-jahre-behig.html> (Zugriff 3.9.2023).

13 Die Übertragung des BehiG in *EasyL* ist überschrieben mit „Gesetz [...] Erklärt in leichter Sprache“. Um Missverständnisse zu vermeiden, wird im weiteren beim Verweis auf den *EasyL*-Text nicht von „Erklärungen“ sondern von „Übersetzungen“, verstanden als intralinguale Übersetzungen, gesprochen.

In der Praxis der sprachlichen Vereinfachung und der Übersetzung in Leichte Sprache zeigen sich einige Probleme, auf die bereits in der Literatur hingewiesen wurde. Was die uns hier vorrangig interessierende syntaktische und textgrammatische Ebene betrifft, so stellt sich das grundsätzliche Problem, dass eine Vereinfachung auf einer (z.B. lexikalischen) Ebene Komplexitätssteigerung auf einer anderen Ebene (z.B. Satzbau, Länge der Nominalgruppen) nach sich ziehen kann (Hansen-Schirra et al. 2020, 200-201; Rocco 2021, 2023, Peruzzo/Rocco 2022). Ein anderes, anhand der Texte in Leichter Sprache beobachtetes Problem ist eine künstlich herbeigeführte, rein orthographische Kürzung von komplexen Satzstrukturen, die zwar auf den ersten Blick kurze und einfache Sätze hervorzubringen scheint. Die syntaktischen Bezüge jedoch heben wie bereits erwähnt diese künstlichen Satzgrenzen wieder auf, die ohnehin gegen die standardsprachlichen bzw. grammatischen Normen verstoßen.

Was bei einer ersten Durchsicht des Textes auffällt, ist erwartungsgemäß der Versuch, das Verständnis durch syntaktische Wiederholung und oft kanonische SVO-Strukturen sowie durch graphische Gestaltung zu erleichtern (Abstand, Einzüge). Doch wie auch die meisten in Leichter Sprache verfassten institutionellen Texte in Deutschland, Österreich, in der Schweiz und im Südtirol (Rocco 2022a, b), zeigen auch die sprachlichen Strategien, die im analysierten Text eingesetzt werden, wesentliche Unterschiede im Vergleich zum Regelwerk von Bredel und Maaß (2016a,b), welches u.a. Nebensätze und Nebensatzkonstruktionen, Passiv, Funktionsverbgefüge anaphorische Pronomina und das Indefinitpronomen *man* nicht zulässt.

### 3.2.1 INFINITE FORMEN UND DIE SATZKLAMMER

Aus syntaktischer Sicht sind zunächst einige komplexe Satzklammerstrukturen zu erwähnen. Im ersten zitierten Beispiel besteht die Satzklammer aus zwei Modalverben mit jeweils unterschiedlicher Deontik (finite Form von *sollen* in der linken und infinite Form von *können* in der rechten Klammer) und einem relativ langen Mittelfeld, das eine weitere infinite Form beinhaltet: *machen*. Der mit *das Gleiche machen* inhaltlich verbundene und mit *wie* eingeleitete Präpositionalausdruck ist hier ausgeklammert und dürfte eine weitere Verständnishürde bilden. Das zweite Beispiel veranschaulicht ein relativ langes Mittelfeld, das zwischen *können* und *machen* eingeschlossen ist.

Menschen mit Behinderungen sollen das Gleiche machen können  
wie Menschen ohne Behinderungen. (Artikel 1, S. 3)

Oder sie können etwas ein ganzes Leben lang nicht machen. (Art. 2, S. 4)

Allerdings ist auch die Frage nach alternativen Möglichkeiten, die komplexe Deontik eines Rechtstextes komplexitätsreduzierend auszudrücken, schwierig zu beantwor-

ten (z.B. *Menschen mit Behinderungen sollen keine Nachteile mehr haben*, Art. 5, S.: 9). In Betracht zu ziehen wäre evtl. eine überschriftartige inhaltliche Vorentlastung, die aber andererseits (wie andere Komplexitätsreduktionsverfahren durch Addition) die Textlänge noch weiter erhöhen würde.

### 3.2.2 KONNEKTIVITÄT UND SATZGEFÜGE

Was die Satzkonnektivität angeht, so treten im Text zum einen vom Bredel/Maaß-Regelwerk nicht zugelassene, jedoch in den früheren Versionen des *Netzwerks Leichte Sprache* noch akzeptierte Nebensatzkonnektoren (*weil*, *wenn*, *damit*) und nach dem relativ einfachen Prinzip Hauptsatz+ (postponierter) Nebensatz gebildete Strukturen auf. Zum anderen stößt man auch auf einige Satzgefüge, die gleichzeitig mehrere komplexitätssteigernde Eigenschaften vereinen.

Das Gesetz will helfen, dass Menschen mit Behinderungen gut leben können:

- ▶ Damit sie überall dabei sind.
- ▶ Damit sie ohne Hilfe andere Menschen treffen können.
- ▶ Damit sie lernen können.
- ▶ Damit sie arbeiten können.

Im hier zitierten Beispiel liegt ein komplexes Satzgefüge vor. Der *dass*-Satz verstößt gegen das Verbot von Nebensätzen und Subjunktionen, ebenso wie die drei subordinierten Teilsätze, die jedoch durch Großschreibung und graphische Gestaltung unabhängig wirken. Sie lassen sich als *verdeckte Nebensätze* im Sinne von Bredel/Maaß (2016a: 352) einstufen, oder allgemeiner als *versteckte Komplexität* im Sinne von Lasch 2013<sup>14</sup>. Aus der Perspektive der Komplexitätsreduktion können wir hier von einem Versuch sprechen, Komplexitätsreduktion graphisch (durch Gliederungszeichen und Einzüge) und durch syntaktisch-lexikalische Wiederholung (*damit sie...*) herbeizuführen, die Abhängigkeitsbeziehungen eines Satzgefüges (HS-NS) bleiben jedoch bestehen. Speziell zu den *damit*-Teilsätzen lässt sich Folgendes beobachten: Diese rein orthographisch herbeigeführte (und dabei der standardsprachlichen Rechtschreibung widersprechende) Unabhängigkeit, oder, wie Bredel und Maaß es formulieren, diese „mit der Interpunktion vorgetäuschte Unabhängigkeit der Teilsätze“ (2016a: 385) kann das Verständnis sogar hemmen, da der syntaktische und semantisch-logische Verarbeitungsprozess praktisch vorzeitig beendet wird.

Diese in institutionellen Texten in *Leichter Sprache* relativ häufig zu beobachtende orthographische Kennzeichnung von Finalsätzen mit *damit* als unabhängige Sätze bzw. Hauptsätze gehört (neben *weil*- und *wenn*-Sätzen) zu den Aspekten, in denen die Regelwerke divergieren: Die aktuelle Version des *Netzwerks Leichte Sprache*

14 Die betreffende Aussage lautet: „4. (Versteckte) Komplexe Sätze und Satzcellipsen in Texten sind nicht leicht zu verstehen.“



(2022) erlaubt, wie bereits ausgeführt, elliptische Strukturen, ältere Versionen lassen *weil*, *wenn* und *damit* in Subjunktorrolle zu, wohingegen Bredel und Maaß (2016a, b) generell für auch standardsprachlich zugelassene Strukturen plädieren.

Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch der Einsatz von *wenn*: Im folgenden komplexen, mehrere Abhängigkeitsstufen vorweisenden Satzgefüge sind mehrere mit *wenn* eingeleitete Nebensätze dem Hauptsatz vorangestellt und enden mit dem Punkt vor dem mit *weil* eingeleiteten Nebensatz. Der Teilsatz *Wenn sie zum Beispiel nicht in eine Wohnung gehen können* ist durch den Punkt vorn und hinten vom Resttext orthographisch abgetrennt, also topologisch schwer einstuftbar und ambig, insofern er als postponierter Nebensatz zu *Menschen mit Behinderungen können nicht überall hingehen* oder als anteponierter Nebensatz zu einem der nachfolgenden Teilsätze interpretiert werden könnte.

Menschen mit Behinderungen können nicht überall hingehen.

**Wenn**<sup>15</sup> sie (1) zum Beispiel nicht in eine Wohnung gehen können.

**Weil** es [sic] keinen Lift hat.

**Oder wenn** sie (2) nicht mit dem Zug fahren können.

**Weil** die Türe vom Zug nicht breit genug ist.

**Dann** haben sie (3) einen Nachteil. (Artikel 2, S. 5)

In diesem (*trotz* und teils sogar auch *wegen* der eingesetzten orthographischen Strategien) hochkomplexen Satzgefüge wird also ein Gefüge aus zwei koordinierten Nebensatzstrukturen (jeweils ein *wenn*-Nebensatz und ein davon abhängiger *weil*-Nebensatz) dem Hauptsatz zudem noch anteponiert. Der zitierte Ausschnitt vereint also die folgenden komplexitätssteigernden Merkmale: erstens findet man mehrere Nebensätze zweiter Ordnung; zweitens sind die erwähnten Nebensätze erster und zweiter Ordnung noch durch *oder* koordiniert, drittens die Nebensätze allesamt in Voranstellung.

Noch eine damit vergleichbare, sechs Zeilen lange Struktur finden wir im Artikel 3:

**Wenn** ein Mensch ein Taxi braucht.

**Oder** ein Mensch mit dem Zug fährt.

**Oder** ein Mensch eine Identitäts-Karte braucht.

**Dann** sagt man:

Der Mensch beansprucht eine Dienst-Leistung.

**Dann** gilt das Gesetz auch. (Artikel 3, S. 7f.)

Hier begegnen wir einer vorangestellten Struktur mit konditional-temporaler Lesart; *wenn* erscheint dabei nur bei der ersten der durch *oder* koordinierten Situationsdarstellungen (Taxi fahren, mit dem Zug fahren, Identitätskarte brauchen). Der Hauptsatz erscheint dabei auch wegen des vorausweisenden Doppelpunkts als eine gesonderte, mit der *wenn*-Struktur nicht zusammenhängende Struktur.

15 Fettdruck- und Kursivhervorhebungen im vorliegenden und in den folgenden Beispielen wurden zur Veranschulichung von uns vorgenommen.

Zur Ergänzung der konnektivitätsbezogenen Betrachtungen sei noch erwähnt, dass im Artikel 2 insgesamt acht Relativsätze zu verzeichnen sind, d.h. praktisch die gesamte Erklärung des Begriffs „Menschen mit Behinderungen“ in Relativsätzen ausgedrückt ist: Obwohl hier syntaktische Wiederholung und graphische Gestaltung verständnisstützend wirken, und obwohl Relativsätze sonst auch in vielen in LS verfassten Texten institutioneller Webseiten anzutreffen und manchmal schwer zu vermeiden sind, bleibt aus theoretischer Sicht anzumerken, dass Relativsätze im Regelwerk von Bredel und Maaß schon allein als Nebensätze nicht lizenziert sind und darüber hinaus nach Ergebnissen der Verständnisforschung (auch im Vergleich zu adverbialen Nebensätzen) als besonders schwer prozessierbar gelten (Bredel/Maaß 2016a: 190, Rink 2020: 248).

Wenn wir nun den Blick von exemplarischer qualitativer Analyse auf die Konnektivität im Gesamttext ausweiten und eine Auszählung der ausgewählten Subjunkturen (Ergänzungssatz und indirekte Fragesätze einleitende Konnektoren *dass, ob, was*, adverbiale Subjunkturen *weil, wenn, damit*) vornehmen, so lässt sich festhalten, dass die zitierten bzw. in den ersten Artikeln vorgefundenen Subjunkturen nicht zur Ausnahme gehören, sondern eher der Regelfall sind. So finden wir in diesem 22 Seiten langen Text häufig die Subjunkturen *wenn* und *damit*<sup>16</sup>, aber auch *dass*, *ob*, *was* und *weil*:

wenn	damit	dass	ob	was (indir Fr)	weil
27	17	7	4	4	2

Tab. 1 : Auszählung ausgewählter Subjunkturen

Was die indirekten Fragesätze anbelangt, so kommen neben *was* (z.B. Artikel 18) auch andere durch w-Wörter eingeleitete indirekte Fragesätze (z.B. *wie viel, welche* im Artikel 23) vor.

### 3.2.3 TEXTGRAMMATIK: ANAPHORIKA UND INDEFINITPRONOMINA

Schließlich seien noch kurz die Ergebnisse der textgrammatischen Analyse zusammengefasst. Trotz sichtbarer Bemühungen, anaphorische Pronomina auf ein möglichst geringes Maß zu reduzieren und denselben Ausdruck (*Mensch/en mit Behinderungen*) für dieselbe Referenz zu reservieren, treten einige Beispiele für anaphorische Pronomina dritter Person auf (v.a. *sie*). In dem meisten Fällen ist die Referenz auf das Subjekt des vorausgehenden Satzes relativ eindeutig, in einigen Fällen kommen für *sie* theoretisch mehrere Antezedenzien in Frage (z.B. *Menschen* und *Türe* im zweiten Beispiel des Abschnitts 3.2.2), was gegen das Prinzip der eindeutigen Referenz spricht.

16 Das Pronominaladverb *damit* (*Damit macht man ...*) kommt hingegen kein einzelnes Mal vor.

### 3.3. DIE FRANZÖSISCHE FASSUNG

Besonders auffällig in der französischen *EasyL*<sup>17</sup>-Fassung ist die vergleichsweise konsequente Einhaltung des Prinzips der Monopropositionalität, vgl.: „une seule idée par phrase“ (*InclEurFr*, Abschnitt 2: Regel 19, S. 19; vgl. auch Maaß 2015, 100; Bredel/Maaß 2016, 384 u. 386); dabei wird unter *phrase* eine möglichst kurze Sequenz aus Subjekt, finitem Verb und Objekt verstanden. Häufig werden mehrere, ähnlich aufgebaute Sequenzen in Listenform erfasst um hypotaktische Strukturen des Originals umzusetzen, auch dies entspricht den Empfehlungen von *InclEurfr* (Abschnitt 2: Regel 27, S. 22; vgl. auch Brouwers et al. 2012: 216). Weiterhin charakteristisch für die französische Fassung sind Wiederholungen, womit eine der Richtlinien in *InclEurfr* (Abschnitt 1: Regel 20, S. 12) befolgt wird: „Vous pouvez répéter les informations importantes plusieurs fois.“

Die Bewertung von Komplexität stützt sich in der folgenden Analyse vor allem auf die in 2.2 genannten Publikationen sowie auf die Empfehlungen von Bredel/Maaß, wenn sie sprachübergreifende kognitive Prinzipien betreffen. Weiterhin wird die Unterscheidung zwischen offener („overt“) und versteckter („hidden“) Komplexität im Sinne von Bisang (2014: 134) berücksichtigt, denn sowohl besonders reiche als auch besonders sparsame Versprachlichung kann die Verarbeitung erschweren, weniger unmittelbar werden lassen, und damit zu offener bzw. versteckter Komplexität führen.<sup>18</sup>

#### 3.3.1 INFINITE FORMEN<sup>19</sup>

In den Ratgebern werden infinite Verbformen durchweg als schwierig zu dekodieren beschrieben (vgl. z.B. Sciumbata 2020: 261). In der Tat darf angenommen werden, dass im Rezeptionsprozess die Infinitive über Inferenz einem mehr oder weniger leicht abrufbaren, als Subjekt und/oder Agens geeigneten Referenten zugeordnet werden (vgl. Zifonun 1997: 2171-2174)<sup>20</sup> und somit ein Beispiel für ver-

17 Der Einfachheit halber werden alle im Rahmen des Forschungsvorhabens untersuchten komplexitätsreduzierten Sprachformen mit der Abkürzung *EasyL* erfasst.

18 Bisang definiert Komplexität im Hinblick auf Sprachsysteme, seine Aussagen lassen sich jedoch auch auf die Beurteilung von Versprachlichungsoptionen übertragen. Bei offener Komplexität entsteht ein höherer Dekodierungsaufwand, bei versteckter Komplexität entsteht ein besonderer Anspruch an Inferenzleistungen (vgl. Hansen-Schirra 2020, 204-206).

19 In der französischen *EasyL*-Version kommen von den möglichen infiniten Formen nur Infinitive vor, Belege mit *participe* oder *gérondif* lassen sich nicht finden.

20 Diese Annahme wird in den französischen Referenzgrammatiken nicht hervorgehoben. *Le bon usage* beschreibt Infinitive einerseits in der Funktion als Nomen „[...] dans les fonctions du nom“ (<sup>16</sup>2016: 1215, §904; vgl. auch Wilmet <sup>4</sup>2007: 309-310), besonders als Verbkomplemente, und andererseits in der Funktion als adverbiale Bestimmung („prédictat“, <sup>16</sup>2016: 1208-1215, §901ss.), hier sind die Infinitivkonstruktionen mit finaler Bedeutung erfasst.

steckte Komplexität darstellen. Insgesamt wird der Infinitiv in der EasyL-Fassung erstaunlich häufig eingesetzt, deutlich häufiger als im Original. Vermutlich haben die Autoren der Übersetzungen hier intuitiv eine von Blumenthal beschriebene Versprachlichungspräferenz realisiert. Blumenthal konstatiert innerhalb eines Korpus aus zeitgenössischer, mitunter an gesprochener Sprache orientierter französischer und deutscher Literatur (vgl. Blumenthal 2014: 24) einen deutlichen „Verbüberschuss“ in den französischen Texten, der vorrangig auf Ausdrücke mit Infinitiv zurückzuführen ist. So darf bei der frankophonen EasyL-Zielgruppe durchaus eine gewisse Vertrautheit mit Infinitiven vorausgesetzt werden.

Im folgenden werden die Infinitiv-Vorkommen, zunächst differenziert nach möglichen Regentien im Detail beschrieben. Als Regentien werden 1. Nomina, 2. Modalverben sowie 3. Vollverben, darunter eine Stützverbkonstruktion unterschieden. Weiterhin wird, 4., auf die durch *pour* (deutsch: *um zu*) eingeleiteten Infinitivfügungen mit finaler Bedeutung eingegangen, sowie, 5., auf eine Besonderheit.

1. Von Nomina regierte Infinitive von der Form: „[...] l'autorisation de construire [...]“ (vgl. Art. 3, Original) gehören zwar bei Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia (2020: 194) zu den für EasyL geeigneten Infinitivverwendungen, kommen in der EasyL-Fassung des vorliegenden BehiGfr-Ausschnitts jedoch nicht vor.

2. In Kombination mit einem Modalverb werden Infinitive in der französischen EasyL-Version wesentlich häufiger (19 Belege) genutzt als im Original, mitunter in Reihen mit identischem Modalverb, z.B. mit verneintem *pouvoir* in Art. 2 („ne peuvent pas“). Diese Fügungen gehören in der französischen EasyL-Version des BehiG zu jenen Strategien, die komplexere Satzstrukturen des Originals aufbrechen können, wie z.B. die Definition der Benennung „personne handicapée“ in Art. 2:

Est considérée comme personne handicapée [...] toute personne dont la déficience corporelle, mentale ou psychique [...] l'empêche d'accomplir les actes de la vie quotidienne, [...] (O.<sup>21</sup>, Art. 2, Ziffer 1, S. 1)

Der EasyL-Übersetzer wählt, durchaus dem Inhalt entsprechend, statt *empêcher* das Modalverb *pouvoir*<sup>22</sup> in verneinter Form, und integriert es in einen neuen, unabhängigen Satz: „Par exemple, elles ne peuvent pas bien bouger“. Damit werden die semantischen Rollen im Vergleich zum Original umverteilt. Während die „Menschen mit Behinderungen“ im Original, durch die Wahl des Matrixverbs fr. *empêcher* als affizierte Objekte kodiert sind, erscheinen sie in den vereinfachten Versionen als Subjekte von Modalverb und als implizites Subjekt und Agens des Infinitivs:

Les personnes avec handicap ont des difficultés avec leur corps.

► Par exemple, les personnes ne peuvent pas voir.

► Par exemple, elles ne peuvent pas entendre. [...] (Ü., Art. 2, S. 4)

21 Die Abkürzungen „O“ und „Ü“ stehen für „Original“ und „Übersetzung“.

22 Analog in der deutschen Fassung *können*, in der italienischen *potere/riuscire a* (letzteres Verb ist kein Modalverb, kommt der Bedeutung von *potere* jedoch recht nah).

Die Umformulierungen mit Modalverb haben vor dem Hintergrund der einschlägigen Empfehlungen drei Vorteile. Zunächst entsprechen sie der Vorgabe, Handlungsträger als Subjekte zu versprachlichen (vgl. Sciumbata 2020: 265-266; Maaß 2015: 79; Bredel/Maaß 2016a: 301-302; 2016b: 178) sowie indirekt mit der Regel zu Vermeidung von Passiv im Ratgeber des Bundesministeriums (2014, 29) und in den Empfehlungen in *InclEur* (s.o. Kap. 2). Weiterhin realisieren sie – in abgeschwächter Form – eine „direkte Adressierung“ (Bredel/Maaß 2016b: 128; vgl. auch *InclEurFr*, Abschnitt 1: Regel 15, S. 11: „Parlez directement aux gens“). Es ist zwar die empfohlene Verwendung von Anredeformen („vous“, „Sie“) in Rechtstexten nicht vorgesehen, eine EasyL-Version kann aber, wie hier, relativ unmittelbar auf die Adressatengruppe und damit auf die Leser als Handlungsträger - „les personnes avec handicap“/„les personnes“/„elles“ - verweisen, was einer „direkten handlungsorientierten Bezugnahme auf die gegebene Welt“ (Bredel/Maaß 2016b: 96) entspricht und den Lesern somit die Identifizierung erleichtert. Im Original bleibt der Verweis auf „personne handicapée“ indirekt und hypothetisch: „Est considérée comme personne handicapée [...] toute personne dont [...]“. Schließlich erleichtert die Analytizität eines zweiteiligen Verbalkomplexes (*pouvoir* + Infinitiv) nach Bredel/Maaß die Verarbeitung dank einer „transparenten Funktionsteilung“ (Bredel/Maaß 2016a, 298); auch die Empfehlung von Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia (2020: 189), analytische Verbaldrücke mit „verbes support“ („privilégier les verbes support“), Ausdrücke mit semantisch schwach konturierten Verben also, möglichst zu bevorzugen, und etwa „donner la permission“ (‘die Erlaubnis erteilen’) statt „permettre“ zu wählen, harmonisiert mit Bredel/Maaß’ Empfehlung.<sup>23</sup>

3. In der EasyL-Version finden sich 17 Infinitivkonstruktionen, bestehend aus Vollverb oder Stützverbkonstruktion (Art. 2: *avoir du mal à*) mit Infinitivergänzung (im Original: 3 Belege). So enthält etwa Artikel 1 eine Serie von 5 Infinitiven mit *à*, eingeleitet vom Matrixverb *aider*.

- La loi sert à aider les personnes avec handicap à bien vivre:
- ▶ A tout faire comme tout le monde.
  - ▶ A rencontrer d'autres personnes sans aide. [...] (Ü., Art. 1, S. 3)

Das dem Infinitiv „vivre“ als agentivisches Subjekt zuzuordnende Nominalsyntaxagma „les personnes avec handicap“ geht unmittelbar voraus und dürfte daher gut abrufbar sein. Allerdings besteht keine Subjektidentität wie bei Infinitiven nach Modalverben (vgl. „Ils doivent <sub>(ils)</sub> faire ces services“, Art. 6), denn in Art. 1 ist „les personnes avec handicap“ Objekt im Matrixsatz, muss also für die Infinitivkonstruktion syntaktisch neu bestimmt werden. Damit wird die versteckte Komplexität leicht erhöht, wie auch eine Studie von Arosio et al. (2017, 7) angeführte Studie nahelegt. In der auf englische Beispiele bezogenen Untersuchung haben Kinder mit Dyslexie

23 Grundsätzlich optieren Bredel/Maaß für großzügige Versprachlichung, d.h. für offene Komplexität (vgl. 2016a: 45).

signifikante Schwierigkeiten bei solcher Neu-Zuweisung der Subjektfunktion in Infinitivkonstruktionen.

Das Nominalsyntaxagma „les personnes avec handicap“ im einleitenden Satz in Art. 1 muss auch für die vier danach aufgelisteten Infinitive im Arbeitsgedächtnis präsent gehalten werden, so dass die Verarbeitung besondere Anforderungen an die Konzentration stellt. Semantisch wiederum liegt die Zuordnung von „les personnes avec handicap“ als agentivisches Subjekt für alle der aufgezählten, von „aider“ abhängigen Infinitive durchaus nahe.

In einer Formulierung in Art. 2 stimmt der für *faire* geeignete Subjekt-/ Agens-Referent nicht mit dem Referenten des Subjekts sondern mit dem des Präpositionalobjekts im Matrixsatzes überein: „Parfois on doit demander à quelqu’un de faire une chose pour nous“. Die Bestimmung eines agentivischen Subjekts zum Infinitiv „faire“ dürfte wesentlich aufwändiger sein als zu „vivre“ im obigen Beispiel, denn es fehlt hier ein fassbarer Referent als Handlungsträger („quelqu’un“), ähnlich wie schon im Matrixsatz („on“). Indefinitpronomina widersprechen dem oben zitierten allgemeinen Gebot, die direkte Bezugnahme auf die Lebenswelt der Leser zu gewährleisten und erfüllen auch nicht die in *InclEurFr* ausgesprochene Empfehlung „Vérifiez qu’il est toujours clair de qui ou de quoi parle le pronom“ (*InclEurFr*, Regel 13, S. 18; vgl. auch Bredel/Maaß 2016b: 143). Es wäre zu prüfen, in welchen Fällen leicht erhöhte versteckte Komplexität, die, wie bei *faire* in Art. 2 durch ein neu zu bestimmendes, nicht aus einem Matrixsatz übertragbares agentivisches Subjekt entsteht, zugelassen werden kann. Semantische Plausibilität oder durch den Kontext garantierte Präsenz im Arbeitsgedächtnis könnten hier verständnisunterstützend wirken.

Überraschend in einem EasyL-Text ist die Verwendung von zwei Infinitiven innerhalb eines Satzes, wie sowohl in Art. 1 („La loi sert à aider les personnes avec handicap à bien vivre“) als auch in Art. 5 („On peut traiter quelqu’un autrement pour arrêter une inégalité.“). Auch wenn infinite Formen eine gewisse Herausforderung darstellen, könnte hier erneut die erwartbare Zuweisung der semantischen Rollen die Verarbeitung erleichtern; im zweiten Beispiel handelt es sich überdies um die fast identische Wiederholung einer Aussage zu Beginn des Art. 5.

4. Infinitivkonstruktionen mit finaler Bedeutung werden hinsichtlich ihrer Eignung für EasyL unterschiedlich beurteilt. Canut/Delahaie/Husianyica (2020, 194) beschreiben die äquivalenten französischen, mit fr. *pour* eingeleitete Infinitivkonstruktionen als „récurrentes“ in ihrem spontansprachlichen Korpus und somit als EasyL-tauglich, Brouwers et al. dagegen stufen sie als für EasyL ungeeignet ein (vgl. 2012: 222; ähnlich: Bredel/Maaß 2016b: 111). Tatsächlich tauchen in der französischen EasyL-Fassung, nicht jedoch im Original, durchaus einige mit *pour* eingeleitete Infinitivkonstruktionen auf (8 Belege), die allerdings unterschiedlich behandelt werden. In einem Beleg wird die Infinitivkonstruktion mit finaler Bedeutung als unabhängiger Satz abgespalten (Art. 3), in den übrigen Belegen als adverbiale Ergänzung integriert (z.B. in Art. 5):

Quand une personne avec handicap fait une formation.  
Pour apprendre de nouvelles choses. (Ü., Art. 3, S. 8)

La confédération fait des choses pour arrêter les inégalités. (Ü., Art. 5, S. 9)

Abgesehen davon, dass in Art. 3 ein Satz ohne finites Verb entsteht, eine Satzform, die nicht zu den von *InclEurfr* empfohlenen „phrases courtes“ zählt (vgl. Abschnitt 1: Regel 14, S. 11; Abschnitt 2: Regel 19, S. 19), liegt hier eine nur durch Interpunktion und Typographie vorgetäuschte Unabhängigkeit vor. Ein Punkt am Zeilenende signalisiert zunächst Abgeschlossenheit, der folgende Konnektor „Pour“ jedoch verlangt die Reaktivierung des vorausgegangenen Satzes (vgl. Bredel/Maas 2016a, 385). Es wäre bei derartigen Anschlüssen mit Konnektoren zu fragen, ob die für EasyL explizit geforderte Kohäsion (Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia 2020, 186) bzw. „kohärente Inhaltsorganisation“ (Christmann Groeben 2019, 133; vgl. auch Bredel/Maaß 2016b: 150-154) noch gewährleistet ist. In dieser Form, als unabhängige Hauptsätze, entsprechen infinite Finalsätze im Französischen nicht der Norm (vgl. die Beispiele im *Petit Robert*, s.v. *pour*)<sup>24</sup>, vorgeschrieben ist vielmehr der Anschluss als Nebensatz wie in Art. 5, s.o. Ähnlich ließe sich die oben zitierte Infinitiv-Serie mit einleitender Präposition „A“ kritisieren (in Art. 1). In den Vorgaben von *InclEurfr* werden zwar ebenfalls Zeilenumbrüche nach dem Matrixsatz vorgeschlagen, jedoch ohne Punkt und ohne Großschreibung des Konnektors in der Folgezeile. So entsteht eine der Satzhierarchie entsprechende, hilfreiche typographische Gestaltung:

Les buts de la réunion sont

- que les gens se rencontrent,
- que les gens apprennent de nouvelles choses [...] (*InclEurfr*, Abschnitt 2: Regel 27, S. 22)

Abhängige infinite Finalsätze gehören laut Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia (2020, 194) zu den in ihrem Korpus gesprochener Spontansprache wiederholt genutzten Konstruktionen. Eventuell sind also mit *pour* eingeleitete infinite Finalsätze tatsächlich zugänglich genug, um für EasyL geeignet zu sein - oder könnten zugänglich gemacht werden durch Wiederholung. So finden sich in Artikel 5 dreimal inhaltlich fast identische, mit *pour* eingeleitete finale Nebensätze: „[...] pour arrêter les/des/une inégalité(s)“. Möglicherweise sind solche Wiederholungen geeignet, die Dekodierung von versteckt komplexen Konstruktionen, wie etwa Infinitivkonstruktionen, schrittweise einzuüben und verständlich werden zu lassen, mithin sogar jenen Effekt zu erzeugen, den Schneider-Mizony (2021, 12) der EasyL generell absprechen: den Ausbau der Lesekompetenz.

5. In der Übersetzung überrascht eine einmalig vorkommende, nicht vom Original vorgegebene Infinitiv-Verwendung: „Parfois apprendre est difficile.“ (Art. 2, S. 6) Der Infinitiv „apprendre“ übernimmt hier Subjektfunktion. Auch wenn die Aussage inhaltlich im Kontext gut vorbereitet ist, widerspricht ihre Form, die nicht umsonst nur

24 Bredel/Maaß empfehlen in EasyL grundsätzlich normgerechten Sprachgebrauch (2016a, 386).

einmal im untersuchten vereinfachten Gesetzesausschnitt auftaucht, dem Gebot der maximalen „inhaltlichen“ und „grammatischen Einfachheit“ (Bredel/Maaß 2016b, 96), wenn man darunter auch Unmittelbarkeit versteht. Die Leser dürften zunächst die prototypische Realisierung des Subjekts erwarten, d.h. eine Nominalphrase („nom“, „pronom“; *Le bon usage* <sup>16</sup>2016, §232, S. 272), die mit dem finiten Verb im Satz hinsichtlich Numerus und Person kongruiert. Die richtige Bestimmung des Infinitivs als Subjekt trotz fehlender morphosyntaktischer Markierung (versteckte Komplexität, fehlende „lokale Kohärenz“: Christmann/Groeben 2019, 133) verlangt eine zusätzliche Inferenzleistung und könnte einer jener Fälle sein, wo das ohnehin durch den Leseprozess belastete Arbeitsgedächtnis so deutlich überfordert wird, dass ein Verstehen der gesamten Satzaussage nicht mehr erreicht wird (vgl. Bredel/Maaß 2016a, 121).

### 3.3.2 KONNEKTIVITÄT UND SATZGEFÜGE

Im folgenden werden Relativsätze (1.) sowie Konditional- und Kausalsätze (2., 3.) analysiert. 1. Relativsätze sind ein Beispiel für versteckte Komplexität, da der Referent des Relativpronomens nicht unmittelbar zugänglich ist, sondern aus dem Matrixsatz ermittelt werden muss. Tatsächlich finden sich in der französischen EasyL-Version im Vergleich zum französischen Original auffällig wenige, jeweils an den Matrixsatz angeschlossene Relativsätze: insgesamt drei gegenüber 11. Für die Ziffern 1 und 2 zu Art. 2 des Originals wird in der deutschen (S. 4) EasyL-Version eine Serie von Relativsatzkonstruktionen angeboten, in denen das Relativpronomen Subjektfunktion trägt und sich auf ein unmittelbar vorangehendes Antezedens, ebenfalls in Subjektfunktion bezieht: „Zum Beispiel Menschen, die nicht [...]“. Selbst diese kognitiv am wenigsten aufwändige (Bock 2019, 48; Arosio et al. 2017, 18) Form von Relativsätzen<sup>25</sup> wird in der französischen Version vermieden, stattdessen werden drei Hauptsätze gereiht. Damit entspricht die französische EasyL-Version der Maxime von Bredel/Maaß, ausdrücklich auf Relativsätze (2016a, 387) zu verzichten.<sup>26</sup> Ein interessanter Fall ist der erste vorkommende Relativsatz, in Art. 2 (S. 5), der Teil eines äußerst geläufigen Verknüpfungsmusters ist, das erfassbar wäre mit: *FAIRE* [tout] ce que PRON. *VOULOIR*, und hier realisiert ist als: „[...] ne peut pas] faire ce qu'elle veut [...]“ („[kann nicht tun], was sie will“). Wie bei Subjekt-Relativsätzen dürfte auch bei diesem Beleg der Dekodierungsaufwand vergleichsweise gering sein, allerdings aus anderem Grund, denn hier ist es die Vertrautheit mit einer im all-

25 Brouwers et al. (2012, 214) zeigen, dass in Vikidia Subjektrelativsätze als Vereinfachungsstrategie genutzt werden.

26 Bezeichnenderweise wählen Bredel/Maaß jedoch als Beispiele für Relativsätze mit nominalem Antezedens, lediglich eingeschobene Relativsätze, die in der Tat „eindeutig einen negativen Effekt auf die Verständlichkeit“ ausüben (Christmann/Groeben 2019, 130).



täglichen Diskurs präsenten Konstruktion, die sich unterstützend auswirken könnte. Canut/Delahaie/Husianycia würden hier, evtl. mit Einschränkungen, einen jener präformierten Ausdrücke erkennen (s.o. 2.2), die als Ganzes abrufbar sind und daher gerade für EasyL geeignet sind.

Der zweite Relativsatz wird am Ende von Art. 3 angeboten. Das Bezugsnomen („personnes“) des Relativpronomens ist Teil eines vorangegangenen Präpositionalsyntagmas „Les articles de la loi parlent des personnes qui travaillent pour l'Etat“. Der Matrixsatz „Les articles de la loi parlent de [...]“ wird, mit wechselnden Nomina nach „de“, in Art. 3 insgesamt sieben Mal wiederaufgenommen, nur in der letzten Wiederholung mit Relativsatz. Die so entstandene Vertrautheit mit diesem Muster dürfte bei der Dekodierung der mit Relativsatz erweiterten Version unterstützend wirken.

Der dritte Beleg (Art. 6) „Il y a des personnes qui font des services [...]“ enthält einen Subjekt-Relativsatz. Erneut wird „personnes“ zum Bezugsnomen, so dass auch hier eine Kombination aus *personnes* und näherer Bestimmung, wie schon in Artikel 2 und 3, genutzt wird. Die Funktion der auf *personnes* folgenden Sequenz wird vorhersehbar, so dass der gesamte Satz möglicherweise einfacher rezipierbar wird. In diese Richtung argumentieren die Vertreter Parsing-orientierter Ansätze, die Komplexität abhängig von der Antizipierbarkeit „der noch ausstehenden Teile einer Äußerung“ definieren (Hansen-Schirra/Gutermuth 2019: 167). Zusammenfassend lässt sich beobachten, dass Relativsätze offenbar nur in gut begründbaren Ausnahmefällen zum Einsatz kommen.

2. Die Ziffern 2 bis 5 in Art. 2 im Original entsprechen jeweils einem Konditionalsatz, der explizit durch den Konnektor *lorsque* eine *Folge-Bedingung*-Struktur von der Form „Il y a inégalité [...] lorsque [...]“ (‘Eine Benachteiligung liegt vor, wenn ...‘) versprachlicht. In der EasyL-Version wird die Anordnung umgekehrt in *Bedingungen - Folge*. Zusätzlich wird die *Folge* („inégalité“) in einer Überschrift vor den Ziffern 2-5 schon angesprochen (siehe Kap. 3.3.3). Weiterhin werden jeweils mehrere Protasen, eingeleitet meist durch „Si“ oder „Quand“, als separate Schein-Hauptsätze („verdeckte Nebensätze“, s.o.) aufgelistet und auf eine abschließende Apodosis, eingeleitet durch „Alors“ bezogen. Besonders konsequent folgt die Umsetzung der Ziffer 2 diesem Muster:

Il y a inégalité lorsque, [...] ou lorsque [...] (O., Art. 2, Ziffer 2, S. 1)

Si on traite [...]. Si on fait [...]. Et si la personne [...]. Ou si [...]. Alors il y a une inégalité. (Ü., Art. 2, S. 5)

Mit diesem Vorgehen werden drei Empfehlungen realisiert. Zunächst entspricht die in den Übersetzungen gewählte Anordnung *Bedingung-Folge* einer kognitiv zugänglicheren Reihung und sollte, laut Bredel/Maaß (2016a, 401) in EasyL bevorzugt werden. Weiterhin ist die Nennung von „Signalwörtern“, d.h. hier von den Konnektoren *quand*, *si*, *alors* zur „Verdeutlichung der Relation ‚Verursachung‘, (Christmann/

Groeben 2019: 135) kohärenz- und damit verständnisfördernd - trotz erhöhter offener Komplexität.<sup>27</sup> Schließlich wird die Empfehlung von *InclEurFr* realisiert, mehrere gleichwertige Nebensätze in Listenform zu reihen (Abschnitt 2: Regel 27, S. 22), wenn sie auf einen Matrixsatz bezogen sind, bei Wiederholung des Konnektors. Es stellt sich jedoch die Frage, ob solche Nebensatz-Listen nicht eine Überlastung des Arbeitsspeichers bewirken, denn immerhin muss die Spannung über mehrere Zeilen, bis zum Matrixsatz, „Alors ...“, aufrechterhalten werden.

Interessanterweise wird bei der Übersetzung von Artikel 3 des Originals, Abschnitte a bis g, mit Hinweisen zur Anwendung des Gesetzes, anders verfahren. Während im Original höchstens im weiteren Sinne implizit ebenfalls ein Konditionalgefüge vorliegt, entscheidet sich der Übersetzer jeweils (außer für Abschnitt b) einen konditionalen Charakter explizit zu machen („Quand“), die kognitive aufwändigere Reihenfolge der Propositionen *Folge - Bedingung* jedoch beizubehalten:

La présente loi s'applique:

a. aux constructions et installations [...] pour lesquelles l'autorisation [...] est accordée [...].  
(O., Art. 3, S. 2)

Il faut suivre la loi:

Quand on veut construire un bâtiment public ou une installation publique. (Ü., Art. 3, S. 7)

In Art. 4, äußerst knapp im Original, wird schließlich zur Erläuterung in der Übersetzung eine explizite konditionale Relation („Alors“), hier in der empfohlenen Reihung, neu ergänzt:

Parfois la loi du canton aide mieux [...]. Alors on utilise les deux lois: [...]. (Ü., Art. 4, S. 8)

Als Fazit ließe sich folgendes festhalten. Konditionalgefüge bieten sich naturgemäß in Gesetzestexten an, werden sowohl offen komplex (O., Art. 2: „lorsque ...“) als auch versteckt komplex (O., Art. 3) realisiert. In der Übersetzung wird im Allgemeinen, jedoch nicht konsequent, die kognitiv zugängliche Reihung *Bedingung - Folge* gewählt, in einem Fall (Art. 3) werden implizite Konditionalrelationen des Originals, somit versteckte Komplexität, explizit, also offen umgesetzt, in einem anderen Fall (Art. 4) wird sogar ein explizites Konditionalgefüge ergänzt. Bei der Versprachlichung von konditionalen Relationen in EasyL zeigt sich also eine deutliche Tendenz zur offenen Komplexität.

3. Der Original-Text enthält keine kausalen Nebensätze, dagegen kommen in der EasyL-Version in Art. 3, Ziffer 3, zwei mit *parce que*, ‘weil’, eingeleitete abhängige Sätze vor. Ihnen steht im Original die Präposition *pour des raisons de* gegenüber, die sich für Nominalstil zum Ausdruck von Kausalität anbietet. Ein Nebensatz mit

27 Bredel/Maaß sehen Konnektoren am Satzanfang äußerst kritisch, vgl. die Erläuterungen in (2016a, 385-386).

kausalem Konnektor entspricht den Befunden zur Sprachverarbeitung, die „kausale Verknüpfungen (,weil‘, ,deshalb‘, ,daher‘) zwischen Sätzen als verarbeitungswirksam“, d.h. als unterstützend beschreiben (Christmann/Groeben 2019: 134).<sup>28</sup>

### 3.3.3 TEXTGRAMMATIK UND TRANSPHRASTISCHE BEZÜGE

Im französischen Original wie in der EasyL-Version unterstützt in erster Linie eine gezielte, inhaltlich begründete graphische Gestaltung die Wahrnehmung des Texts als verwobene Einheit. Verwendet werden in der EasyL-Fassung eingerückte Reihungen mit Aufzählungszeichen (vgl. z.B. Art. 3) oder farblich abgesetzte Zwischenüberschriften (vgl. auch *InclEurFr*, Abschnitt I: Regel 20, S. 20). Tatsächlich kann die Gestaltung der Textoberfläche die Wahrnehmbarkeit des Gesamttexts erhöhen, wie Rink (2020: 76) für Rechtstexte feststellt. Bredel/Maaß (2016b: 150-152) empfehlen prinzipiell für EasyL „zur Sicherung des Textzusammenhalts“ graphische Hervorhebungen, wie etwa Listen mit Aufzählungszeichen (ebd. 150) und inhaltsvorbereitende Überschriften (ebd.; vgl. auch: „Vorstrukturierungen“ in Christmann/Groeben 2019: 132). Besonders deutlich wird der vorstrukturierende Effekt bei einem der Zwischentitel in Art. 2, wo „La loi dit cela sur l'inégalité“ die Konditionalrelationen in der ausführlichen Definition von „inégalité“, ‚Benachteiligung‘, vorbereitet.

Hinsichtlich der Verwendung von Pronomina zeigen sich Unterschiede zum Original. Vor allem alleinstehende Pronomina - wiederholt *elle/elles* und *cela* - mit satzgrenzenüberschreitendem Bezug tauchen in der EasyL-Fassung infolge der Aufspaltung in viele kurze Einzelsätze häufiger auf als im Original. Die Verwendung von Personalpronomina widerspricht zunächst den „simplifications discursives“ in Gala (2018: 125), zu denen gerade das Ersetzen von Personalpronomina gehört. Auch Bredel/Maaß empfehlen den Verzicht auf Pronomina (mit Ausnahme der Anredepronomina), obwohl dadurch ein kohäsionsstiftendes Mittel verloren geht (2016b: 177).<sup>29</sup> Die sechs Belege von *elle/elles* in Art. 2 könnten jedoch einen Sonderfall darstellen, denn sie verweisen durchgängig auf lexikalisch identische Bezugselemente: *la/les personne(s) avec handicap*. Für das Verständnis muss nur einmalig der richtige Rückbezug hergestellt werden, dies könnte eine Erleichterung darstellen.

Ebenfalls häufig genutzt wird das genus-neutrale („neutre“, *Le Bon usage* 162016, § 693, S. 978), alleinstehende Pronomen *cela*, (‘dies’). Vier der fünf *cela*-Verwendungen, jeweils in Art. 2, stellen transphrastische Bezüge her, z.B.: „Si on traite une personne avec handicap autrement [...] Et si on fait cela sans raison.“ In einem der vier

28 Vgl. auch Köhne-Fuetterer et al. (2021, 442-443), die zeigen, dass kausale Konnektoren die Verarbeitung des Folgetexts vorbereiten und somit einen „facilitating effect“ hervorrufen.

29 In der gegenüber der „Leichten Sprache“ flexibler gestaltbaren „Einfachen Sprache“ muss der Vorteil von Pronomina gut gegen den Nachteil der möglicherweise nicht eindeutigen Referenz abgewogen werden (Bredel/Maaß 2016b, 174).

Belege mit *cela*, im Zwischentitel „La loi dit cela [...]“, übernimmt *cela* metadiskursive Funktion und stellt einen kataphorischen Bezug her. Wenn man die Empfehlung „Vérifiez qu’il est toujours clair de qui ou de quoi parle le pronom“ (vgl. *InclEurFr* Abschnitt 1: Regel 13, S. 18; ähnlich Bredel/Maaß 2016b: 178) zugrundelegt, dürfte sich ein solcher Einsatz des ohnehin vergleichsweise unspezifischen *cela* nicht verständnisfördernd auswirken; der Zwischentitel als Ganzes jedoch könnte, wie oben beschrieben, verständnisfördernde Funktion haben.

Es lässt sich festhalten, dass Pronomina, neben den genannten auch Demonstrativpronomina (5 Belege) und das Pronominaladverb *y* (1 Beleg), entgegen den Empfehlungen, häufig zur transphrastischen Verknüpfung genutzt werden. Möglicherweise ist dies eine Folge der im vorliegenden Ausschnitt recht konsequenten Realisierung von Monopositionalität durch Reihungen von kurzen, abgeschlossenen Sätzen, deren inhaltlicher Zusammenhang jedoch gesichert werden muss.

#### 4. FAZIT

Bei der Analyse und Bewertung einiger ausgewählter syntaktischer und textgrammatischer Merkmale der deutschen und französischen Version des BehiG (*Leichte Sprache*, französische *EasyL*-Version) wird insgesamt deutlich, dass sich auf den Grad der Verständlichkeit neben versteckter und offener Komplexität noch weitere Faktoren auswirken. Benannt werden muss besonders der Grad der Vertrautheit mit Formulierungen, der, besonders von den französischen Übersetzenden, offenbar intuitiv mitberücksichtigt wird. So müsste mit Blick auf das Deutsche noch durch weitere Verständnisforschung ermittelt werden, ob denn kurze mit *wenn*-eingeleitete Sätze wirklich in allen Fällen verständnishemmend wirken oder aber tendenziell eher in Verbindung mit anderen komplexitätssteigernden Merkmalen (Satzlänge, andere Abhängigkeitsstrukturen) Schwierigkeiten bereiten. Auch sind französische Infinitive trotz ihrer versteckten Komplexität für das französische *EasyL*-Zielpublikum möglicherweise gut verständlich und werden tatsächlich in der *EasyL*-Version des BehiG häufiger als im Original eingesetzt. Relativsätze wiederum werden, was den Empfehlungen z.B. in Bredel/Maaß (2016a) entspricht, vermieden; innerhalb eines geläufigen Versprachlichungsmusters (3.3.2 „faire ce qu’elle veut“) jedoch kann eine Relativsatzkonstruktion offenbar zugelassen werden. Ein hoher Grad an Vertrautheit und damit Reduzierung von Komplexität wird auch immer wieder durch inhaltliche oder strukturelle Wiederholung erzeugt, z.B. bei Wiederholung eines Nomens oder Nominalsyntagmas (*Menschen, Menschen mit Behinderungen*; *Les articles de la loi parlent de [...]*), eines Pronomens mit identischem Bezugsэлемент (*sie; elle/s*) oder bei Wiederholung eines Verknüpfungsmusters oder Matrixsatzes: *Damit sie + INFINITIV können* (3.2.2); *Les articles de la loi parlent de + NOMINALSYNTAGMA* (3.3.2).

Ein weiterer die syntaktische Verständlichkeit beeinflussender Faktor ist die typographische Gestaltung. So können mit Hilfe von Listen und Einrückungen hypotaktische Strukturen visualisiert und damit zugänglicher gemacht werden.

Allerdings führt in beiden Sprachen der Versuch, Komplexitätsreduktion graphisch (z.B. durch Gliederungszeichen und Einzüge) und besonders orthographisch (Punkt) herbeizuführen, stellenweise zu versteckten Abhängigkeitsbeziehungen, deren verständnisfördernde oder gar -hemmende Wirkung noch erforscht werden sollte. Bei mehreren in 3.2.2 veranschaulichten Satzgefügen erwecken (ortho)graphische Mittel den Anschein größerer syntaktischer Einfachheit, als dies tatsächlich der Fall ist, so dass etwa beim Einsatz einer softwaregestützten, Verständlichkeit quantitativ messenden Vorgehensweise, die zur Ermittlung der „Satzlänge“ lediglich das Verhältnis zwischen Textlänge bzw. Wörterzahl und Anzahl der Punkte misst, der untersuchte Text syntaktisch viel einfacher ausfallen würde, als er eigentlich ist. Dies ist die Gefahr automatischer Auswertung und zeigt, wie wichtig es ist, an automatischen Programmen zur Verständlichkeitsmessung zu arbeiten und diese mithilfe linguistischer, und nicht nur informatischer Expertise weiterzuentwickeln und ihre Ergebnisse stets auch kritisch zu hinterfragen und *cum grano salis* zu interpretieren.

Die im Sprachvergleich (soweit möglich) ermittelten Unterschiede betreffen insgesamt v.a. die Befolgung der jeweiligen Regeln oder Empfehlungen: Trotz der sichtbaren Vereinfachungsbemühungen ist für die deutsche Fassung feststellbar, dass in einigen zitierten Beispielen mehrere Merkmale zusammen kommen, die gegen das Prinzip der Satzlänge und mehrfach gegen die Satzbauprinzipien der *Leichten Sprache* im Sinne von Bredel/Maaß verstoßen, aber auch gegen weniger strenge und präzise Regeln in anderen genannten Regelwerken. Im Französischen dagegen scheint es so, dass sich die Übersetzer der französischen EasyL-Fassung des BehiG recht konsequent an manche Empfehlungen halten, besonders an die Vorgabe „*écrire une seule idée par phrase (InclEurFr, S. 19)*“. Gleichzeitig halten Sie sich an ihre Intuition, besonders wenn es um den Einfluss des Faktors „Vertrautheit“ geht. Mitunter jedoch lassen sie Formulierungen zu, deren Verständlichkeit eher nicht EasyL-konform zu sein scheint (3.3.1., Ziffer 5, Infinitiv in Subjektfunktion).

Zusammenfassend bleibt festzuhalten, dass eine Erweiterung der jeweils formulierten Empfehlungen, die nicht nur differenzierter z.B. die Satzlänge oder Nebensatzverwendung Infinitivverwendung bewertet, sondern auch stärker das Zusammenspiel von Faktoren in den Blick nimmt, erforderlich ist.

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# Non-verbal strategies, adequate settings and empathy as the real promoters of Spoken Easy Language in asymmetric communication

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## ABSTRACT

The project SELSI (Spoken Easy Language for Social Inclusion), launched in 2022, focuses on simplifying language in oral contexts. Its objective is to develop adaptable recommendations for professionals to produce comprehensible content for co-participants requiring linguistic support. This paper presents findings from a SELSI survey assessing the needs and preferences of speakers across proficiency levels in oral contexts. The results highlight the necessity of non-linguistic elements in effective oral communication, including factors like a quiet setting, empathetic environments, a close rapport between interlocutors, and the strategic use of repetition to elicit accurate comprehension judgements.

## KEYWORDS

Spoken Easy Language, non-verbal, asymmetric communication, intralingual translation

\* Elisa Perego wrote this paper. Drago Brumen (Zavod Risa) extracted and processed the experimental data and performed the analytic calculations and the numerical simulations.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Accessible and inclusive communication is a cornerstone of community cohesion, facilitating the exchange of information among participants in a given communication event. However, written and spoken texts on occasion pose as barriers, particularly when the receiver of a message encounters unfamiliar language variants or formats. This often leads to the exclusion of ordinary people from expert discourse, which they deem dysfunctional. Furthermore, these people may struggle with the comprehension of new, unexpected, or overly abundant information, especially in contexts that are stressful or unnecessarily overstimulating (Maaß 2020: 18).

Communicative exclusion can be overcome through language simplification. This process, known as intralingual translation, transmutes the source text into a target text that is equivalent but more comprehensible (García Muñoz 2014; Perego 2020; Saggion et al. 2011). Language varieties<sup>1</sup> that can enhance comprehension range from Plain Language to Easy Language, including several intermediate forms (Maaß 2020). Plain Language typically serves non-expert audiences, expediting access to specialised content and facilitating decision-making. Easy Language, on the other hand, strives for maximal comprehensibility through strict grammar norms, reduced language, and visual formatting benefiting individuals with cognitive or intellectual disabilities and catering to a wide variety of secondary target audiences, such as children, second-language learners, and anyone whose linguistic competence is not high enough to access standard information (Bennet 2019; Cutts 2013; Hansen-Schirra and Maaß 2020; Inclusion Europe 2009; Maaß 2020; Perego 2020; Saggion et al. 2011).

The benefits of Easy Language in enhancing comprehensibility is well-established; it has been widely adopted in European countries (Lindholm and Vanhatalo 2021), and the Anglophone world, where the quest for clarity has a long tradition and a strong cultural motivation linked to the firm belief that anyone should have the right to make informed decisions, irrespective of their literacy level (Bennet 2009, 2019; Cutts 2013; Gunning 1952, 1964; cf. the Plain English Campaign).

Although Easy Language has been researched extensively within European projects (e.g. Pathways I and II, EASIT, Train2Validate), both its research and application have predominantly focused on written communication, and most – if not all – existing guidelines instruct their readers on the best ways to write (vs. speak) clearly to ensure a smooth reading process (IFLA 2010; ILSMH 1998; Inclusion Europe 2009). This partly relates to the main applications of Easy Language, including public administration, justice, culture and education (Hansen-Schirra and Maaß 2020; Lindholm and Vanhatalo 2021; Perego 2020; Peruzzo and Rocco 2022), and, to a lesser extent, the media sector (EASIT 2019; Bernabé and Orero 2019; Maaß and

1 Christiane Maaß also refers to Plain and Easy Language as “instruments” (2020: 169); cf. Gregory and Carrol 1978 on the notion of language variety.

Hernández 2020; Perego 2020). Furthermore, the inherent ephemeral nature of spoken language poses a challenge in terms of regulation.

Nevertheless, oral communication stands as one of the most prevalent means of everyday interaction, crucial for human survival, contact with the world, and participation in society. It also plays a fundamental role in the educational process (Ali 2018). Owing to the scarcity of research in the field, which is often limited to specific countries (Leskelä 2022) or specific genres (Bernabé and Orero 2020; Hampson Lundh 2013; Trench 2018), the imperative to cover this neglected area of accessible and inclusive communication has emerged. This need has spurred the inception of the SELSI project, entirely devoted to Easy Spoken Language.

In this article, I will outline the SELSI project, its aims and its collaborative partners. I will then focus on the first research activity, Work Package 2 (WP2), elucidating the nature, structure and rationale of the online and paper questionnaire used to survey Spoken Easy Language professionals and end-users in Europe. I will then present the results of this survey, providing insights into the profiles of European SEL professionals and SEL users, along with their responses to the questionnaire.

## 2. THE SELSI PROJECT AND SPOKEN EASY LANGUAGE

SELSI (Spoken Easy Language for Social Inclusion) is a two-year project (2022-2024) financed by the European Union under the Erasmus+ Programme, Action Type KA220-ADU, Cooperation partnerships in adult education ([www.selsi.eu](http://www.selsi.eu)). The project is coordinated by Tatjana Knapp, director of the Risa Institute. This consortium includes seven partners from five European countries (Italy, Sweden, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovenia), each offering complementary expertise. The academic and research-oriented approach is ensured by partner universities in Italy and Lithuania, driving the academic dimension. The close connection with end-users is granted by three non-governmental organisations: Zavod Risa (the Risa Institute), the first organisation in Slovenia for the development and provision of Easy-to-Read content; Dyslexiförbundet, a Swedish disability association; and Viegļās valodas aģentūra (the Easy Language Agency), a Latvian organisation dedicated to facilitating communication between state and private entities. Lastly, RTV Slovenija (Slovenia's national public broadcasting organisation) brings its extensive experience in creating accessible audiovisual content for people with different needs.

The aim of SELSI is to investigate oral language strategies and formulate adaptable recommendations to assist professional speakers in producing comprehensible content. This content is aimed at co-participants in two-way communication or at listeners in one-way communication, i.e. individuals who require linguistic support to fully grasp the message<sup>2</sup>. The primary target audience of simplified oral language

2 One-way communication is linear and limited because it occurs in a straight line from sender to receiver and serves to inform, persuade or command. Two-way communication always in-

includes people experiencing cognitive or intellectual barriers, as well as secondary target audiences, such as non-native speakers or low proficiency speakers in oral communication settings.

SELSI is organised around a series of structured activities called ‘work packages’ or WPs, with each WP led by a partner country. Its ultimate aim is to produce accessible open-access recommendations for effective Spoken Easy Language (SEL). Notably, WP2, the initial phase of the project, sought to map the requirements and resources for SEL communication in Europe, specifically in the partner and associate countries. The results of this project stage – which are the focus of this article – lay the groundwork for developing an initial set of SEL strategies for addressing end-users in need of linguistic support (WP3). These strategies will undergo pilot-testing in both online and offline learning environments to gauge their effectiveness (WP4). Finally, the SELSI strategies will be refined and integrated into a multilingual online tool, benefiting people striving to improve their SEL proficiency and effectively adapt their speech to their less proficient co-participant(s) (WP5). By including end-users, professionals and researchers in all stages of project development, SELSI forges synergies between academic research, practical application and education. In doing so, it complies with the requirements of interdisciplinary research (Orero et al. 2018) while embracing a cross-national perspective (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik and Harkness 2005).

### 3. SURVEYING SEL IN EUROPE: THE SELSI QUESTIONNAIRE

WP2, led by the University of Trieste, was the starting point of SELSI, and was characterised by three main aims. First, it aimed to set the foundation for the development of SEL recommendations. Second, it sought to amplify the voices of European SEL communication stakeholders, including professionals engaged with end-users or content production, and end-users themselves – people requiring linguistic support during communication or content consumption. Lastly, it aimed to map the needs, strategies, and preferences of both SEL professionals and SEL users (SELSI 2023; *si veda Trevisan in questo volume*).

To achieve these aims, the questionnaire was selected as the preferred research tool. Questionnaires offer the flexibility to gather specific information or opinions on a particular topic from respondents, enabling a deep understanding of their needs, preferences and satisfaction levels using a standardised set of questions. Among their crucial advantages is the capacity for large-scale data collection, standardised responses that streamline and expedite the analysis process, cost-effectiveness and replicability (e.g. McBurney and White 2013). The SELSI questionnaire was distributed online via the Web Survey Creator platform, selected for its ability to create

cludes feedback from the receiver to the sender and lets the sender know the message has been received accurately.

multilingual surveys and its advanced features for gathering and filtering results. Importantly, the questionnaire was anonymous, refraining from collecting personally identifiable information from respondents to protect their identity. Nevertheless, it enabled us to gain honest feedback and demographic information such as age, gender, education and occupational details, which was crucial in understanding and characterising the respondents. The questionnaire incorporated both open and closed questions to collect quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously. Open questions encouraged freeform responses while closed questions utilised a 3-point Likert rating scale. The questionnaire was multilingual, featuring a working template in Plain English and translations into the five project languages (Plain Italian, Plain Latvian, Plain Lithuanian, Plain Slovenian, Plain Swedish)<sup>3</sup>. The Plain Language version of the questionnaire was intended for SEL professionals, while an Easy Language version was specifically prepared in all project languages for end-users. Furthermore, the Easy Language version of the SELSI questionnaire was made available in a printable large-letter format, allowing respondents the flexibility to complete it at their convenience and ease.

Despite preparing both Plain and Easy Language versions of the questionnaire in each language, and the need for adjustments in both language and content during the translation into Easy Language, the questions posed to professionals and to end-users were largely identical. The aim of the questionnaire was to assess how frequently professionals use a given set of strategies when operating in oral settings (two-way communication) or when they produce SEL content (one-way communication). Simultaneously, it sought to gauge the extent to which end-users find the same set of strategies helpful when interacting with an interlocutor (two-way communication) or listening to spoken content (one-way communication). We explored and identified strategies, in line with Easy Language guidelines, existing literature and insights from asymmetric communication studies, which tend to improve communication efficacy and clarity. These strategies were categorised into five overarching groups: 1) Textual and conversation-enhancing strategies; 2) Linguistic strategies; 3) Non-linguistic strategies; 4) Listener-engaging strategies; and 5) Use of supporting materials (see Table 1 for details).

3 The SELSI questionnaire was also translated and made available online and in printable format in Hungarian and Spanish, thanks to the interest of scholars working in the field and belonging to the Easy Language International Network (or ELIN): Péter László Horváth, Associate Professor at the Apor Vilmos Catholic College in Vác, Hungary, and Oscar García Muñoz, Accessibility Project Manager at Plena Inclusión Madrid and coordinator of the Train2Validate Erasmus+ project, 2020-2023 (<https://plenainclusionmadrid.org/train2validate/>).

Textual and conversation-enhancing strategies	Topic explicitation
	Signpost language
	Final summary
	Additional time
Linguistic strategies	Nouns vs. pronouns
	Word repetition
	Word explanation
	Metaphors and similes
	Active vs. passive voice
	Positive vs. negative formulations
Non-linguistic strategies	Vocatives
	Louder voice
	Clear word articulation
	Pauses and slow speech rate
Listener-engaging strategies	Body language
	Asking/receiving feedback
	Familiarisers
	Terms of endearment
	Direct questions
Use of supporting material	Humour
	Anecdotes
	Pictures or photos
	Drawings
	Music or sound effect

Table 1. Strategies tested in the SELSI questionnaire grouped into five broad categories

Example 1<sup>4</sup> below presents one questionnaire item belonging to the category ‘Listener-engaging strategies’. It shows some major lexical, grammatical and layout differences between the Plain Language version on the left and the Easy Language version on the right. Even when specialised terminology in the field of linguistics was retained (cf. ‘familiarised names’), examples were provided in brackets to clarify meaning and avoid ambiguity. In the Easy Language version, adherence to layout and linguistic norms was maintained (Inclusion Europe 2009). After discussions and focus groups with the SELSI

4 In the printable questionnaire, we used Verdana sans serif font, 14 points, lower case letters; we did not use italics or colour and we did not underline any portion of text (Inclusion Europe 2009: 13ff).

Advisory Board and various professionals who work with end-users, a 3-point Lickert scale was chosen to restrict response options, thereby facilitating end-users, despite its recognised lower accuracy and reliability compared to larger-scale rating scales.

<p>I use familiarised names (Tom, Tommy) to maintain a relationship with my interlocutor.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> often</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> sometimes</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> never</p>	<p>When people use my nickname to attract my attention, for me it is:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> very helpful</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> helpful</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> not helpful</p>
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Example 1. SELSI questionnaire item in Plain and Easy English

The questionnaire was distributed by sharing a link via email or social media. To maximise participation and enhance accessibility to end-users, no password protection was created. Questionnaire distribution opened on the 6th of March, 2023 and closed on the 26th of March, 2023. All respondents were given a brief introduction to the project and the questionnaire, were briefed on the terms of participation, and received instructions for completing the questionnaire. The distribution complied with ethical research principles, using both Plain and Easy Language explicitly stating that the questionnaire was anonymous and that respondents could abandon the survey at any time without any penalty (Example 2).

TERMS OF PARTICIPATION	IMPORTANT INFORMATION
<p>All of your responses will be strictly <b>confidential</b> and remain <b>anonymous</b> in future publications and presentations.</p> <p>You have the right to abandon the survey at any time without any penalty.</p>	<p>We will <b>never show your name</b>.</p> <p>We will be happy if you can answer the questions.</p> <p>But you can stop and leave when you want.</p>

Example 2. Plain and Easy Language terms of participation in the SELSI questionnaire. Bold character reflects the original layout choices. Bold characters highlight important information for easy retrieval (Inclusion Europe 2009: 17)

Finally, the questionnaire was tailored and restricted to specific target groups: SEL professionals and SEL end-users. Researchers were deliberately excluded, as the focus was on individuals who participate directly in both one-way and two-way communicative settings. For professionals, the emphasis was on those who work with end-users in contexts where two-way communication occurs (e.g. adult educators primarily facilitating adult learners, speech therapists or social workers in healthcare settings), and to those who produce spoken content and operate in contexts involving one-way communication (e.g. broadcasters, media producers, voice talents, audio narrators, journalists, etc.).

Once the questionnaire closed, data was first extracted from Web Survey Creator in the form of an Excel spreadsheet. Subsequently, the project’s data analyst, Drago

Brumen (Zavod Risa), processed the data using Microsoft Power BI, transforming it into a coherent and visually effective dataset. Because the questionnaire was multilingual, the answers to the open questions were translated into English using ChatGPT in order to perform both quantitative and qualitative analysis of free-text feedback.

#### 4. WHO ARE THE EUROPEAN SEL PROFESSIONALS AND SEL END-USERS?

The total number of completed responses was 446, with a significant representation of females (73%). The majority of respondents fell into the age range of 31 to 50 years, followed by those aged 51 to 70. Respondents were all of European origin, representing 15 different countries (Figure 1). Notably, the highest response rates were observed in the project partner countries, where the questionnaire was available in the local languages, active dissemination efforts were carried out, and direct links with stakeholders were established (cf. also ADLAB 2012; ADLAB PRO 2017a, 2017b; EASIT 2019). The most responsive partner country was Italy (30% of responses), followed by Lithuania (16%) and Latvia (13%). Conversely, fewer responses were collected in Sweden (9%) and Slovenia (9%), being smaller countries without university involvement. The considerable contribution of Spain (9%) and Hungary (9%) to the SELSI questionnaire responses reveals the power of collaborative networks in cross-national research (see also note 4; Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik and Harkness 2005; Orero et al. 2018). Notably, these countries featured researchers who actively participate in the recently established Easy Language International Network (ELIN), launched and coordinated by Tatjana Knapp (Zavod Risa).

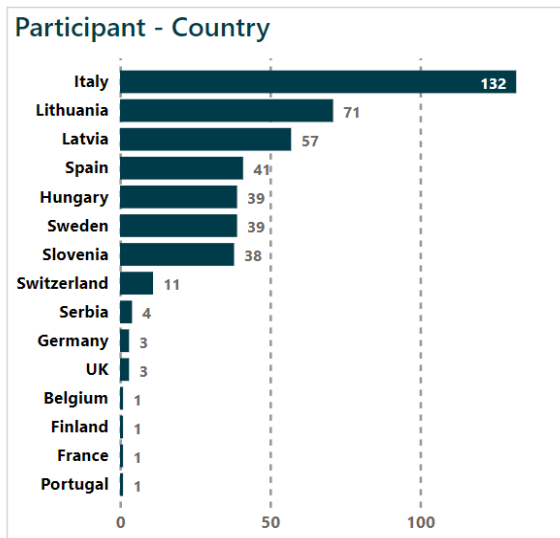


Figure 1. Overall distribution in absolute numbers of responses in European countries



Responses were collected from two distinct groups: SEL professionals (N = 266, 84% female, 52% aged 31-50) and SEL end-users (N = 180, 57% female, 46% aged 31-50).

In terms of highest degree of education achieved, 73% of the professional respondents hold a university degree, with 7% possessing a PhD. Approximately 17% of respondents held either a secondary degree or a professional qualification. End-users displayed a more diverse distribution in terms of educational background. Notably, 24% completed secondary school, while 22% possessed other types of degrees, a category that remained broad given the considerable educational diversity among participating countries. Furthermore, 14% held a university degree, 14% completed primary school and 14% had not received any formal schooling.

Among the professionals who participated in the survey, the majority (59%) worked in contexts featuring two-way communication with target groups, such as educational or healthcare settings (e.g., teacher, counsellor, speech therapist, social worker, etc.). Another 13% were adult educators directly engaged with target groups, primarily facilitating the education of adult learners within adult education organisations. Another 5% of professionals were involved in the production of oral content (e.g., broadcaster, media producer, voice talent, audio narrator, journalist, etc.), while 23% worked in other fields where adapting oral language was essential.

A qualitative analysis of the professional respondents who did not fit neatly into the predefined questionnaire categories revealed that they primarily included educators and support staff for individuals with disabilities (16%), as well as professionals in the museum and cultural sector (14%). Additionally, 14% of respondents were involved in Easy-to-Read<sup>5</sup> translation and accessibility services (14%). Social service professionals represented 11% of these respondents, while a smaller percentage included writers, editors, content creators, personal assistants and support personnel, communication and marketing professionals, and healthcare professionals. Academic and librarian responses were relatively scarce. The diverse range of professionals shows that the need for simplification extends beyond the specific areas of Easy Language application, encompassing a wide array of fields where simplification is needed in order to provide accessible services and foster inclusive oral communication. Notably, the responses of professionals revealed a crucial gap: they mainly relied on Easy Language guidelines devised for written language when seeking guidance to enhance their interactions (SELSI 2023: 45-46). Consequently, comprehensive guidelines for SEL to support oral communication remain notably absent.

As far as end-users are concerned, 29% were employed, 16% were students and 15% were mainly unemployed. The majority of respondents did not fit into these pre-established categories. In fact, 39% of end-users used open-ended responses to

5 The label 'Easy-to-Read' has been used extensively in the freeform responses in the SELSI questionnaire. This points to a still traditional position held by professionals in this field, whose primary focus remains on the written medium. This stance indirectly reduces the importance of the spoken medium, which is normally perceived as more unstructured.

describe their status, revealing a majority (67.53%) who attended day centres or occupational centres. Additionally, 13% were engaged in social workshops or sheltered workshops, while 12% were retired. Some respondents (9%) attended day centres or occupational centres while also participating in activities such as proofreading or evaluation, and 8% indicated involvement in various fields, including collaboration, work, or job-seeking.

## 5. WHAT WE LEARNED FROM THE SELSI SURVEY RESULTS

The SELSI questionnaire offered extensive data, offering both a comprehensive European perspective of SEL stakeholder views and individual country-specific insights. These results were initially presented during the first SELSI Multiplier Event in Trieste in April 2023, and are currently synthesised in a detailed multi-authored project report (SELSI 2023). This paper will focus on a few general aspects that have emerged during the analysis, pointing to an unexpectedly strong, almost unanimous, emphasis on non-linguistic aspects of oral communication (see Junaid et al. 2018). Notably, the way in which information is conveyed orally and the contextual nuances of the communication setting seem to carry more importance than the ‘grammar’ of the spoken text itself (including lexical, syntactic and textual choices).

An examination of the responses to the questions regarding textual and conversational strategies (Table 1) revealed that most strategies associated with asymmetric communication, as documented in the literature (e.g. Berman and Chutka 2016; Long 1983), are commonly used by professionals and valued by end-users with restricted language capacities. However, a standout finding was the consensus among end-users and professionals regarding the importance of granting additional time in conversational settings. This strategy was rated as the most helpful by end-users and also emerged as the most widely used strategy by professionals. This is supported by responses to open-ended questions (Questions 9, 10 and 16)<sup>6</sup>, wherein end-users consistently emphasised the importance of patience. End-users articulated their difficulties (Question 9) when confronted with poor listeners, fast or verbose speakers and people who fail to leave them enough processing and response time. Such comments included statements like, ‘I don’t like it when they are disrespectful, speak poorly to me, are impatient, have no time’, ‘Speak up. Speak patiently’ and ‘The difficult thing is for them to hear me and have patience, and for me to be understood’.

Regarding patience and additional time, when asked to express their adaptation needs (Question 10) and to explain how people should talk to them to be easily understood (Question 16), end-users indicated their preference for slow, loud and concise speech. However, most importantly, they emphasised the crucial need for attentive-

6 Respectively, ‘When people talk to you, what is difficult?’, ‘When people talk to you, how should they speak?’, and ‘Do you want to tell us other things that are helpful when you listen to someone or something?’.

ness and empathy (‘Understand my soul, my world’). Having empathy enables social connections and helps ensure optimal wellbeing. Both psychological (Ehrlich and Ornstein 2010) and linguistic empathy (Kann 2017) are the bedrock of human relationships, fostering feelings of value and care. Empathy signifies a speaker’s attitude and identification with a person or event in an utterance, creating an environment conducive to smooth and effective communication for all. Being patient and giving interlocutors sufficient time to respond involves the use of pauses in communication. These pauses afford listeners time to reflect on what is being said, form mental and emotional images, and retain information effectively. Moreover, pauses can have a calming effect on listeners, making them an invaluable tool for anyone who has to speak in public or create auditory content (Adubato 2023; Marinovich 2022) – we firmly believe that this is why the majority end-users found this strategy helpful (Figure 2). Thus, we endorse its application both in one-way and two-way communication settings and its inclusion in the forthcoming Easy Spoken Language recommendations. In contrast, speaking too quickly or loudly is linked with anger and an aggressive demeanour, disorienting and distracting end-users, delaying comprehension and response, and hindering their ability to maintain focus on the content that is being conveyed.

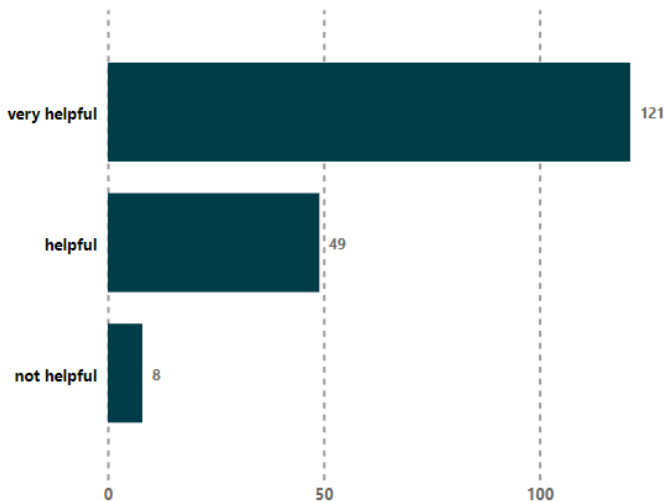


Figure 2. End-users’ answer to the question ‘When people are patient and give me a lot of time to answer, for me it is...’:

Overall, end-users’ open comments confirmed their need to be involved and be met with respect during oral interactions. These comments illuminated strategies and attitudes that were overlooked in closed-ended questionnaire items. The majority of end-users expressed a preference for non-patronising, kind and respectful interactions. One particularly revealing comment highlighted the importance of motivating

the interlocutor and preventing distraction by providing stimuli that demand attention, especially for those with short attention spans: ‘Speak clearly, not too quickly, and check if I’m following along, rather than just speaking non-stop. Ask if I understand, so I don’t start thinking about something else’. Significantly, these behaviours align with those commonly exhibited by professionals. Professionals often seek direct feedback from listeners through direct questions, give feedback using non-clausal units (e.g., ‘Oh’, ‘Okay’, ‘Yes’, etc.), and demonstrate interest through non-clausal fragments or tags (e.g., ‘Really?’) (Biber et al 1999: 1046), and employ utterance-launchers (‘You know’, ‘You see’, ‘Look’, ‘Right’) or attention-getters (‘Hey’) to encourage the co-construction of the conversation (see Biber et al. 1999: 1076). These strategies appear familiar to professionals and we believe that they are used so often due to their proven efficacy in the conversational setting (SELSI 2023: 59-60). Conversely, nicknames are almost never used by professionals as a means of maintaining a connection with listeners, and users do not find them particularly helpful, which could relate to the intrusive status of this strategy. However, the results show that users prefer their interlocutors to ask them direct questions and make them laugh to attract their attention rather than having to listen to anecdotes or personal references to their interlocutor (this is confirmed in the open answers of many end-users). This shows a preference and the possible effectiveness of listener-engaging strategies that involve directly the person who needs linguistic support and make them feel the focus of the conversation.

Eye contact, a form of non-verbal communication used to convey multiple emotions, emerged as a frequently mentioned strategy among end-users to enhance effective interaction. Interestingly, the act of looking at one’s smartphone was cited as a way to inhibit eye contact. As a fundamental factor in interpersonal relationship building (MacDonald 2009), continuous eye contact was deemed essential by some end-users, who struggled when speakers refrained from eye contact for extended periods of time. Furthermore, end-users stressed the importance of their interlocutors paying attention to them when they spoke, refraining from interruptions, allowing enough time to think, maintaining focus, and making them feel important, comfortable and at ease. These preferences clearly establish the role of an adequate communicative setting, i.e., a calm and quiet environment for effective conversation; a situation where the end-user is involved ‘and mustn’t see other people talking in front of them’. In addition, differences in communication between single versus group interactions were noted as factors influencing the type of adjustments required. Overall, according to professionals, ‘It is good to address smaller, more homogeneous groups, and individual conversations are also useful’ – a sentiment echoed by many end-users. This preference aligns with the creation of a conducive environment.

Effective communication can dramatically improve when there is a close rapport between professionals and end-users, as indicated by numerous freeform comments. End-users find it easier to interact with experts, i.e., professionals who know how to adapt their language to the interlocutor’s needs, particularly those who are familiar

with them. In such situations, end-users can ‘stay focused’ and comprehend more effectively. Likewise, professionals recognise the advantages of knowing their interlocutors well, allowing them to tailor their strategies accordingly. This is demonstrated by the following statement: ‘Depending on the type of group, I start from their context of life, interests, and the linguistic register they use, trying to establish rapport or empathy’. Overall, our results indicate professionals’ awareness of the importance of their client’s unique situation, including disabilities and background, along with their efforts to adapt their strategies in accordance. In addition, professionals emphasised the role of listening in their communication with end-users: ‘The most important thing is to listen to the person, understand them and ultimately provide all possible information that can help them’. However, even in conducive environments, end-users declare that expressing emotions and disagreeing remains their major difficulty – an area warranting future research. This is particularly significant because professionals find it equally difficult to decode or recognise the needs, thoughts and emotions of end-users, and to adapt their communication accordingly.

Although WP2 findings point to the salience of several non-verbal strategies, we wish to focus on repetition, the most interesting of the seven linguistic strategies that we have surveyed (Table 1). This strategy is linked, in part, with the need to interact in an empathetic environment. On the one hand, users appreciate repetition; on the other hand, professionals do not prioritise it as a strategy for communicating with people who face cognitive or intellectual difficulties, even if they are aware of its importance (SELSI 2023: 58). Professionals find it especially challenging to rephrase complex words and ideas that they have already simplified, with 25% maintaining that they never repeat the same idea in a sentence as a facilitating device. However, repetition is often encouraged by professionals in their interactions with end-users: ‘Sometimes I ask the conversation partner to repeat what I said and ask if they understand what I said’. This strategy is typically used to confirm the interlocutor’s comprehension. End-users tend to offer a positive answer to yes/no questions regarding their understanding, even when they fail to grasp the meaning of the message. Encouraging repetition can influence the course of the conversation, allowing more faithful and honest feedback.

As end-users have pointed out in the open-ended responses, repetition can be particularly helpful in cases of hearing loss, background noise interference, or the presence of complex or unfamiliar words that require more processing time. Referring to their interlocutor, an end-user states, ‘They need to repeat things to me twice. It’s good when I can see the other person’s lips, then it’s easier to understand what they are saying’. Similarly, another end-user said, ‘It also helps when they repeat things several times. Some words are not heard when said quietly, so it’s important to repeat them’. However, repetition is most appreciated when it is ‘short, sharp and tight’ (Carter et al. 1997: 196) – a criterion in line with the essence of an Easy and Plain Language text (Inclusion Europe 2009; Cutts 2013). This is explicated by one end-user as follows: ‘If I don’t understand, try to say it another way, as briefly and simply as possible. Sometimes someone explains what they have to say for so long that I don’t understand

it, even though it could be said much more briefly and simply'; another end-user emphasised the importance of clarity: 'many times they do not get to the point'.

Repetition, a key element in effective communication, is a favoured tool among orators because it helps to emphasise points and enhance the comprehensibility of speech (MasterClass 2022). It is a natural element of conversational grammar (Biber et al. 1999), aiding in thought structuring before articulation. Repetition also fosters familiarity, making people more open to the information that is being shared (Duncan 2021), and helps the audience remember and recognise the importance of your message, or to engage them. Repetition thereby highlights the need for prioritising paraphrasing techniques in Easy Language settings, training and future guidelines.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Intralingual translation, involving the transformation of standard and specialised language into Plain and/or Easy language, is an invaluable means of overcoming communicative exclusion in diverse settings. However, inclusive intralingual translation is traditionally examined within the realm of written communication, with limited attention paid to the vital domain of spoken language. The SELSI project, launched in 2022, is the first of its kind to focus entirely on Easy Spoken Language. In this paper, we briefly illustrated the project and selected results from its first research activity, WP2. Led by Elisa Perego and Piergiorgio Trevisan of the University of Trieste, WP2 aims to survey and map the needs and preferences of both SEL professionals and SEL end-users via a multilingual online and paper questionnaire. The results of the survey highlight a crucial revelation: effective communication in an oral environment transcends the mere adaptation of the message to the well-known Easy Language recommendations. Indeed, non-linguistic aspects of oral interaction play a pivotal role in asymmetric communication dynamics. End-users, i.e., less proficient co-participants in oral communication, demonstrate improved understanding when specific conditions are met. These conditions include sufficient time for information processing, fostering a sense of involvement and importance within the conversational setting, maintaining a tranquil or focused setting, and exhibiting patience, psychological and linguistic empathy, constant eye contact and a willingness to receive feedback, particularly on the part of expert interlocutors. However, even in conducive environments, there remain areas where end-users encounter challenges, such as expressing ones' emotions and disagreeing with their interlocutors. This observation highlights the need for future research to explore these aspects in greater detail. In sum, WP2 results confirm the effectiveness of certain established Easy Language strategies. At the same time, they shed light on additional factors that warrant consideration and inclusion in the SELSI recommendations for facilitating easy oral communication, which are currently in the process of development.

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# Translating standard language into easier varieties in Italy: mapping needs and strategies for spoken easy language\*

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## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses results from an Erasmus+ project called SELSI aimed to identify needs and strategies for linguistic support in Spoken Easy Language. It focuses on data collected in Italy among professionals who work with individuals needing linguistic simplification and on users who need simplified language themselves. More specifically, this study addresses both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects that are crucial for supporting the development of communication through Easy Language, e.g. textual and conversation-enhancing strategies, linguistic strategies, listener-engaging strategies and the use of multimodal materials.

The strategies discussed include the use of signpost language as a means to scaffold different textual parts and clarify the logical and semantic relations, the potential of metaphors for simplifying more abstract and potentially challenging concepts, the potential of interpersonal linguistic options and the use of multimodal resources for the creation of multisensory environments that support literacy development.

Overall, it will be argued, the data collected from professionals and from users exhibit a strong alignment: with very few exceptions, the strategies frequently em-

\* Piergiorgio Trevisan wrote this paper. Drago Brumen (Zavod Risa) extracted and processed the experimental data and performed the analytic calculations and the numerical simulations.

ployed by professionals coincide with the ones users find highly beneficial or helpful. These findings suggest that professionals employing Easy Language are presently headed in a positive direction, although they do highlight areas for potential future enhancements.

#### KEYWORDS

Spoken Easy Language, Accessibility, Conversation, Disability

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The present paper discusses the results of an Erasmus+ project called SELSI, which aims to identify needs and strategies for linguistic support in Spoken Easy Language (SEL henceforth). This support is intended to assist learners with additional needs ('users' henceforth) in acquiring skills in oral-based environments. Specifically, this study analyses data collected in Italy among professionals and users in different life contexts where two-way communication occurs, such as schools, day-centres, health care institutions, etc. The study also takes into account data collected with professionals who produce oral content for people with additional needs, such as broadcasters, media producers, audio narrators, etc.

Up to now, Easy Language has been researched and practiced almost exclusively as a writing methodology (Degener 2016; Inclusion Europe 2014; Maaß 2020; Matausch & Nietzio 2012; Piemontese 2012; Sciumbata 2017), whereas spoken communication has received very limited attention, with few notable exceptions (Leskelä 2022; Schulz *et al.* 2020). Specifically, the acknowledgment of the significance of simplified language variants is not new, and their integration has been observed across various nations over the course of time, with English-speaking countries assuming a crucial role (Perego 2020: 17). What is new, however, is the increasing need to employ simplified language variants across a broader spectrum of content, encompassing even multimodal forms of communication (Perego 2020: 17). In addition to domains such as audiovisual communication services, subtitling and audio description, it is crucial to also undertake research on the simplification of spoken language, considering its relevance in everyday activities. This paper aims at preliminarily addressing this need, and is organized as follows: section 2 will present the objectives of the SELSI project in the general context of Easy Language; section 3 will describe the methodology used for the collection of data among professionals and users; section 4 will discuss some notable results emerged from the study; finally, some concluding remarks will be drawn in section 5.

## 2. THE SELSI PROJECT

Traditionally, simplifying language has been closely associated with simplifying *written* forms of communication. Labels like ‘Easy to Read’ (UK), ‘Lectura Fàcil’ (Spain), ‘Leichte Sprache’ (Germany), and ‘Italiano facile da leggere’ (Italy) are just a few examples showing that efforts to reduce complexity often focus on a specific, yet crucial, aspect of communication: reading. However, the recent adoption of the more general label ‘Easy Language’ alongside ‘Easy to Read’, marks a shift in emphasis. This shift extends beyond reading and written content and embraces a ‘multimodal’ perspective. In this perspective, a broader range of semiotic modes requires simplification to ensure accessibility for diverse individuals across various contexts.

Starting from these premises, the *Spoken Easy Language for Social Inclusion* Erasmus+ project (SELSI henceforth) aims at filling this crucial gap, starting from the assumption that the spoken variety of communication is one of the most effective and common types of communication channels in everyday life. With five Countries (Italy, Slovenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Sweden) and different academic and non-academic institutions involved, the project’s ultimate goal is to outline the first-ever European guidelines for Spoken Easy Language in Europe: these guidelines will be primarily developed to support educators and learners from vulnerable groups in their everyday exchanges.

The project, which started in October 2022, is structured into 4 work packages (WP henceforth), each of which is led by a different European country. The first of them, called *Needs & Resource Mapping*, was headed by the University of Trieste (Italy), with the following major achievements:

- a. the creation of a shared online tool for bibliographical references which will prove crucial for researchers in the field both inside and outside the project;
- b. the preparation and distribution across 15 European countries of an online multilingual survey aimed at mapping good practices, approaches and resources in the field of SEL in Europe;
- c. the organization of a multiplier event during which all results were presented by the project participants and discussed with the general public.

The remaining WPs will have the following aims: a) drafting the recommendations and strategies for SEL; b) pilot testing them; c) creating a multi-lingual multimodal online tool for introducing an innovative inclusive methodology for Spoken Easy Language.

## 3. DATA COLLECTION: METHODOLOGY

Data were collected using an online multilingual questionnaire that included both open and closed-ended questions. Additionally, anonymous demographic informa-

tion such as age, gender, and type of occupation was gathered to facilitate data analysis. Respondents fell into two main categories:

1. Professionals who work with individuals requiring linguistic simplification to understand message content. These professionals engage in two-way communication in contexts such as education and healthcare (e.g., teachers, counselors, speech therapists, social workers), as well as those involved in producing oral content (e.g., broadcasters, media producers, voice actors, journalists);
2. Users, or individuals in need of linguistic simplification themselves. As far as this group is concerned, it included both students and people who are employed (for example volunteering in communities, etc.) as well as those who do not have a stable occupation. The survey for this group was formulated in Easy Language.

The questionnaire was designed to address five specific areas of interest in relation to the practices used in SEL: 1) Textual and conversation-enhancing strategies; 2) Linguistic strategies; 3) Listener-engaging strategies; 4) Non-linguistic strategies; 5) Use of supporting materials. These areas were investigated through closed-ended questions containing three options for the professionals ('often', 'sometimes', 'never') and three options for the end-users ('very helpful', 'helpful', 'not-helpful').

In addition to closed-ended questions, the questionnaire also included two open-ended questions for professionals and two open-ended questions for users. For the former group, the questions pertained to general difficulties encountered in producing spoken content and general strategies for adapting language. For the latter group, the questions focused on general challenges faced during oral exchanges and general remediation strategies that could enhance their understanding of messages.

Once completed, the survey was tested and then distributed to respondents across 15 European countries. The largest number of responses came from the partner countries, where the questionnaire was directly disseminated. In total, there were 446 completed responses, with Italy being the most represented country. The responses were collected from 266 professionals (84% female, 52% aged 31-50) and 180 users (57% female, 46% aged 31-50). Part 4 will present and discuss some notable points collected from Italian respondents.

#### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The overall number of completed questionnaire responses in Italy is 132, with 73% of them coming from females and 27% from males. As far as demographics is concerned, the most represented age range is between 31 and 50 years old, followed by the 51-70 age range. Most of the responses were collected from professionals (71%), but a significant number of individuals with disability ('users' henceforth) also opted to participate in the study (29%). The majority of professionals involved in the sur-

vey (69%) works with users in two-way communication contexts, while those we do not directly interact with users (28%) work in fields where adapting oral language is important (health and social care operators, museum educators, disability services, etc.). As far as users are concerned, only some of them have a stable occupation (22%), while all the others are either students or are currently engaged in activities such as going to day-centres (34%), attending local associations like *Anffas* (7.5%), proof-reading (4%) or looking for a job (2.5%).

Due to space constraints, the present section will present and discuss the results of few specific strategies from four of the areas investigated through the survey. While not purporting to provide an exhaustive account of the data collected, this will, hopefully at least, furnish an illustrative overview of specific needs and strategies for empowering communication with individuals who have cognitive impairments.

#### 4.1 TEXTUAL AND CONVERSATION-ENHANCING STRATEGIES

The part of the questionnaire that focused on textual and conversation-enhancing strategies aimed at investigating what professionals do to adapt their language when they talk to people who need linguistic support, or when they produce oral content for them. As regards users, this section surveyed what they find helpful/not helpful when others communicate with them.

Among the strategies identified by professionals, the use of *signpost language* seems to play a key-role for enhancing users' global comprehension of the message. Notably, a significant number of their answers pointed to the use of adverbs such as 'First', 'Second', 'Next', in addition to verb or prepositional phrases like 'To begin with', 'In other words', etc. Linguistic constructions that function as signpost markers are indeed very important in exchanges with any type of audience for their potential to facilitate the discussion flow, the organisation of ideas, and contextual understanding, but they seem to become crucial when communication entails exchanges with people who have cognitive disabilities.

Identifying the specific type of disability went beyond the scope of the SELSI project, however we believe that using signpost markers in discourse may benefit subjects regardless of the cognitive obstacles that they may experience, e.g. Down syndrome, autism spectrum disorder, traumatic brain injury, etc. Indeed, since signpost language explicitly states connections and transitions within different conversation phases by means of words, phrases and clauses, the relationships between topics can be made clearer and more evident, especially since listeners with impaired processing abilities may otherwise find them disconnected.

More generally, there may be several reasons why signpost language is critical for this specific demographic. Some of them may include:

- Signpost language provides verbal cues that seem to mimic a visual, outlined structure. In fact, using expressions such as "First we will talk about X, then

we will discuss Y” offers listeners a ‘roadmap’ to follow which is likely to be beneficial for cognitive processing and retention;

- Since it acts as a ‘scaffolding’ or ‘support structure’ between different parts of discourse, signpost language may also compensate for deficits like working memory or meaning extraction, thus helping the subjects by using fewer cognitive resources. The use of many cognitive resources may indeed ‘overload’ them;
- By using verb phrases like “To summarise” or prepositional phrases like “In other words”, professionals may enhance the comprehension of otherwise complex speech parts which require the ability to use inference and/or deduction abilities. Moreover, by rephrasing conclusions and recapping key points, the central ideas of longer linguistic exchanges are likely to be reinforced and to help listeners with diverse needs recall the most salient details.

Additional examples of signpost language that could be highly valuable for simplifying a standard message into one that is easier to understand in spoken communication may certainly include the following:”

- ‘Transition’ words and phrases, such as:
  - “To begin with”, “Afterwards”, “Subsequently”
  - “In addition”, “Furthermore”, “Moreover”
  - “However”, “On the other hand”
  - “Therefore”, “Consequently”, “As a result”
- ‘Summarizing’ phrases or clauses, such as:
  - “In summary”
  - “To recap the main points”
  - “As I said earlier”
- ‘Clarifying’ phrases or clauses, such as:
  - “In other words”
  - “To put it another way”
  - “What I mean by this is”
- ‘Sequencing’ clauses and adverbs, such as:
  - “The steps are as follows: First, Next, Last”
  - “The timeline is: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow”
- ‘Cause’ and ‘Effect’ clarifiers, such as:
  - “X led to Y”
  - “Because of X, Y happened”
  - “The reason for X is Y”



- ‘Feedback-oriented’ clauses, such as:
  - “Does this make sense so far?”
  - “What are your thoughts on what I just said?”
  - “Would you like me to go over that again?”

Notably, the strategies that users have identified as contributing to a better understanding of a message appear to align with those discussed so far. For example, a significant number of users emphasized the usefulness of ‘providing a final summary’ as an effective conversational strategy. Final summaries serve as a means of ‘scaffolding’ the various parts of discourse, which is particularly important for individuals with cognitive impairments who may also experience short-term memory issues. Summaries may not prove crucial only for retaining essential information, but they may also be very useful for illustrating the logical and semantic relationships and connections between different sections of the discourse.

## 4.2 LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES

In terms of linguistic strategies, professionals were asked to evaluate the frequency of their usage of eight specific strategies, while end-users were asked to assess the effectiveness of two strategies. Specifically, the strategies examined for professionals encompassed the use of nouns vs. pronouns, repetition, explanation of difficult words, employment of literal language/metaphoric language, use of similes, reference to the interlocutor by name, use of active constructions, and the use of positive formulations. As for end-users, they were asked to evaluate the degree of helpfulness associated with the explanation of difficult words and the use of their own name during the interaction.”

Among the strategies singled out by professionals, an interesting insight comes from the results regarding the use of *literal* versus *metaphorical* language. More than 46% of them reported never using metaphors, which may apparently seem slightly counterintuitive. As a matter of fact, a large body of research in linguistics and neuroscience has shown that metaphors are a powerful tool used by speakers to help their interlocutors better make sense of complex areas (Gibbs 1992). As clearly outlined at the outset of metaphor studies by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), speakers use metaphors pervasively in their everyday life to reduce the complexity of some domains of knowledge, thus making them more ‘approachable’. More specifically, metaphorical constructions are very often used by speakers to simplify abstract *target* domains by means of language selections made within more concrete *source* domains. In health communication, for example, it is not rare for doctors to target very sensitive and subject topics like illnesses, emotions and death by using linguistic elements belonging to more tangible and concrete source domains like JOURNEYS, WAR, NATURE, etc. (Semino et al, 2018): Two examples may help clarifying this point:

1. “Cancer is a journey, some people have similar experiences to others on that journey, but by and large the journey has many twists and turns that means no two people go the exact same route”. (Quoted in Semino et al, 2018: 139)
2. “I have not hunkered down in my trench to just merely defend myself against the demon but have picked up my sword and taken the fight to the demon” (quoted in Semino et al, 2018: 107)

In both examples, lexical choices selected from the source domain of JOURNEY and of WAR are used to create metaphors targeting the long treatment of cancer (by a doctor in the first example) and of reaction to the disease (by a patient, in the second example). By doing so, the two speakers are able to talk about otherwise complex areas by using images that are quite common in everyday life: instead of singling out technical terms that may sound unfamiliar to the layperson, the doctor refers to the obstacles in cancer treatment as “twists” and as “turns”, and to the different therapies people may need as “routes”. Similarly, in example 2 the patient opts to use terminology associated with the WAR source domain instead of attempting to describe highly personal emotional and physical reactions that may be challenging to clearly articulate. This choice serves to render the patient’s experience more concrete and comprehensible.

In the light of what has been said so far regarding metaphors, we may expect that such a powerful tool could find extensive use in the process of language simplification. Perhaps against our expectations, almost half of the professionals in our cohort never use metaphors when they communicate with people who suffer from cognitive impairments, *literal* language being their favorite strategy instead. A figure of speech they use slightly more frequently is the *simile* (53%), in which the target and the source are linked by the preposition ‘like’.

A possible reason why figurative language is so rarely used despite its power for simplification may be ascribed to the professionals’ awareness that people with some types of impairment can at times find it hard to process *non-literal* language: for example, individuals with Asperger Syndrome (AS henceforth) are often described as failing to understand figures of speech and non-literal language more generally, despite possessing intact language abilities (Martin & McDonald, 2004). Impairments in non-literal language processing have acquired a lot of recognition in recent years, to the point that the characterisation of some very well-known literary figures has heavily revolved around this issue. In *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* (Haddon, 2003), for example, the main character Christopher suffers from AS: at one point in the novel, he first makes a list of metaphors and then comments on them by saying they should not be used.

“I laughed my socks off”.

“He was the apple of her eye”.

“They had a skeleton in the cupboard”.

“We had a real pig of a day”.

“The dog was stone dead”.

“I think it [metaphor] should be called a lie because a pig is not like a day and people do not have skeletons in their cupboards” (19–20; emphasis in original).

Something similar happens in the novel *Flowers for Algernon* (Keyes, 1959), when the protagonist Charlie, who suffers from a mental disease called ‘phenylketonuria’, is the only one who cannot make sense of the metaphors produced by his colleagues

Sometimes somebody will say hey look at Joe or Frank or George he really pulled a Charlie Gordon. I dont know why they say that but they always laff. This morning Amos Borg who is the 4 man at Donnegans used my name when he shouted at Ernie the office boy. Ernie lost a package. He said Ernie for godsake what are you trying to be Charlie Gordon. I dont understand why he said that. I never lost any packiges (p. 289 misspellings in the original).

Interestingly, at one point in the story the character is able to heal from this disease and this coincides with his ability to create new and powerful metaphors like “To cram a lifetime of research” (301), “My contribution must rest upon the ashes” (301), etc.

Whether professionals rarely use figures of speech because of their awareness of potential decoding barriers should be investigated more deeply, especially in the light of the fact that a specific type of figurative language is, conversely, largely used by them: irony. As pointed out by Martin and MacDonald (2004), irony is indeed an example of non-literal language that individuals with cognitive impairments may find very hard to make sense of. Despite that, professionals repeatedly noted that they regularly use it in their daily interactions with users, thus raising questions about the hypothesis that they deliberately choose not to use other types of figurative language (e.g. metaphors) for the barriers they may imply.

Notably, in their open comments, users themselves pointed out the benefits they experience when interacting with professionals who use irony. Perhaps surprisingly, despite usually deploying a significant amount of figurative language, irony does not appear to pose an obstacle, at least in our sample. A more in-depth investigation may be necessary to fully understand this aspect, however it is plausible that the use of irony may be associated with empathy, which plays a crucial role in the process of simplifying spoken language (see Perego this issue).

#### 4.3 LISTENER-ENGAGING STRATEGIES

The aim of this part of the questionnaire was to investigate if/which listener-engaging strategies are used by professionals when they produce spoken content for people who need linguistic support. These strategies are crucial in communication, as successful exchanges are highly dependent on the capacity to keep the attention of the listeners as alive and stimulated as possible. Intuitively, this is even more important with people who may have difficulties understanding spoken communication, since their need for engagement is even bigger.

As widely discussed within functional approaches to grammar (Eggins 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Martin and White 2003), speakers constantly produce at least three types of meaning during their utterances: one of them is called *ideational*, and deals with the representation of processes, entities and circumstances on the semantic plane. This type of meaning is perhaps the most ‘traditional’ one, through which some specific content is conveyed. In addition to *ideational* meanings, however, speakers concurrently produce so called *interpersonal* meanings and *textual* ones: the first enable the participation in communicative acts with other people by taking on roles and expressing/understand feelings, attitudes and judgements (Bloor and Bloor, 2004: 11); the second ones involve the use of language to organise the text itself. Language, in other words, is a social phenomenon that is used by speakers with different purposes at the same time.

The data collected show that professionals are very aware of the importance of activating the so called “interpersonal metafunction” of language (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 106), i.e. that area of language use which is related to interactive and social purposes of the speakers. Generally speaking, the resources language offers for the activation of this specific metafunction are to be found mainly in the systems of *mood* (where selections are to be made between ‘statements’ and ‘questions’), *modality* (where modal operators like ‘may’, ‘maybe’, ‘could’ and ‘might’ can be used to express levels of probability and obligation or for expressing the speaker’s level of commitment to what is being expressed), *tense* (which gives speakers the possibility to situate events in time in relation to the speech situation) and *clause type* (which distinguishes among ‘simple’ and ‘complex’ clauses and between ‘clausal units’ and ‘non-clausal’ units).

Notably, 80% of the professionals resort to the system of *mood* to engage listeners while they talk to them. Specifically, they tend to use questions for either asking direct feedback regarding what was just said, or for asking to repeat it. Professionals often use questions as attention-getters, especially when they realize that they may be losing their audience’s attention. However, among the resources offered by language to realise interpersonal meanings, the ones that are more used for enhancing the conversation flow regard the selection of *clause type*: specifically, professionals engage people with disabilities mainly by using ‘non-clausal’ units, namely language items that do not carry specific ideational contents but have high interpersonal potential. The most notable examples include the use of items like “oh”, “ok”, “yes”, “alright”, etc. The system of *modality*, on the other hand, does not seem to play a significant role. This is probably because in this type of communication the clarification of the ‘commitment level’ to what is being expressed by the professionals themselves is not of primary importance. Instead, it is crucial to demonstrate undivided attention and active engagement with the other speakers. Therefore, the selection of language items that convey interest and maintain continuous contact with them takes precedence. Regarding tense, professionals did not mention it as a linguistic strategy they pay particular attention to. Nevertheless, given the practical nature of the topics discussed in these types of interactions, simpler tenses such as the present or progressive ones are likely more common than their perfect counterparts.

As anticipated earlier, humor seems to work very well for enhancing conversation, according to users. This may initially seem slightly unexpected since irony and humour tend to greatly deploy figurative uses of language which, similarly to metaphors, may be hard to process for people with intellectual disabilities. Clearly, this is highly dependent on the type of disability and on the strategies deployed for creating humour. Since they went beyond the objectives of the project, however, this type of data was not captured by the questionnaires.

Generally speaking, however, it is highly likely that when humor arises from situational factors, e.g. from the subversion of expectations, or from jokes that do not involve figurative language, it becomes an invaluable tool for engaging individuals with intellectual disabilities, as emerged from their answers: notably, 89% of them responded that jokes and words that make them laugh are either useful or very useful to get their attention and keep it alive. A possible explanation for this is that humor contributes to the reduction of anxiety and to the promotion of relaxation: this is likely to create a positive emotional atmosphere, possibly conducive to a higher degree of engagement. Moreover, as anticipated above, the use of humor may probably contribute to the development of empathy, which is a real promoter of engagement in people with intellectual disabilities (See Perego, this issue). The users' open comments emphasize again how important it is for them to feel engaged in order for communication to be successful. Some examples include:

- “Giving me a handshake, making me feel important, can be helpful”.
- “Being close to the person who is speaking”
- “They should look at me”

Gestures, body language, physical proximity, eye contact, and other non-verbal forms of communication are all ways to convey interpersonal meanings. While their in-depth analysis is beyond the scope of this study, it is essential to recognise that these non-verbal strategies should be employed by professionals to enhance engagement when using Easy Language.

#### 4.4 SUPPORTING MATERIALS

The questionnaire contained three questions aimed at assessing the role played by supporting materials in the communication with people who need linguistic support. Specifically, questions regarded the use of pictures, of drawings and of sound effects, i.e. of multimodal materials. The term “multimodal” refers to texts that deploy more than one semiotic mode for meaning-making: still or dynamic images, movies, songs, hypermedia texts are all examples of multimodal texts widely present in today's societies.

These text types have been at the centre of several studies in the last twenty years, both in the Linguistics field and in the Literacy one (Kress 2003; Unsworth

2004, 2006; Zhao 2008, 2010, 2011; Curwood 2011, 2012, 2013), especially due to their great potential to immerse children within multisensory environments which are capable of highly stimulating and training their attention, both the focus and the distributed one (Pagliano 2017). For these reasons, multimodal texts are highly correlated to the notion of *accessibility*, namely to the importance of enabling the persons with disabilities “to fully enjoy all human rights and fundamental freedoms” (The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities). Incidentally, multimodal texts have also been studied for their capacity to develop analytical and critical thinking skills (O’Halloran et al. 2015), since there is a general consensus among the followers of the New Literacy movement (e.g., Freebody and Luke 1990; Jewitt 2008; Kress 2003) that the competencies needed to participate in emergent forms of new media require *multiliteracies* – that is, a set of multiple literacies which extend beyond language.

The figure below summarizes the data collected from professionals and viewers regarding the use of multimodal materials:

Question	very helpful	often	helpful	sometimes	not helpful	never	Total
15.1 (P) Pictures/photos		60		32		1	93
15.1 (U) Pictures/photos	20		16		1		37
15.2 (P) Drawings		32		45		16	93
15.2 (U) Drawings	16		14		8		38
15.3 (P) Music/sound effects		10		43		40	93
15.3 (U) Music/sound effects	8		16		13		37
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>391</b>

Figure 1: Professionals’ and users’ stance on the role of supporting materials

As can be observed, users consistently indicate that these types of materials are either ‘very helpful’ or ‘helpful’ for them. However, the use of these materials is somewhat limited among professionals, especially in the case of drawings and music/sound effects. Considering that the vast majority of users find pictures/books to be either very helpful or helpful, we might expect a higher number of professionals to use them more frequently. Surprisingly, one-third of them use this resource only sometimes, potentially not fully realising its potential for enhancing communication. When it comes to drawing and music, it’s worth speculating that users may appreciate them less because they are not regularly exposed to these types of materials; hence, they may not be fully aware of their communicative potential.

In the questionnaire section where both professionals and users could comment on any elements they found very helpful for enhancing communication, some in fact focused precisely on these resources:

- User: “Images. It is helpful if the speaker writes down the most important information”
- Professional: “Synthesis, use of images”
- Professional: “I simplify words, add gestures, symbols, songs, and anything that can help”

Although the questionnaire did not explore the design and structure of the multimodal resources used, it is plausible that at least the following features may facilitate the creation of successful multisensory environments:

- If pictures include both the visual and the written mode, the reading order should be very clear: lay-out can greatly help to guide both the direction and the way of reading (Hansen 2010: 3). The written mode should of course use the principles of Easy-to-Read language;
- The multimodal resources used should adhere to the principle of ‘repetition’, meaning they should depict topics familiar to the users, effectively ‘visually reinforcing’ the content conveyed through Easy Language (Løvlan, 2010: 4). In other words, ‘intermodal coherence’ should be guaranteed;
- If professionals opt to use hypermedia environments to support spoken communication rather than more traditional pictures or photos, they should aim to incorporate the concept of ‘scaffolding’ whenever possible. This involves the flexibility of the text content, so that it may constantly be adapted to the development of the subject (Hansen 2010). Digitisation can greatly facilitate the processing of content and differentiation in relation to the individual user’s needs for support.

In conclusion, multimodal materials can greatly benefit communication with people who need linguistic support, provided that factors like *readability*, *organisation*, *scaffolding* and *personalisation* are taken into account and incorporated into their design. Overall, professionals appear to have a general awareness of the potential benefits these resources can offer, but they may still have some reservations about using them consistently. It is likely that they could benefit from encouragement to make use of these resources, especially through the ongoing development of guidelines.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has discussed some results from an ongoing Erasmus+ project called SELSI aimed at identifying needs and strategies for linguistic support in Spoken Easy Language. More specifically, it has reflected upon data collected in Italy among professionals and users in different life contexts where two-way communication occurs, such as schools, day-centres, health care institutions, etc.

The different sections of the study have addressed both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects that are crucial for supporting the development of communication through Easy Language. In particular, Section 4.1 discussed the use of signpost language as a means to scaffold different textual parts and clarify the logical and semantic relations among them. This strategy is highly valued by both professionals and users. On the other hand, Section 4.2 explored the potential of metaphors for simplifying more abstract and potentially challenging concepts. Research in neuroscience and linguistics

has highlighted the crucial role of metaphors in everyday simplification. However, professionals tend to use them sparingly, perhaps because they are aware that individuals with certain cognitive disabilities may struggle with non-literal language. Moving to Section 4.3, it delved into linguistic options for enhancing conversation. Specifically, it examined aspects of the linguistic system of *mood* and the use of non-clausal units, which are essential for activating interpersonal meanings in communication. These meanings are not about conveying specific content but are instead used to 'keep the communicative channel open' between speakers, making them vital in communication with individuals who find it challenging to communicate. Finally, Section 4.4 concentrated on the use of multimodal resources and explored their potential to create multisensory environments that support literacy development. It was argued that the consistent and increased use of these resources is necessary, as a certain number of professionals appear to be somewhat reluctant to exploit them.

Overall, the data collected from professionals and from users exhibit a strong alignment: the strategies frequently employed by professionals coincide with the ones users find highly beneficial or helpful, with only a minimal number of exceptions. These findings indicate significant positive outcomes, indicating that professionals utilising Easy Language are currently moving in the right direction. Future research avenues could consider the exploration of different disability types, potentially leading to more targeted and, hopefully, more successful use of the resources presented in this study.



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# The expression of instrumentality in Dutch and Italian cut and break sequences: a cross-linguistic analysis

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## ABSTRACT

Instrumentality, a topic often mentioned in one and the same breath as agents and patients in thematic analyses, is rarely considered a linguistic element in its own right. In the context of everyday language use, instrumentality is a very broad concept and is illustrated frequently, be it overt or not. The purpose of this article is to analyse the different linguistic typologies and patterns that underlie the expression of different instrumental roles in Dutch and Italian. Paradigms originating from cognitive and construction grammar are used to shed light on the processes that impact the expression and various typologies of instrumentality. This paper targets cut and break (C&B) verbs since they show particularly interesting characteristics. The analysis of a usage-based corpus, that consists of the free description of stimuli representing C&B events by native speakers, shows that instrumentality can assume almost all grammatical functions and is shown to be the result of joint meaning-construction between two participants in search of shared assumptions.

## KEYWORDS

cut and break, cognitive grammar, multimodal discourse analysis, instrumentality

## ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	adjective
ADJ ADV	adjunct adverbial
Adv	adverb
AG	agent
C&B	cut and break
CxG	construction grammar
DO	direct object
INS	instrument
IT	Italian
IO	indirect object
IU	intonation unit
LOC	locative
NL	Dutch
NP	noun phrase
PAT	patient
PP	prepositional phrase
Prep	preposition
Pron	pronoun
S	subject
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This article discusses instrumentality, a multifaceted concept omnipresent in everyday language, with a specific focus on the linguistic encoding of events of CUTTING and BREAKING, a particular domain of events involving “separation in the material integrity of objects” (Majid et al., 2007, p. 134), henceforth cut and break, or C&B events (Majid et al., 2007). Given the linguistic variation in expressing these concepts across languages and the varying criteria used to interpret them, cross-linguistic approaches have often been adopted: for instance, the specificity of the verbs used in different languages (Schoonjans et al., 2016) or the underlying semantic structures for cut and break verbs (Majid et al., 2008). Often, the aim is to debunk or support the theory of language universals. In this article, the cut and break events are used as a framework and context for the multimodal expression of instrumentality. By using precisely these sequences, one can focus on constructions that contain an instrument and in which way the latter is precisely expressed.

As an instrument for the structure analysis, empirical data will be drawn from a multimodal corpus generated through experiments involving twelve native speakers of Italian and Dutch. The aim is to get a complete overview of how instrumentality can be expressed in Dutch and Italian, and the differences and similarities be-

tween patterns. The article focuses on constructions that contain an instrument and in which way it is precisely expressed.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This literature review outlines a theoretical framework for the study of instrumentality and cut and break sequences. First of all, cognitive grammar is applied to the concept of instrumentality, which illuminates how cognitive processes influence the expression of instrumentality. Then, construction grammar is employed to elucidate how instrumentality manifests itself within linguistic constructions. Subsequently, the review investigates the concept of causality and the role of instruments within it, followed by an examination of instrumentality itself, focusing on the properties of grammatical instruments and their interactions with other thematic roles. The article then zooms in on the unique characteristics of “cut and break” verbs. It subsequently discusses theoretical approaches to expressing instrumentality in C&B verbs in both Dutch and Italian, offering illustrative sentences for clarification. The exploration of these concepts serves as the foundation for the analysis of verbal instrumental structures and the intricate processes involved in the spontaneous production of language.

### 2.1 COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

“You can use the knife to slice the bread either this way [gesture], or horizontally, or chop it into little cubes.” Or “you use the knife to slice it.” The linguistic encoding, which does not consist exclusively of the combination of words and sounds, chosen by the two speakers in the same conversation, gives an insight into how they construct their mental image of slicing bread (Taylor, 2002). Notwithstanding, the mental processes show similarities because speakers in interaction often tend to create consensus and seek to comprehend the constructions someone opts for to describe their mental image. Therefore, meaning is a consequence of the dynamic between the interlocutors and highly depends on context, including the linguistic context but also on socio-cultural and spatial-temporal factors (Langacker, 2008). Despite the great differences in specificity, originating from varying mental images, based on one’s worldview, past experiences, and any specific knowledge, the previous examples accentuate that an event will take place in which a person will perform an action using a knife and the bread will undergo said action. This can be represented schematically as follows, in which a source has a goal and in order to reach that goal it follows a certain path:

[Event GO ([Thing X], [Path TO ([Place IN ([Thing Y]])])] (Jackendoff, 1983 cited in Langacker, 2008).

Besides specificity, Langacker (2008) formulates other three labels: focusing, prominence, and perspective. In the context of instrumentality, instruments can be de-

scribed with a fine-grained high-resolution description, e.g., “a serrated kitchen knife with a long blade”, or a coarse-grained description, e.g., “a knife”. Alternatively, a speaker could opt for a schematic approach when unfamiliar with the proper vocabulary: “a tool to slice the bread.” The descriptions of instruments can be expanded as much as desired, though there are practical limits to a conversation. Hence interlocutors choose what elements they want to bring to the foreground. When talking about focusing, Langacker discusses “the selection of cognitive content for linguistic presentation” (Langacker, 2008, p. 57). Each lexical component gives immediate access to several cognitive domains, which, when combined, form the context for reaching a deep understanding of that semantic unit and through which conceptualisation is achieved (Langacker, 2008). Some domains come to the foreground and are thus more easily activated when being exposed to the lexical units. Other domains in the matrix, given the limited number of domains that can be activated at once, are placed further in the background and are only weakly activated in our cognition. However, this does not mean that all the domains in the matrix are completely separate from each other; on the contrary, the domains overlap and interact with each other (Taylor, 2002). The degree of focusing is partly determined by what has been built up in the conversation up to that point. And therefore, what remains in the background or what is being mentioned explicitly, depends on the common knowledge participants have established so far. However, a conversation continues to build on that implicit common ground and facilitates the emergence of new elements. Two conversating participants who are introduced to an element they are not familiar with, fall back on this common ground and continue the conversation co-creating a shared assumption of the object’s function (Chui, 2014). Another aspect of focusing is the choice of words and expressions that evoke a certain frame. Each frame recalls other conceptual information that is activated in the background of our minds, not only on a semantic level but also syntactically. A verb implies a subject, an instrumental verb implies an instrument, a C&B verb implies someone who is executing the action and an object that undergoes the action, etc. These abstract categories are expressed by semantic roles, or thematic relations, which will be a focal point in the analysis.

## 2.2 CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR

Lexical components frequently include a lot of conceptual information, but the constructions applied in conjunction with the lexical content carry meaning as well (Talmy, 2000) and provide insight into cognitive processes. The notion of perspective specifically but not exclusively impacts the construal character of a phrase, as it depicts the relation between the subject observing and the salient object being focalised. Most often, the subject remains in the background of the conversation, as long as it is not a crucial part of the situation that is being described, and therefore remains covert (Langacker, 2008). Depending on the viewing arrangement of the description, the subject can become part of the immediate scope of the expression. That viewing

arrangement is defined by the speaker, who decides the point of reference for the illocutions. This all results in the ability to form different constructions that differ from each other when it comes to immediate scope or differences in viewing arrangements, while strictly depending on the lexical units within the constructions and thus creating a lexicon-syntax continuum (Hoffman, 2017), one of the basic assumptions of construction grammar. CxG analyses form-meaning pairings, so-called constructions, at the morphological, semantic, sentence, and textual levels. They are completely arbitrary pairings that have become conventionalised, but which can, even without an interpretation of real content, carry meaning of their own. According to CxG, the brain stores all of its knowledge of grammar as constructs (Croft & Cruise, 2004, mentioned in Hoffmann, 2017), forming a “constructicon”, i.e. the collection of constructions that comprise a person’s mental grammatical knowledge. Of particular interest for instrumentality is the resultative construction entailing a causative event, schematized by Goldberg (1995) as FORM: X (the cause) V (the verb) Y (the complement undergoing the action expressed by V) Z (the result), where each letter represents a slot, which can be filled by the speaker (Hoffmann, 2017).

### 2.3 INSTRUMENTALITY AND C&B

Instruments as a thematic role have particular characteristics, which means that there is little consensus in the research domain. Some consider instruments as non-essential arguments that modify the verb (Rissman et al., 2015), while others perceive them as equally important participants that have an equal amount of proto-agent and proto-patient properties (Dowty, 1991, cited in Van Hooste 2018, p.2). Following Dowty’s hierarchy, instruments prototypically entail a combination of “causation, meaning causing an event or change of state in another participant (agent proto-role), and movement relative to the position of another participant (agent proto-role), without volition or sentience (patient proto-roles)” (Dowty, 1991, p.577). Croft (Figure 1) points out how different arguments and thematic relations are distributed throughout a sentence. The arrows pointing to the right represent the causal chain. The elements left of the vertical line are believed to have proto-agent characteristics. It shows that instruments can take both the position of the subject as well as the position of the object and that their presence induces a result.

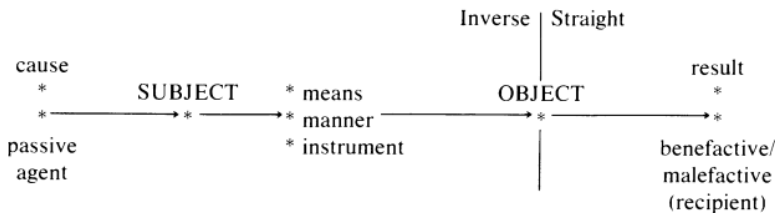


Figure 1: Organization of causal chains (Croft, 1991)

Instruments tend to have several additional characteristics that make them stand out from other thematic relations, which confirm the twofold process of force dynamics.

- “1) The instrument plays a role in the means by which the agent/actor carries out a certain action,
- 2) the agent/actor acts on the instrument and as a consequence,
- 3) the instrument acts on the patient/undergoer and
- 4) agents and instruments have some semantic similarities (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005, p. 45, cited in Van Hooste, 2018).”

Furthermore, break verbs encode a change in the state without assigning a cause, or semantically monadic verbs. Cut verbs imply an instrument because they lexicalise the causal impact on a theme as a result of the contact between the theme and that instrument - whether or not verbally expressed - and are therefore semantically dyadic. They also imply a property of the instrument or the way it is handled (chopping and mincing imply handling an instrument with some kind of knife, pricking and piercing, on the other hand, imply a sharp point of an instrument that performs the expressed action). Bohnemeyer concludes that C&B verbs fall into two semantic classes:

“Those that specify the use of a particular kind of instrument and a generic state change (cut verbs) and those that specify a particular kind of change or a particular type of theme argument but are nonspecific regarding instruments involved (break verbs).” (Bohnemeyer, 2007, p. 160)

Yet, that does not mean instruments cannot be expressed when using break verbs, to cut verbs semantically require an instrument, whereas break verbs allow an instrument (Koenig et al., 2002).

Instrumental verbs can further be divided into different non-language related categories according to degrees of specificity, ranging from generic verbs such as *to do* or *to use* to specific C&B variants like *to shred* (Sambre, Brône et al., 2019). When using specific C&B verbs, the result of the action most often is not encoded explicitly, since that information is already activated by the verb (Koenig, 2002). This is also the case for verbs that are derived from nouns referring to instruments, for example, *to saw*, *to mow*, *to shave*. They make it impossible to express the instrument without creating a form of redundancy (Dowty, 1991). However, when narrowing down the scope of instrumentality to the C&B domain, it is widely accepted that the underlying semantic structures vary between the two categories with distinct argument structures and syntactic privileges (Guerssel et al., 1985; Levin & Rappaport, 1995, cited in Majid et al., 2007), validating the assumption that not every language has the same distinction between the two categories of to cut and to break, nor do they express instrumentality equally.

### 3. MATERIALS AND METHOD

Cognitive grammar aims to provide insights into how speakers structure and process information. For this reason, the study opted to analyse usage-based data gathered



during experiments. As a consequence, the data of these experiments might be complexly constructed and not always conventional. Disparities, though, are common and can go unnoticed due to the demands of language usage (Langacker, 2017). The goal of the experiment is to elicit natural speech in a given context and to create a multimodal corpus describing cut and break actions. The population that is being studied includes all native speakers of Italian and Dutch. With a view to the feasibility of this study, a convenience sample of six native Dutch speakers and six native Italian speakers between 21 and 23 years old was selected out of all linguistics students at the University of Leuven, campus Antwerp. In order to create a conversational setting, in which participants can complement or correct each other and avoid short artificial answers, all participants were divided into groups of two. During the experiment, slides were shown, depicting two instruments and two objects. All verbs symbolised by the instruments are part of the cut and break category, meaning they are semantically related to actions such as cutting and breaking. The participants were asked to combine the instruments with the objects and talk about all the possible actions and outcomes, of combining objects and instruments. The conversations were recorded and transcribed using the automated transcription service *Sonix*, resulting in six transcriptions with grammatical constructions used by the students to describe the actions. These transcriptions were thereafter divided into 1993 Dutch and 1659 Italian intonation units (IU), which formed the analysable data for this study. That is because the grammatical structures in a conversational setting differ from regular argument structures, often slots are left empty, and repetitions and repairs are frequent (Cienki, 2015). Moreover, the utterances are a result of the collaboration of the participants in the conversation, and consequently so is the grammar. Participants correct each other, complement utterances, repeat utterances they agree with, etc. This leads to a collection of IUs that cannot be analysed without context. Therefore, instead of analysing turn by turn, it is more useful to focus on IUs, as they impact the grammatical structure of the discourse.

#### 4. ANALYSIS

Of the 1993 Dutch IUs, 545 units contained a trace of instrumentality linked to C&B. For the Italian corpus, there were 592 units expressing instrumentality in some way. IUs containing neither a trace of instrumentality nor a causing or caused event were disregarded in the analysis.

##### 4.1 VERB SPECIFICITY

First of all the verb specificity was examined. As mentioned earlier, verbs can be divided into categories according to a degree of specificity. Figure 2 compares the specificity of the instrumental verbs in Dutch and Italian. Following the general trend,

it becomes clear that the distribution across the three verb categories is proportional for Italian. However, this is not the case for Dutch. In 21,48% of the IUs, the Dutch speakers used a generic verb like ‘to use’ or ‘to do’. In 27,69% of the IUs, Italian speakers used such verbs. A greater distinction, however, can be found in the cut or break category, resulting in a relatively small but considerable difference of 6,21%. 18,02% of the Dutch speakers elicited the C&B-related actions using the verbs to cut or to break, while the Italian speakers used those verbs in 33,80% of the IUs.

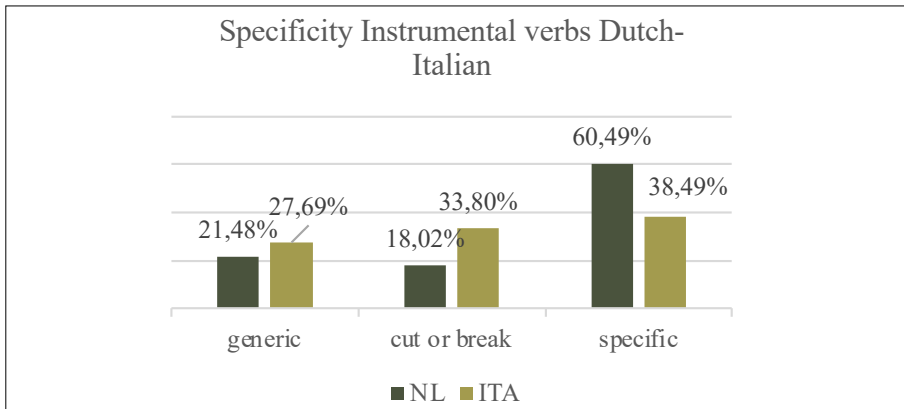


Figure 2: Specificity of instrumental verbs in Dutch and Italians

The greatest difference can be seen in the final category, or rather the specific instrumental verbs, that express a specific action that can be performed by the use of an instrument, such as ‘to sharpen’, ‘to dice’, ‘to muddle’, ‘to grate’, etc. 60,49% of the Dutch IUs contained a verb from the third category versus 38,49% of the Italian IUs. A possible explanation for this phenomenon can be found in the systematic differences between Romance and Germanic languages:

“The Germanic languages display a default encoding preference for manner in linguistic event representation, which turns this semantic component into a cognitively salient feature in the Germanic clause system, i.e., an event structuring pivot which must be highlighted by speakers in order not to deviate from the standard form of expression. By contrast, the exocentric Romance languages are inclined to use non-manner-verbs as main predicates and encode manner in peripheral linguistic items such as adverbial satellites, which indicates a minimal focus on the way in which events evolve. (Høeg Müller, 2019, p.56)”

However, that does not at all mean that Italian, and by extension other Romance languages, do not have a large and diversified group of specific motion verbs, on the contrary. But unlike Dutch, and by extension other Germanic languages, their distribution is limited in that they do not tend to express a change of state or place (Høeg Müller, 2019). This results in expressions like (1) and (2), both examples from the corpus with the instrument being the focal point, being much more frequent in

Italian than in Dutch. In NL on the other hand, it is more common to find expressions such as (3) and (4), where the focus is on the instrumental verb, rather than on the instrument itself. It is apparent that the NL speakers resort mostly to specific C&B verbs, where the trend is more equally spread out in Italian.

1. Puoi anche usare il martelletto.  
You can also use the little hammer.
2. Puoi usare la pelapatate su entrambi.  
You can use the peeler for both.
3. Je kan de chocolade ook raspen.  
You can also grate the chocolate.
4. Oké dus groenten en fruit schillen op verschillende manieren.  
Okay so peeling fruit and vegetables in various ways.

#### 4.2 THE INSTRUMENT AS A THEMATIC ROLE

The last thematic role included in the analysis was the instrument. The morphology of the instruments was examined as well as their grammatical function. Table 3 shows the distribution of the morphological expression of instrumentality. The percentages refer to the share per category of the total amount of expressed instruments.

<b>Morphological expression instrumentality</b>	<b>NL</b>	<b>%NL</b>	<b>IT</b>	<b>%IT</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Total %</b>
<b>noun</b>	195	47,22%	222	60,00%	416	53,20%
noun+pp	1	0,24%	0	0	1	0,13%
noun+clause	9	2,18%	0	0	9	1,15%
<b>pron</b>	26	6,30%	37	10,00%	63	8,06%
pron+noun	0	0	1	0,27%	1	0,13%
pron+clause	4	0,97%	0	0	4	0,51%
<b>pp</b>	37	8,96%	17	4,59%	54	6,91%
pp+v	70	16,95%	56	15,14%	126	16,11%
v+pp	57	13,80%	35	9,46%	92	11,76%
<b>verbal</b>	0	0	2	0,54%	2	0,26%
<b>adverb</b>	2	0,48%	0	0	2	0,26%
<b>prep</b>	2	0,48%	0	0	2	0,26%
<b>pron adverb</b>	10	2,42%	0	0	10	1,28%
<b>Total</b>	<b>413</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>782</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3: The morphological expression of the instrument in Italian and Dutch

At first glance, there are multiple morphological means through which the instrument can be expressed in both languages. For both languages, the instrument is most often encoded by a noun (60% of IT IUs) or by a combination of a noun and a clause or PP (nouns and combinations together accounting for just under 50% in the NL IUs). Alternatively, a pronoun or a pronoun combined with a noun or clause can also be used, accounting for 6,3% in NL and 10% in IT. A third option is coding with the aid of a PP. In 39,71% of the NL IUs, the instrument was expressed by a PP, whether or not followed or preceded by the main verb. In the Italian corpus, this share was 29,19%. In two instances in Italian, the INS was expressed as the subject encoded in the verb, which is not possible in Dutch, where the subject must always be expressed overtly. Finally, in 10 IUs, pronominal adverbs were used with instrumental meaning, two prepositions and two adverbs, three features that did not occur in Italian. It becomes clear that the total corpus mainly consists of three morphological expressions, namely the expression through a noun (53,20% of the total IUs), a pronoun (8,06% total), and a prepositional phrase (6,91%), followed by the main verb (16,11% of the time) or preceded by the main verb (11,76% of the IUs). Important to notice is that the Dutch-speaking participants used almost double the number of morphological constructions in comparison to the Italian participants. Furthermore, it can be deduced from the data that a noun (5)-(6) is the most common way to express an instrument in both languages. That noun can be preceded by a pronoun (7). Another commonly used option is by articulating a prepositional phrase (8)-(9), either preceded by the main verb (10)-(11) or followed by it (12)-(13). Another possibility is a pronoun (14)-(15), potentially followed by a clause (16). Less common alternatives are an instrument verbalised by the verb itself (17), an adverb (18), the combination of a noun followed by a clause (19), a preposition (20), or a pronominal adverb (21).

5. Het is wel echt een broodmes.  
It really is a bread knife.
6. Oppure usare una forchetta per tagliare il ghiaccio.  
Or use a fork to break the ice.
7. Penso che anche quello piccolo potrebbe essere usato per tagliare qualsiasi cosa.  
I think the small one could be used to cut anything.
8. Vooral met het grote mes.  
Especially with the big knife.
9. Col tosapecore.  
With the sheep shearer.
10. Ja, dus je kan die aardappelen schillen met dat mes.  
Yes, so you can peel those potatoes with that knife.
11. Quindi si può usare i fogli per prendere le misure con quello strumento.  
So, you can use the sheets to take measurements with that tool.
12. Oké, dus ge kunt met uw handen het brood breken.  
Okay, so with your hands you can break bread.

13. Mentre con l'ascia puoi tagliare il tronco.  
With the axe you can cut the trunk.
14. Die kan een deur inslaan.  
It can slam a door.
15. Li userei entrambi cioè intercambiabili.  
I would use them both interchangeably.
16. Ik denk dat dat is om het klokhuis eruit te halen.  
I think that is to get the core out.
17. Non so se serve tipo a tagliare  
I don't know if that serves to, like, cut.
18. Da moet ge daar toch al in steken.  
You have to insert that there.
19. Dit is gewoon een soort van potje om dat te pletten.  
This is just a kind of bowl to crush that.
20. Dus wat ge doet, is die walnoot ertussen steken.  
So, what you do is you put the walnut in between.
21. Je kan ook de aardappel schillen daarmee.  
You can also peel the potatoes with that.
22. Olie om de ketting van de haagschaar in te smeren.  
Oil to grease the chain of the hedge trimmer
23. Dat ene instrument waarmee je iets kan uiteen hakken zeg maar.  
That one instrument with which you can break it up so to speak.

The next stage was to look at the syntax of the instrument as a thematic role. In NL, the instruments are expressed as an adjunct adverbial in 42,86% of the IUs (90-95), a function that also occurred in 31,71% of the Italian IUs. The second most frequently used function is the instrument as the subject of the phrase (14)-(16)-(17)-(19). The latter function is used most frequently in Italian with 129 IUs, accounting for 34,96% of the total IUs, and 115 times in NL, responsible for 27,85%. A third option is the instrument as a direct object (15), which was common in the corpus of both languages, accounting for about a fourth of the total NL IUs and roughly a third of IT IUs. Some less common features are the instrument as a non-essential phrase complement, where a further distinction was made between locative phrases (20) and other phrase complements (21). Finally, there are also 2 IUs where the instrument acts as an NP-modifier (22)-(23). When examining the distribution of all categories throughout the whole corpus, it becomes apparent that for the most part, the INS is expressed by three syntactic functions: 31,20% of the INS is expressed by the S, 37,60% is expressed by an adjunct adverbial, and 28,64% by the use of a DO.

Syntactical expression INS	NL	% NL	IT	% IT	Total	% Total
S	115	27,85%	129	34,96%	244	31,20%
Adjunct adverbial	177	42,86%	117	31,71%	294	37,60%
DO	104	25,18%	120	32,52%	224	28,64%
NP modifier	2	0,48%	0	0	2	0,26%
locative	9	2,18%	2	0,54%	11	1,41%
complement	6	1,45%	1	0,27%	7	0,90%
Total	413	100%	369	100%	782	100%

Table 4: The syntactical expression of the instrument in Dutch and Italian

The last parameter used to examine the thematic role of the instrument was its specificity. Just as the specificity of the verbs mentioned earlier, it can be opportune to analyse how specific speakers of NL and IT articulate the instruments. Following the example of the graph on verb specificity, a similar graph was drawn up (*Figure 5*), which divides the instruments into three categories. Category 1 includes generic, general expressions such as: “an instrument/thing/object to perform action X.” Category 2 includes expressions that are hyperonyms of the depicted instrument, as well as ad hoc expressions created by the speakers to build up common ground, such as “the crusher”. The last category contains the specific, conventional names of instruments, such as “the scalpel”, “the peeler”, “the baseball bat”, etc.

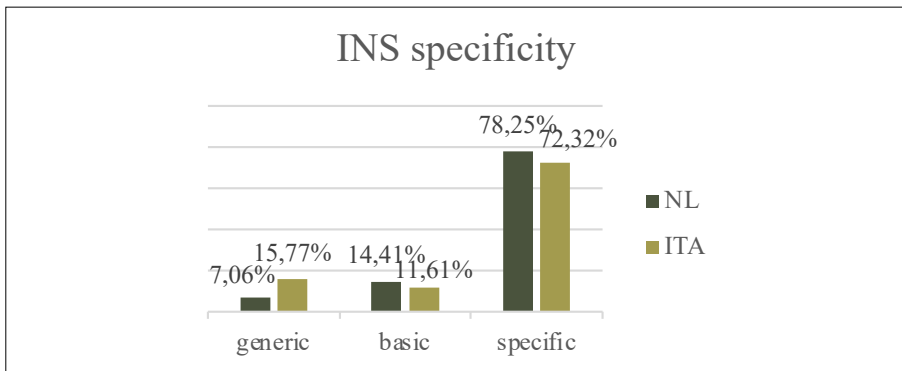


Figure 5: Instrument specificity in Dutch and Italian

From the abovementioned figure, it can be deduced that most speakers use the most specific terminology to name the instrument, both in NL and in ITA, with respectively 78,25% and 72,32% of the IUs. A small difference can be noticed between the two languages in the first category. There, it can be established that the Italian speak-

ers use 8,71% more generic statements, such as: “a thing/instrument” followed by a description. 14,41% of the NL IUs contain a simple description of the instruments. In Italian, that share was 11,61%.

### 4.3 CORRESPONDING PATTERNS FOR INSTRUMENTALITY

The previous section discussed the verbs and main thematic roles used in expressing instrumentality. Combining the morphologic character with the syntactic function of the thematic roles creates a three-dimensional relationship that can be encompassed in instrumental patterns, which can be both language-specific and cross-linguistic. As the number of patterns and the variations on each pattern are almost uncountable, a qualitative approach is chosen in this section. This section aims to discuss the differences and similarities between the patterns in Dutch and Italian. To do so, a number of patterns originating from the corpus are talked about, ranging from fairly simple to rather complex patterns. A follow-up study could, for instance, look at general trends per language or cross-linguistic patterns and any interesting deviating patterns.

#### 4.3.1 PATTERNS IN DUTCH

1. S<sub>AG</sub> (NOUN) V DO<sub>INS</sub> (COMPOUND)

Een vader gebruikt de slijpschijf.

A father uses the grinding machine.

2. S<sub>AG</sub> (PRON 2<sup>nd</sup> PERS SINGULAR)+V<sub>AUX</sub> (DYNAMIC MODALITY)+DO<sub>PAT</sub> (NOUN)+V<sub>INS</sub>+ADJ ADV<sub>(PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE)</sub> [PREP+DO<sub>INS</sub> (COMPOUND)].

Je kan het brood snijden met een broodmes.

You can cut the bread with the breadknife.

3. ADJ ADV<sub>(PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE)</sub> [PREP+DO<sub>INS</sub> (DIMINUTIVE)] V<sub>AUX</sub> (DYNAMIC MODALITY) S<sub>AG</sub> (PRON 2<sup>nd</sup> PERS SINGULAR) V<sub>INS</sub>

Met het scheermesje kunt ge u scheren.

With the razor, you can shave.

The first three patterns are basic patterns that often recur when thinking about instrumentality. Pattern 1 clarifies who performs the action by means of a noun. Patterns 2 and 3 use a pronoun to do so. Further, the patterns differ from each other with respect to the verbs. Pattern 1 uses a verb from the generic category and does not specify which action the agent performs exactly. In patterns 2 and 3, an auxiliary verb with a dynamic modality is used and the action is specified using an ADJ ADV. Pattern 3 can be seen as a variant of pattern 2. Special about this pattern is the specific naming

of the instrument, by means of a diminutive. Patterns 2 and 3 also show that the ADJ ADV can be expressed both at the beginning of the sentence and at the end.

4. DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)</sup> V<sup>INS</sup>

De haag snoeien.  
To prune the hedge.

5. S<sup>INS (DIMINUTIVE)</sup> CLAUSE<sup>PURPOSE</sup> [PREP+DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)+V<sup>INS</sup></sup>]

Het mesje om de brief open te maken.  
The little knife to open the letter.

In patterns 4 and 5, it is notable that there is no need to express an agent when it comes to instrumentality. In pattern 4 the instrumentality is expressed by the verb, in pattern 5 the instrument is overtly expressed by a diminutive and behaves as the subject of the sentence, followed by a clause of purpose. Both patterns show that the presence of a finite verb is not essential for expressing instrumentality.

6. S<sup>AG (PRON 2nd PERS SINGULAR)</sup> V<sup>CONDITIONAL AUX</sup> DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)</sup> V<sup>AUX (DYNAMIC MODALITY)</sup> V<sup>INS</sup>  
ADJ ADV<sup>(PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE)</sup> [PREP+DO<sup>INS (NOUN)</sup>]

Ge zou het brood ook kunnen platkloppen met de hamer.  
You could also smash the bread with the hammer.

7. S<sup>AG (PRON 2nd PERS SINGULAR)</sup> V<sup>AUX (DYNAMIC MODALITY)</sup> DO<sup>INS (NOUN)</sup> V<sup>INF</sup> CLAUSE<sup>PURPOSE</sup>  
[PREP+DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)+V<sup>INS</sup>+DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)</sup>]</sup>

Je kan de rasp ook gebruiken om de kaas te raspen of ander eten.  
You can also use the grater to grate the cheese or other food.

Patterns 6 and 7 are slightly more complicated. They are fairly similar at first glance, but the instrument in pattern 6 is expressed by the verb, followed by an ADV ADJ as in patterns 2 and 3, while pattern 7 expresses the instrument with the DO, followed by a clause of purpose.

#### 4.3.2 PATTERNS IN ITALIAN

8. S<sup>INS (NOUN)</sup> CLAUSE<sup>PURPOSE</sup> [PREP+V<sup>INS</sup>+DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)</sup>]

La grattuggia per grattuggiare il cioccolato.  
The grater to grate the chocolate.

Pattern 8 is very similar to pattern 5. The difference is that here the subject is expressed by a noun, and not by a diminutive.



9. V<sup>AG+AUX</sup> (DYNAMIC MODALITY) V<sup>INS</sup> DO<sup>INS</sup> (NOUN)

Puoi usare la falce.

You can use the scythe.

10. S<sup>INS</sup> (NOUN) V<sup>AUX</sup> (DYNAMIC MODALITY) V<sup>INS</sup> DO<sup>PAT</sup> (NOUN)

L'autobus può schiacciare delle noci.

The bus can crush walnuts.

Pattern 9 uses a verbal subject followed by a generic verb but does not specify the action that will be executed by means of the instrument. Both patterns 9 and 10 make use of the dynamic modality, to make sure that these utterances express possible actions, without excluding alternatives. Pattern 10 on the other hand, starts with the instrument that is expressed by the subject, but instrumentality is also expressed through the verb.

11. ADJ ADV<sup>(PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE)</sup> [PREP+DO<sup>INS</sup> (COMPOUND)] V<sup>AG+AUX</sup> (DYNAMIC MODALITY)  
V<sup>INS</sup> PRON<sup>CI ATTUALIZZANTE</sup> DO<sup>PAT</sup> (NOUN)

Con il pelapatate puoi sbucciarci la mela.

With the peeler, you can peel the apple.

Pattern 11 starts with ADJ ADV and is followed by an auxiliary verb that again expresses the dynamic modality. Next, an instrumental verb is expressed that contains a pronoun at the end.

12. V<sup>AG+AUX</sup> (DYNAMIC MODALITY) V<sup>INS</sup> PP<sup>LOC</sup> [PREP+DO<sup>PAT</sup> (NOUN+ADJ)+DO<sup>PAT</sup> (PRON  
+CLAUSE)] V<sup>RESULT</sup>

Puoi comunque sbattere sia sul marmo levigato che su quello, sia su quello ancora da levigare, rovinandolo.

You can still bang on the polished marble as well as on the marble yet to be polished, ruining it.

Pattern 12 is again a slightly more complex pattern, given the double locative PP. What is special about this pattern is the last verb that also expresses the resultative state resulting from the action expressed by the first verb.

As can be deduced from the patterns above in combination with *Table 3*, in most cases Dutch uses a noun or pronoun to express the agent, whereas Italian encapsulates the agent in the conjugation of the verb. It must be noted as well that Dutch syntactic slots occupy a preferred position in the sentence, whereas Italian grammar allows sentence slots to switch sentence position to a certain degree (Grandi, 2011). This is illustrated by patterns 2 and 11.

In both patterns 5 and 10, the INS is the syntactical subject of the sentence, but in IT the INS performs the action, whereas in NL speakers would formulate a clause that expresses the purposed use of the INS. A sentence like pattern 10, in which the INS acts as if it were the agent, was not detected in the Dutch corpus.

### 4.3.3 CROSS-LINGUISTIC PATTERNS

Taking into account the linguistic differences, there are still many similarities between the IT and NL patterns. For example, in patterns 1 and 9, apart from the auxiliary verb, and the covert agent in the IT IU, the pattern remains the same. Other similarities can be found between patterns 3 and 11. Both use an ADJ ADV to express the INS, which showed to be a very common pattern (Table 4). Below are 6 examples that show that despite any differences in word order, there are still significant similarities between the two languages, whether the INS is expressed by an ADJ ADV as in 13 and 14, a DO as in 15 and 16, by a DO followed by a clause of purpose as in 17 and 18, or by a LOC ADV as in 19 and 20.

13. ADJ ADV<sup>(PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE)</sup> [PREP+DO<sup>INS</sup>] V<sup>AUX (DYNAMIC MODALITY)</sup> S<sup>SAG (PRON)</sup>  
DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)</sup> V<sup>INS</sup>

Met de notenkraker kunt ge de noot kraken.  
With the nutcracker, you can crack nuts.

14. ADJ ADV<sup>(PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE)</sup> [PREP+DO<sup>INS (NOUN)</sup>] V<sup>AG+AUX (DYNAMIC MODALITY)</sup>  
V<sup>INS</sup> DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)</sup>

Con i picconi puoi levigare una roccia.  
With pickaxes you can pound a rock.

15. S<sup>SAG (PRON)</sup> V<sup>AUX (DYNAMIC MODALITY)</sup> DO<sup>INS (NOUN)</sup> V<sup>INF</sup>

Je kan de bijl gebruiken.  
You can use the axe.

16. V<sup>AG+AUX (DYNAMIC MODALITY)</sup> V<sup>INF</sup> DO<sup>INS (NOUN)</sup>

Puoi usare la mela.  
You can use the apple.

17. S<sup>SAG (PRON 2nd PERS SINGULAR)</sup> V DO<sup>INS</sup> CLAUSE<sup>PURPOSE</sup> [PP+DO<sup>PAT</sup>+V<sup>INS (INF)</sup>]

Je gebruikt de zaag om de haag te trimmen.  
You use the saw to prune the hedge.

18. V<sup>AG+AUX (DYNAMIC MODALITY)</sup> V DO<sup>INS (NOUN)</sup> CLAUSE<sup>PURPOSE</sup> [PP+V<sup>INS (INF)</sup>+DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)</sup>]

Puoi usare la falce per tagliare l'erba.  
You can use the scythe to cut the grass.

19. S<sup>SAG (PRON 2nd PERS SINGULAR)</sup> V<sup>CONDITIONAL AUX</sup> DO<sup>PAT (NOUN)</sup> V<sup>AUX (DYNAMIC MODALITY)</sup>  
V<sup>INS</sup> LOC ADV<sup>(PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE)</sup> [PREP+DO<sup>INS</sup>]

Je zou een potlood kunnen pletten in de pletter.  
You could crush a pencil in the mortar.

20. V<sup>AG+AUX</sup> (DYNAMIC MODALITY) V<sup>INF</sup> DO<sup>PAT</sup> (NOUN) LOC ADV<sup>(PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE)</sup>  
 [PREP+DO<sup>INS</sup>] V<sup>INS</sup> DO<sup>PAT</sup> (PRON)

Puoi mettere il salame nella macchina e affettarlo.

You can put a salami in the machine and slice it.

As can be seen from the examples, there is no single pattern for expressing instrumentality. Its expression goes beyond [S<sup>AG</sup> + V + DO<sup>PAT</sup> + ADJ ADV [PREP + DO<sup>INS</sup>]]. The examples given above are by no means a complete overview, as countless variants can be produced on the listed patterns.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

This research complements the existing literature on instrumentality and its expression focused on cut and break actions. Although cross-linguistic research on the C&B verbs has been carried out frequently, other studies have often omitted in their conclusion an analysis of the concrete verbal expression in NL and IT from a cognitive linguistic point of view. From several analyses of the multimodal corpus that was compiled, it appears that the thematic role instrument goes far beyond a prepositional phrase. Almost any word type can be used to express instrumentality. Moreover, the instrument can perform several sentence functions such as subject, complement, direct object, NP-modifier, various sentence complements and adjunct adverbial, both in Dutch and Italian. This results in a wide range of patterns, both language-specific and cross-linguistic, in which the INS takes on many different syntactic functions, for example, an INS expressed by an ADJ ADV, a DO, or by a DO followed by a clause of purpose. All these grammatical possibilities are present both in Italian and Dutch. Finally, it has been shown that a conversational corpus cannot be analysed separately for every individual; a conversation is the product of the two participants together, whose cognitive processes are mutually dependent in order to be able to jointly create meaning. Further research could be conducted to determine how instrumentality and causality are expressed outside the cut and break category, or how much of a conversation is created through the joint construction of meaning. Finally, it could be useful to explore how instrumentality is expressed throughout other languages in the light of the research of linguistic universals in general or research possible cross-linguistic typologies.

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# Die Übertragung von Argumentationsstrategien bei der Übersetzung von älteren Wissenschaftstexten: Ein Fallbeispiel

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## ABSTRACT

Scientific activity is essentially an incessant dispute that aims to undermine established knowledge in favour of new knowledge, which proven and argued impose themselves to the detriment of the former. The accentuation of the dispute over knowledge took place to a greater extent with the emergence of the empirical sciences and their emancipation from the old scholastic knowledge rigidly controlled by the church, as Galilei, among others, demonstrates. He was one of the first to question the Ptolemaic system in favour of the Copernican system, and used his mother tongue, Italian, which offered him the possibility of expressing himself and arguing, more than Latin, which had until then been the unchallenged lingua franca of science. The translation into German of one of his most famous works, the *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* (1632) more than 250 years later (1891), presents numerous challenges, related both to diachrony and thus to the use of a language that is in part now obsolete, and to the truth value of its contents, which are now in part superseded by new knowledge. The translator exploits the linguistic resources of German to make interpretations, clarifications and modernisations of somewhat dated content, demonstrating the importance of multilingualism in scientific communication.

## KEYWORDS

diachrony, scientific language, argumentation, multilingualism lexical resources

„Wissenschaft ist ganz wesentlich ein Streitgeschäft; Kritik ist ihr einziges Korrektiv“ (Thielmann 2017: 548). Diese beiden Aussagen umfassen das A und O der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, deren Errungenschaften nicht bloß neues Wissen dem alten hinzufügen, sondern oft das Produkt einer langwierigen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Gelehrten oder Fachexperten sind, im Laufe derer bereits vorhandenes Wissen bzw. nicht unerhebliche Wissensbestandteile oft gründlich infrage gestellt und durch neue Erkenntnisse ersetzt werden. Ein solches Verfahren findet fast nie friedlich statt, vor allem dann nicht, wenn es zu Umwälzungen oder zu Paradigmenwechseln kommt, die die Grundlagen ganzer Wissensdomänen erschüttern. Dies ist insbesondere seit dem Aufbruch in das moderne Zeitalter der Fall, wo die progressive Säkularisierung der Gesellschaft, die Erfindung neuer Maschinen und Instrumente und die neuen Entdeckungen zur Emanzipation der Wissenschaft vom religiösen Glauben und somit zur Entwicklung des empirischen Forschens geführt haben. Hat Theologie bis in die frühe Neuzeit „den Auslegungshorizont der Natur“ definiert (Pörksen 1998: 194), so musste sie diese „führende Rolle“ zugunsten der Naturwissenschaften aufgeben, mit der Folge, dass viele Dogmen gebrochen wurden und alt tradiertes Wissen sich als irrig erwies.

Heutzutage gilt es als selbstverständlich, dass die jeweiligen Wissenschaften als Kommunikationsgemeinschaft angesehen werden, in der ihre Mitglieder sich austauschen und etlichen Geboten unterworfen sind: Es gibt zuallererst ein Veröffentlichungsgebot, denn Wissenschaft kann nur das sein, was öffentlich zugänglich gemacht wird; Sobald Wissenschaftler die Nachricht von einem Forschungsergebnis empfangen haben, gibt es dann ein Rezeptionsgebot und eng mit diesem verbunden, gibt es ein Kritikgebot, wodurch die bekanntgegebenen Ergebnisse untersucht, geprüft und endlich angenommen oder zurückgewiesen werden (Weinrich 2001: 210). Diese auf Fakten und Argumenten basierende Dialektik war allerdings noch vor vier oder fünf Jahrhunderten durch die kirchliche Macht sehr stark beeinflusst und das Argumentieren setzte unvermeidlich den Hinweis, rhetorisch wie inhaltlich, auf die Autorität voraus.

Die Wende, die ab der Renaissance stattfindet, hat deswegen für eine echte Revolution gesorgt und auf diese Weise die Grundlagen der modernen Gesellschaft geschaffen. Das Aufblühen der Kultur, der Kunst und vor allem der wissenschaftlichen Forschung geht mit der Entwicklung der nationalen Volkssprachen als Wissenschaftssprachen einher.

Dieses Phänomen hat nicht bloß mit Modernisierung oder Emanzipation von alten Denkmustern zu tun, es hat auch pragmatische Gründe. Die bis in die Neuzeit dominierende autoritätsbasierte Wissenschaftskultur bediente sich des Lateinischen, weil diese die Universalsprache der Wissenschaft und die Gelehrtensprache war, aber auch weil Latein für das formallogische Beweisverfahren sich besonders eignete. Es stellte allerdings für die „moderne begrifflich angeleitete Empirie und die hierfür erforderlichen intersubjektiv orientierten Überzeugungsstrategien nicht die



notwendigen sprachlichen Ressourcen zur Verfügung“ (Thielmann 2003: 6). In den Vernakulärsprachen hingegen mangelte es an Terminologie, aber sie konnten andere Stilmittel anbieten, insbesondere für die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Individuen, die ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des neuen auf Empirie und Kritik basierenden Ansatzes war.

So haben Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), Christian Thomasius (1655-1728) und Christian Wolff (1679-1754) im deutschsprachigen Raum einen großen Beitrag zur Entwicklung und zum Ausbau des Deutschen als Wissenschaftssprache geleistet. Leibniz mit der Erweiterung des Wortschatzes, Thomasius mit der damals revolutionären Entscheidung, an der Universität Leipzig nicht wie üblich auf Latein sondern auf Deutsch zu unterrichten (1687) und Wolff mit dem systematischen Rückgriff auf die Volkssprache, um lateinische Begriffe durch deutsche zu ersetzen, ohne dabei ständig auf die Prägung neuer Wörter zurückgreifen zu müssen. Wolffs Schaffen hat nicht nur den Wortschatz, sondern auch die Syntax, den Stil und das Argumentationsverfahren des Deutschen beeinflusst (Heller 2012: 40ff.).

Als Wegbereiter dieser Zeitenwende zählt jedoch Galileo Galilei, der Keplers revolutionäres heliozentrisches Weltbild teilte und es nicht nur weiter verbreitete, sondern mit mathematischen Beweisführungen befürwortete. Galileis Werk ist für die Astronomie und die Naturwissenschaften im allgemeinen sehr wichtig, aber für die italienische Sprache sogar ausschlaggebend. Als einer der ersten, beschloss er, in seinen Schriften neben Latein auch noch die Vernakulärsprache zu verwenden, z.B. in *Il Saggiatore* (1623), *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* (1632) und den *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche intorno a due nuove scienze* (1638). Während erstes und letzteres auf Latein und Italienisch verfasst sind, ist der *Dialogo* ausschließlich auf Italienisch geschrieben. Der Wahl der italienischen Sprache liegt eine sehr genaue Vorstellung dessen zugrunde, was die neue Wissenschaftskultur sein sollte. Galilei ging es darum, die brisanten Entdeckungen seiner Zeit nicht nur für ein möglichst breiteres Publikum zugänglich zu machen – sonst hätte er weiter auf Latein die Gelehrtensprache, schreiben können – ihm ging es auch darum, die Genauigkeit und den Wahrheitsinhalt seiner Ausführungen kritisch zu überprüfen und überprüfen zu lassen, um dann die Leserschaft zu überzeugen, er basierte nicht mehr auf der Auslegung oder der bloßen Wiedergabe von älteren Theorien oder Autoren, sondern er debattierte über den Sachverhalt selbst. Mit anderen Worten:

Im Kontrast zu den formallogischen autoritätszentrierten Argumentationsverfahren der Scholastik entwirft Galilei hier ein Ideal wissenschaftlicher Auseinandersetzung zwischen Individuen, die einen Anspruch darauf erheben können, durch an der Sache selbst aufgewiesene Erkenntnisse überzeugt zu werden (Thielmann 2003: 5).

Am besten lässt sich das in der eigenen Muttersprache tun, zumal sie diesen dialogischen auf Empirie basierten Austausch schneller und vielseitiger ermöglicht.

Die mutige Wahl Galileis hat einen wesentlichen Beitrag zum Ausbau des Italienischen als Wissenschaftssprache geleistet und gleichzeitig den Weg für die

europäische Wissenschaftskultur eingeschlagen. Paradoxerweise ist das Werk des toskanischen Wissenschaftlers, der zu Lebzeiten einen intensiven und produktiven Kontakt zu deutschen und deutschsprachigen Intellektuellen hatte, sehr lange nicht ins Deutsche übersetzt worden. Die Übersetzung des *Dialogo* z.B. erschien nur am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, als Galilei wieder entdeckt und neu rezipiert wurde. Die diachronische Übersetzung bringt eine Reihe von nicht unerheblichen Schwierigkeiten und Herausforderungen mit sich, die sowohl mit dem Stoff als auch mit der Herangehensweise des Autors und seinem Stil zu tun haben. Im Folgenden werden einige Textauszüge im Original und ihre deutsche Übersetzung analysiert.

## 2. DER DIALOG ODER DER STREIT UM DIE ZWEI WELTSYSTEME

Es ist an dieser Stelle angebracht, einige Informationen zum Entstehungskontext des *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi* zu geben. Bereits in seinem auf Latein verfassten *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610) hatte Galilei angekündigt, er würde sich bald in einem Aufsatz mit der kopernikanischen Lehre beschäftigen und Kopernikus Theorien unterstützen. Das blieb zunächst deswegen aus, weil das von Kopernikus befürwortete heliozentrische Weltbild 1616 von der Kirche verbannt wurde. Erst als Maffeo Barberini 1623 als Urban VIII. zum Papst gewählt wurde, beschloss er, sein Vorhaben in die Tat umzusetzen und schrieb den Dialog nieder, in der Überzeugung, dass der neue Papst für die neuen offenen Weltanschauungen hätte plädieren können. Dies erwies sich im Nachhinein als irrig, denn obwohl die Veröffentlichung des Werks zunächst genehmigt wurde, sorgte es kurz darauf für Empörung und bereitete dem Papst Verdruss, so dass Galilei im Laufe eines Prozesses sich gezwungen sah, seinen Auffassungen abzuschwören, wie man weiß.

Nun, was ist an dieser Schrift so brisant? Der Essay betrachtet in Form von einem Dialog physische, mathematische und astronomische Fragen, die darauf abzielen, die Korrektheit des heliozentrischen Weltbildes zu beweisen. Die Diskussion zwischen den drei Gesprächspartnern findet im Laufe von vier Tagen statt: Am ersten Tag wird über die Natur der Himmelskörper debattiert, am zweiten geht es um die mit der Erdrotation verbundenen Probleme, am dritten Tag beschäftigt man sich mit der Erdrevolution und schließlich am vierten Tag werden die Gezeiten analysiert. Dabei stellt Galilei die aristotelische Lehre gründlich infrage, zeigt ihre fehlerhaften Schlussfolgerungen anhand mathematischer und physischer Beweise und lehnt eindeutig den Wahrheitsanspruch einer jeden Autorität in wissenschaftlichen Domänen ab. Das waren sehr kühne Ideen für die Epoche.

All das inszeniert Galilei durch eine genaue Rollenzuschreibung der Personen. Hauptfigur des Dialogs ist Salviati, Galileis Alter Ego, Befürworter des heliozentrischen Weltsystems, während Sagredo den unvoreingenommenen Lernbegierigen verkörpert, der zwar durch die traditionelle Lehre nach Aristoteles beeinflusst ist, sich dennoch der neuen Wissenschaft öffnet. Die dritte Person ist Simplicio, der anders als seine Gesprächspartner eine völlig erfundene Figur ist und die ganze

Schulwissenschaft vertritt. Die dialogische Form ermöglicht es dem Autor, entgegengesetzte Weltauffassungen vorzustellen, Argumente und Gegenargumente für die eine oder die andere zu liefern und im Laufe der Diskussion, andere Themen mit-einzubeziehen, die die Komplexität des Themas berücksichtigen. Oder mit Galileis Worten:

Ich dachte weiter, es sei von großem Vorteil diese Gedanken in Form eines Gesprächs zu entwickeln, weil ein solches nicht an die strenge Innehaltung der mathematischen Gesetze gebunden ist und hie und da zu Abschweifungen Gelegenheit bietet, die nicht minder interessant sind als der Hauptgegenstand (Galilei 1891 [1632]: 6-7).

Galilei verwendet eine lebendige Sprache, deren Eleganz die Klarheit der Gedanken nicht ausschließt (Patota 2022: 76), wo die Terminologie anhand bereits vorhandenen italienischen Sprachmaterials fixiert wird und für eine größere Leserschaft von Fachexperten zugänglich ist, und wo teilweise Elemente des toskanischen Lokalkolorits auftauchen, vor allem dort, wo Ironie oder Sarkasmus dargestellt werden (Marazzini 2004: 143). Daraus ergibt sich in der dialogischen Fiktion ein lebhafter Gedankenaustausch, in dem jede Partei versucht, die andere für sich zu gewinnen, bzw. die eigenen Ideen zu verteidigen. Die drei Figuren verwenden jede einen eigenen Stil, der sie zutiefst charakterisiert: Salviati spricht eine gehobene Sprache, führt die Diskussion, ist sehr präzise in seinen Ausführungen und bei der Verwendung der Begriffe und prüft alle Argumente und Einwände eingehend, oft auch unter Anwendung von Metaphern; Sagredo zeigt sich durch seine terminologische Ungenauigkeit und einen weniger gepflegten Stil als Laier und Lernbegieriger, der oft im dialektischen Streit gegen Simplicios Ansichten eifert und an der Seite Salviatis steht; Simplicio verkörpert die Tradition und ist dogmatisch, überheblich und oberflächlich. Seine Sprache so wie sein Gedankengang sind sehr einfach und naiv und oft neigt er dazu, wenn er über kein passendes Argument verfügt, sich Aristoteles' Zitationen auf Latein zu bedienen, so dass er von den beiden Gesprächspartnern mit Sarkasmus kritisiert, wenn nicht direkt verspottet wird, vor allem durch Sagredo (Altieri Biagi 1990: 115-120).

Gerade diese Charakterisierung der Personen, ihr Sprachgebrauch, die Dialogizität und die Art, in der sie um die zwei Weltsysteme debattieren, bilden eine „kommunikative Revolution“ (Patota 2022: 76) im Rahmen einer Umwälzung in der Wissenschaftskultur. Galileis Dialog aus zeitlicher Distanz zu übersetzen, ist deswegen eine faszinierende Unternehmung, die den Text neuinterpretiert und aktualisiert hat. Die Übersetzungsanalyse kann diesbezüglich versuchen, spezifische Stilmittel des Italienischen und des Deutschen als Wissenschaftssprachen ans Licht zu bringen und den Reichtum zu zeigen, der in einer lingua franca, unvermeidlich abhandenkommen würde.

### 3. HERAUSFORDERUNGEN UND PROBLEME DER ÜBERSETZUNG

Als die deutsche Übersetzung des *Dialogo* veröffentlicht wurde (1891), waren die dort besprochenen Themen schon längst kein Tabu mehr und die wissenschaftliche Forschung hatte nicht nur die Korrektheit der kopernikanischen Theorie bestätigt, sondern auch einige Fehler in der Auffassung Galileis gezeigt. Einige davon werden auch im Kommentar zur deutschen Übersetzung des *Dialogo* von Emil Strauß diskutiert. Warum der Text so spät übersetzt wurde, ist eine Geschichte für sich, die hier nicht ausführlich besprochen werden kann. Es sei nur angedeutet, dass die erste für den deutschsprachigen Raum erschienene Übersetzung unmittelbar nach der Originalausgabe veröffentlicht wurde. Es handelt sich um eine ins Lateinische verfasste Übersetzung vom Astronomen Matthias Bernegger, einem Zeitgenossen Galileis, der das Werk für all diejenigen zugänglich machte, die kein Italienisch konnten, da Latein damals immer noch die lingua franca war. Doch innerhalb von mehr als zwei Jahrhunderten, hatte sich das Panorama radikal verändert: Die Kirche hatte ihren Machtanspruch verloren, die Astronomie war sehr rasch vorangekommen und sowohl Italienisch als auch Deutsch hatten sich mittlerweile als Wissenschaftssprachen ausgebaut und eine Fachterminologie und entsprechende Formulierungen entwickelt. Insofern leistet die Übersetzung mit dem Titel *Dialog über die zwei hauptsächlichsten Weltsysteme* einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte, bietet gleichzeitig die Gelegenheit, über Sprachentwicklung und das Potenzial von sprachlichen Ressourcen zu überlegen.

Auffallend in Galileis Werk sind u.a. der Gebrauch von Metaphern, die komplexe Syntax, die Terminologie mit teilweise vagen, bzw. ambivalenten Ausdrücken, der Verbalbereich und der typisch dialogische, umgangssprachliche Stil. Einige dieser Aspekte werden in den folgenden Beispielen berücksichtigt.

#### 3.1 SALVIATIS BEREDSAMKEIT

Als Galileis Alter Ego ist Salviati unter den drei Gesprächspartnern derjenige, der die Führungsrolle übernimmt. Er leitet die Themen ein, prüft Theorien, sichtet Argumente, lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit seiner Zuhörer auf den einen oder den anderen zu besprechenden Aspekt, gestattet sich Abschweifungen, die weitere Informationen zum Thema liefern und gleichzeitig für Entspannung sorgen, bringt die Diskussion wieder auf den Punkt, wenn Simplicio und Sagredo im Streit den roten Faden verlieren. Er verfügt daher über einen lexikalischen Reichtum und eine kommunikative Geschicklichkeit, die die anderen nicht haben. Der Übersetzer greift auf den Reichtum des Deutschen zu, um die Vielfalt und das Ausdrucksvermögen Salviatis wiederzugeben, wie die Beispiele zeigen.

Beispiel 1 (Galilei 1970 [1632]: 70/ Galilei 1982 [1891]: 59):

Il medesimo non afferm'egli che quello che l'esperienza e il senso ci dimostra, si deve anteporre ad ogni discorso, ancorché ne paresse assai ben fondato? e questo non lo dic'egli resolutamente e senza punto titubare? [...] Adunque di queste due proposizioni, che sono ambedue dottrina d'Aristotile, questa seconda, che dice che bisogna anteporre il senso al discorso, è dottrina molto più ferma e risoluta che l'altra, che stima il cielo inalterabile, e però più aristotelicamente filosoferefe dicendo: «Il cielo è alterabile, perché così mi mostra il senso», che se direte: «Il cielo è inalterabile, perché così persuade il discorso ad Aristotile.

An dieser Stelle aus dem ersten Tag des Dialogs wird über die Sonnenflecken, die geradlinige und die kreisförmige Bewegung debattiert, wie auch über die Unveränderlichkeit der Himmelskörper, und letztere wird infrage gestellt und nur von Simplicio weiter verteidigt, weil Aristoteles sie postuliert. So geht Salviati einen Schritt zurück und greift die Aussagen des Aristoteles auf, mit der Absicht, dem Gesprächspartner die Grenzen der aristotelischen Schlussfolgerungen und vor allem die Gefahr einer blinden Zustimmung aufzuzeigen, was auch unten in der Übersetzung zu lesen ist:

Versichert er nicht auch, daß die Erfahrung und die sinnliche Wahrnehmung vor aller Spekulation den Vorzug verdient, mag diese auch noch so wohlbegründet erscheinen? Und sagt er dies nicht mit voller Entschiedenheit, ohne zu schwanken? [...] Von diesen beiden Behauptungen, welche beide von Aristoteles aufgestellt sind, ist die zweite, welche den Vorrang der sinnlichen Erfahrung vor der Spekulation aussagt, weit bestimmter und entschiedener, als die erstere, welche den Himmel für unveränderlich ausgiebt. Daher verfährt Ihr mehr im Sinne des Aristoteles, wenn Ihr den Himmel für veränderlich ausgiebt, weil dies der sinnlichen Erfahrung entspricht, als wenn Ihr sagt, der Himmel sei unveränderlich, weil Aristoteles durch Spekulation zu dieser Ansicht gelangte.

Nicht nur hier, sondern an vielen anderen Stellen auch betont Salviati in polemischer Entgegensetzung gegenüber den Anhängern des geozentrischen Weltbildes, dass die Beobachtung der Naturphänomene jeder vorgefertigten Theorie zu bevorzugen ist. Weil Aristoteles selbst dies behauptet, geraten seine Befürworter in Widerspruch, wenn sie im Gegenteil versuchen, so wie Simplicio, die Naturphänomene an die Theorie anzupassen. Wenn man das Sprachmaterial berücksichtigt, so findet man innerhalb eines Fragesatzes drei Substantive (*esperienza*, *senso*, *discorso*), die den Erkenntnisprozess betreffen: *Esperienza* („Erfahrung“ oder „Erlebnis“) und *senso* („Sinn“) stellen sich der Theorie (*discorso*) entgegen. Nun ist *senso* mehrdeutig und im heutigen Italienisch würde man im Kontext eher die Pluralform verwenden. „Sinn“ weist ebenfalls eine gewisse Ambiguität auf, so entscheidet sich der Übersetzer für eine Präzisierung und fügt im Deutschen „Wahrnehmung“ (*sinnliche Wahrnehmung*) hinzu, wodurch er Salviatis Behauptung eindeutiger macht. Doch die Wiedergabe von *discorso* ist viel komplexer. Dieser Ausdruck hat im Italienischen ein breites Bedeutungsspektrum, das von „Gedankengang“, „Überlegung“ oder „Argumentation“ bis „Rede“, „Gespräch“ oder „Abhandlung“ reicht (Heller/Furneri 2019: 102ff.) und

zu Galileis Epoche genauso wie heute in seiner Gesamtbreite verwendet wurde, auch im *Dialog*. Daher greift der Übersetzer interpretatorisch ein: Unter den unzähligen Wiedergabemöglichkeiten wählt er „Spekulation“. Spekulativ ist jenes Denken, das anhand der empirischen Wissenschaften das Wesen der Dinge erfassen will (Apel/Ludz 1958: 263), so entscheidet er sich für eine Kodierung des Terminus *discorso*, indem dieser jedes Mal, wo er in Zusammenhang mit der sinnlichen Erfahrung bzw. Wahrnehmung erscheint, mit *Spekulation* übersetzt wird. Weil der Fokus auf dem Erkenntnisprozess in seinen verschiedenen Phasen (Wahrnehmung, Beobachtung, Erarbeitung durch spekulatives Denken, Theorie aufstellen) liegt, wird das ferner mit anderen Wortwahlen in der Übersetzung versprachlicht: In seiner Ausführung erwähnt Salviati zwei Behauptungen von Aristoteles, wovon die erste sich in einer vorangegangenen, im Beispiel nicht zitierten Passage befindet, die besagt, aufgrund der großen Entfernung sei es schwierig, die Himmelskörper zu erforschen, während die zweite eben den Vorrang der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung gegenüber der Theorie postuliert. Im Originaltext werden diese Aussagen als „Doktrin“ bezeichnet (*sono ambedue dottrina d'Aristotile*), während in der Übersetzung das Wort ausgelassen und stattdessen ein Verbal Ausdruck („welche beide von Aristoteles aufgestellt sind“) verwendet wird. Nun, eine Doktrin kann man aufstellen, insofern bildet dieser Vorschlag keine Abweichung, aber die Substitution des Substantivs durch das Verb akzentuiert das Verfahren der Wissenskonstruktion, bei dem Aristoteles seinerzeit seinen vorläufigen Beitrag geleistet hat und nicht mehr als unbestrittene Autorität gilt. Die Entmythisierung des griechischen Philosophen bedeutet nicht, seine Lehre völlig zu verkennen, im Gegenteil wird hier vorgeschlagen, anstatt seine Ideen blind zu verfolgen, deren Wahrheitsinhalt zur Erlangung besserer Ergebnisse zur Geltung zu bringen, auch wenn diese in krassem Widerspruch zu ihm stehen. Die Akzentuierung der Diskussion als dialektischen Austausches, der eher auf logischer Grundlage anhand von unvoreingenommenen Beobachtungen als auf vorgefertigten Doktrinen basieren soll, erfolgt durch weitere Eingriffe: Im Konsekutivsatz, wo Salviati Simplicio auffordert, mit seinem Vorbild konsequenter umzugehen („Daher verfährt Ihr mehr im Sinne des Aristoteles...“), wird das Verb „philosophieren“ (*più aristotelicamente filosoferete*) mit „verfahren“ wiedergegeben. So wie „Doktrin“ beinhaltet auch „philosophieren“ semantisch den Hinweis auf ein Kenntnissystem, das hier leicht abgeschwächt wird (durch ein neutrales Verb wie „verfahren“), um die Vorstufe der Kenntnis bzw. des Erkenntnisprozesses zu thematisieren, wodurch Simplicio überzeugt werden sollte, nicht allzu sehr auf der alten Theorie zu beharren, indem er sie kritisch hinterfragt. Zum Schluss wird der Erkenntnisprozess im letzten Satz noch stärker akzentuiert: Dort erscheint im Originaltext erneut der Begriff *discorso* (*perché così persuade il discorso ad Aristotile*) in Assoziation mit dem Verb *persuadere* („überzeugen“). Suggestiert wird, dass Aristoteles von der Unveränderlichkeit der Himmelskörper überzeugt war (zu Unrecht und aus Mangel an geeigneten Beobachtungsinstrumenten) und dass es keineswegs das Argument seiner Anhänger sein dürfe, die nun die Möglichkeit haben, es anders zu sehen. Die Übersetzung lautet hier: „weil Aristoteles durch Spekulation zu dieser Ansicht gelangte“, wo „Ansicht“

*discorso* übersetzt und „Spekulation“ hinzugefügt wird. Hiermit wird der Akzent deutlicher auf die mentalen Prozesse gelegt, die Aristoteles seinerzeit dazu veranlassten, seinen Ideen, so irrig sie auch sein konnten, eine Systematik zu verleihen. So erscheinen sie dem modernen Leser als eine Etappe der Wissenschaftsgeschichte und nicht mehr als ein Angriff gegen eine Autorität.

Ein weiteres Beispiel zeigt, Salviatis Schlagfertigkeit und wie sie im wissenschaftlichen Austausch aktualisiert wird.

Beispiel 2 (Galilei 1970 [1632]: 68 /Galilei 1982 [1891]: 57):

Se questo di che si disputa fusse qualche punto di legge o di altri studi umani, ne i quali non è né verità né falsità, si potrebbe confidare assai nella sottigliezza dell'ingegno e nella prontezza del dire e nella maggior pratica ne gli scrittori, e sperare che quello che eccedesse in queste cose fusse per far apparire e giudicar la ragion sua superiore; ma nelle scienze naturali, le conclusioni delle quali son vere e necessarie né vi ha che far nulla l'arbitrio umano, bisogna guardarsi di non si porre alla difesa del falso, perché mille Demosteni e mille Aristoteli resterebbero a piede contro ad ogni mediocre ingegno che abbia autoventura di apprendersi al vero.

Diese Passage geht der des ersten Beispiels kurz voraus und ist die Antwort Salviatis auf eine Überlegung von Simplicio, wonach die Sonnenflecken ein der Sonne externes Phänomen seien und somit kein Beweis für deren Vergänglichkeit und Veränderlichkeit. Dabei basiert er auf nichts anderem als der Tatsache, dass das von ihm vorgeschlagene Modell die Vorstellung der Unveränderlichkeit der Himmelskörper nach Aristoteles retten würde und besteht darauf, falls dies nicht ausreicht, dass andere Gelehrte in Zukunft bessere Erklärungsversuche liefern werden. Daher betont Salviati die zentrale Bedeutung einer wissenschaftlichen Methode, wenn man die Wahrheit erforschen will, denn anders als in den Geisteswissenschaften haben rhetorische Fähigkeiten (*prontezza nel dire*) oder bloße Gelehrtheit (*maggiore pratica ne gli scrittori*) in den Naturwissenschaften nichts zu suchen und er warnt seinen Gesprächspartner davor, sich auf Autoritäten zu stützen, da sie im Falschen liegen können, wie man auch in der Übersetzung lesen kann:

Wenn der Gegenstand unseres Streites eine Frage der Jurisprudenz oder einer anderen, menschliche Dinge behandelnden Wissenschaft wäre, in welchen es nicht Wahrheit, noch Irrtum giebt, so könnte man zuversichtlich einen größeren Scharfsinn, eine schlagfertige Beredsamkeit, eine ausgedehnte Belesenheit erwarten und hoffen, daß, wer sich durch solche Gaben auszeichnet, hier die Überlegenheit seines Geistes an den Tag legen und Ruhm dafür ernten würde. In den Naturwissenschaften aber, deren Schlüsse wahr und notwendig sind, und wo menschliche Willkür keine Stätte hat, muß man sich hüten, sich auf seiten des Irrtums zu schlagen; denn tausend Männer wie Demosthenes und Aristoteles würden von jedem mittelmäßigen Geiste aus dem Sattel gehoben, wenn dieser das Glück gehabt, die Wahrheit aufzufinden.

Hier werden manche Qualitäten aufgelistet, die in einem Meinungsstreit nützlich sein können, welche aber bei wissenschaftlichen Beweisverfahren untauglich

sind. Der umgangssprachliche *prontezza nel dire*, der eine Nominalisierung beinhaltet, wird mit „schlagfertigerer Beredsamkeit“ übersetzt. Die Verwendung dieses Wortbildungsproduktes, einer Derivation, präzisiert die rhetorische Eigenschaft eines möglichen Kontrahenten, während dies im Originaltext eher durch das Substantiv *prontezza* (hier mit dem Adjektiv „schlagfertig“ wiedergegeben) ausgedrückt wird, wo die Nominalisierung *del dire* generischer ist. In ähnlicher Weise verstärkt die Derivation „Belesenheit“ Salviatis Argumentation, da sie das Profil des Peripatetikers noch deutlicher konturiert. Zum Schluss wird, wie üblich in diesem Spannungsfeld, ein bildhafter Ausdruck verwendet (*mille Demosteni e mille Aristoteli resterebbero a piede*), der mit einem teildiomatischen Phraseologismus wiedergegeben wird („tausend Männer wie Demosthenes und Aristoteles würden von jedem mittelmäßigen Geiste aus dem Sattel gehoben“). Mit dem Satz „jemanden aus dem Sattel heben“ wird die ähnliche Behauptung im Originaltext noch deutlicher auf den figurativen Kampf zwischen Gegnern bezogen. Mit *restare a piede* ist es zwar deutlich, dass im Streit die alte Schule gegen die neue Methode verlieren würde, aber der verwendete Phraseologismus greift die Kampfmetapher auf, die an vielen Stellen im ganzen *Dialog* aufzufinden ist. Salviatis Beredsamkeit wird also deutlicher und auf moderne Weise ausgedrückt. Wie ist es mit den anderen Figuren?

### 3.2 SAGREDO UND SEINE NEUGIER

Wie bereits angedeutet, ist Sagredo der Lernbegierige, derjenige, der alles kritisch hinterfragt, obwohl er teilweise Salviatis Ausführungen nicht ganz verfolgt und sich mit Simplicio streitet. Anders als Salviati sind sein Ausdrucksvermögen sowie seine terminologische Genauigkeit geringer, wie das nächste Beispiel zeigt.

Beispiel 3 (Galilei 1970 [1632]: 20 /Galilei 1982 [1891]: 15-16):

Di grazia, signor Salviati, fermatevi alquanto, perché io mi sento in questo progresso pullular da tante bande tanti dubbi, che mi sarà forza o dirgli, s'io vorrò sentir con attenzione le cose che voi soggiugnerete, o rimuover l'attenzione dalle cose da dirsi, se vorrò conservare la memoria de' dubbi.

Diese Stelle befindet sich am Anfang des Dialogs. Kurz davor fasst Salviati Aristoteles grundlegende Argumente hinsichtlich der Himmelskörper zusammen, anhand einer ausführlichen Analyse von geradliniger und kreisförmiger Bewegung. Woraufhin Sagredo seine Zweifel zum Ausdruck bringt und den Gesprächspartner um eine Pause bittet, damit er tiefgreifender über das bereits Gesagte überlegen kann. So lautet die Passage in deutscher Übersetzung:

Haltet gütigst einen Augenblick ein, Signore Salviati. Denn ich verspüre in mir eine solche Menge von Zweifeln sich regen, daß ich mich ihrer entledigen muß, wenn ich Eurem ferneren Vortrag aufmerksam soll folgen können; ich müßte sonst, um meine Einwürfe nicht zu vergessen, darauf verzichten, dem folgenden meine Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen.



Beim ersten Blick fällt auf, dass das Wort *progresso* ausgelassen wird (*perché io mi sento in questo progresso pullular da tante bande tanti dubbi*→ „Denn ich verspüre in mir eine solche Menge von Zweifeln sich regen“). Damit ist nicht buchstäblich „Fortschritt“ gemeint, sondern das Argumentationsverfahren von Salviati, der eigentlich das von Aristoteles aufgreift. Wie an anderen Stellen leistet sich der Übersetzer manchmal Auslassungen, wo diese den Sinn und den Tenor des Textes nicht beeinträchtigen. Des Weiteren wird das generische *le cose (le cose che voi soggiugnerete)* mit “Vortrag” wiedergegeben (“wenn ich Eurem ferneren Vortrag aufmerksam soll folgen“). Hier operiert der Übersetzer eine Präzisierung von Sagredos Wortschatz und verwissenschaftlicht in gewisser Hinsicht den Text: *Le cose* („die Sachen“) ist nämlich semantisch vage und kann in jedem Kontext verwendet werden, während „Vortrag“ eine Rede über ein bestimmtes üblicherweise wissenschaftliches Thema bedeutet, was hier der Fall ist. Dieser Begriff ist auch durch die Präsenz im Originaltext vom Verb *soggiugnere* (veraltete Form von *soggiungere*, „hinzufügen“) gerechtfertigt, welches im Futur Salviatis Rede bzw. die Sachen, die (noch) nicht gesagt wurden, thematisiert. Ferner wird der Verbalausdruck *s’io vorrò sentir con attenzione* umformuliert. Das Modalverb im Futur wird durch den Ersatzinfinitiv wiedergegeben und durch ein anderes Modalverb ersetzt (*volere*→ „sollen“), wobei „sollen“ stärker auf der Notwendigkeit eines besseren bzw., wirksameren Verständnisprozesses seitens von Sagredo insistiert. Bekräftigt wird dieser Eingriff durch die Übersetzung von *sentir con attenzione* mit „aufmerksam folgen“. Der Verbalausdruck wäre mit dem Verb „zuhören“ leicht übersetzbar, doch hier macht der Übersetzer diesen Verständnisprozess zum Fokus, der Sagredo schrittweise unternimmt.

### 3.3 SIMPLICIO DER EPIGONE

Von allem Anfang an zeichnet sich Simplicio durch seine Apodiktik sowie eine gewisse Überheblichkeit aus und macht sich somit zum Spott der Gesprächspartner, insbesondere seitens von Sagredo, während Salviati stattdessen versucht, seine veralteten und falschen Ansichten nicht direkt ins Lächerliche zu ziehen, sondern sie durch Beweisführungen als falsch zu entlarven.

Simplicios Sprache ist sehr einfach und entspricht ganz seiner Denkweise. Er zitiert gerne und oft Aristoteles und ist nicht imstande, die kritischen Beobachtungen von Salviati und Sagredo zu erwidern, bezieht sich stattdessen auf die Autorität seiner Vorbilder und wenn er nicht weiter kommt, dann weist er bloß auf jemand anderen auf, der diese Autorität besser als er geltend machen wird. Das folgende Beispiel zeigt seine Voreingenommenheit.

Beispiel 4 (Galilei 1970 [1632]: 70 /Galilei 1982 [1891]: 59):

Io, per dire il vero, non ho fatto né sì lunghe né sì diligenti osservazioni, che mi possano bastare a esser ben padrone del *quod est* di questa materia; ma voglio in ogni modo farle,

e poi provarmi io ancora se mi succedesse concordare quel che ci porge l'esperienza con quel che ci dimostra Aristotile, perché chiara cosa è che due veri non posson contrariare.

Das ist Simplicios Antwort auf die von Salviati durchgeführte Analyse der Sonnenflecken, deren Prämisse im Beispiel 2 kommentiert wurde. Simplicio gibt mit Naivität zu, dass er das Phänomen nicht reichlich erforscht hat, so kann er Salviati nicht erwidern. Nichtsdestotrotz will er seine Überzeugungen nicht aufgeben und besteht darauf, im besten Fall, dass die Beobachtung der Naturphänomene sich an die Theorie anpasst, wenn diese Phänomene für richtig gehalten werden sollen. Es fällt sofort auf, dass Simplicio auf der einen Seite eine saloppe Ausdrucksweise zeigt (*non ho fatto né sí lunghe né sí diligenti osservazioni [...] ma voglio in ogni modo farle...*), auf der anderen Seite jedoch apodiktisch wirkt (*che mi possano bastare a esser ben padrone del quod est di questa materia [...], e poi provarmi io ancora se mi succedesse concordare quel che ci porge l'esperienza con quel che ci dimostra Aristotile*). Unten ist die deutsche Übersetzung:

Ich habe, offen gestanden, nicht lange und sorgfältig genug beobachtet, um in dieser Frage den Thatbestand völlig zu beherrschen; doch will ich auf alle Fälle Beobachtungen anstellen und dann versuchen, ob es mir gelingt, die Ergebnisse der Erfahrung mit den aristotelischen Lehren in Einklang zu bringen; denn es ist klar, daß zwei Wahrheiten einander nicht widersprechen können.

Im ersten Teil verwendet der Übersetzer zweimal den Begriff „Beobachten“, zuerst als Verb im Partizip II und dann als Substantiv. Im Originaltext befindet sich der Begriff einmal in Form von Substantiv in einem Ausdruck (*fare osservazioni*) und einmal implizit in einer Pronominalisierung (*farle*). Nun, *fare osservazioni* ist generisch (wie viele andere Ausdrücke mit dem Verb *fare* + Substantiv) und könnte genauso gut mit „Beobachtungen machen“ übersetzt werden, während hier der Übersetzer das Verb bevorzugt (*non ho fatto né sí lunghe né sí diligenti osservazioni* → „Ich habe, offen gestanden, nicht lange und sorgfältig genug beobachtet“). Auf diese Weise wird der ungenaue Ton beibehalten und Redundanz wird vermieden, da im darauffolgenden Satzbau den Begriff in substantivischer Form wieder aufgegriffen wird („ich will auf alle Fälle Beobachtungen anstellen“). Eine buchstäbliche Übersetzung hätte dazu geführt, zuerst den Ausdruck „Beobachtungen machen“ zu verwenden und kurz darauf „ich will sie machen/anstellen“, was vielleicht den Fokus hätte abschwächen können, in einem Thema, wo fachliches Wissen und Spekulation anhand rhetorischer Hilfsmittel sich ständig vermischen. Dem Verständnis zugunsten wird daher nach dem Verb der Ausdruck „Beobachtungen anstellen“ verwendet, wo letztere noch deutlicher den Gedankenaustausch oder das spekulative Handeln markiert (ähnlich wie Vermutungen, Überlegungen oder Nachforschungen anstellen).

Optiert der Übersetzer hier für eine Verwissenschaftlichung oder besser gesagt für eine Präzisierung der Gedankenartikulation Simplicios, so mildert er gleichzeitig seine Apodiktik ab: Ausdrücke mit lateinischen Formeln werden nicht beibehalten, sondern übersetzt und manche von Simplicio als vorausgesetzt verkaufte Wahrheiten

werden umformuliert. So wird der Relativsatz *che mi possano bastare a esser ben padrone del quod est di questa materia* mit einem Finalsatz („um in dieser Frage den Thatbestand völlig zu beherrschen“) wiedergegeben, wo das lateinische *quod est* mit „Thatbestand“ übersetzt wird. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen, die hauptsächlich Standardformulierungen betreffen, ist Latein im *Dialog* als „negatives“ Pendant zum Italienischen: Es dient dazu, die alte scholastische Streitkultur gegenüber der neuen empirisch basierten zu charakterisieren. Diese Funktion wird noch deutlicher in den *Discorsi (Unterredungen)* ausgeübt. Mit „Thatbestand“ (veraltet für „Tatbestand“) nutzt der Übersetzer die Produktivität der deutschen Morphologie aus und verwendet der Klarheit halber ein Kompositum, das Simplicios einfache Denkweise völlig widerspiegelt. Die semantische Breite dieses Begriffs deckt den Ausdruck *quod est di questa materia* (buchstäblich „Tatbestand dieses Stoffes“) ab, wirkt jedoch moderner und klarer. In diese Richtung lässt sich auch ein anderer Eingriff des Übersetzers interpretieren. Der vorletzte Satz Simplicios lautet: *e poi provarmi io ancora se mi succedesse concordare quel che ci porge l'esperienza con quel che ci dimostra Aristotile* („...und dann versuchen, ob es mir gelingt, die Ergebnisse der Erfahrung mit den aristotelischen Lehren in Einklang zu bringen“). Hier nimmt er sich vor, die von Salviati angeführten Argumente, wovon er kaum Kenntnis hat, mit der aristotelischen Lehre zu vergleichen und sie nur dann für wahr zu halten, wenn sie Aristoteles nicht widersprechen. Simplicio verwendet ein Verb, *dimostra* („beweist“) und setzt somit implizit voraus, Aristoteles habe die Wahrheit bewiesen und die Beobachtung der Naturphänomene sowie die Inanspruchnahme neuer Theorien und Beweisführungen können seine Doktrin keinesfalls infrage stellen. Strauß lässt das Verb aus und verwendet an seiner Stelle das Substantiv „Lehren“. Dadurch dämpft er Simplicios Aussage ab, aber in Wirklichkeit leistet er noch mehr, d.h. er definiert das ptolemäische geozentrische Weltsystem eben als eine Lehre, die sich im Streit mit dem heliozentrischen kopernikanischen Weltsystem nunmehr als veraltet und überholt erwiesen hat. Was Simplicio voreingenommen und kritiklos für bewiesen hält, ist eine tradierte Lehre, deren Beweiskraft völlig verblasst ist. In diesem Zusammenhang scheint die Auslassung des Verbs (*dimostrare*→ „beweisen“) und seine Ersetzung durch ein Substantiv (*con quel che ci dimostra Aristotile*→ „mit den aristotelischen Lehren“) kohärent: Das Wortfeld ums Beweisen wird dort verwendet, wo eine kritische Auseinandersetzung stattfindet, hier beschränken sich Simplicios Aussagen bloß auf die x-te Bewunderung für Aristoteles, so bleibt das Verb aus.

#### 4. FAZIT

Die Entwicklung der empirischen Wissenschaften und die Säkularisierung der Gesellschaft haben langsam zur Emanzipation von kirchlichen und religiösen Dogmen geführt und eine aufgeschlossene auf kritischer Auseinandersetzung basierende Debatte angeregt, die unsere Weltanschauung radikal verändert hat. Dieser Prozess geht mit dem Ausbau der nationalen Vernakulärsprachen als

Wissenschaftssprachen hervor und konsequent mit der Ablösung des Lateins als *lingua franca*. Im Laufe der letzten vier Jahrhunderte haben die jeweiligen Sprachen eigene Ressourcen entwickelt, welche wiederum die nationaleigenen Streitkulturen zum Ausdruck bringen und deren Reichtum zeigen, hinsichtlich der Stilmittel, des Wortschatzes, der Rhetorik und der begrifflichen Genauigkeit, alles Eigenschaften, die unter Verwendung einer *lingua franca*, so praktisch sie auch sein mag, unvermeidlich verloren gehen.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist Galileo Galileis *Dialog über die zwei hauptsächlichsten Weltsysteme* ein interessantes Beispiel, erstens, weil es einen Vergleich Italienisch/Deutsch ermöglicht, zweitens weil dieser Vergleich anhand einer diachronischen Übersetzung stattfindet, die den Leser dazu veranlasst, einige Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung und Modernisierung der Sprachen sowie zu den Herausforderungen des Übersetzens als tatsächliche Wissenschaftssprache (Villa 2013: 85ff.) anzustellen.

Die Eingriffe des Übersetzers zielen meistens darauf, den Text im Rahmen des gegenwärtigen Forschungsstandes einzubetten und den Fokus des Dialogs auf die wissenschaftliche Debatte zu legen. Die Brisanz der besprochenen Themen hatte Galilei gezwungen, diesen Austausch eben als Austausch unter Freunden teilweise zu kaschieren und sein so eleganter Stil zeigt Elemente der italienischen höfischen Streitkultur (Thielmann 2003: 7), die zur Zeit der Übersetzung veraltet waren. Aus diesem Grund versucht Strauß den Text zu modernisieren, ohne seinen wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Stellenwert zu beeinträchtigen. So optiert er z.B. für Begriffe, meistens Komposita, Derivationen oder Verben, die den allgemeinen Sinn oder das vom jeweiligen Gesprächspartner Gemeinte desambiguieren oder präzisieren. Im Text befinden sich semantisch vage Termini wie *senso*, *discorso* oder *cose*, die in der Übersetzung als Teile oder Phasen des Erkenntnisprozesses dargestellt werden („sinnliche Wahrnehmung“, „Spekulation“, „Ansicht“, „Vortrag“). Diese Präzisierung betrifft alle Gesprächspartner, obwohl Salviati seine Eleganz und Schlagfertigkeit beibehält. Weitere Wortbildungsprodukte, die das Ausdrucksvermögen der Personen aktualisieren, betreffen eher typische Eigenschaften von Gelehrten, wie „Beredsamkeit“ (*prontezza nel dire*), „Belesenheit“ (*pratica ne gli scrittori*) und „Thatbestand“ (*quod est*, was eigentlich eher dazu dient, Simplicios Besserwisseri abzumildern) und erleichtern die Lektüre für den modernen Leser. Etliche Eingriffe betreffen auch den Verbalbereich und bezwecken entweder eine Vereinfachung (*fare osservazioni*→ „beobachten“), oder eine stärkere Charakterisierung des Erkenntnisprozesses (*fare [d.h. le osservazioni]*→ „Beobachtungen anstellen“), die auch im Fall von Aristoteles betont wird (*filosoferete*→ „ihr verfährt“; *dottrina d'Aristotile*→ „von Aristoteles aufgestellt“): Durch die Wortwahl des Übersetzers richtet sich das Augenmerk auf die Schritte und das spekulative Handeln des griechischen Philosophen, der so seine Stelle in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte bekommt, und nicht auf seine Theorien, die dogmatisch übernommen werden. Gerade diese Logik wird verfolgt, wenn andersrum das von Simplicio verwendete Verb *dimostra* nicht mit dem entsprechenden „beweist“ (weder Aristoteles noch sein Epigone Simplicio verfügen über die-

se Beweiskraft), sondern folgerichtig mit „aristotelische Lehren“ wiedergegeben wird, womit Bezug auf eine Theorie genommen wird, die nun endgültig überholt ist, was zum Schluss auch durch den figurativen Ausdruck „aus dem Sattel heben“ (Übersetzung der italienischen Redewendung *restare a piedi*, hier veraltet *a piede*) eindeutig fixiert wird.

Schließlich hat die Übersetzung u.a. das Verdienst, diesen nunmehr veralteten wenn auch immer noch wichtigen Text aus einer anderen Perspektive vorzustellen und ihn wieder lebendig zu machen und leistet aus diesem Grund einen erheblichen Beitrag zur gesamteuropäischen (Wissenschafts)Kultur, will man die Maxime des italienischen Schriftstellers Italo Calvino zur Geltung bringen, wonach ein „Klassiker“ ein Buch ist, das immer noch nicht aufgehört hat zu sagen, was es zu sagen hat.

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# Mays al-Rim. Opérette libanaise. Auteurs-compositeurs : les frères Rahbani, vedette : Fairouz\*

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## ABSTRACT

Like many Near Eastern people, I grew up dreaming of peace and dignity, conveyed by the voice of the Lebanese diva Fairuz singing the Rahbani Brothers' masterpieces, challenging weapons, enmity and war, claiming justice, peace and love. A long time has passed since I left Lebanon, carrying away with me a dreamed homeland, hardly recognizable nowadays, a treasure I have jealously guarded thanks to our theatrical and musical heritage. In that heritage, East meets West, claiming respect for Lebanese identity, popular traditions and folktales, music and dances, sung dialogues and genuine linguistic expressions. In that heritage, the oppressed defeat their oppressors and love transcends all boundaries. While the Rahbani Brothers' theatre was conceived and performed in colloquial Lebanese, most of the research on the topic carried out so far is in Arabic and their works have become vulnerable to mis-

\* Dorénavant, Mays al-Rim, Rahbani et Fairouz seront transcrits Mays er-Rīm, Raḥbāni et Fayrūz. Quant aux noms propres et vocables qui changent selon la source à laquelle nous avons fait référence, nous avons essayé de respecter, dans la mesure du possible, le code d'équivalence phonologique de la version théâtrale présentée en 1975 au Théâtre Piccadilly (Beyrouth) (VDL604/605) et celle télévisée en 1977 émise par Télé-Liban. Quant aux noms propres et vocables qui changent selon la source à laquelle nous avons fait référence, nous avons conduit certaine modalité d'usage habituel. Prière de ne pas en tenir rigueur.

representations by Western scholars. For all these reasons, I decided to venture into illustrating and partially translating their plays. The operetta that I present here is a Rahbanian *Romeo and Juliet* that joyfully overturns the destiny of two lovers suffering as a consequence of the never ending arguments between their families.

#### KEYWORDS

Rahbani Brothers, Fairouz, Mays al-Rim, Lebanese Theater, Lebanese operetta.

*Ces villages pittoresques et ces personnages délicieux, entre innocence, candeur, ruse, fourberie et combativité, aujourd'hui mythiques, dans un imaginaire puisé au cœur de la réalité libanaise la plus profonde, demeurent à jamais dans la mémoire collective. Comme un moment de félicité et de joie indicible. (Davidian, L'Orient-le-Jour, le 23 juin 2016).*

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

ʿĀṣī (1923-1986) et son frère Maṣṣūr (1925-2009) formaient un duo connu sous le nom des « Frères Raḥbāni ». Compositeurs, paroliers et poètes ils nous ont laissé un répertoire de plusieurs centaines de chansons ainsi qu'une vingtaine d'opérettes et comédies musicales<sup>1</sup>, la plupart à l'intention de l'épouse de ʿĀṣī, la vedette Fayrūz (1935-), icône de la culture libanaise. Les deux frères étaient indissociables et leur nom est automatiquement accolé à celui de Fayrūz « la belle voix de cristal 'turquoise' »<sup>2</sup>.

Sont nés de cette collaboration, marquée par une longue étape de créativité et de renouveau dans la musique arabe, des centaines de chansons (plus de 800 chansons) qui vont révolutionner la musique arabe, une vingtaine « d'opérettes », une trentaine de comédies musicales pour la télévision et trois films de cinéma et plusieurs tournées mondiales. (Achkar, 2021, p.27)

Plusieurs chercheurs ont relaté leurs vie, œuvres et art, mais sans résumer et traduire leurs opérettes et comédies musicales. Cet article s'inscrit dans le cadre d'un projet initié depuis une vingtaine d'année qui se donne pour objectif de faire connaître auprès du grand public et des chercheurs les comédies musicales des Frères Raḥbāni et de leur vedette - égérie Fayrūz et d'apprécier un patrimoine populaire, linguistique et artistique menacé d'extinction, celui des traditions populaires du Liban d'autrefois.

1 Une vingtaine d'opérettes des Frères Raḥbāni ont été publiées en libanais par les soins de Zoghaib (2005).

2 C'est la signification du surnom de Nouhad Haddad [Nuhād Ḥaddād].



## 2. MAYS ER-RĪM<sup>3</sup>

Présentée au Théâtre du Palais Picadelli (Beyrouth 1975) et au Théâtre international de Damas (1975). Auteurs-compositeurs : les frères Raḥbāni: ṢĀṣi et Maṣūr er-Raḥbāni, assistés par leur frère Elias et Ziyād, le fils de ṢĀṣi et Fayrūz. Acteurs principaux : Fayrūz et Naṣri Šams ed-Dīn ; metteur en scène : ṢĀṣi er-Raḥbāni ; les danses sont dirigées par Fahd el-ṢAbdalla.

### 2.1. INTRIGUE

Il s'agit d'une *Romeo et Juliette* raḥbanienne qui bouleverse heureusement, le destin des deux amoureux (Neṣmān, le mécanicien, et Šahīdi, sa fiancée), victimes d'une lutte de familles entre les clans de leurs familles. Grâce à l'arrivée accidentelle de Zayyūn qui se dirigeait dans sa voiture vers Kaḥlūn - son village natal - pour célébrer les noces de sa cousine, elle tombe soudain en panne sur la place de Mays er-Rīm, où le seul mécanicien est le fiancé en grève. Pour réparer sa voiture, elle n'a d'autre moyen que réconcilier les deux amoureux. Elle se trouve engagée, malgré elle, dans une lutte qui lui est étrangère. Mais elle réussit à mettre d'accord les deux clans et à re-fiancer les deux amoureux. Or, sa voiture reste toujours en panne, car le fiancé doit plutôt se préparer pour les noces. Il ne lui reste qu'à faire pousser sa voiture par les gardes pour libérer la place publique.

### 2.2. ACTEURS PRINCIPAUX

Fairouz [Fayrūz]	Zayoun	<i>Zayyūn</i>
Joseph Nasif [Naṣīf]	Hâtim, père de Chahîdi, la fiancée	<i>Hâtim = Abu Šahīdi</i>
Nasri Chams ed-Dīne [Naṣri Šams ed-Dīn]	Râji père de Nemân	<i>Râji = Abu Neṣmān</i>
Layla Karam	Talji, sœur du père de Chahîdi	<i>Talji = ṣammit Šahīdi</i>
Huda Haddād [Ḥeddād]	Chahîdi, fiancée	<i>Šahīdi</i>
Elie Choueri <sup>4</sup> [Šwayri]	Nemân, fiancé	<i>Neṣmān</i>
William Haswāni [Ḥeṣwāni]	Sergent de Mays er-Rīm	<i>šāwīs</i>

3 Mays er-Rīm est le nom d'un village fictif qui signifie en arabe « La gazelle coquette ».

4 Remplacé par Raja Badr dans la version télévisée.

Joseph Sakr [Ša'er]	Cancanier	<i>nesnās</i>
Sami Maksūd [Ma'šūd]	Abou Hal'a, gros-bras (faisant office de trublion)	<i>Abu Ḥal'a = 'abadāy</i>
Issam Kachtan [Kaštān]	Ghandour, gros-bras (faisant office de trublion)	<i>Ġandūr = 'abadāy</i>
Elie Snayfir [Šnayfir]	<i>Mekhtār el-makhātīr</i> (maire des maires honoraires).	<i>meḥtār el-maḥātūr</i>
Ziyād er-Rahbāni [Ziyād]	Gardien	<i>l-ḥāris</i>
Khalil Tābit [Ḥalīl Tābit]	Crieur public	<i>l-yāwūr</i>
	Partisans de Chahīdi	<i>Jamā'it Bu Šahīdi</i>
	Partisans de Nemān	<i>Jamā'it Ne'mān</i>

### 2.3. PREMIER ACTE

La scène principale se déroule sur la place publique d'un village anonyme libanais, Mays er-Rīm, où les gardes se présentent en chantant. Ils demandent aimablement à Zayyūn de s'identifier:

Bienvenue à toi ! / Bienvenue à Mays er-Rīm, notre village ! / Nous nous présentons : /  
les gardes de Mays er-Rīm : / Nom, emploi et village ! / Qu'est-ce que nous pouvons faire  
pour toi / dans notre village, / dans le village de Mays er-Rīm?

Elle répond ainsi:

Je m'appelle Zayyūn. / En ville, j'ai un magasin où je vends des plats / indiens et chinois. /  
J'ai aussi des opalines anciennes / et ma grand'mère est originaire de Kaḥlūn...

Ça ne suffit pas! Alors, elle déclare en chantant que son amour est pour Kaḥlūn, le village de sa grand'mère lointaine, où pleure et picore le rossignol, où l'on cueille figes et raisin, où l'on veille jusqu'au matin en écoutant les voix des moissonneurs. Elle annonce aux gardes que sa cousine doit se marier le soir même et que la robe de l'épouse est dans sa voiture, mais les gardes n'y croient pas.

Le sergent lui annonce qu'à Mays er Rīm, il y a un mécanicien qui s'appelle Ne'mān; or il s'est disputé avec sa fiancée... et il a cessé de travailler. Elle lui demande s'il n'y a personne pour réconcilier les fiancés ? Mais que faire ? Le village est divisé : une partie est du côté de la mère du futur époux, une autre est du côté de la mère de la future épouse.

Elle décide de les faire se réconcilier, mais la tante de Ne'mān refuse. Après un long discours, plein d'ironie, entre elles, Zayyūn se rend compte qu'elle est mêlée malgré elle, aux conflits de deux familles qui se disputent privilège et notoriété.

Voilà les deux amoureux qui se présentent sur la place, ils pleurent leur passé et se font des reproches. Zayyūn propose à Neʿmān: « Neʿmān, répare ma voiture et je réparerai votre rupture! » Mais il défend l'honneur blessé de sa famille et Šahīdi fait de même. Elle lui tire les cheveux. Il appelle sa tante au secours. Elle appelle son père. Les deux familles et leurs partisans se précipitent sur la place, agitant leurs bâtons en l'air. Le père de Šahīdi et celui de Neʿmān, s'insultent et se défient, récitant vers rimés et rythmés qui incitaient autrefois aux batailles.

Les gardes arrivent en chantant :

- Que se passe-t-il ? Que se passe-t-il ? Honte ! Honte ! Honte ! Vous, vous, vous, restez comme vous êtes !

Fier de son pouvoir, le sergent ordonne :

- Inscrivez leurs noms sur vos registres ! Reportez-les dans vos procès verbaux!...

Le père de Šahīdi :

- Ce n'est pas nous qui avons commencé !

Le père de Neʿmān:

- Et nous non plus !

Le sergent étonné :

- Et qui alors ? Qui ? Qui ? Qui ?

Le père de Šahīdi:

- La jeune fille qui s'appelle Zayyūn et dont la grand'mère est de Kaḥlūn.

Coup de théâtre. Le sergent ordonne de l'arrêter, pour l'interroger, mais elle nie et accuse son « commissariat » qui n'a pas pu ou voulu éviter les bagarres. Il l'accuse d'être l'agent secret d'un autre « commissariat ». Les deux clans jurent que c'est elle qui a déclenché la dispute ; et Zayyūn de constater:

- Et alors, vous ne vous bagarrez pas, vous êtes d'accord !
- Alors, gardes, les gens sont d'accord et si eux, ils sont d'accord, vous, vous trompez et si eux, ils se trompent, vous, vous n'êtes pas d'accord, mais si eux, ils sont d'accord, ce n'est pas moi qui ai provoqué la bagarre !

Ce jeu de mots a confondu tout le monde, le sergent, les gardes et les deux clans qui se mettent à le répéter, les yeux égarés, sans rien comprendre. Pour mieux comprendre, il faut d'abord enquêter, déclare le sergent. Mais le père de Neʿmān proteste :

- Eh là ! mais nous ne nous sommes pas encore bagarrés ! Une enquête, pour quoi faire, hein ?!

Le père de Šahīdi ajoute :

- Ah ! juste ! D'abord nous nous bagarrons et puis, vous enquêtez !

Zayyūn conseille le sergent de renvoyer la bagarre au lendemain, comme ça, ils seront reposés, ils se bagarreront avec plus de vigueur et puis, les gardes se prépareront pendant la nuit. Le sergent est d'accord et les deux familles quittent la place en se menaçant.

Envisageant la désolation des fiancées, Zayyūn se lance en chantant son « Je t'ai demandé, mon amour, où allons-nous ? »:

<i>Sa'altak ḥabībi</i>	سَأَلْتُكَ حَبِيبِي	Je t'ai demandé, mon amour :
<i>La wayn rayḥīn ?</i>	لَوَيْن رَايْحِين؟	Mais où donc allons-nous ?
<i>Ḥallīna, ḥallīna, W-tesba'na s-snīn! [bis]</i>	حَلَّيْنَا حَلَّيْنَا وَوَسَّبْنَا السِّنِينَ (2)	Restons-nous ainsi et que passent les années, tout au bout. [bis]
<i>ʔEza kenna ʔa ṭūl</i>	إِذَا كُنَّا عَ طُوْل	Si nous nous sommes pour toujours,
<i>Ltaʔayna ʔa ṭūl [bis]</i>	التَّقِيْنَا عَ طُوْل (2)	rencontrés pour toujours,
<i>Layš mnetlaffat ḥayfīn?</i>	لَيْشْ مُنْتَلَفَّتْ حَايْفِين؟	pourquoi, ces regards apeurés nous jetons autour de nous?
<i>ʔAna kellma bšūfak</i>	أَنَا كَلَّمَا بَشُوفَكَ	Chaque fois que je te vois,
<i>Kaʔenni bšūfak La ʔawwel marra ḥabībi.</i>	كَأَنِّي بَشُوفَكَ لَأَوَّل مَرَّة حَبِيبِي.	On dirait que je te vois pour la première fois, mon amour.
<i>ʔAna kellma twaddaʔna,</i>	أَنَا كَلَّمَا تَوَدَّعْنَا	Chaque fois quand nous nous quittons,
<i>Kaʔenna twaddaʔna,</i>	كَأَنَّا تَوَدَّعْنَا	c'est comme si nous nous quittons,
<i>La ʔāḥir marra ḥabībi [bis]</i>	لَاخِر مَرَّة حَبِيبِي (2)	pour la dernière fois, mon amour [bis]
<i>ʔelli ḥkīli neḥna mīn?</i>	قَالِي حَكِيلِي نَحْنَا مِيْن؟	Parle-moi, dis-moi qui sommes-nous?
<i>W layš mnetlaffat ḥayfīn? [bis]</i>	وَلَيْشْ مُنْتَلَفَّتْ حَايْفِين؟ (2)	Pourquoi jeter autour de nous ces regards apeurés !
<i>W-men mīn ḥayfīn?</i>	وَمِنْ مِيْن حَايْفِين؟	Avons-nous peur ? Qui craignons nous?
<i>Men mīn?</i>	مِنْ مِيْن؟	Qui ?

<i>Mawʿedna bukra,</i>	مَوْعِدُنَا بُكْرًا	Notre rendez-vous est pour demain,
<i>W šu tʿaḥḥar bukra,</i>	وَشُو تَأَخَّرَ بُكْرًا.	comme c'est loin demain,
<i>ʿawlak meš jāyi ḥabībi!</i>	قَوْلِكَ مِشْ جَائِي حَبِيبِي؟	peut-être ne viendras-tu plus, mon amour !
<i>ʿam šūfak b-es-sāʿa,</i>	عَمَّ شُوفَكَ بِالسَّاعَةِ	Dans l'horloge tu m'apparais,
<i>Bi-takkāt es-sāʿa,</i>	بِتَكَّاتِ السَّاعَةِ	de son tic tac, tu nais
<i>Men el-mada jāyi ḥabībi</i> [bis]	مِنَ الْمَدَى جَائِي حَبِيبِي (2)	de l'horizon tu arrives, mon amour !
<i>W-ya denyi šatti yasmīn</i>	وَيَا دِنْيِي شَتِّي يَاسْمِين	Que pleuvent jasmins sur tous
<i>ʿa lli tlāʿu w-meš ʿarfīn</i> [bis]	عَلِي تَلَاوُوا وَمِشْ عَارْفِين (2)	ceux qui sans le savoir du tout [bis]
<i>W-men mīn ḥayfīn ? (bis)</i>	مِنْ مَبْنِ حَايْفِين؟ (2)	se sont trouvés. Qui craignent-ils ? [bis].
<i>Men mīn ?</i>	مِنْ مَبْنِ؟	Qui craignent-ils ?

Zayyūn passe la nuit sur la place où habite aussi le cancanier. A leur balcons apparaissent Neʿmān et Šahīdi pleurant leur passé et espérant le retour des jours enfuis ! Le cancanier soulève sa bouteille d'Arak et trinque à leur santé, puis il s'adresse à Šahīdi et lui dit: «Voilà ! Ils rêvent tout haut ! Mon Dieu ! La fête commence !»

La scène s'ouvre sur l'arrivée du sergent qui exhorte les gardes :

- Allez la patrouille ! La nuit est tombée ; écoutez-moi, il est temps de reprendre le service ! Mettez-vous en rang. Repos ! Garde à vous ! En avant, marche : gauche - droite, gauche - droite, gauche – gauche, gauche – droite.

Zayyūn aussi les met en garde :

- Attention gardes, faites bien attention ! Les voleurs marchent dans l'ombre du vent. Illuminez la place ! Illuminez tout autour ! La nuit a commencé d'agiter ses ailes. Illuminez partout, au loin et tout près ! Je suis une étrangère sur la place et j'ai peur, mon amour.

Sous l'emprise d'une forte nostalgie, Zayyūn entame son «Aux derniers jours de l'été» :

<i>ʔāhir ʔiyyām eṣ-ṣayfiyyi,</i>	أَخِرَ أَيَّامَ الصَّيْفِيِّ	Aux derniers jours de l'été,
<i>W-eṣ-ṣabiyyi ṣwayyi ṣwayyi,</i>	وَالصَّبِيَّيِ شَوْبِيَّيِ شَوْبِيَّيِ	Tout doucement la jeune fille arriva,
<i>Weṣlit ʕa sāhit Mays er-Rīm</i>	وَصَلَّتْ عَ سَاحَةِ مَيْسِ الرِّيمِ	Sur la place de Mays er Rīm,
<i>We-nʔaʕʕit fiha l-ʕarabiyyi.</i> [bis]	وَانْتَقَطَعَتْ فِيهَا الْعَرَبِيَّيِ	Alors la voiture se bloqua. [bis]
<i>ʔāhir ʔiyyām el-mašāwīr:</i>	أَخِرَ أَيَّامَ الْمَشَاوِيرِ	Aux derniers jours de promenades:
<i>Fī ḡaymi zarʔa w-bard ktīr:</i> [bis]	فِيهِ غَيْمِي زَرْقًا وَبَرْدٌ كَثِيرٌ (٢)	Nuage azur et grand froid [bis]
<i>W-waḥdi mensiyyi,</i>	وَوَحْدِي مَنْسِيَّيِ	Et moi, seule et oubliée,
<i>B-sāḥa rmaḍiyyi,</i>	بَسَاحَةِ رَمَادِيَّيِ	Sur cette place grise,
<i>ʔana w-el-layl w-ḡenniyyi.</i> [bis]	أَنَا وَاللَّيْلَ وَغَنِّيَّيِ.	Moi, la nuit et une chanson. [bis]
<i>Tʔaḥḥarna w-ṣu ṭāliʕ be-l-ʔīd ?</i>	تَأَخَّرْنَا وَشَوْ طَالِعَ بِالْأَيْدِ	Nous avons tardé, que faire, mon amour ?!
<i>Ḥabībi w-sabaʕetna l-mawaʕīd</i> [bis]	حَبِيْبِي وَسَبْعَتْنَا الْمَوَاعِيدِ (٢)	Les rendez-vous nous ont précédés. [bis]
<i>ʔAna law fiyyi,</i>	أَنَا لَوْ فَيَّيِ	Moi, si je pouvais,
<i>Zūrak bi-ʕinayyi,</i>	زُورَكَ بِيْعِيَّيِ	Dans les yeux, te visiterais
<i>W-ʕumra ma temṣi l-ʕarabiyyi.</i> [bis]	وَعُمْرًا مَا تَمْثِي الْعَرَبِيَّيِ	Et qu'importe si ma voiture ne marche pas ! [bis]

Quand Zayyūn finit de chanter, tous quittent la place, où désormais règnent le silence et la nuit.

Dans un coin, Ḥātīm, le père de Šahīdi est entrain de tramer un complot avec Ġandūr qui fait office de trublion :

- Ecoute, Ġandūr, je veux que Rāji père de Neʕmān soit humilié, humilié sur la place.

- Je te jure que je l'expédie chez lui en pièces.
- Ah ! non ! c'est trop ! Le type est vieux et ne tient pas debout.
- Alors, tu voudrais que je le caresse ?!
- Il faut le frapper au point qu'il ne puisse pas se procurer de certificat médical.
- Ça, c'est cher !
- Peu importe ! Quel est le tarif ?

Puis ils discutent du prix à payer pour chaque type de coup: gifles, coups de verge et arrachage de moustaches. Mais, le père de Šahīdi exige qu'il lui fasse tomber son *ṭarbūš*.<sup>5</sup>

- Faire tomber son *ṭarbūš* ... ça c'est un extra !
- On paiera l'extra !
- Ecoute, mais qui t'a envoyé, qui t'a poussé, qui t'a payé ?
- Personne ne le saura. Sois tranquille ! C'est notre métier.

Ils se quittent et dans un autre coin de la scène on voit plus tard Rāji, père de Neṣmān, entraîné de tramer un complot avec un autre gros-bras, Abu Ḥal'a, qui porte des gants de boxe et un fouet de métal fin appelé *šīš*.

- Abu Ḥal'a, aujourd'hui Ḥātīm père de Šahīdi m'a manqué de respect et moi, tu sais, je n'aime pas faire du mal. Toi qui sais, fais-le pour moi !
- J'ai compris.
- Plus tu donnes de coups et plus tu reçois d'argent.
- Que penses-tu de deux coups de poing qui recouvrent son visage de bleus ?
- Ça ne suffit pas! La boxe est légère. La boxe est une lutte occidentale qui ne fait pas de bruit dans le village !
- D'accord ! Alors, quelque chose comme une prise de karaté et je lui règle son compte avec une prise de judo !
- Ecoute-moi : le judo est un sport japonais. A Hatim, je veux lui régler son compte avec une espèce de bagarre folklorique.

Rāji exige lui aussi qu'il lui arrache ses moustaches et qu'il lui fasse tomber son *ṭarbūš*.

- Qui t'a envoyé ? Qui t'a poussé ? Qui t'a payé ?
- Personne ne le saura. Sois tranquille ! C'est notre métier.

De retour chez lui, Rāji rencontre Zayyūn, il l'invite chez lui, mais elle veut rester neutre et le prie de faire se marier Neṣmān à Šahīdi, mais il refuse et s'en va. Alors

5 طربوش « Il s'agit d'un bonnet (ou une calotte) en drap rouge, allant justement à la tête et garni au sommet d'une houppe de soie bleue foncée ». Il faut distinguer le *tarbousch* égyptien de celui qu'on portait en Syrie et dans les contrées plus orientales, « c'est que le dernier ne va pas juste à la tête, mais qu'il a un bout pendant en arrière ou sur le côté » (Dozy 1843, 250 et suiv.).

Zayyūn se met à chanter son «Ils se sont aimés. Ils se sont quittés» (chanson mise en musique par Ziyād, son fils):

<i>Biʿūlu l-ḥubb byeʿtul el-waʿt.</i>	يَقُولُوا الْحُبَّ يُبْقِئِلِ الْوَقْتِ	On a dit que l'amour tuait le temps,
<i>W biʿūlu l-waʿt byeʿtul el-ḥubb.</i>	وَيَقُولُوا الْوَقْتِ يُبْقِئِلِ الْحُبَّ	Et que le temps lui aussi tuait l'amour.
<i>Ya ḥabībi ! Taʿa ta nrūh,</i>	يَا حَبِيبِي! تَعَا تَ نَرُوحْ	Oh ! mon amour ! Viens, partons !
<i>ʿabl el-waʿt w-ʿabl el-ḥubb.</i>	قَبْلَ الْوَقْتِ وَقَبْلَ الْحُبِّ	Précédons le temps et l'amour.
<i>Bedyit el-ʿeṣṣa taht eš-ṣeti,</i>	بَدَيْتِ الْقِصَّةَ تَحْتِ الشَّتِي	L'histoire a commencé sous la pluie :
<i>W-bi-ʿawwal ṣeti ḥabbu baʿḍun.</i>	وَبِأَوَّلِ شِتِي حَبُّوا بَعْضُنْ	L'hiver précédant ils se sont aimés.
<i>W ḥeṣit el-ʿeṣṣa bi-tāni ṣeti</i>	وَحُلِمَتِ الْقِصَّةَ بِي تَانِي شِتِي	L'histoire s'est terminée l'hiver suivant
<i>W-taht eš-ṣeti taraku baʿḍun [bis]</i>	وَتَحْتِ الشَّتِي تَرَكَوا بَعْضُنْ (٢)	Et sous la pluie. Ils se sont quittés [bis]
<i>Ḥabbu baʿḍun. Taraku baʿḍun [bis]</i>	حَبُّوا بَعْضُنْ. تَرَكَوا بَعْضُنْ (٢)	Ils se sont aimés. Ils se sont quittés. [bis]
<i>Ya ḥabībi šu nafʿ el-beki,</i>	يَا حَبِيبِي شُو نَفْعِ الْبِكِي!؟	Oh ! mon amour, à quoi bon pleurer ?!
<i>W-šu ʿelu maʿna baʿd el-ḥaki? [bis]</i>	وَشُو إِلَو مَعْنَى بَعْدِ الْحَكِي!؟ (٢)	A quoi bon encore en parler ? [bis]
<i>Ma zāla ʿeṣaṣ kbīri,</i>	مَا زَالَا قِصَصْ كَبِيرِي	Si même des grandes histoires aussi
<i>W-layāli sahar w ḡīri,</i>	وَلَيَالِي سَهَرِ وَغِيرِي	Et malgré nuits de veille et de jalousie
<i>Bteḥlaṣ bi-kelmi zḡīri :</i>	بِتَحْلِصْ بِكَلِمِي زُغِيرِي	Finissent par deux simples mots, ainsi:
<i>Ḥabbu baʿḍun. Taraku baʿḍun [bis]</i>	حَبُّوا بَعْضُنْ. تَرَكَوا بَعْضُنْ (٢)	Ils se sont aimés. Ils se sont quittés [bis]

Zayyūn s'étend sur le siège de sa voiture. Ignorants de sa présence, les deux gros-bras se rencontrent. Ġandūr raconte à Abu Ḥaḥʿa qu'il a été enrôlé par Ḥātīm pour cogner



sur Rāji et Abu Ḥal'a lui avoue qu'il a été chargé par Rāji pour cogner sur Ḥātim. Tous deux sont d'accord qu'ils sont des gens bien, distingués et polis. Ils ne discutent pas le prix et ne laissent tirer sur personne, donc juste : deux coups de verge et les envoyer à l'hôpital. Puis ils se mettent à chanter. Quant au prix, prix fixe, appliquer le tarif syndical.

Zayyūn klaxonne en pleine nuit pour appeler le sergent qui se présente tout de suite. Elle lui demande d'arrêter les deux gros-bras qui complotent pour cogner Ḥātim et Rāji le lendemain. Le sergent les reconnaît - ils ont des précédents - et les conduit au commissariat.

Zayyūn reprend le thème de l'amour perdu et chante avec nostalgie son « Nous nous rencontrons le soir » :

<i>Kenna netlā'a men ʿašiyi.</i>	كِنَّا نَتَلَاقَى مِنْ عَشِيٍّ	Nous nous rencontrons le soir, toi et moi.
<i>W neʿud ʿala l-jesr el-ʿatīʿ.</i>	وَنَقْعُدُ عَلَى الْجِسْرِ الْعَتِيقِ	Et nous nous asseyions sur le vieux pont.
<i>W-tenzal ʿala s-sahl eḏ-ḏabābi.</i>	وَتَنْزُلُ عَلَى السَّهْلِ الصَّبَايِ	Et la brume descendait sur la plaine.
<i>Temḥi l-mada w-temḥi t-ṭarīʿ.</i>	تَمْحِي الْمَدَى وَتَمْحِي الطَّرِيقَ	Elle effaçait la route et l'horizon.
<i>Ah ! Ma ḥada yaʿrif bi-maṭraḥna</i>	أه! مَا حَذَا يَعْرِفُ مَطْرَحُنَا	Personne ne connaissait notre place
<i>Ġayr es-sama w-waraʿ tešrīn.</i>	غَيْرَ السَّمَاءِ وَوَرَقَ تَشْرِينَ	seuls le ciel et les feuilles d'automne.
<i>We-yʿelli bḥebbik ʿana bḥibbik.</i>	وَيَقْلِي بِحُبِّكَ أَنَا بِحُبِّكَ	Et il me disait « je t'aime, moi, je t'aime ».
<i>W-yehrub fīna l-ḡaym el-ḥazīn.</i>	وَيُهْرُبُ فِينَا الْغَيْمَ الْحَزِينِ	Les nuages tristes fuyaient avec nous.
<i>Ya snīn elli reḥti rjaʿīli.</i>	يَا سَنِينَ اللَّيِّ رَحْتِي رَجْعِيْلِي	Ô années enfuies, revenez !
<i>Rjaʿīli šī marra rjaʿīli.</i>	رَجْعِيْلِي شِي مَرَّةً رَجْعِيْلِي	Une fois au moins, revenez !
<i>We-nsīni ʿa bāb eṭ-ṭufūli,</i>	وَنَسِينِي عَ بَابِ الطُّفُولِي	Oublie-moi au seuil de l'enfance,
<i>Ta ʿerkud bi šams eṭ-turʿāt.</i>	تَ إِكْضُ بِشَمْسِ الطَّرَاقَاتِ	pour que je coure dans le soleil des rues.

<i>Ya snīn elli reḥti rjaʿīli.</i>	يا سنين اللي رختي رُجِعيلي	Ô années enfuies, revenez !
<i>Rjaʿīli ši marra rjaʿīli.</i>	رُجِعيلي شي مرّه رُجِعيلي	Une fois au moins, revenez !
<i>W-reddīli d-ḏeḥkāt elli rāḥu.</i>	رُدِّي لي الضحكات اللي راخو	Rendez-moi les rires enfuis
<i>Lli baʿda b zawāya s-saḥāt.</i>	اللي بعدا بزوايا السّاحات	qui résonnent encore aux coins de la place nue.
<i>Betzakkar šu ḥekyu ʿalayi.</i>	بِتذَكّر شو حِكْيُوا عَلَيِّي	Je me rappelle tout ce qu'ils disaient de moi...
<i>Lamma naṭart w-ʿenta nsīt.</i>	لَمَّا نَطَرْتِ وَإِنْتِ نُسَيْتِ	Quand je t'attendais, alors que tu avais oublié.
<i>W-ṣār eš-ṣeti yenzal ʿalayi.</i>	وَصَارَ الشَّيْءُ يَنْزِلُ عَلَيِّي	La pluie commençait de tomber sur moi.
<i>W-ʿeja ṣ-ṣayf w-ʿenta ma jīt.</i>	وَإِجَا الصَّيْفِ وَإِنْتِ مَا جِئْتِ	L'été arriva mais toi, jamais.

Le sergent convoque Rāji et Ḥātīm au commissariat. Ils nient avoir payé quelque un pour se bagarrer et décident de porter plainte devant le maire des maires honoraires (*meḥtār* des *meḥtārs*!). Les gens sont d'accord et même Zayyūn déclare qu'elle sera de leur côté.

#### 2.4. DEUXIÈME ACTE

L'arrivée en grande pompe des maires honoraires et du maire des maires est déclarée par le crieur public. Il annonce l'entrée de chaque maire avec un chant mélismatique inspiré à la mélodie liturgique byzantine, accompagné par le chœur d'une note prolongée de la basse *ison*, suivi d'un chant stichérarique, pour les stichères (courts textes en vers intercalés entre les vers) et les tropaires (textes poétiques pour les fêtes religieuses). Voilà enfin qu'arrive le maire des maires honoraires. Les gens lui souhaitent le bienvenue. Il les remercie et demande à Rāji puis à Ḥātīm, qui sont leurs témoins. Tous deux indiquent Zayyūn. Le maire des maires s'adresse donc à Zayyūn:

- Zayyūn dont la grand'mère est de Kaḥlūn ? Je te connais. Je te connais et je connais ta grand'mère. Toi, Rāji et Ḥātīm ?! Mon Dieu, quel trio !!

Zayyūn lui raconte son histoire, mais il la connaissait déjà. Elle le supplie de la laisser partir, car ce n'était pas sa faute, il répond :

- Je le sais ! Je sais que tu n'avais pas l'intention de les dresser l'un contre l'autre... Rāji et Hātīm vivent comme ça depuis vingt ans. Ils inventent toujours un nouveau motif pour se disputer...

Puis il s'adresse à Rāji:

- ... Dites-moi, vous voulez vous réconcilier ?
- Comme vous le désirez !
- Et qui est-ce qui commence [à s'excuser] ?

Les deux clans répondent : eux en se montrant l'un l'autre. Le maire des maires demande à Ne'mān de faire ses excuses à Šahīdi, mais sa tante l'en empêche. Vu qu'il n'a plus de place pour la paix, le maire des maires change de stratégie et décide d'épouser lui-même Šahīdi:

- Parfait ! Magnifique ! J'ai trouvé la solution : vu que vous êtes fâchés et qu'il n'y a plus de place pour la paix et que Šahīdi est une belle jeune fille qui grandit alors que vous êtes toujours fâchés ; j'ai trouvé qu'il convient que j'épouse Šahīdi ! ... Qu'est-ce qu'il me manque ? ... Moi, je prends Šahīdi et vous, vous vous arrangez : disputez-vous, faites la paix, moi, ce n'est plus mon affaire... La semaine prochaine illuminez-moi la place de Mays er-Rīm... Je viendrai chercher ma future épouse comme le prince charmant des livres.

Le sergent, puis une garde invitent tout le monde à danser la *dabkeh*<sup>6</sup> folklorique. Les danseurs frappent le sol au rythme d'une chanson exécutée par Rāji: « Ô toi qui passes près des moulins »... La nuit tombe, la place est vide, seuls Zayyūn et le cancanier y restent. Du commissariat vide, il appelle pour elle Kahlūn et elle chante à l'appareil son: « Grand'mère, oh! Grand'mère »:

Setti, ya setti!	سَتِّي يَا سَتِّي	Grand'mère, oh ! Grand'mère !
Šta <sup>?</sup> tellik, ya setti.	شَتَقْتَلِكْ يَا سَتِّي	Tu me manques, Grand'mère !
ʿalli šawtik!	عَلِّي صَوْتِكَ	Parle au plus fort !
Šawtik b'īd,	صَوْتِكَ بُعِيد	Ta voix est lointaine ;
Jāyi mne l-karm,	جَائِي مِّنَ الْكَرَمِ	Elle arrive des vignes,

6 دبكة « sorte de danse ... où les danseurs se forment en demi-cercle, se tiennent par la main ou le bras, et sont conduits par un chef qui indique les mouvements à exécuter ; la cadence est marquée par le pied qu'on pose en force sur le sol ; on s'accompagne en chantant. Le sirto des grecs modernes est une sorte de *dabke*. » (Barthélemy 1935 : 231).

Jāyi mne t-teffāh.	جايي مِّنَ التِّفَاحِ	Elle provient des pommiers.
Şawtik hāmīl šams uw-fayy, W-lawn et-tīn w-ez-zaytūn, W-rīḥit eṭ-ṭayyūn, Ya setti.	صَوْتِكَ حَامِلِ شَمْسٍ وَفَيْ وَلَوْنِ التِّينِ وَالزَّيْتُونِ وَرِيحَةِ الطَّيْنُونِ يَا سَتِّي	Elle apporte ombre, soleil, des figes et des olives la couleur, du chaux éteinte <sup>7</sup> l'odeur, Ma grand'mère !
ʔĒ, ya setti, Ma ḥada yenṭerni.	إِيَّهْ يَا سَتِّي مَا حَدَا يَنْطُرْنِي	Ecoute, grand'mère ! Que personne ne m'attende.
La t'ajjlu l-ʕers, Yemkin ṭawwil.	لَا تَأْجَلُوا الْعِرْسَ يُمْكِنُ طَوَّلُ	Ne renvoyez pas les noces, Je serai peut-être en retard.
W-šu hamm el-fesṭān!	وَشُو هَمَّ الْفُسْطَانِ	La robe n'a aucune importance !
ʔūli le-l ʕarūs: ʔenti z-zīni w-ʔenti l-ʕers,	قَوْلِي لِلْعَرُوسِ إِنْتِي الزَّيْنِي وَإِنْتِي الْعِرْسَ	Dis à la mariée : Tu es l'ornement et tu es la cérémonie
W-sallmīli ktīr ktīr.	وَسَلِّمِي لِي كَثِيرَ كَثِيرَ	Et embrasse-les fort, fort, pour moi !
W-ma baʔa bakkīr, Ya setti.	وَمَا بَقِيَ بَكْرٍ يَا سَتِّي	Il est déjà tard. Ma grand'mère !
Bezkur el-layāli eṭ-ṭawīli, W-ʔana ṭefli be-z-zamān, W-ʔeşaş eş-şeti yehkīli	بِذِكْرِ اللَّيَالِي الطَّوِيلِي وَأَنَا طُفْلِي بِالزَّمَانِ وَقَصَصِ الشَّيْطَانِي يَحْكِيَلِي	Je me rappelle les longues veillées, Quand, enfant, j'étais, Quand les histoires d'hiver.
Şawtik elli kello ʔamān (bis). ʔĒ! ya setti,	صَوْتِكَ اللَّيْ كَلُّو أَمَانَ (2) إِيَّهْ! يَا سَتِّي	Ta voix rassurante me contait, Ah ! ma petite grand'mère,

7 طِينٌ mortier fait de terre, d'eau, de chaux éteinte et de chaux hâché dont on se servait autrefois pour construire les briques de boue et lisser le mur.

Šu b'ellik ya setti?!	شُو بَئَلِكْ يَا سِتِّي؟	Que dire d'autre, grand'mère ?!
?Entu bi-?albi,	إِنْتُوا بَقْلِي	Vous êtes dans mon cœur ;
W-?ūlu Zayyūn, Jāyi w-manna jāyi, Hawn uw mannaš hawn,	وَقُولُوا زَيُّونَ جَايِي وَمَنَّأ جَايِي هَوْنُ وَمَنَّشْ هَوْنُ	Vous dites: Zayyūn, Viendra et ne viendra pas, Elle est ici et elle n'y est pas.
ʿam betganni l-el-ʿarūs	عَمَّ بَتَغَنِّي لِلْعَرُوسِ	Elle chante pour la future épouse
W-le-l ʿarīs be-s-sāhāt	وَالْعَرِيسِ بِالسَّاحَاتِ	Et le futur époux, sur les places,
W-men ḥalf eṭ-ṭerʿāt, Ya setti...!	وَمِنْ خَلْفِ الطَّرِيقَاتِ يَا سِتِّي	Et par delà les rues, Ma grand'mère... !

Pour provoquer les deux clans, le maire des maires envoie une lettre d'amour à Šahīdi pour qu'elle soit lue par le sergent sur la place. Ce dernier arrive avec sa fanfare sur la place, en uniforme officiel. Précédé par deux coups de trompette, le sergent annonce :

Lettre du maire des maires à la population de Mays er-Rīm, à Šahīdi, fille de Ḥātim, que Ne'mān, fils de Rāji, lui a cédée pour fiancée.

Salutations cordiales !

Chers concitoyens, sachez que moi, votre célèbre gendre, ni les tâches liées à ma charge de *mehtār*, ni les affaires de l'Etat ne me distraient. Chacune de mes pensées, Šahīdi, est pour toi. J'aurais aimé veiller sous ta fenêtre si je n'avais pas eu peur de m'enrhumer. C'est pour cette raison que nous avons donné pouvoir à notre Sergent zélé de nous remplacer à la tête d'une fanfare armée pour danser et chanter sous ta fenêtre, comme les chevaliers de l'époque romantique. Nous lui avons donné mandat de rédiger un rapport détaillé sur tout frémissement de tes chastes sentiments et de nous le remettre, afin de nous réjouir. Je t'envoie un baiser avec le sergent.

Šahīdi en refuse et le sergent ordonne qu'on écrive : « elle a refusé d'embrasser ». Les gardes chantent sous sa fenêtre une vieille chanson d'amour : « Ô Laure, ton amour m'a brûlé le cœur » et un groupe de danseurs exécutent une valse. Les deux amoureux se déclarent leur amour en chantant et enfin Ne'mān demande pardon à Šahīdi. Ils se réconcilient et chantent ensemble : « le passé est le passé ».

Emu, Rāji évoque, chantant lui aussi, pleurant son amour perdu. Encouragé par Zayyūn, Rāji se présente sous le balcon de Ḥātim et l'appelle, ignorant le sergent qui

lui reproche de hurler sous la fenêtre de la fiancée du maire des maires. Quand Ḥātīm se présente Rāji lui dit :

- Approche-toi Ḥātīm, mon frère ! Approche-toi !
- Eh! Dieu nous pardonne ! Vingt ans d’hostilité, nous nous sommes fait du tort, et nous en avons fait à nos enfants.

Le sergent les interrompt :

- Dites donc ! On dirait que vous vous parlez ?!
- Nous voulons faire la paix.
- Bravo ! Petits malins ! Vous croyez pouvoir faire tout ce que vous voulez ? Vous voulez faire la paix, mais nous, nous ne voulons pas.
- Et vous, en quoi ça vous regarde ?! C’est nous qui voulons retirer notre plainte.
- Et nous, nous ne voulons pas la retirer.
- C’est la première fois que j’entends une chose pareille. Le pouvoir est contre la réconciliation !
- Bien sûr! Nous avons tout intérêt à ce que vous ne fassiez pas la paix. Vous oubliez peut-être qu’il existe une Autorité publique ? Et que notre maître, le maire des maires, est l’Autorité publique ? Et que l’Autorité publique veut épouser Šahīdi !!
- Nous voulons marier Ne‘mān à Šahīdi.

Le sergent essaie de les dissuader, mais en vain.

Les noces du maire des maires avec Šahīdi commencent. On voit arriver les délégués, la fanfare, les maires. On danse et chante. Voici le maire des maires qui arrive, précédé par une *dabkeh*, chantant son amour pour Šahīdi. Rāji et Ḥātīm, chantant, lui répondent du tac au tac. Zayyūn fait de même en suppliant le maire des maires de ne pas séparer les amoureux :

*Huwwi w-hiyi tnaynhun  
rebyu sawa.*

هؤي وهئي تنينهن ربيوا سوا

Elle et lui ont grandi  
ensemble, tous deux.

*W-‘a š-šaytani baynātun  
trabba l-hawa.*

وع الشيطاني بيناتن تربي الهوى

De leurs taquineries une  
passion est née.

*W-habb el-hawa ‘a ḥub-  
bun b-laylit šeti.*

وهبّ الهوا ع حبنّ بليلة شتي

Sur leur amour le vent  
a soufflé, dans une nuit  
hivernale.

*‘Alla ynajjīna men ḥbūb  
el-hawa.*

أله ينجيننا من هبوب الهوا

Et quand il souffle sauve  
qui peut !

<i>ʿam ḥalfak b-ed-dameʿ</i> <i>bi-lyāli l-ḥanīn,</i>	عم حلفك بالدمع بليالي الحنين	Je t'en conjure, évoquant les larmes, les nuits de nostalgie,
<i>B-el-ḡaym be-t-talli bi-</i> <i>zahr el-yāsmīn,</i>	بالغيم بالتلي بزهر الياسمين	Les nuages, la colline, de jasmins fleuris :
<i>Sayf el-maḥabbi ʿent,</i> <i>malja t-tayyibīn,</i>	سيف المحبي إنت، ملجا الطيبين	Toi, l'épée de l'amour, le refuge des bons ;
<i>Reddun la baʿḍun. metlma</i> <i>rebyu sawa.</i>	ردن لبعضن. متلما ربيوا سوا	Fais les retourner en- semble comme ils ont grandi !

Le maire des maires s'adresse à la population :

- Je suis venu, sachant que c'était pour les réconcilier. Et je sais que les gens de Mays er-Rīm ne se réconcilieront pas si on ne les secoue pas avec force. J'ai dit que j'allais épouser Šahīdi pour que vous réagissiez et vous vous réconciliez. Je me suis couvert de ridicule pour vous... Allez, allez, vous ne trouverez pas un *meḥtār* comme moi ! Dieu me protège !

La foule lui souhaite longue vie et lui d'ajouter :

- Rāji, Ḥātīm: Par votre faute, vos enfants l'auront payé cher ! Je fais semblant de cogner mais des fois, attention ! J'égratigne ! Alors, où est Neʿmān ?

Il prend les mains des fiancés, les joint et leur souhaite un avenir radieux ! Puis il propose à Zayyūn de l'épouser. Mais elle ne veut pas se marier, elle veut continuer à rêver. Le maire des maires présente tous ses vœux pour les noces, ordonne à Neʿmān de réparer sa voiture et reprend son chemin vers son palais.

Le cancanier rapporte le message à Neʿmān puis il réfère à Zayyūn :

- Neʿmān te salue. Il a dit que son mariage est pour aujourd'hui et qu'il ne peut donc pas réparer ta voiture.

Vu que la voiture de Zayyūn est garée de travers, les gardes reprennent leur interrogatoire, comme si rien ne s'était passé entre-temps. Ils lui demandent son nom, celui de son village, son métier et ce qu'elle est venue faire à Mays er-Rīm. Ensuite ils lui ordonnent de retourner chez elle. Elle leur répond :

- Cette voiture ne marche pas, il faut que quelqu'un la pousse, j'ai entendu parler d'un atelier de réparations, mais nous ne savons pas où se trouve l'atelier.

Les gardes se mettent à pousser la voiture pendant que Zayyūn chante au volant :

- Gens de Mays er-Rīm, souvenez-vous toujours de moi. Toutes les fois que deux personnes s'aimeront, continuez à vous souvenir de moi. ... N'oubliez pas Zayyūn, dont la grand'mère vient de Kaḥlūn!



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# PhD candidates and peer review: Reflections on teaching an Academic English module in an emergency situation

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## ABSTRACT

The idea of using peer feedback in second language writing classes is not new and dates to the 1980s. Despite the abundant evidence supporting the integration of peer review into L2 writing courses, it was not before the outburst of the Covid-19 pandemic that this activity was incorporated in the Academic English module (AEM) module for PhD students at the University of Trieste. This paper adopts a reflective teaching perspective to report on a case study in which peer review of students' abstracts was introduced as a 'new' teaching technique in the AEM delivered online due to the pandemic. Based on the responses to two questionnaires, this paper illustrates how the students tackled two peer review tasks and examines the participants' attitudes and feedback, with the aims of stimulating a critical reflection on the experience and formulating concrete plans to make peer review an integral part of future Academic English modules.

## KEYWORDS

Peer review, English for Academic Purposes, computer-mediated language training, academic writing, remote teaching

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Hardly any university course traditionally taught in a physical classroom remained unchanged during the unprecedented worldwide health crisis due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The shutdown of all higher education institutions in Italy led to the adoption of a wide variety of measures allowing universities to continue carrying out their teaching activities through the internet. The Academic English module (AEM) organised for PhD students enrolled in the doctoral programmes offered by the University of Trieste was no exception and was entirely delivered online.

This paper adopts a reflexive approach to report on the implementation of peer review as a training activity in the module mentioned above. Before the outburst of the Covid-19 pandemic, the AEM was offered in a physical classroom. In 2020, due to the health crisis, it was converted into a remote synchronous module, with an overall duration of 30 hours, divided into ten 3-hour weekly sessions delivered over two months (May-June 2020). The module was open to all the PhD students of the University of Trieste, regardless of the Department they worked at and of their year of enrolment. The participants thus had heterogeneous fields of specialisation (from migraine management to functional analysis of counterfactual thinking, from Fanconi anaemia to lichen mycobiome, just to name a few), as well as varying degrees of experience with academic writing, with PhD candidates in their 3<sup>rd</sup> year having submitted many more abstracts and research papers than candidates in their 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> year. The transition from in-person to remote teaching offered the opportunity to reconsider the techniques and materials used and include writing tasks to promote active – though computer-mediated – student participation. Given the benefits that peer review can bring to students' learning processes (Bauer et al. 2009: 26–27), the choice fell precisely on peer review, i.e. “the use of learners as sources of information and interactants for each other in such a way that learners assume roles and responsibilities more typically taken on by a formally trained teacher, tutor, or editor in commenting on and critiquing each other's drafts in both written and oral formats in the process of writing” (J. Liu & Hansen Edwards 2018: 1). This paper is thus meant to describe how two peer-review tasks on learner-generated materials were implemented in the AEM and to discuss the relevant feedback provided by the students in order to reflect on the steps and changes necessary to use this pedagogical activity in a more effective and engaging way.

## 2. PEER REVIEW IN HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the main needs expressed by the participants at the outset of the 2020 AEM was to develop writing skills for research purposes. To address this goal, peer review was considered a potentially valuable teaching activity since it creates “a facilitative socio-interactive environment in which L2 learners receive social support and scaffolding from peers” (Hu & Lam 2010: 373), and in so doing it fosters the acquisition

of knowledge as well as language competence and writing skills (Bruffee 1984; J. Liu & Hansen Edwards 2018). In line with previous research (see, for instance, Berggren 2015), peer review was believed to do so not only in feedback-receivers, but also (or even especially) in feedback-givers (N. F. Liu & Carless 2006; Lundstrom & Baker 2009). While the former are made aware of their mistakes and knowledge gaps, the latter have a chance to sharpen their own sense of audience and genre and thus to improve their own writing and self-revision. Furthermore, peer review is an activity in which doctoral students usually engage early in their PhD programme, so it is one of the skills that they need to develop, but this frequently happens without formal training. On a more personal note, peer review was also chosen because the literature reports a lack of research on peer feedback among doctoral students, while research on peer review among high-school pupils and undergraduate students is much more abundant (Yu & Lee 2016a), and because there is a need to investigate how peer review activities can be accommodated in virtual classrooms (Yu & Lee 2016a).

A review of the literature of the past three decades shows that peer review has become “a popular pedagogical activity in L2 writing classrooms” (Yu & Hu 2017b: 25). Peer feedback, as Yu and Hu prefer to call peer review, is an activity where “learners work together and comment on one another’s work or performance and provide feedback on strengths, weaknesses and suggestions for improvement” (Yu & Hu 2017a: 178). While this is “a workable and straightforward definition of peer feedback” (Banister 2020: 747), peer review as a pedagogical activity is such a multifaceted practice that research could not but diversify to reflect its various facets.

Considerable research has been conducted on the use of peer review in different educational settings, such as in higher education (Carless & Boud 2018; Falchikov 2001; Poverjuc, Brooks & Wray 2012; Rollinson 2005; Yu & Hu 2017b), which is the focus here. The literature in this field is vast and it is beyond the scope of this paper to give a systematic account of the theoretical and empirical efforts made to understand how peer review can bring value to the (writing) classroom. By way of simplification, in relation to higher education the variety of aspects on which research has focussed ranges from the process of peer review to its effects. As regards the process, research has concentrated, for instance, on the relationship between language proficiency and peer review (Yu & Hu 2017a; Yu & Lee 2016b), the use of L1 or L2 in providing feedback (Yu & Hu 2017a), the meta-discourse used (Banister 2020; Carless & Boud 2018), and sociocultural factors affecting this activity (Hu & Lam 2010; Hyland 2019; J. Liu 2012; J. Liu & Hansen Edwards 2018; Zhu & Mitchell 2012). As for the effects of peer review, studies have been conducted on the impact of peer review on learning in terms of (lack of) effectiveness or performance (Connor & Asenavage 1994; Gielen et al. 2010; N. F. Liu & Carless 2006; Moore & Teather 2013; Nelson & Carson 1998; Rieber 2006; Zhang 1995; Zheng 2012) and writing process (Baker 2016), as well as on the learners’ (and teachers’) perception of the process, content and effects of peer review (Bauer et al. 2009; Nelson & Carson 1998). Comparisons between teacher and peer feedback have been made (Falchikov & Goldfinch 2000; Jacobs et al. 1998; Paulus 1999; Zhang 1995), and the benefits and drawbacks related to peer

review have also been investigated (Rollinson 2005; Rourke et al. 2008; Tsui & Ng 2000). Another significant strand of research, considering both the process and the effect of peer review as a teaching/learning tool, has addressed the role of training in the success of peer feedback in the classroom (Berg 1999; Hansen & Liu 2005; Hu 2005; Min 2005; Stanley 1992).

The increasing presence and use of computer-mediated communication in educational settings have led to growing research in the modes of peer response, which Liu and Hansen Edwards (2018: 6–21) classify as traditional, computer-mediated, and mixed. Given the focus of this paper, it is worth mentioning the studies carried out on the implementation of peer review in online courses (Knight & Steinbach 2011; Rourke et al. 2008), studies which have contrasted online with face-to-face peer review (Ho & Savignon 2007; J. Liu & Sadler 2003; Pritchard & Morrow 2017), and those that have analysed the peculiarities of synchronous and asynchronous online modes (Chang 2009; Liang 2010) or explored the interactional and social aspects as well as learners' perceptions of online peer review (Guardado & Shi 2007; Jones et al. 2006; Zhao, Sullivan & Mellenius 2014).

### 3. LEARNER-GENERATED TEXTS AND PEER REVIEW IN THE 2020 AEM

The training philosophy underlying the AEM has always been 'hands-on learning by doing', with explanations and activities introduced on the basis of both the instructor's observation of students' written and oral production and language issues raised directly by participants. In the two previous editions of the module, PhD students handed in abstracts written before the start of the module or for the module itself. These abstracts were used to identify the learners' needs for the purpose of planning the sessions efficiently, proposing activities of potential interest for most participants, and promoting brainstorming and in-class discussion. The language issues spotted served as a starting point for retrieving teaching material from 'pre-packaged' textbooks about English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP) and Academic English for Research Purposes. This material was then used in class and as homework assignment to tackle the most common difficulties encountered by the students (e.g. verb tenses and word order of adverbs) and expose them to language forms they rarely used (e.g. hedging and phatic expressions).

Although materials and resources devoted to English for Academic Purposes abound, those used in the first two editions of the module turned out to be only partially appropriate to address the specific professional communication needs of a heterogeneous group of learners such as the one involved in AEM. The first reason is that these materials are organised by topic and generally focus on one aspect at a time. Therefore, when using these materials, students practice various language features separately (and may face no difficulties when completing the relevant exercises) but have the (often well-founded) impression of not being able to apply what they have learnt to their own writing. The second reason is that these materials target

a wide, often unspecified audience, which results in topics being covered that are too general (especially in EGAP textbooks) or far away from the PhD students' research interests. This may lead students to feel disengaged, since they may not see a direct connection between what they practice during the module and what they are required to produce for their doctorate.

To make the part of the module devoted to writing as learner-centred and tailored on concrete needs as possible, the students' own written production was thus considered to be the most suitable material: working on learner-generated texts allows the lecturer to identify the participants' weaknesses and propose training activities to overcome them as well as to develop specific tasks with possible beneficial outcomes for all the participants. This, in turn, hopefully also leads to a higher degree of student engagement. To increase both the meaningfulness of the activities proposed and the student engagement, the instructor saw the online rather than face-to-face version of the module as a chance to reduce the use of pre-packaged teaching materials in favour of learner-generated texts (abstracts) and to use them to perform peer review tasks. In fact, while in previous module students' abstracts were pre-processed by the instructor and the whole class was exposed to pieces of writing (of variable length, from single sentences to whole paragraphs and beyond) in need of revision to trigger discussion, in 2020 abstracts were used in peer review tasks in small groups. Apart from trying to adopt a more learner-centred approach, capable of catering for the needs of each and every participant, the integration of peer review was also believed to increase the participants' motivation and participation, since the training material was their own work and was thus grounded in their experience and knowledge and connected to their reality (Dudley-Evans & St John 1998: 172).

The study presented in this paper was guided by the following research question: Is peer review of learner-generated abstracts in a completely computer-mediated environment an appropriate teaching activity for PhD students? More specifically, the research question could be subdivided into three sub-questions:

1. How did the single groups organise the activities in terms of remote mode of interaction?
2. Did the students perceive peer review as a useful learning activity?
3. What was their degree of satisfaction with these tasks?

To address these questions and reflect on possible future developments of peer review tasks in AEMs, the responses to the questionnaires administered after two peer review tasks illustrated in Methods are discussed in Findings.

#### 4. METHODS

After two face-to-face editions, in 2020 the Academic English module offered to PhD students at the University of Trieste was held entirely online due to the outburst of the Covid-19 pandemic. A total of 41 PhD students enrolled in the module,

23 of whom took part in at least one of the two peer review tasks described below. All of them were native speakers of Italian, and their average age was 30. Since the module was open to all the PhD students of the University of Trieste, the participants were heterogeneous in terms of both affiliation and year of enrolment. They represented six different departments: Department of Life Sciences (13), Department of Engineering and Architecture (4), Department of Chemical and Pharmaceutical Sciences (2), Department of Mathematics and Geosciences (2), Clinical Department of Medical, Surgical and Health Sciences (1), and Department of Physics (1). The majority (18 out of 23) were first year students, and, given that no minimum entry level was required, the students' level of English proficiency was heterogeneous.

Prior to the start of the module, a questionnaire was administered for the instructor to profile the participants and gather information as to their experience with both written and spoken Academic English and their self-perception of their weaknesses and strengths. In the latter regard, only two PhD students out of 23 stated having no weaknesses in Academic English. Students who replied in the positive were asked to specify what they believed to be their weak points (and were not presented with a list of items to choose from to avoid any possible bias). The issues specified by the participants could be grouped in the following categories:

- (i) problems with the organization of sentences, paragraphs, and content;
- (ii) unspecified problems with grammar (with exceptions; some indicated verb tenses as a major source of difficulty, while others mentioned prepositions and word order); and
- (iii) problems related to limited vocabulary and insufficient knowledge of phrasal verbs.

As for strengths in Academic English, thirteen participants reported believing they had none. Of the remaining ten participants, two reported being confident with their knowledge of English grammar, and seven stated their strong point was familiarity with the terminology of their research area. What also emerges from these replies is that PhD students may have a limited awareness of what academic writing entails.

Along with the questionnaire, participants were required to hand in an abstract written by them, either already existing or written on purpose. Based on the instructor's previous experience, almost all PhD students have already written at least one abstract in English, even though they may have done so for slightly different purposes compared to the ones motivating the drafting of an abstract during a PhD programme (e.g. an abstract as a short summary of an MA thesis). Indeed, abstracts are probably the first academic text type PhD students deal with, and they are also a good and concise example of what students are capable of at this stage of their formal education. The questionnaire confirmed this, since only one participant reported never having written an abstract.

Based on the information gathered from the abstracts collected, in the first half of the module the topics presented in class were discussed with the whole group present and free to participate as much as they wished. This part of the module served as an implicit training for peer review tasks, since PhD students were exposed to examples



of the most common mistakes found in their own work, encouraged to share their opinions and reactions to the prompts provided, and stimulated to provide their own suggestions for improving their written production.

The first aim of these training sessions was to increase the PhD students' awareness of all the aspects that come into play when academic writing is involved and thus stimulate learners to go beyond their perceptions of what their strengths and weaknesses are and help them develop more sophisticated noticing skills (Hinkel 2020: 51). By taking a cue from passages extracted from PhD students' abstracts and, if need be, combining them with other examples, participants were invited to reflect on and discuss aspects such as readability, reader-centred writing, author's stance, change of focus, and cohesion. Given the variety of research fields in which the PhD students work, they were also prompted to collect relevant literature samples (mainly research articles) in order to build a reference corpus of realistic rather than textbook representations of the texts produced in their own field of expertise. This corpus was meant to enhance autonomous learning, since it could be consulted to observe the recurrent domain-specific lexical patterns and verify or confute the discursive aspects presented by the instructor or emerged during in-class discussions. It could also contribute to raising students' genre awareness and acquisition (see, for example, Hyon 2018: 114) as well as their "rhetorical consciousness" (Swales 1990: 213). The use of a reference corpus is considered particularly useful since most PhD students read for information and the resulting language acquisition is incidental, while one of the purposes of the module is to move to a more "intentional or explicit learning that takes place through focused study" (Hinkel 2020: 52) and thus to develop PhD students' deliberate, conscious attention to the linguistic features of English for Academic Purposes.

#### 4.1. PEER REVIEW TASKS AND DATA COLLECTION

After the first part of the module, the PhD students were divided into seven groups, ensuring that a student's field of specialisation did not match the topic addressed in the abstract they were given for peer review, so that they could shift their focus from content to language. Each group completed two peer review tasks, as described below.

##### 4.1.1. PEER REVIEW TASK 1

The first task consisted in reviewing an anonymized abstract chosen from the set of abstracts written by the PhD students specifically for the module. The reason for starting with these abstracts was straightforward: they did not undergo modifications by writers other than the PhD students themselves. They were thus considered authentic raw material which could reveal a higher frequency of linguistic issues to

be addressed as compared to existing abstracts.<sup>1</sup> As such, they were suitable to start training PhD students on noticing linguistic features rather than reading for information, thus triggering intentional and not just incidental learning.

No member of any group was the author of the abstract assigned to the group so as to ensure that all the members could contribute to the activity on an equal footing and feel the necessary detachment from the text. The peer review task was illustrated during a remote session as a teamwork activity in which the group members should use Google Docs, so that every member could work simultaneously on the same file. PhD students were instructed to consider all the aspects that had been dealt with up to then in the module. These aspects included the IMRaD structure, the logical presentation of information, the general-specific order of presentation, clarity, readability, sentence structure, paragraph structure, grammar (e.g. definite and indefinite articles, verb tenses, subject-verb agreement), and the presence of ‘Italian-sounding’ sentences. Students were encouraged to write their observations, comments and suggestions and their possible questions for the author directly in the file they were reviewing. They were also prompted to be ready to contact the author of the abstract and give oral feedback if they felt the need to do so. Every group then met during the session in a dedicated virtual room in Microsoft Teams for a first meeting, to read and discuss the abstract they were assigned. After a short debriefing with the whole class to verify whether the groups had understood the task, groups were encouraged to continue the peer review activity autonomously, in the days before the next session, and were left free to do so in any way they saw fit. During the next session, students were asked to fill in a questionnaire on this activity, the responses to which are discussed below.

#### 4.1.2. PEER REVIEW TASK 2

The second peer review task was modelled on the first task. Group composition was not altered for this task in the hope that this could favour interaction and make the teams more efficient and prone to working more smoothly over time. Other elements remained unchanged (no abstract author in the group, group members not specialised in the topic at hand, total freedom to choose the ways to complete the task), except for the fact that the groups were assigned an existing abstract. The rationale behind the latter choice is that at this point in the module the PhD students were believed to have improved their abilities to notice linguistic issues, despite the limited amount of Academic English training received and the short experience with peer review. Again, after completing the task, the students were asked to complete a questionnaire.

1 Most of the existing abstracts handed in had undergone some form of revision, whether by the PhD supervisor(s), members of a research team or an editorial board.

#### 4.1.3. QUESTIONNAIRES ON TASK 1 AND TASK 2

The two questionnaires (QT1 and QT2) were completed by a total of 21 and 14 students respectively, although not all of them replied to all the questions included in them. The aims of the two questionnaires were three-fold: to collect information on the way in which students organised themselves to complete the activity in the time of the pandemic, to gather information on their degree of satisfaction, and to collect any other feedback useful for action research purposes. In order to collect as much information as possible and allow students to express themselves freely in relation to their personal experience with the peer review tasks, besides multiple-choice questions the questionnaires contained also open-ended questions, which led to rather heterogeneous responses.

### 5. FINDINGS

#### 5.1. TEAMWORK ORGANISATION

The first part of QT1 and QT2 was devoted to understanding how the groups organised to complete the two tasks outside module sessions. In both tasks participants showed a preference for asynchronous collaboration (43% in T1 and 64% in T2), followed by synchronous collaboration (29% in both T1 and T2) and both asynchronous and synchronous collaboration (29% in T1 and 7% in T2).

Other questions inquired whether the group members met virtually to discuss the tasks and, if so, what tools they used. For Task 1, ten students replied that they met virtually and reported using Microsoft Teams, the default platform chosen by the University. One student specified that the meetings did not occur with all the members of the group being present, but rather in pairs, since they experienced difficulties in organising the meetings. As for the 11 students who replied in the negative, two of them indicated using both the synchronous and the asynchronous modality. This may imply that the group members worked on the same file at the same time, but without discussing the activity in a virtual room and instead opting for discussing the group's choices in writing rather than orally. In Task 2, students showed a higher preference for meeting virtually and used a variety of tools. However, some caution is needed here to interpret the students' answers. One student who replied in the positive stated that only two members rather than the whole group met, which means that not all the group members took part in the virtual meeting, while another one stated that the group used two tools, i.e. Microsoft Teams and WhatsApp.

## 5.2. TEAMWORK DIFFICULTIES

The next question concerned the possible organizational difficulties encountered by the students in the two peer review tasks. For Tasks 1 and 2, 14 and 6 students respectively reported encountering no organizational difficulties. However, one student specified that in completing Task 1 the only problem experienced by the group – who worked in the asynchronous mode – was the delay with which the members replied to the messages in Microsoft Teams, while another student, whose group worked synchronously, reported that some members were unable to meet due to work reasons. This observation is in line with what emerges from the positive replies to the question, where the time issue is preponderant. Indeed, although variously expressed, several students indicated finding a time suitable for all the members to meet as problematic (with one of them specifying the resumption of work activities after the Covid-19 lockdown as a further complication). One student reported that the time available when Task 1 was assigned was insufficient, while in a quieter period the group could have reached more satisfactory results. According to another respondent, some group members did not collaborate, whereas another reported as problematic the fact that the group did not meet after the meeting in class. Only one student was undecided and replied “I don’t know”, but specified that most of the task had been completed during the in-class meeting.

## 5.3. USEFULNESS

Despite the teamwork difficulties described above, respondents unanimously answered that peer review may help them improve their writing and reviewing skills. For Tasks 1 and 2, 18 and 11 students respectively decided to motivate their positive answers. Most students seemed to agree that the main benefits of peer review are the exchange of ideas and experiences, the easier identification of possible mistakes and ways to correct them, and the discovery of alternative solutions as well as new ways of expression.

With regard to Task 1, two students acknowledged that when reading the focus is generally on comprehension rather than text production (reading for information). They seemed to agree that the analysis of a text from the formal and grammatical perspective helps them become more critical towards their own writing and allows them to both identify their weaknesses in grammar and broaden their vocabulary, thus leading to an improvement in future writing tasks. Several students highlighted the importance of having an external view. One of them stated that collaborative writing and revision give the opportunity to ask questions about and thus understand the reasons why the other group members make certain corrections. Another respondent recommended the institution of a peer review group among PhD students, since supervisors often lack the time to read and review their PhD students’ written work.

Another student stated that peer review is useful for engaging in a written activity which partly differs from the drafting of scientific texts but is closely connected to it.

One respondent appreciated the exchange with students with a different educational background, since the variety of fields of specialization is beneficial in terms of clarity and readability. The same student reported that the group who reviewed his abstract gave him valuable suggestions on some linguistic forms that he believed were comprehensible but readers found not so easy to understand. As regards the fields of specialisation, another student exploited this question to describe the difficulties she encountered. In particular, she wrote that she found rewriting an abstract (her group actually rewrote the abstract and listed a series of suggestions for the author) very useful but also complex since the main problem faced by her group was understanding the content of the abstract at the beginning of the task, given that no group member was familiar with the topic. Finally, a PhD student raised an interesting point regarding Task 1: he wrote that external feedback is always fundamental but specified that receiving it while revising a text is a particularly efficient way of saving time.

#### 5.4. DEGREE OF SATISFACTION AND RELEVANT FEEDBACK

The last question that QT1 and QT2 had in common concerned the general degree of satisfaction with the peer review activities proposed during the module. For Tasks 1 and 2, most PhD students reported being satisfied (19% and 43% respectively), followed by students who indicated being very satisfied (71% and 50%) and then by students who considered peer review “an activity like any other activity” (10% and 7%).

Among the satisfied students, a total of 14 students motivated their opinion. In QT1, one student from a group who worked asynchronously wrote that she would have preferred meeting the other members also after the session for a final revision of the review work. Another student stated that she joined the group once they had already started with the peer review task and that she would have preferred working on the task from the very beginning. One student appreciated the possibility to exchange ideas with people with a different scientific background. On the contrary, a student found that while having peer reviewers who are not knowledgeable in the field of expertise of the abstract is certainly useful, this could also be a drawback because some specific terms or concepts may be considered inappropriate even though they are not. The student admitted finding it difficult to formulate suggestions that were not closely related to grammar only, since some topics were too far away from her field of expertise and education.

Several students commented on the computer-mediated mode in Task 1. Many stated that working on site rather than remotely would have been better and, in this regard, a respondent (whose group worked asynchronously) added two suggestions: repeating the activity in future AEMs on site and increasing the support provided by the instructor, who could give some pointers during the activity and thus help the group members be more efficient and focused. As regards the online versus on site mode, one student in QT2 suggested a combination of the two modes to increase the effectiveness of the activity. In QT1, the same student who raised the time issue in

the previous question reaffirmed his standpoint that peer review is a very useful activity because it speeds up the correction phase and makes it possible for everybody to learn something new. Another student stated that the activity was useful both to understand the mistakes that he makes and to try and understand the mistakes that others make.

Among the very satisfied students, in QT1 one student found it useful to see how the group members approached the review, what their starting point was and what changes they suggested. Another respondent stated that, regardless of the correctness of the suggestions and corrections made during the peer review, the task allowed her to learn a lot. Finally, another student said that he was satisfied for two main reasons. The first was that learning how to work in team and collaborate without problems is nowadays essential, while the second was that the task allows participants to understand how different persons face the same problem and thus to find different strategies. The same student also specified that the task was enjoyable and one of the few activities not affected by the impossibility to meet in person.

In QT2, two students declared themselves very satisfied because they found the exchange with the group members efficient and fruitful, and one of them said as much despite the limited time available and the various commitments. Another respondent wrote that she really enjoyed exchanging ideas on writing and reviewing with her peers because she received useful suggestions on how to structure her sentences better and simplify them while maintaining “an elegant style”.

Finally, three students considered the peer review task as “an activity like any other activity”. In QT1, one of them admitted not being thrilled by peer review but finding it useful anyway, while in QT2 one respondent stated that he was very busy and, regrettably, was not able to dedicate the time needed to Task 2. He also reported being involved in the same type of activity for a co-authored paper and finding it difficult to organise all the work remotely.

## 5.5. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TASKS 1 AND 2

The last question in QT2 required to indicate any possible difference between Task 1 and Task 2. Five respondents stated they noticed no difference, one replied with a more tentative “I don’t know”, and another student admitted not having participated in Task 1. Of the seven respondents who noticed a difference, one student said that, unlike in Task 1, in Task 2 his group did not meet to discuss the revisions, without further commenting on the possible pros and cons of this choice. One student wrote that the abstract to be reviewed in Task 2 was more “definitive”, having already been revised by the author’s supervisors. Therefore, the group concentrated more on providing “conceptual suggestions” instead of focussing on grammar. Five students acknowledged a greater degree of collaboration, and some of them also specified the reasons (there was a lower level of shyness compared to Task 1; the members knew each other better). In the same vein, a student noticed that the peer review in Task

2 was more varied and richer in cues. She also mentioned that each member of her group contributed to the peer review task and highlighted aspects that she would not have taken into consideration in Task 1.

## 6. REFLECTIONS ON THE PAST: LESSONS LEARNT

By taking a closer look at the PhD students' responses, the first – obvious and unsurprising – lesson learnt from this experience is that the remote mode as the only way to perform peer review tasks may represent a limit to interaction. PhD students need to build a relation and establish peer trust (Hansen & Liu 2005: 33) before engaging in a teamwork activity, and, as they themselves stated in the questionnaires, a fundamental component to fostering collaboration is face-to-face interaction in a physical space. To stimulate interaction, an icebreaker activity was proposed in the first half of the module. The PhD students were given the opportunity to introduce themselves and their research interests and projects to the whole class; however, a certain degree of reticence was noticed, since some students did not embark on this challenge. An in-class personal introduction – be it real or virtual – does not necessarily mean that PhD students have a chance to establish a relation, socialize and display a higher confidence and propensity to overcome the possible initial shyness, collaborate on a shared task and “engage in a community of equals who respond to each other’s work and together create an authentic social context for interaction and learning” (Hyland 2019: 188).

Yet, the remote modality is not considered the only reason for learners failing to complete the task or participating actively. Considering the average number of attendees per session and the number of PhD students completing the questionnaires, the lack of participation can be attributed to various reasons: for example, the fact that peer review is a new activity to most PhD students, that the module and the tasks are non-compulsory, and that there is no final testing. Moreover, some students may find it difficult to combine their research activities with training. Therefore, while doctoral students are believed to need to become accustomed to teamwork and to be mature enough to organise teamwork autonomously so that it suits the needs of the group members, what emerges from this experience is that, in line with Liu and Hansen Edwards (2018: 105), the trainer should act as a facilitator to support their work from an organizational perspective, ensure constant monitoring so that all group members benefit from collaborative activities, and help students gradually acquire the skills necessary to carry out collaborative activities efficiently and independently.

The above observations do not mean that, now that the health emergency is over and teaching activities are resumed in a physical environment, online learning is to be completely abandoned. In fact, online learning can be integrated into a ‘traditional’ module offered to PhD students, where “the CMC [computer-mediated communication] format extends the interaction possibilities beyond the classroom” (J. Liu 2012), especially as regards the time and physical constraints imposed by the academic

calendar and university facilities respectively. For such integration to be successful, however, the activities that can be carried out remotely and an appropriate timing must be identified, and the module plan and design must be modified accordingly. This leads to another crucial lesson learnt, which is specific to peer review: based on students' responses, a 'covert' form of training is probably insufficient, and PhD students need specific, explicit training (Berg 1999; Min 2006; Rollinson 2005; Stanley 1992). For this reason, in future AEMs, students will be explicitly trained on peer review, as advocated by Lam (2010) and Min (2005), since it is supposed to improve not only their reviewing skills, but also their writing skills (Baker 2016; Rahimi 2013).

## 7. REFLECTIONS ON THE FUTURE: OPTIMISING THE PEER REVIEW PROCESS

As regards future plans, the ad hoc linguistic training designed for PhD students should be ideally subdivided into several modules and distributed over at least two years. Such design would require a more in-depth "present situation analysis" (Dudley-Evans & St John 1998: 124), taking into account not only subjective needs (i.e. the strengths, weaknesses, and self-perceived needs), but also objective needs (e.g. those identified through the observation of the abstracts written by the PhD students). To this end, an assessment of Academic English written skills should be introduced at the very beginning of the module to provide a clear picture of what PhD students really need and, on that basis, develop a detailed and possibly engaging learner-centred approach.

Given the importance of peer review in research and the prior knowledge needed to complete it satisfactorily, in an ideal training setting this activity should be introduced in the second year of linguistic training, once the PhD students have already been sufficiently exposed to the features and conventions of Academic English and have hopefully developed sophisticated noticing skills. Introducing collaborative tasks in the second year would also mean that participants are given the opportunity to establish a relation with their peers in the first year, which should help them overcome possible reluctance towards teamwork.

The timing would not be the only difference compared to the way the tasks described in this paper were carried out. Indeed, it is the author's belief that the authentic material produced by the PhD students (abstracts) should continue to be used in AEMs, but the composition of the peer review groups should change so as to include at least one member whose field of expertise is close to the topic involved in the text to be reviewed. As emerged from the questionnaires, the variety of the group members' background knowledge and education has both benefits and drawbacks since it provides multiple perspectives but may hinder understanding. The presence of an 'expert' in the group may solve comprehension issues and thus allow the whole group to focus more on linguistic rather than conceptual aspects.

In an ideal teaching setting, given the "need to explore the impact of 'virtual' classrooms on the use of peer feedback and investigate how and to what extent peer



feedback can be accommodated in the new type of online instruction” (Yu & Lee 2016a: 484), the online component of peer review would not be completely eliminated but introduced at a later time. Indeed, after initial training on peer review, the instructor’s intention is to assign multiple peer review tasks to be carried out in different modes. The first peer review task would be performed in small groups in class, so that the instructor could monitor the activity and intervene when necessary or when the participants require so. This initial peer review activity would allow the instructor to verify whether the presence of an ‘expert’ in each group is sufficient to understand the topic of the text assigned and whether the students have developed satisfactory noticing skills. Moreover, the physical presence of the instructor would allow her to immediately give suggestions or feedback when needed or required and to build confidence despite the traditionally unequal student/instructor relationship. The second peer review task, on the other hand, would be performed remotely, outside the physical classroom. As in Task 2 described above, the groups would remain the same, but they would work remotely and be free to choose how to work in terms of mode (synchronously/asynchronously), tools, time frame, etc. The instructor would be available as a facilitator to provide organisational and relational support, to solve possible linguistic doubts and to contact the author of the text to be reviewed in case of conceptual doubts.

The shift from an in-class to a computer-mediated activity would allow the instructor to dedicate the time in class to the discussion of the suggestions and revisions proposed by the participants in a flipped classroom fashion, while it would give PhD students a chance to experience what working in a distributed research team involves. Through questionnaires (and possibly structured interviews), the instructor would then assess the PhD students’ participation to the two activities, degree of satisfaction and choices made to move from a classroom to a virtual environment. The aim of this assessment would be to identify PhD students’ preferences, the choices made to accommodate to the online environment and the difficulties they may encounter, in order to suggest possible solutions. What the virtual Academic English teaching experience described in this paper tells us is that the possibilities offered by online environments are a fruitful avenue to be pursued further to optimise the use of peer review.

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# “To Use or Not to Use MT?”: Some Insights into Trust and Reliance From the LeMaTTT Project

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores translation trainees’ attitudes toward MT in terms of trust and reliance. The data were collected within the LeMaTTT project, an empirical investigation of the potential impact of neural machine translation (NMT) on the development of info-mining and thematic competences in legal translator trainees. The sample consisted of MA-level trainees with different educational backgrounds. Besides completing either a post-editing or a from-scratch translation task, they responded to a pre- and a post-task questionnaire investigating whether and how they use MT for specialised translation tasks and their trust in and perception of its output. The analysis considers within- and cross-group tendencies and takes account of the differences in (a) the types of tasks and (b) the participants’ experience and training in specialised translation and post-editing. The trends concerning the use and perception of MT are also correlated with perceived task difficulty and self-assessment, as reported in the questionnaires. Results suggest that MT is perceived as a reliable tool which speeds up the translation process and provides candidate terminological equivalents, though revision is required. It appears to generally reduce the perceived difficulty of the ST while increasing the perceived quality of the TT in less experienced and competent trainees.

## KEYWORDS

neural machine translation, legal translation, translator training, trust, questionnaire data.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

For the translators who started working or training after the so-called “technological turn” (O’Hagan, 2013), the use of software assisting during the translation process in various ways is common practice. Machine translation (MT) – particularly the neural paradigm (NMT) – is only the most recent technology to be implemented in the translation workflow but possibly the one which has encountered the greatest resistance (Olohan, 2011; Cadwell, O’Brien and Teixeira, 2018) on the part of its professional users. However, since the early 2010s, “the image of technology-averse translators treating MT as a threat [was said to be] replaced by that of translators co-existing with an increasing integration of technology into their work environments” (O’Hagan, 2013, p. 513). The increasing quality of more recent architectures based on artificial intelligence has contributed to overcoming the stigma that has long been associated with MT and fostered the adoption of this technology by practitioners (ELIS, 2021, 2022, 2023).

The increasing use of NMT in professional translation is not always coupled with positive attitudes by qualified practitioners and still poses a series of ethical, professional, and quality issues that can undermine their trust or support their critical stance (e.g. Läubli and Orrego-Carmona, 2017; Vieira, 2020). On the other hand, the general high quality and fluency of NMT raw outputs can earn or increase the trust in this technology, especially that of less- or non-experienced translators and non-expert or less-educated users – e.g. trainee translators and non-professional users (cf. Scansani *et al.*, 2019; Scansani, 2020; Kasperè *et al.*, 2021) – who might fail to identify inaccuracies, have lower quality standards, or simply value fluency over accuracy (Martindale and Carpuat, 2018, p. 21).

The issue of trust in MT is thus key as both scepticism and overtrust – or disuse and misuse (Lee and See, 2004, p. 50) – can negatively affect performance by, respectively, neutralising the potential benefits of MT in terms of efficiency and reducing the quality of the translated text.

This paper explores the issue of trust in MT with a focus on translator trainees. Drawing on the data gathered within the LeMaTTT (Legal Machine Translation in Translator Training) research project, it seeks to gain some insights into the trust that legal translation trainees with different levels of experience and competence put in MT, their perceptions concerning its reliability and quality, and its positioning among the external resources used in specialised translation.

## 2. TRUST AND MT

Following Lee and See (2004, p. 51), trust is “the attitude that an agent will help achieve an individual’s goals in a situation characterized by uncertainty and vulnerability”. Drawing on Ajzen and Fishbein, Lee and See (2004, p. 53) explain that

attitudes result from beliefs and perceptions and can determine specific intentions which, in turn, lie behind specific behaviour.

As an attitude, trust can affect – though not determine in itself (Lee and See, 2004, p. 51) – the user’s reliance on specific systems, e.g. MT, as “[p]eople tend to rely on automation they trust and tend to reject automation they do not” (Lee and See, 2004, p. 51; Scansani, 2020). Trust in automation is based on three main factors: (a) process, i.e. understanding the functioning and internal mechanisms of a system, (b) performance, i.e. observing the behaviour of the system, and (c) purpose, i.e. the reason why it is used (Lee and See, 2004, pp. 59, 67).

Trust based on process is less crucial in the use of structured, stable, and simple technology, while it is fundamental to rely on complex systems whose functioning is obscure or unknown (Lee and See, 2004, p. 52). This scenario is particularly relevant to NMT, the current state-of-the-art paradigm based on neural networks, whose outputs tend to be unpredictable because of the very nature of the system. Unlike previous paradigms, which were mostly dependent on human intervention for both development and training, NMT can autonomously improve its performance by learning from the translations it helps produce. Most importantly, what happens in its hidden layers of nodes remains substantially unknown. Hence, more than other paradigms, NMT requires a certain level of trust from its users.

The fact that trust is higher and less necessary to achieve reliance when the user understands the functioning of a system is indirectly confirmed by Scansani et al. (2019, p.78) and Scansani (2020), who correlate translation trainees’ positive attitude toward MT and their ability to interact with such technology to the knowledge – and experience – they have acquired during their academic path. Other supporting evidence is provided by research on DGT translators’ attitudes. Rossi (2019, p. 189) observed “a significant correlation between fear (i.e. a low degree of security) and knowledge of MT [as] the translators who perceived MT as a threat were regularly those with the lowest scores for MT knowledge”. Cadwell, O’Brien and Teixeira (2018) found that both DGT translators and in-house translators working at Alpha tended to trust more translation memories (TMs) than MT. Translators at Alpha trusted more their TMs than MT system because these were fed by their own translations and “every segment comes with information about when the entry was created, who created it, which TM it comes from” (Cadwell, O’Brien and Teixeira, 2018, p. 315). DGT translators were instead more trustful towards MT, but mainly because they knew that the engine was based on their previous works. Furthermore, poor quality appeared to be more tolerated in TMs than MT as the types of errors found in TMs were considered more consistent and discrepancies in TM matches are highlighted, while MT errors were deemed to be “unpredictable, inconsistent and foster distrust” (Cadwell, O’Brien and Teixeira, 2018, p. 314). DGT translators’ higher trust in MT can also be connected to the fact that, unlike Alpha translators, they are somehow involved in the development process and use one engine per language pair (Cadwell, O’Brien and Teixeira, 2018, p. 315), which ensures greater customisation and quality,

and ultimately leads to a greater adoption of MT segments (Cadwell, O'Brien and Teixeira, 2018, p. 312).

The same study provides evidence also on how trust can be derived from performance, rather than process. The investigation revealed that the DGT translators who had previously used lower-quality MT systems based on older paradigms were surprised by the advances of new MT technologies and were open to their implementation (Cadwell, O'Brien and Teixeira, 2018, p. 315). This proves that trust is not a static attitude, but rather one that dynamically interacts with automation performance (Yang *et al.*, 2017). Precisely, bad interactions more significantly impact trust than positive ones, and “trust is more resilient if automation reliability starts high and declines than if it starts low and increases” (Lee and See, 2004, p. 72; cf. Yang *et al.*, 2017, p. 409). Moreover, irrespective of their magnitude, faults are more tolerated if consistent, i.e. if predictable. This is supported by Cadwell, O'Brien and Teixeira's investigation (2018, p. 312), in which DGT translators' greater trust in and reliance on MT might be explained also by the reported predictability of terminological errors by the EU MT systems.

Since trust grows with information and experience, it is generally first connected to purpose and process, but eventually derives mostly from performance, i.e. from direct experience. The information at the basis of trust can be acquired through analytic, analogical, and affective processes, i.e. through, respectively, “rationally derived assessment of costs and benefits”, “analogical judgments that link levels of trust to characteristics of the agent and environmental context”, and “emotional responses” (Lee and See, 2004, p. 61).

Analytic processes are made visible when translators express their stance on the use of MT, its benefits and drawbacks. For instance, increased efficiency and the presence of a draft target-language version kickstarting the translation process or providing alternative wordings are regarded as beneficial, while the potential reduction of the translator's creativity or ability to assess quality, laziness, insufficient quality of the raw output, and reduced rates are considered as MT's main downsides (Cadwell, O'Brien and Teixeira, 2018, p. 312; Rossi, 2019, p. 190; Vieira, 2020, p. 14; Liu *et al.*, 2022, pp. 8, 11, 13). An analytic process is exemplified in Dorst, Valdez and Jongste (2023, p. 55), when a participant claimed to determine whether to use MT or not “by looking at the syntax, grammar and tone of the MT output: if there's a correct/good base to work on, then it is worth the effort of adjusting it stylistically/terminologically”.

Analogical judgments emerge, for instance, when translators stress that MT is not suitable for all types of tasks and/or language pairs (Cadwell, O'Brien and Teixeira, 2018, p. 311; Rossi, 2019, p. 190; Vieira, 2020, p. 15; Pastor, 2021, p. 55) and can be used for domains that are generally considered less suitable for automation, e.g. law, only if the source text (ST) is highly repetitive or standardised (Dorst, Valdez and Jongste, 2023, p. 54).

Emotional responses were also attested in previous research. In the study by Cadwell, O'Brien and Teixeira (2018, p. 313), Alpha translators, who had proven



more sceptical and resistant to the use of MT, also appeared “concerned about the lack of humanity and lower levels of enjoyment that working more with MT”. Positive affective processes were also observed, e.g. when a participant acknowledged how MT made him/her faster and more powerful (Cadwell, O’Brien and Teixeira, 2018, p. 316). MT was also found to serve as a sort of safety net for translator trainees without which they feel less confident or more stressed (Liu *et al.*, 2022, p. 14), but it is perceived as less rewarding than human translation, which generally remains trainee and professional translators’ favourite working method (Gaspari *et al.*, 2014; Daems, 2016, pp. 159–160).

Naturally, emotional responses can also be irrational and based on incorrect perceptions, which can affect attitude, and consequently behaviour, toward MT. Several studies found that translators do not perceive a change, or even perceive a decrease, in their productivity when post-editing. The study by Gaspari *et al.* (2014, p. 70) is a case in point as, despite the proven productivity gains of post-editing vs from-scratch translation, it revealed a bias in favour of from-scratch translation in different translation directions and levels of perception, i.e. speed, effort and favourite working method. Analogously, 45% of the professional translators participating in the study by Guerberof Arenas (2013, pp. 77, 83) did not perceive any increase in their productivity, with one translator reporting an alleged decrease, which was however countered by empirical evidence. A similar trend was also observed by Daems (2016, p. 160), as before participating in her empirical study, both trainee and professional translators believed post-editing to be as fast as, or even slower than, human translation, which was again proven untrue by the data. This false perception is also reported by Cadwell, O’Brien and Teixeira (2018, pp. 303, 311), with special reference to the most reluctant MT users in their study, i.e. Alpha translators.

Alongside emotions and perceptions, predisposition and self-confidence deriving from education and/or expertise can combine with trust and influence the choice to use or not to use MT. “If a user is self-confident and has a low level of trust in automation, he/she is likely not to rely on the latter and vice versa” (Scansani, 2020, p. 31); conversely, a low level of self-confidence might increase the perceived risk of lower quality and consequently increase the trust in the MT system. This might explain the greater openness toward MT observed in trainee translators as opposed to professionals, who “are presumably confident they are capable of delivering a high-quality translation, regardless of translation method” (Daems, 2016, pp. 159–160). Self-confidence was also discriminating for trusting MT in non-professional users: Kasperè *et al.* (2021, p. 13) observed a correlation between non-professional users’ level of education and their reliance on MT as the respondents having (incomplete) secondary or higher education reportedly used MT mostly as a support for their own translations and tended to edit the translation more than the respondents with vocational training, who mostly use the output with no edits.

### 3. THE POTENTIAL INFLUENCE OF TRUST IN MT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEMATIC AND INFO-MINING COMPETENCES

The inherent differences that distinguish translation from revision and post-editing – and, parallelly, translation competence from revision and post-editing competences – in terms of information needs and expertise or experience in a subject field can result in different research patterns and use of external resources by translators (Witczak, 2021, pp. 165–167). Unlike unaided translation, post-editing implies the presence of a machine-translated text to be verified. Experienced post-editors can thus focus their attention only on the segments, phrases or terms which appear faulty or inadequate and limit their searches to checking procedures. The number and types of searches – as well as the number and types of resources – necessary for such task might thus be more limited than those needed in unaided translation (Daems, 2016, p. 156; cf. Quinci, forthcoming), especially for non-experts, e.g. trainee translators.

Using MT in a training setting would imply that students are exposed to specific information needs, which call for the use of selected reference material and less varied types of queries as compared to unaided translation. The use of lexicographic resources, e.g. specialised dictionaries, termbases or glossaries, can generally suffice to determine the accuracy of machine-translated specialised terms and phrases, even when these are unknown. If the target-language term is associated with the source-language term also in one or more of such resources, the solution is likely to be considered acceptable. Further reference materials and more sophisticated searches should be avoided so as not to neutralise the efficiency gains implied in post-editing and would only be necessary in the case of a mismatch between the equivalents proposed by lexicographic resources. The choice to accept or edit the raw output would thus depend solely on external *linguistic* support and knowledge.

The need for finding – as opposed to verifying – a target-language equivalent for a specialised term or phrase can instead involve a more varied approach to info-mining. First, research can be needed to understand the source text (ST) as specialised terms and phrases can often be opaque, particularly to non-experts. In this case, monolingual specialised dictionaries can be used, but research often extends to other text-based (vs lexicographic) content-oriented resources, e.g. specialised encyclopaedias and other background texts. One might argue that this practice is not common among novice trainees (Way, 2012, p. 44); yet, should the non-expert translator fail to perform such preliminary research and immediately turn to lexicographic resources to look up for target-language equivalents, text-based resources, e.g. parallel and background texts, would be needed to select the most appropriate one or verify conceptual matching, adequacy, and suitability for purpose. It is precisely the need to select one among the different options that prompts content-oriented searches aimed at gaining the necessary thematic knowledge for determining the solution to be implemented.

Given the increasing use of MT by professional translators (Pielmeier and O'Mara, 2020; ELIS, 2021, 2022), the implementation of MT in translator training and the acquisition of post-editing competence are necessary to ensure that students are well-

trained to enter the translation market (see Romaniuk-Cholewska, 2021, p. 209). Yet, since over-trust in and overreliance on MT are typical of users with scarce knowledge of the process and lower levels of education and expertise (Section 2), prospective translators at an early stage of their training might overtrust MT and accept machine-generated solutions after making very little or no research work. Using MT prior to acquiring background knowledge in the subject field and info-mining skills might thus hamper the development of thematic and info-mining competences in trainee translators. However, evidence in this field is rather limited and contradictory, with the range of resources being either associated with (Daems, 2016, p. 156; Kuznik, 2017) or unrelated to (Witczak, 2021) the participants' competence and/or the task type.

#### 4. THE LeMaTTT PROJECT: OBJECTIVES, DESIGN, AND METHODS

The LeMaTTT project is a simulated longitudinal empirical study aimed at investigating the potential influence of MT on the translation processes of legal translator trainees. Precisely, it seeks to observe whether experience and competence in the subject field and the use of automation have an impact on research patterns and translation quality.

The empirical phase consisted of the post-editing or from-scratch translation of a legal text by a heterogeneous sample of MA translation trainees at the University of Padova, which includes a cohort of 48 first-year students (G1) with limited experience in specialised translation and no machine translation literacy, and a cohort of 104 second-year students (G2) having completed a one-semester course in legal translation and possessing basic training in translation technologies, including MT and post-editing. Each cohort was divided into two groups depending on the assigned task, i.e. post-editing (MT group) or from-scratch translation (FS group).

The assignments differed in the translation procedure (i.e. PE vs FS translation) but involved the same language combination (English to Italian) and ST, i.e. a power of attorney. The trainees' screen activity was recorded via *Flashback*, and their translations were collected and stored in *Google Drive*. Cross-cohort and cross-group analyses allow us to determine the weight that thematic knowledge and training in legal translation, on the one hand, and the type of task, on the other, have on trainees' processes and products.

The assignment was preceded and followed by two self-administered questionnaires via *Google form*, which provided the data analysed in this paper. Given the different types of tasks, two versions were developed for each questionnaire. The pre-task questionnaire for FS groups was comprised of 24 questions – yes/no, multiple-choice, open-ended, and five-point Likert scale – which were also answered by MT groups together with one additional question about the expected reliance on MT. Besides their identification code, which was used for anonymisation purposes, the respondents had to indicate whether they possessed previous experience in legal translation (Yes/No), and for which text types, and knowledge in the legal field (Yes/No) by specifying if

this had been acquired through academic courses or working/personal experiences. Further, they had to indicate how often they generally use specific resources when translating specialised texts; these included: dictionaries, which were distinguished as mono- vs bilingual and general vs specialised, glossaries, corpora, parallel texts, machine translation, and others to be specified. The respondents also had to specify to what extent each resource would presumably be used during the assignment. These questions aimed to investigate the role of automation in their translation processes as compared to that of more traditional resources. Their use of MT was further investigated by asking whether they generally check the MT output before using it – and if not, why. The additional question for MT groups asked them to indicate to what extent they expected to rely on MT when completing the assignment.

The two versions of the post-task questionnaire were instead more tailored to the specific task and included 9 questions for FS students and 10 for MT students; these were yes/no, multiple-choice, open-ended, five-point or ten-point Likert scale questions. The questions common to both versions were about the respondents' identification code and perception of the adequacy of the time allowed, the text difficulty, and self-assessment; trainees were also asked whether, to what extent, and in which respect screen-activity recording had affected their behaviour. The remaining questions inquired about MT use and were therefore different for the two types of tasks. FS students were asked whether having a machine-translated target text would have made the task easier and, if so, to what extent, and whether it would have speeded up the research work needed to find correct terminology and phraseology. On the other hand, MT students had to evaluate the MT output in terms of accuracy, indicate whether they had found error spotting easy, with special reference to terminological errors, and provide their opinion about the role of MT during the task with a focus on reliability and higher speed.

## 5. ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION, AND TRIANGULATION OF DATA

The following sections will provide an analysis of questionnaire data concerning the respondents' experience in legal translation and knowledge in law (5.1), the frequency with which external resources are generally used for translating specialised texts and the extent to which they assumed to resort to each of them for the specific task at hand (5.2), their perceptions about the adequacy of the time allowed for the task, the difficulty of the ST, and self-assessment (5.3), the impact that MT had or might have had on their performances (5.4), and the extent to which these were influenced by screen-activity recording (5.5). The analysis is restricted to 40 participants – i.e. 20 per cohort and 10 per group (G1FS, G1MT, G2FS, and G2MT) – so as to triangulate the data concerning trust and reliance with those concerning the use of time and external resources by the same participants as analysed in Quinci (forthcoming).

## 5.1 PROFILING QUESTIONS

The initial profiling questions were meant to confirm the supposed difference in the two cohorts' experience and knowledge in the legal field. The data in Figure 1 show that 80% of first-year students (in light and dark yellow) had never translated a legal text and possessed no previous knowledge in the legal field. 20% of them (N5, N8, N10 from G1MT and N30 from G1FS) had instead already translated legal texts, but these belonged to genres other than the one selected for the assignment, i.e. contracts, certificates, and judicial documentation. Two of these students (N5 and N30) had also attended academic law courses, as two other trainees in G1 also indicated (N13 from G1MT and N35 from G1FS). Given the general inexperience in legal translation of G1 trainees, the data produced by these students are unlikely to affect overall results.

Conversely, G2 students (in light and dark blue) generally had previous experience in legal translation; the only 2 students from G2MT (I4 and I7) indicating zero experience had attended the course in legal translation but possibly failed to complete the training activities assigned during the course. The range of legal documents translated by G2 trainees was also wider as compared to G1 and included contracts, certificates, last wills and testaments, affidavits, privacy policies, and orders, i.e. the text types that had been covered during the course. Almost half of G2 also possessed some knowledge in the legal field: six students had attended academic law courses, two of them had had previous working experience in the field, and one had acquired such knowledge outside both the academic and work settings. The remaining 11 students had no knowledge in the field except that acquired during the legal translation course.

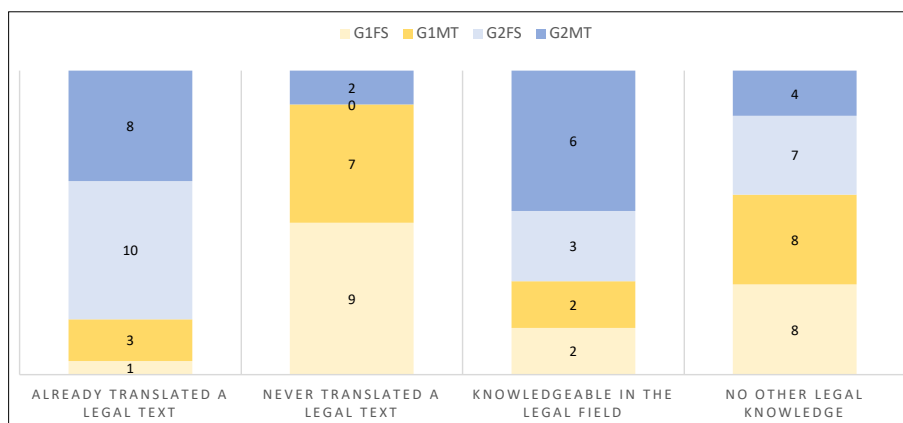


Figure 1. Previous experience in legal translation and knowledge in the legal field

As for the use of external resources, the respondents had to specify (a) how often they generally resort to dictionaries, parallel texts, corpora, glossaries, and MT when translating specialised texts, and (b) how often they expected to use of each of them for the assignment at hand on a five-point Likert scale. Figure 2 shows the weighted means calculated per cohort and group; the closer the value to 5, the higher the frequency with which that resource is generally used in specialised translation assignments.

The results concerning the general frequency of use (in solid colours) show similar frequencies for specific resources while suggesting different approaches to the use of others. Mono- and bilingual general dictionaries appear to be used equally frequently by G1 ( $\bar{x}_w = 3.50$  for G1FS and 4.15 for G2MT) and G2 ( $\bar{x}_w = 3.50$  for G2FS and 4.05 for G2MT), with bilingual dictionaries proving to be the most frequently used resource, as evidenced also by other studies (Krings, 1986; Künzli, 2001; Torrejón and Rico, 2013). Similarly, MT is equally used by G1 ( $\bar{x}_w = 3.50$ ) and G2 ( $\bar{x}_w = 3.35$ ), but the prominence of such technology within the range of external resources is different for the two groups. For G1, it also represents the second most frequently used resource together with general monolingual dictionaries, while for G2 it is the least frequently used tool given that G2's weighted mean is equal to or lower than the ones scored by the other resources. In the remaining cases, the two cohorts display differing tendencies, with G2 always outscoring G1, especially as concerns corpora (+1.00), specialised bilingual dictionaries (+0.80), and parallel texts (+0.70).

This suggests a more diversified approach to info-mining by G2, which is more evident when conducting a more fine-grained analysis of the students' selected options. The distributions of G1's and G2's values across the five points of the Lickert scale (Figure 3) are both asymmetric, but G2's is considerably more negatively skewed than G1's. Hence, G2 trainees have more often indicated a higher frequency of use for the different resources, with 4, 5 and 3 being the most selected weights, while G1's most preferred options were 4, 3, and 2, which suggests a more limited use of resources during the translation process. This is in line with the analysis of process data (Quinci, forthcoming) showing that G2 made on average a higher number of searches by using a more diverse set of resources.

Attention also deserves the cross-group variation in the two cohorts as concerns general dictionaries (both mono- and bilingual), which appear to be more frequently used by FS groups, and glossaries, which would be used more frequently by G1MT and G2FS. These reportedly different attitudes appear to have only partially influenced FS trainees' behaviour during the task, i.e. only with reference to general bilingual dictionaries, which have been consulted far more frequently by FS than MT students. General monolingual dictionaries were instead used more frequently by G1FS than G1MT, but equally frequently by G2FS and G2MT, and glossaries were only used by MT groups (Quinci, forthcoming). This might indicate (a) that general research patterns are only partially connected to the trainees' habits but are

largely moulded by the specific task or (b) that trainees are only partially aware of the extent to which they actually use specific resources.

The former hypothesis appears to be backed up by the expected frequency of use of external resources during the legal translation assignment (Figure 2, bars in shaded colours). When contextualised to the task at hand, the students' responses partially changed, with the two cohorts largely scoring comparable values. Specifically, the frequencies of use of general dictionaries (both mono- and bilingual) of all cohorts and groups decreased, while those concerning the other resources increased with the minor exceptions of G1MT and G2FS as concerns glossaries.

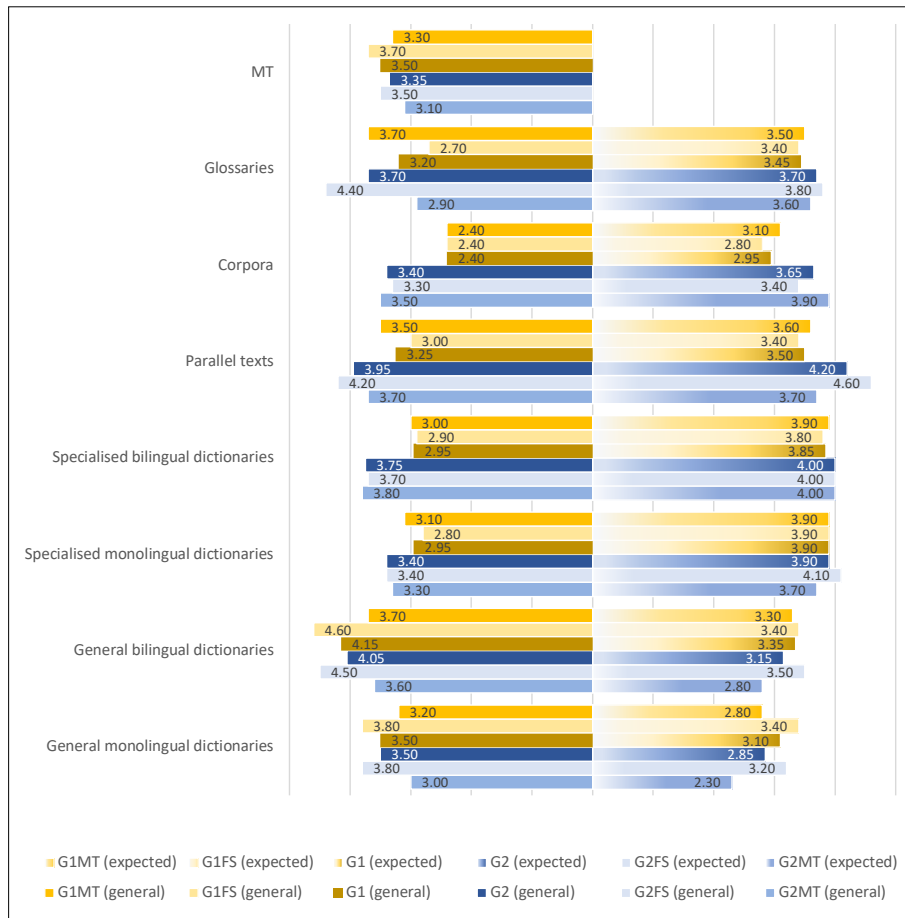


Figure 2. General frequency of use of external resources vs expected frequency of use during the assignment.

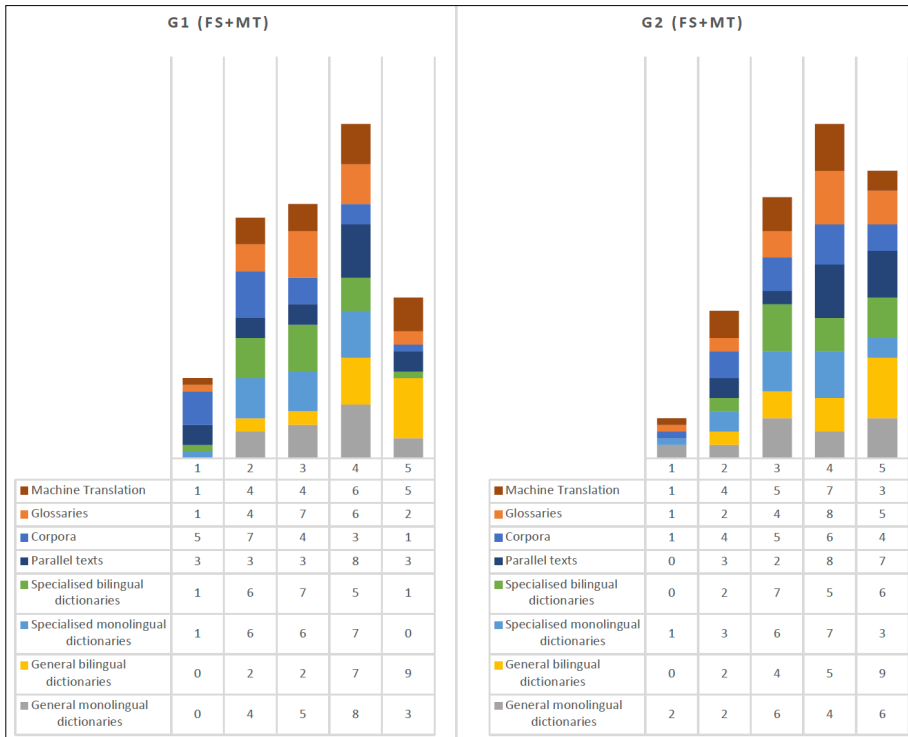


Figure 3. General frequency of use of external resources by cohort

On the other hand, hypothesis (b) above is substantiated by the combined analysis of questionnaire and process data. When asked whether they generally resort to other resources aside from those mentioned in the questionnaires, all the respondents but two answered no. Only I56 and I65 from G2MT indicated that they also use, respectively, video resources for terminological issues and operators in Google searches. Process data (Quinci, forthcoming) indicate instead G2 trainees used a wider array of different resources, including language fora, law firm websites, institutional websites, concordancers, general and specialised encyclopaedias, and background texts from websites of professionals or entities operating in the legal field. This partially holds also for G1 as the other resources they consulted are limited to concordancers, language fora, and background texts from websites relating to the legal domain. Yet, when asked about the potential use of other resources for the legal translation assignment, more students suggested other options, i.e. “texts on the topic” (N10, G1MT), machine translation (N4, G1MT), encyclopaedias (I64, G2FS), operators in Google searches (I65, G2FS), general research on the web and the notes taken during the course (I11, G2MT). Interestingly, a student from G1MT (N7) replied that the use of other resources would be determined by the needs implied in the task, which points back to our hypothesis (a). Both hypotheses thus seem to be plausible.



The impact of MT on the students’ performance is highlighted by the data concerning the perceived adequacy of the time allowed, the perceived ST difficulty, and – though less remarkably – self-assessment scores. As shown in Figure 4, MT groups experienced a reduced time pressure than FS groups irrespective of the cohort as their mean and median values are higher than the other groups’ and, most importantly, their interquartile ranges (IQRs) are considerably wider and cover higher weights of the Likert scale (G1MT and G2MT=3.00-4.25) than those of FS groups (G1FS and G2FS=3.00-3.25). This supports the assumption suggested by process data whereby the higher time pressure perceived by FS groups’ was inferred from their longer drafting phases and shorter orientation and revision phases, and higher number of searches in approximately the same time as compared to MT groups (Quinci, forthcoming).

MT also appears to reduce the ST perceived difficulty as testified by MT groups’ lower means, with special reference to G2MT (G1MT:  $\bar{x}$ =4.30; G1FS:  $\bar{x}$ =4.40; G2MT:  $\bar{x}$ =4.00; G2FS:  $\bar{x}$ =4.40), and G1MT’s wider IQR as compared to both FS groups.

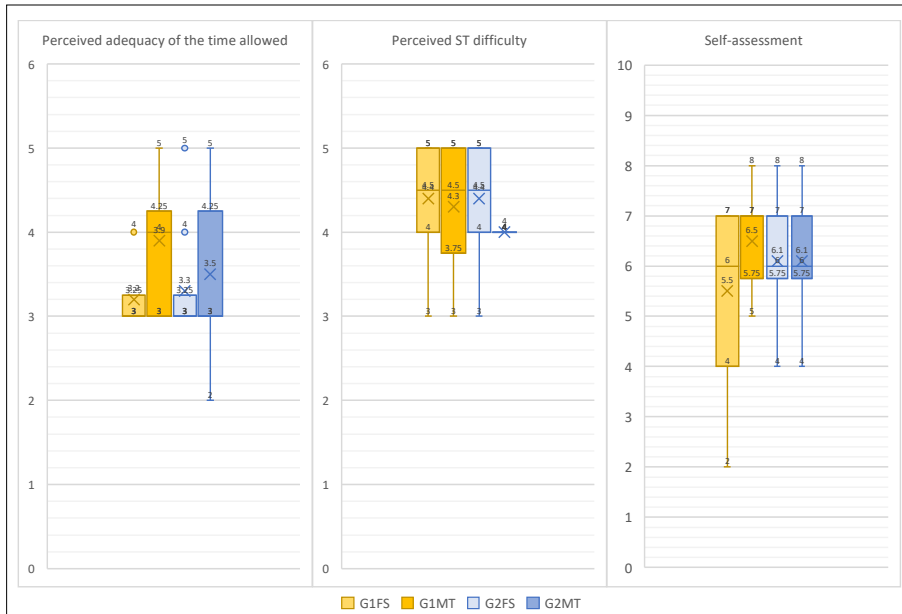


Figure 4. Questionnaire data about time, text difficulty, and self-assessment

The tempering effect of MT on the perception of time and difficulty is only partially mirrored by self-assessment, since it applies to G1 (G1FS: IQR= from 4.00 to 7.00 and  $\bar{x}$ =5.50; G1MT: IQR= from 5.75 to 7.00 and  $\bar{x}$ =6.50), while G2FS and G2MT have the same distribution (IQR= from 5.75 to 7 and  $\bar{x}$ =6.10). As suggested by previous research (Daems, 2016, pp. 159–160; Scansani, 2020a, p. 31; Kasperè *et al.*, 2021, p. 13; cf. Section 2), education and self-confidence also play a role in the users’ reliance on and trust in automation, which can explain why MT does not affect per-

ceived quality in the participants who had received training in legal translation, while it substantially raised unexpert trainees'. This might have serious consequences for training as inexperienced trainees might feel capable of performing tasks that are out of their reach given that they can achieve (perceived) high quality with no or little effort also in unknown and challenging domains, e.g. legal translation. Unawareness might also reinforce their trust in and reliance on automation, whose performance they are unable to knowledgeably assess due to their lack of thematic competence.

#### 5.4 EXPECTED, ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL IMPACT OF MT

The questions concerning the use of MT were tailored to the specific tasks and explored MT students' opinions about its actual impact on their performances and FS students' views about the potential assistance they might have received from it.

The opinions of both MT groups (Figure 5) appear to be largely overlapping as concerns the difficulty of error spotting and the overall positive evaluation of MT (cf. Scansani *et al.*, 2019, pp. 75, 78). For 60-70% of students in either group (G1MT=7; G2MT=6), detecting translation errors – and terminological errors – in the raw output was easy only in some cases, 1 student per group found errors difficult to spot, and 2-3 students per group found that most errors required extensive research work to be identified. Both groups generally perceived MT as “a reliable resource which speeded up the translation process” (G1MT=90%; G2MT=70%). Only two trainees, one per group, found MT misleading and would have preferred to translate from scratch. Finally, two G2MT trainees selected the option “other”: one specified that MT is “a good starting point but it needs a lot of additional work carried out by the translator” (I5), while the other found it “maybe misleading, but [he/she] would have not preferred to translate from scratch since [...] with the help of MT it is possible to save time” (I2). This raises G2MT's percentage of positive answers to 80% and that of negative to 20%, making this group slightly more critical about the role of MT than G1MT.

In previous research (Yang and Wang, 2019, p. 122) perceived usefulness (in our case, the reliability associated with efficiency) appeared to be a stronger predictor of behaviour intention than perceived ease of use (in our case, the ease with which errors are spotted). Thus, G2MT's trust in MT might be considered as slightly lower than G1MT's, as substantiates the analysis of perceived accuracy.

Despite defining MT as generally reliable, G2MT was less satisfied with the accuracy of the output than G1MT, with 60% of G2MT respondents finding it “good, although it required some editing” and 40% claiming it was “poor as it required extensive editing”. Interestingly, prior to the task, G2MT trainees were slightly more trustful in MT than G1MT as 90% supposed that they would rely on MT either moderately (3 on the five-point Likert scale; 70%) or a lot (4; 20%), while all G1MT students opted for 2 (20%) or 3 (80%). G2MT trainees' greater thematic knowledge and legal translation competence enabled them to detect more errors and thus negatively influenced their perception of MT accuracy, which ultimately made them more critical toward MT as compared to less experienced and competent first-year trainees (cf. Section 2).

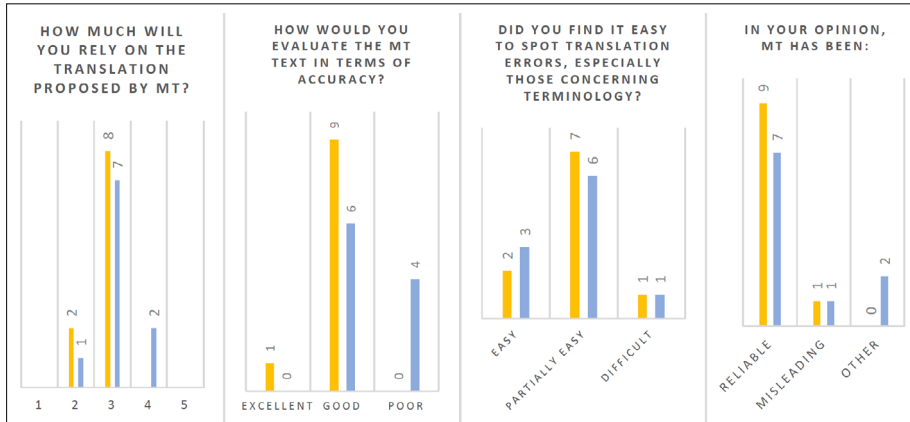


Figure 5. Data concerning the expected and actual impact of MT on the assignment (G1MT in yellow and G2MT in blue).

FS students were asked about the potential impact MT might have had on their performance. Both FS groups indicated that MT would have made the task easier, but its impact was believed to be greater by G2FS students, with 70% of them opting for “much easier” vs 40% of G1FS trainees. Its perceived potential impact thus parallels thematic competence and experience in legal translation: MT is considered as an aid by both trained and untrained legal translators, but one that is unable to compensate for the lack of education and experience in the legal field.

Both groups agree on the efficiency ensured by MT during terminological research, which is perceived as substantially high by most students (G1FS= 60%; G2FS= 50%). Presumably, as highlighted by a G2MT student above, the presence of target-language terminological equivalents in the text is viewed as “a good starting point” (I5) prompting and guiding further research.

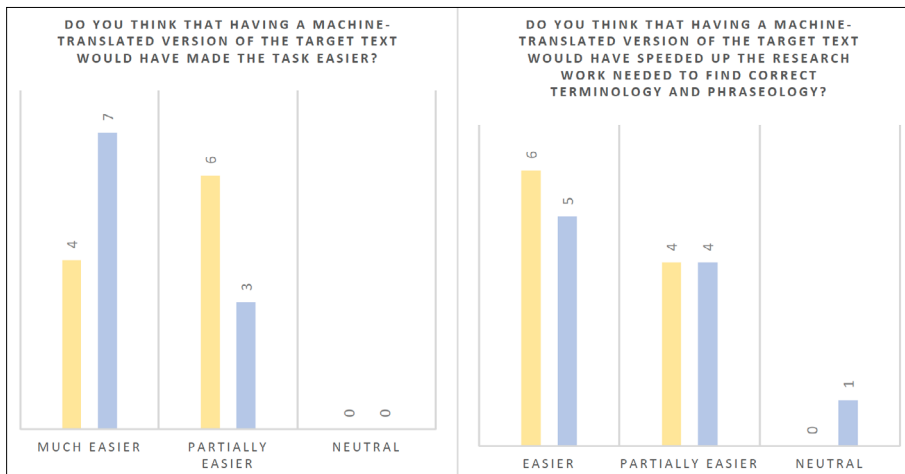


Figure 6. Data concerning the potential impact of MT on the assignment (G1FS in light yellow and G2FS in light blue).

The last questions of the survey sought to determine to what extent screen-activity recording might have affected the participants' performances. The medium to low means and medians of all groups, which range from 2.5 to 5.6 out of 10 (Figure 7), suggest that the impact of recording procedures was minor. Interestingly, it is particularly reduced for MT vs FS groups, and especially for G1MT ( $\bar{x}$ =3.00; M=2.50; SD=2.26), which scored considerably lower than the other groups ( $\bar{x}$ =4.80-5.60; M=5.00-5.50; SD=1.81-2.26). Conversely, FS groups display the highest maximum values (9) and lower and upper quartiles (Q2= 3.5 for G1FS and 4 for G2FS; Q3= 6.5 for G1FS and 7.25 for G2FS), with G2FS scoring always highest.

These results suggest that MT increased the participants' self-confidence and trust. It might be perceived as a shield against any criticism over the translator's textual and strategic choices, which are ultimately largely determined by the pre-translated text. In from-scratch translation, trainees were instead more exposed and possibly feared for their reputation, particularly G2FS trainees, who had been trained by the researcher conducting the experiment and presumably felt they had somehow to prove their competence.

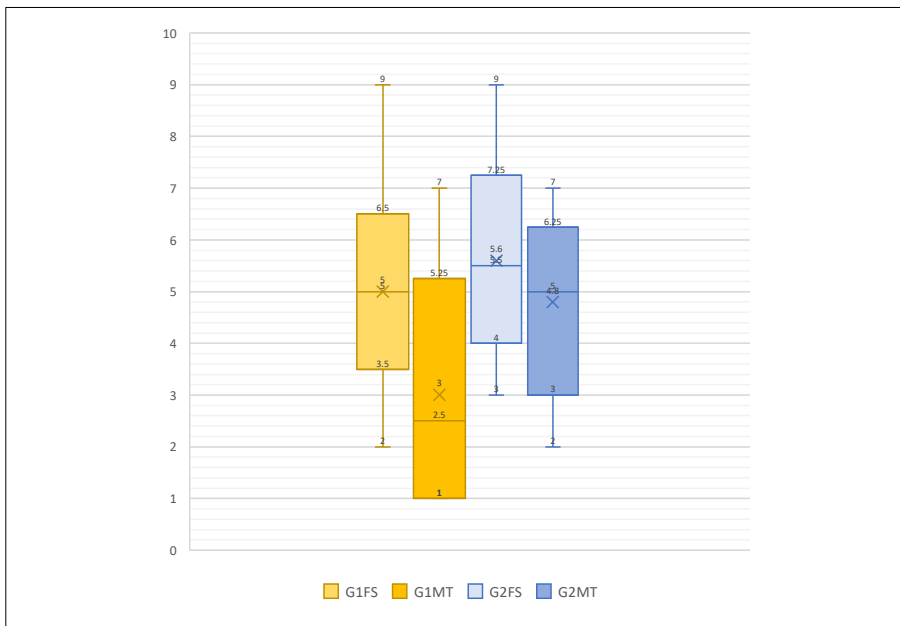


Figure 7. Perceived influence of recording on a scale of 1 to 10.

These conclusions are supported by the responses to the open-ended questions concerning the impact of screen-recording, as:

- MT students reportedly experienced general anxiety and psychological pressure due to the test-like setting (N13, I5, I7, I8, I11) or the fear of making mista-

kes in the experiment procedure (N13), while FS students were more explicitly concerned with possible translation errors (N29, N31, N33) and especially the choice of reliable and suitable external resources (I59, I60, I61, I62);

- most G2 students were concerned about their info-mining processes (I1, I10, I59, I60, I61, I62) or time management (I59) and put extra effort and attention into the task (I65).

## 6. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE WORK

This paper explored the impact of trust and reliance on MT in MA-level (legal) translation trainees by drawing on the questionnaire data produced within the LeMaTTT project. The analysis mapped the trends emerged from the trainees' responses onto their levels of experience and training in legal translation and post-editing, on the one hand, and onto the specific task they completed, i.e. post-editing vs from-scratch translation, on the other hand. The findings suggest that MT is generally used in specialised translation assignments but for the least experienced trainees (G1), it represents the most frequently used resource after dictionaries, while for more competent trainees (G2), it is just one of the various tools they resort to.

MT had a visible impact on the perception of the time allowed and the difficulty of the ST. MT students worked under a lower pressure and perceived the ST as (slightly) less difficult than FS students. Self-assessment was instead only partially affected by MT, which apparently played a more crucial role for inexperienced trainees by considerably raising the self-confidence of G1MT as opposed to G1FS. The scores of G2FS and G2MT were instead comparable, which confirms the relation between lower trust and greater expertise observed in the literature.

MT trainees generally saw MT as a reliable tool, even if second-year students were initially more trustful than first-year trainees when indicating their expected reliance on MT during the task, but later proved less satisfied with its quality, probably due to their higher thematic competence and G1 trainees' inability to knowledgeably assess quality. Even if, reportedly, errors were not always easy to spot, only two students out of 20 ultimately considered MT misleading and would have preferred to translate from scratch. FS students also thought that MT would have been a useful support, albeit first-year students were slightly more sceptical about its potential impact on their performances, possibly because they believed that MT could hardly compensate for their lack of thematic competence.

Finally, the results concerning the impact of recording practices on the trainees' performances suggest a high trust in MT, which enhances trainees' self-confidence and acts as a shield against the potential criticisms raised about their textual and/or info-mining choices. FS trainees felt instead greater anxiety and were naturally more exposed, being responsible for the full translation and info-mining processes.

Future work will extend the analysis to the full sample and further triangulate these findings with the other variables investigated in the LeMaTTT project to study the impact of trust in MT on translation quality and editing distance.

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# Parole di origine turco-ottomana nelle fonti storiche slovacche

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## ABSTRACT

Studies on Turkish elements in European languages are quite numerous and concern in particular the languages of southeastern Europe, which was subjected to Ottoman rule for centuries with obvious linguistic consequences, while influences on other languages, such as Polish and Russian, have also been investigated. Wolfgang Schweickard has provided a comprehensive overview of this impact. On the other hand, various other languages, including Slovak, have so far been all but ignored by scholars. The present article attempts to offer a first, small contribution to fill this gap, making use of the large historical dictionary of the Slovak language (HSSJ), which covers the period from the 11th to the 18th century. Based on a perusal of this work, we have identified a number of words of Ottoman-Turkish origin that we examine here, establishing, where possible, their routes of penetration into Slovak and their particular features. For each lemma, we also provide details of the original Turkish-Ottoman source and any relevant spoken variations, together with the main bibliographical references.

## KEYWORDS

Ottoman-Turkish, Slovak, Loanwords, Historical Lexicography

1. Nel quadro del monumentale *Lessico Etimologico Italiano* (LEI), nel corso del presente anno (2023) sono stati pubblicati i primi fascicoli concernenti gli *Orientalia*. Il loro autore, Wolfgang Schweickard, ha svolto un lavoro accuratissimo ed esaustivo, e ciascun lemma prende in considerazione non solo i riflessi italiani della voce, ma anche quelli presenti in altre lingue europee. A tale proposito, per ciò che riguarda il turco, lo studioso tedesco nota che “per l’Europa sud-orientale sono stati pubblicati eccellenti studi e dizionari” (Schweickard 2023: XX), facendo l’elenco degli autori di lavori sui turchismi in greco bizantino, greco moderno, serbo-croato, macedone, bulgaro, albanese, ungherese, romeno; circa la restante Europa orientale, cita inoltre il poderoso dizionario dei turchismi polacchi di Stanisław Stachowski (2014) e studi sugli elementi turchi in russo. Come si può facilmente vedere, spiccano per la loro assenza lingue come l’ucraino, il ceco e lo slovacco, che pure comprendono nel loro stock lessicale un certo numero di parole di origine turca, ma sulle quali finora, a quanto pare, l’interesse degli studiosi si è rivelato piuttosto scarso<sup>1</sup>.

Abbiamo però la fortuna di avere a nostra disposizione uno strumento lessicografico molto importante relativo a una delle lingue slave succitate, cioè lo *Historický slovník slovenského jazyka* (HSSJ), pubblicato in 7 volumi dall’Accademia delle Scienze di Bratislava tra il 1991 e il 2008. Questa imponente opera, curata da un gruppo di redattori guidato da Milan Majtán, copre estensivamente il lessico slovacco dalle origini (11° secolo) alla fine del 18° secolo e ciascun lemma è illustrato da opportune citazioni, tutte datate, a partire dalla più antica.

Lo spoglio del lemmario del HSSJ ci ha permesso di identificare una serie di parole di origine turco-ottomana attestate in fonti slovacche pre-ottocentesche, che tratteremo nel presente articolo. Una precisazione semantica: abbiamo preferito usare il sintagma ‘parole di origine turco-ottomana’ anziché ‘turchismi’, poiché quest’ultimo termine è ambiguo potendo designare parole mutuete da qualsiasi lingua appartenente alla famiglia turca<sup>2</sup> (p. es. *balta*, *borsuk*, *kalauz*, *torba* e altre, presenti nell’ HSSJ, sono di origine turca, ma certo non sono state veicolate dagli Ottomani), mentre il nostro piccolo corpus prende in considerazione soltanto quei lessemi che hanno come etimo sufficientemente certo (prossimo o remoto) una voce ottomana<sup>3</sup> (indipendentemente dal fatto che sia autoctona o presa in prestito da altre

- 1 Per quanto riguarda il ceco, possiamo comunque segnalare lo studio di Sn. Petrović (2017). Circa lo slovacco, a parte M. Stachowski (2020), l’unico lavoro che siamo in grado di citare è l’ormai datato studio di Blanár (1962), dove i turchismi sono trattati in modo parziale e non sistematico.
- 2 Ciò vale soprattutto per il russo, dove è molto forte l’influsso delle lingue turche centro-asiatiche, e in parte pure per il resto dell’area linguistica dell’Europa orientale (p. es. circa i turchismi antichi dell’ungherese si può consultare l’eccellente lavoro di Róna-Tas/Berta (2011)).
- 3 Parziali eccezioni sono *budzogán* e *kepeň/kepenek*, turchismi certi ma che potrebbero non risalire all’ottomano (v. i lemmi). Abbiamo inoltre inserito, tra parentesi quadre, due lemmi, *gajdy* e *pajtáš*, la cui origine turca, pur sostenuta da autorevoli studiosi, è secondo noi piuttosto dubbia.

lingue come arabo o persiano). Va comunque considerato che i territori abitati dagli Slovacchi sono stati sottoposti al dominio ottomano in maniera assai limitata:

As a matter of fact, the Ottoman troops only occupied a number of fortresses, castles or towns [in southern Slovakia], but no mass migrations of Anatolian peasants are known who would have settled down for good there, as was the case in Bulgaria and Macedonia. Similarly, no mass conversions to Islam were observed as we know them from the history of Bosnia. Thus, the command of Turkish among Slovaks must have been so limited that few of them could have had contact with spheres of Turkish life distinct from the military and administration (Stachowski 2020: 199).

Perciò le parole che possiamo definire osmanismi difficilmente saranno dovute al contatto diretto e alla convivenza (come di norma nell'Europa sud-orientale), ma sono giunte in Slovacchia o grazie a contatti culturali (e fanno parte quindi dei cosiddetti "exotisms" e "historisms": Stachowski 2020: 201) o per via indiretta per il tramite di altre lingue (in primis l'ungherese).

## 2. LA STRUTTURA DEI LEMMI È LA SEGUENTE:

a) Il capolemma in grassetto corrisponde a quello registrato dall' HSSJ, e da questo stesso repertorio sono tratti il suo significato (tradotto in italiano) e la data di prima attestazione. Eventuali varianti della voce sono riportate in corsivo dopo la loro rispettiva data di attestazione. Insieme ai dati dell' HSSJ vengono poi riferiti quelli riguardanti la voce in questione di tre strumenti lessicografici moderni: lo *Slovník slovenského jazyka* (SSJ, 1959-1968, in 6 volumi), il *Velký slovník cudzích slov* ['Grande dizionario di forestierismi'] (VSCS, 2000) e lo *Slovak-English phraseological dictionary* di Jozef Konuš (Kon, 1969). Il simbolo (-) indica che la voce manca nel repertorio (o nei repertori) a cui è posposto.

b) Dopo il simbolo • è data la voce turco-ottomana fonte ultima del prestito, con segnalata fra parentesi la lingua da cui proviene nel caso non sia autoctona; se sono rilevanti, si aggiungono sue varietà parlate, obsolete o dialettali. Se è possibile stabilirlo con una certa sicurezza, si indica l'intermediario (molto spesso l'ungherese) per tramite del quale la parola è giunta in slovacco.

c) Il simbolo della losanga ♦ introduce i riferimenti bibliografici relativi alla voce. Naturalmente si tratta di una bibliografia assolutamente selettiva. Oltre alle opere citate nel corso dell'articolo, ci siamo limitati a indicare i principali repertori storico-etimologici concernenti le lingue slave occidentali e orientali, nonché il grande lavoro di Schweickard in corso di pubblicazione. Abbiamo aggiunto, separandoli con una barra (-), anche i più autorevoli lavori etimologici sul turco qualora trattino la voce in questione (in primis il KEWT di M. Stachowski).

**aga** ‘titolo di di dignitari turchi’ 1588 (HSSJ 1, 77; SSJ 1, 11; VSCS 34, ‘aga’ Kon 4).  
• Osm.<sup>4</sup> *ağa* (t. *ağa*) ‘Agha (title formerly given to certain officers, *esp.* of the Janissaries); (rural) lord, master; local big landowner, Agha’ (NR 18).  
♦ Kakuk 1973: 28 sg.; ESUM 1, 44; Vasmer 1, 60; Schweickard 2023: 44 sgg. – KEWT 54.

**bagária** ‘varietà di cuoio lavorato’ 1654 (HSSJ 1, 106; SSJ 1, 64; VSCS 142; ‘Russia leather’ Kon 125).  
• Osm., t. *bulgari* ‘Russian leather’ (NR 199) > ungh. *bagaria* (1552) ‘espèce de cuir’ > slovacco.  
♦ Machek 1968: 41 sg.; Kakuk 1973: 82; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 590 sg.; ESUM 1, 108 sg.; HLSL 1, 30 – TETTL 1, 804.

**bagázia** ‘sorta di panno colorato’ 1627 (HSSJ 1, 106; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).  
• Osm. *bohasi/boğasi* ‘tela gossipina tinctoria’ (Meninski 1680: 910, 932), T. *boğası* ‘kind of twill; twilled cotton used for linings’ (NR 188) > sb. *bogàsija* (Nosić 2005: 92) > ungh. *bagazia* (1544) ‘bocassin, canevas, toile de coton’ > slovacco.  
♦ Kakuk 1973: 74; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 71; HLSL 1, 30; Stachowski 2014: 45 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 446 sgg. – Eren 1999: 55 sg.

**bajram** ‘ciascuna delle principali festività musulmane’ 1785 (HSSJ 1, 107; SSJ (-); *bajrám* VSCS 143; Kon (-)).  
• Osm., t. *bayram* ‘religious festival; festivity’ (NR 143).  
♦ Kakuk 1973: 62 sg.; Vasmer 1, 108; Stachowski 2014: 49; Schweickard 380 sgg. – Eren 1999: 45; KEWT 82.

**bakšiš** ‘mancia’ 1785 (HSSJ 1, 107; SSJ 1, 67; slang; VSCS 143: slang; ‘bakshish, tip; bribe’ Kon 26).  
• Osm., t. *bahşiş*, (dial.) *bakşış* (< ar.-pers.) ‘tip, baksheesh’ (NR 123; DS 488).  
♦ Kakuk 1973: 54; ESUM 1, 21; Vasmer 1, 111; Rejzek 2001: 67; Stachowski 2014: 51; Králik 2015: 59; Schweickard 2023: 305 sgg. – KEWT 75.

**baša** ‘pascià’ 1560 (HSSJ 1, 115; SSJ 1, 74; VSCS 155: storico; ‘bashaw, pasha’ Kon 30).  
• Osm. *başa* = t. *paşa* ‘pasha (the highest title of civil and military officials); general’ (NR 138, 920).  
♦ Kakuk 1973: 320 sg.; Vasmer 3, 223; HLSL 1, 36; Stachowski 2014: 60 sg. – KEWT 275.

4 Le abbreviazioni concernenti le lingue sono le seguenti: ar. = arabo, gr. = greco, it. = italiano, osm. = ottomano, pers. = persiano, pol. = polacco, sb. = serbo, slc. = slovacco, t. = turco, ted. = tedesco, ucr. = ucraino, ungh. = ungherese.

**beglerbeg** ‘governatore generale (nell’impero ottomano)’ 1760; 18° sec. *beklerbeck* (HSSJ 1, 120; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

Der.: **beglerbegút** ‘territorio governato da un *beglerbeg*’ 18° sec. (HSSJ 1, 120).

• Osm. *beglerbegi* (con la var. *beglerbeg* in testi in trascrizione) ‘prorex, dux, gubernator majoris Provinciae’ (Meninski 1680: 864).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 64; HLSL 1, 38; Stachowski 2014: 67 sg.; Petrović 2017: 341; Schweickard 2023: 415 sgg.; – Pakalın 1983<sup>3</sup>: 1, 216.

**bektaš** ‘membro dell’ordine religioso dei Bektaši’ 1785 (HSSJ 1, 122; SSJ (-); *bektaši* VSCS 158; Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. *Bektaši* ‘dervish of the Bektashi order; belonging to the Bektashi order’ (NR 151).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 67 sg.; Stachowski 2014: 70 – Pakalın 1983<sup>3</sup> 1, 196 sgg.; TETTL 1, 639.

**budzogáň** ‘mazza, clava’ 1576 *buczegan*; 1588 *boczigan*; 1663 *bozigan*; 1668 *púzykan*; 1685 *bozegan* (HSSJ 1, 162; i repertori moderni registrano accanto a *budzogáň* la forma *buzogáň*: SSJ 1, 140 sg.; VSCS 196; ‘club, cudgel’ Kon 68, 72).

• È molto dubbio che la fonte ultima dello slovacco sia l’osm. *bozdağan/bozdoğan*, t. *bozdağan/bozdoğan* ‘iron war-mace’ (NR 194). Se, come sembra indicare la fonetica, le voci slovacche dipendono dall’ungh. *buzogány* (attestato a partire dal 15° sec.), quest’ultimo è di origine cumana, non ottomana (v. Róna-Tas/Berta infra).

♦ Machek 1968: 78; Kakuk 1973: 78 sg.; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 804; ESUM 1, 281; Vasmer 1, 232; HLSL 1, 51; Stachowski 2014: 98 sg.; Králik 2015: 85; Schweickard 2023: 468 sg. – Róna-Tas/Berta 2011: 188 sgg.; TETTL 1, 775.

**čizma**, pl. **čizmy** ‘stivali’ 1647 (HSSJ 1, 220; SSJ 1, 215; VSCS (-); ‘boot’ Kon 110).

La mancanza della parola nel VSCS è dovuta al fatto che questo repertorio non prende in considerazione termini, pur di origine straniera, ormai da lungo tempo acclimatatisi in slovacco e non più considerati ‘forestierismi’ dalla coscienza linguistica dei parlanti.

• Osm., t. *çizme* ‘high boot, top boot’ (NR 258) > ungh. *csizma* (1492) > slovacco.

♦ Machek 1968: 104 sg.; Kakuk 1973: 110; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 136 sg.; HLSL 1, 70 sg.; Rejzek 2001: 118; Borys 2005: 85; Stachowski 2014: 112; Králik 2015: 106; Schweickard 2023: 567 sg. – Eren 1999: 95 sg.; KEWT 114.

**čuha** ‘cappotto di stoffa ruvida’ 1739 (HSSJ 1, 225; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. *çuha* ‘broadcloth’ (NR 262).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 111; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 817 sg.; Vasmer 1, 388; HLSL 1, 72; Stachowski 2014: 134 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 581 – KEWT 116.

**d'aur/gaur** ‘epiteto offensivo dato ai cristiani dai musulmani’ 17° sec. (HSSJ 1, 233, 377; i repertori moderni registrano solo la var. *džaur*: SSJ 1, 358; VSCS 301; ‘giaour’ Kon 220).

• Osm., t. *gâvur* (< pers. o ar.) ‘giaour, infidel, unbeliever, non-Muslim; Christian’ (NR 386).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 205 sg.; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 650; Vasmer 1, 480; Stachowski 2014: 198 – KEWT 153.

**derviř** ‘monaco o eremita musulmano mendico’ 1785 (HSSJ 1, 24; SSJ 1, 251; VSCS 256; Kon 150 registra solo l’aggettivo *derviřský* ‘dervishlike’ e il sintagma *derviřský tanec* ‘dance of a dervish’).

• Osm., t. (< pers., ma v. KEWT infra) *derviř* ‘dervish’ (NR 287).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 123 sg.; Vasmer 1, 500; Stachowski 2014: 149; Schweickard 2023: 634 sgg. – KEWT 124 (solleva qualche dubbio sull’etimo persiano comunemente accettato).

**diván** ‘divano, consiglio di stato (nell’impero ottomano)’ 1786 (HSSJ 1, 259; SSJ 1, 269; VSCS 285; Kon (-)).

Der.: *divánčan* ‘partecipante al divano’ 1785 (HSSJ 1, 259; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm. (< pers.) *divan* ‘Council of State’ (NR 304)

◆ Kakuk 1973: 127; ESUM 2, 65; Stachowski 2014: 159 sg.; Králik 2015: 126; Schweickard 2023: 655 sgg. – KEWT 129.

**dohán** ‘tabacco’ 17° sec. *dúhan*; 1720 *doháň*; 1760 *dohan* (HSSJ 1, 275; SSJ 1, 283; popolare; VSCS 287: colloquiale; ‘tobacco’ Kon 170).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *duhan* ‘smoke; tobacco’ (NR 313) > ungh. *dohán* (1647)/*dohány* (1657-58) > slovacco (Stachowski 2020: 200).

◆ Machek 1968: 122; Kakuk 1973: 133; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 628; ESUM 2, 101; HLSTL 1, 80; Králik 2015: 129; Schweickard 2023: 683 – KEWT 134.

**dolomán** ‘giubba militare ornata di alamari’ 1576 (HSSJ 1, 283; SSJ 1, 293; VSCS 288: antiquato; ‘dolman, pelisse’ Kon 177). La diffusione internazionale della voce nella forma *dolman* dipende dall’ungh. *dolmány* ‘divisa degli ussari’.

• Osm., t. *dolama/dolaman* ‘kind of jacket, dolman’ (NR 308) > ungh. *dolomán* (1504) > slovacco.

◆ Machek 1968: 123; Kakuk 1973: 130 sg.; ESUM 2, 106; Vasmer 1, 525; HLSTL 1, 80; Stachowski 2014: 153 sg.; Králik 2015: 130; Schweickard 2023: 673 sgg. – TETTL 2, 456.

**dulbend/tulbend** ‘turbante’ 1785 (HSSJ 1, 324; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm. (< pers.) *dülbend* ‘turban’, t. *tülbent* ‘muslin; gauze’ (NR 317, 1190 sg.).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 136; Stachowski 2014: 594 sg. – Eren 1999: 420; KEWT 333 (ha dubbi semantici sulla parola persiana fonte del prestito).

**emir** ‘capo turco’ 1786 (HSSJ 1, 340; SSJ 1, 368; VSCS 322; Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *emir* ‘prince, chief, leader, ruler, commander’ (NR 338).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 142; Vasmer 4, 418; Rejzek 2001: 156; Stachowski 2014: 177; Králik 2015: 146; Schweickard 2023: 145 sgg. – KEWT 142.

**feredže** ‘turbante’ (v. infra) 1785 (HSSJ 1, 354 sg.; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm. parlato *ferece* ‘vestis exterior cum largis & patulis manicis’ (Meninski 1680: 3480) = osm., t. (< ar. < gr.) *ferace* ‘dustcoat formerly worn by Turkish women when they went out’ (NR 365). Può darsi che la parola sia giunta in slovacco attraverso l’ungh. *feredsse* (1604) o il pol. *feredza* (1760). Il significato di ‘turbante’ riportato dal solo HSSJ è alquanto dubbio; cfr. comunque, eventualmente, lo spostamento semantico documentato dal turchismo albanese *ferexhe* ‘yashmak; veil’ (Bufli/Rocchi 2021: 157).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 150 sg.; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 172; Vasmer 4, 190; Stachowski 2014: 188 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 759 sg. – KEWT 150.

[**gajdy** pl. ‘zampogna’ 1625; 1656 *kajdy*; 1685 *gejdy*; il nome proprio *Gajda* è attestato nel 1576 (HSSJ 1, 374 sg.; SSJ 1, 425; VSCS (-); ‘bagpipe’ Kon 244).

• La parola è largamente diffusa nelle lingue dell’Europa orientale. Circa la sua origine riporto quanto scrive Berneker: “Die südslav[ischen] Wörter direkt aus osm[anischem] *gajda* ‘Dudelsack’; die nordslav[ischen Wörter] wohl durch magy[arische] Vermittlung (...) – In das Osm[anische] kam das Wort aus dem Arab[ischen]; diesem wurde es durch das Span[ische] aus iber[ischem] *gaita* vermittelt” (1924: 291). Tale opinione è condivisa da diversi illustri studiosi (p. es. Machek, St. Stachowski, Králik, e così di norma si esprimono anche i repertori etimologici delle lingue balcaniche); c’è tuttavia un grosso scoglio che si erge sulla strada di questa ipotesi, ed è quello cronologico. Secondo Sevan Nişanyan, che fa derivare il t. *gayda* dal bulgaro, la voce ottomana non sarebbe attestata prima del 1797; se ciò fosse vero, va ovviamente escluso che il turco-ottomano sia il punto di irradiazione del termine. La questione rimane pertanto aperta.

♦ Machek 1968: 148; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 175; ESUM 1, 442; HSL 1, 100; Rejzek 2001: 182; Stachowski 2014: 195 sg.; Králik 2015: 174 – TETTL 3, 156].

**galibediván** ‘la più alta corte in Oriente’ (questo significato ci pare impreciso) 1785 (HSSJ 1, 375; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm. *galebe divanı* ‘special Council of State with more than the ordinary number of members’ (NR 382), formato dall’arabismo *galebe* ‘victory; crowd’ e da *divanı* (→ *diván*). La testimonianza slovacca di questo sintagma è preziosa perché va ad accrescere lo scarso numero delle sue documentazioni nelle lingue europee. Una testimonianza secentesca è data da Rycaut (1668: 14) nella forma *Kalaba Divanı*. Per il secolo successivo lo si ritrova in un’opera del 1716 di Dimitrie Cantemir e poi in fonti francesi e tedesche, in base ai dati forniti da Schweickard 2015 (v. infra). A

queste possiamo aggiungere le attestazioni romene, anch'esse databili al 18° secolo, *galaba-divan* e *calaba-divan* 'consiliu general, adunare solemnă și extraordinară spre a distribui solda trupelor, a primi pe un ambasador etc.' (Șăineanu 1900: 2, 139).  
♦ Kakuk 1973: 158; Schweickard 2015: 23 (in francese: *galibé-divan* (1747)/*galibe-divan* (1771); in tedesco: *galibe divan/divan galibe* (1754)/*galibè-divan* (1771)); id. 2023: 798 – Pakalın 1983<sup>3</sup>: 1, 643.

**hába**, pl. **háby** 'abiti, vestiti' 18. sec. (HSSJ 1, 388; SSJ 1, 448: colloquiale; VSCS (-); 'dress, clothing; (pl.) duds' Kon 256). Per l'assenza della parola nel VSCS v. quanto detto s. v. *čížma*.

• T. (dial.) *haba* (DS 2245) = osm., t. *aba* (< ar.) 'stout coarse woolen cloth; cloak or coat made of such cloth' (NR 2) > ucr. *zaĭba* 'a kind of white coarse (Turkish) cloth' (Andrusyshen/Krett 1955: 133) > slovacco.

♦ Machek 1968: 153; Kakuk 1973: 22; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 583; ESUM 1, 444; Vasmer 1, 55; HLSL 1, 23; Stachowski 2014: 204; Králik 2015: 188; Schweickard 2023: 1 sg. – KEWT 51.

**handžár** 'arma da taglio o da punta simile a una spada ricurva' 1654 (HSSJ 1, 397; SSJ 1, 459; VSCS 460: storico; 'poniard, Turkish dagger' Kon 260).

• Osm. parlato *hancar* (Rocchi 2007: 114) = osm., t. (< ar.-pers.) *hancer/hançer* 'short, curved dagger, khanjar' (NR 445).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 171 sg.; ESUM 1, 467; Vasmer 2, 316; 4, 221; HLSL 1, 116; Stachowski 2014: 214 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 932 sg. – KEWT 168.

**harambaša** 'capobandito' 1785 (HSSJ 1, 398; SSJ 1, 460; VSCS 461; Kon (-)).

• Osm. parlato *harambaša* (per il letterario *harami başı*, per il cui primo elemento → *haramia*) 'commandant des voleurs' (Kakuk infra) > sb. *hàrambaša* (Nosić 2005: 288) > ungh. *harambasa* 'id.' > slovacco.

♦ Kakuk 1973: 174; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 212; Schweickard 2023: 946 sg.

**haramia** 'tafferuglio, zuffa, rissa' 1691 (HSSJ 1, 398; SSJ 1, 460: raro; VSCS 461: raro; 'rumpus, ruckus' Kon 260). Il significato originario di 'bandito, brigante' è conservato dialettalmente (HLSL).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *harami* 'robber' (NR 449) > sb. *haràmija* 'id.' (Nosić 2005: 288) > ungh. *haramia* (1547) 'brigand, voleur' > slovacco.

♦ Kakuk 1973: 174; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 212; ESUM 1, 470; HLSL 1, 117; Schweickard 2023: 945 sg. – KEWT 169.

**hárem** 'parte della casa musulmana riservata alle donne' 1785 (HSSJ 1, 398; SSJ 1, 460; VSCS 461; 'a harem' Kon 261).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) 'women's apartments, harem' (NR 451).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 176; ESUM 1, 473 sg; Rejzek 2001: 195; Stachowski 2014: 218 sg.; Králik 2015: 192; Schweickard 2023: 952 sgg. – KEWT 169.



**hekim** ‘saggio, filosofo che svolge anche le funzioni di medico’ 1785 (HSSJ 1, 393; SSJ (-); *hakim* VSCS 457; Kon (-)). Chiaramente, un prestito culturale.

• Osm., t. *hekim* ‘physician, doctor of medicine’ (NR 471), variante (più tarda) di *hakim* (< ar.) ‘sage, of great wisdom; philosopher’ (id. 437)

◆ Stachowski 2014: 227; Schweickard 2023: 1005 sg. – KEWT 171.

**chán** ‘principe tataro o mongolo’ (HSSJ 1, 463; SSJ 1, 552; VSCS 508; ‘khan’ Kon 119).

• Osm., t. *han* ‘sovereign, ruler; khan’ (NR 445). La diffusione del termine nelle lingue europee è dovuta in parte all’ottomano in parte al russo *хан*, mutuato da qualche lingua turca asiatica.

◆ Machek 1968: 196; Vasmer 4, 221; Rejzek 2001: 223; Stachowski 2014: 103 sg.; Králik 2015: 217 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 924 sgg. – KEWT 168 (“Etymologie viel diskutiert, aber nicht endgültig festgelegt; möglicherweise ein chin[esisches] Lehnwort”).

**ibrik** ‘bricco, cuccuma’ 1737 (HSSJ 1, 489; SSJ, VSCS (-); ‘pot, pitcher, cannikin’ Kon 307).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *ibrik* ‘water ewer with handle and long spout, used for ablutions, etc.; ewer, teapot, kettle’ (NR 509). Turchismo di ampia diffusione anche nelle lingue europee occidentali (Schweickard 2015: 33 sg.).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 190 sg.; ESUM 2, 297; HLSL 1, 127; Stachowski 2014: 238 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 1056 sgg. – KEWT 181.

**imam** ‘religioso musulmano’ 1785 (HSSJ 1, 491; SSJ (-); *imám* VSCS 530; Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *imam* ‘imam, prayer leader; religious leader’ (NR 532).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 195; Stachowski 2014: 236 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 1071 sgg. – KEWT 184.

**janičiar/jančár** ‘giannizzero’ 1666 *jančár*; 1770 *janičiar* (HSSJ 1, 514; nei repertori moderni solo *janičiar*: SSJ 1, 631; VSCS 575: storico; ‘janizary’ Kon 327).

• Osm. *yeñiçeri*, t. *yeniçeri* ‘Janissary’ (NR 1253) = osm. parlato *yaniçer/yeniçar* (Rocchi 2014: 204). È possibile che lo slovacco dipenda dall’ungh. *jancsár* (questo è pressoché certo per la forma più anticamente attestata *jančár*).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 421; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 228 sg.; Vasmer 4, 558; HLSL 1, 30; Stachowski 2014: 246 sg.; Králik 2015: 240 – Eren 1999: 86 sg.; KEWT 111.

**jatağan** ‘arma orientale da punta e da taglio’ 1785 *hatagán* (HSSJ 1, 519; SSJ 1, 637; *yatağan* VSCS 576; ‘yatağan’ Kon 330).

• Osm. *yatağan*, t. *yatağan* ‘heavy curved knife, yataghan’ (NR 1246).

◆ Vasmer 4, 558; Stachowski 2014: 255 – TMEN 4, 52.

**kaftan/kaptan** ‘sopravveste lunga, caffettano’ 1623 *kaptan*; 1666 *kaftan* (HSSJ 2, 11; nei repertori moderni solo *kaftan*: SSJ 1, 660; VSCS 583; ‘caftan’ Kon 344).

• Osm., t. *kaftan* ‘outer gown or robe with long skirts and sleeves; robe of honor, caftan’ (NR 580). La var. slovacca *kaptan* può dipendere dall’ungh. *kaptán/kaptan* (Kakuk infra).

♦ Machek 1968: 235; Kakuk 1973: 206; ESUM 2, 377; Vasmer 2, 216; Rejzek 2001: 256; Boryś 2005: 219; Stachowski 2014: 276 sg.; Králik 2015: 248; Schweickard 2023: 1112 sgg. – KEWT 197.

**kajmakán** ‘luogotenente, facente funzioni di un pascià’ 18° sec. (HSSJ 2, 11; SSJ (-); *kajmakám* VSCS 584; Kon (-)).

• Osm. (< ar.) *kâim-mekâm*, vul[go] *kajmakam* ‘locumtenens, vicesgerens, vicarius, pec. *bassae, vesirii, aut gubernatoris provinciae absentis*’ (Meninski 1680: 3606), t. *kajmakam* ‘head official of a district; formerly lieutenant colonel’ (NR 625). La forma dissimilata *kajmakan* è registrata da Pianzola (Rocchi 2009: 145) ed è ben documentata nei prestiti dal turco in area balcanica e ungherese.

♦ Kakuk 1973: 229 sg.; Stachowski 2014: 280 sg. – TETTL 4, 57.

**kalika** ‘storpio, mutilato, invalido’ 1762 (HSSJ 2, 13; SSJ 1, 664; VSCS (-); ‘cripple’ Kon 345). Per quanto riguarda il VSCS cfr. *čičma, hába*.

• Osm., t. *kalik* ‘defective; incomplete’ (NR 587) > ucr. *калика* ‘cripple’ (Andrusyshen/Krett 1955: 378) > slovacco. L’ipotesi di derivazione da un presunto turco \**kalak* ‘deformis’, che risale a Matzenauer (1870: 39) e circola tuttora in diversi dizionari etimologici, è priva di fondamento.

♦ Machek 1968: 236; ESUM 2, 352; Vasmer 2, 166; Boryś 2005: 220; Stachowski 2014: 282 sg.; Králik 2015: 250 – KEWT 199.

**kalpak** ‘berretto alto ornato di pelliccia’ 1689 (ma il dim. *kalpaček* è già attestato nel 1567/1630: HLSL) (HSSJ 2, 14; SSJ 1, 665; VSCS 589; Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. *kalpak* ‘fur cap’ (NR 589) > ungh. *kalpag/kalpak* (1656), da cui prob. lo slovacco. Difficile foneticamente il tramite delle lingue slave orientali, cfr. russo *колпак*. ucr. *ковпак* (> pol. *kolpak*), termini questi che del resto non sono sati mutuati “through Ottoman Turkish, but through earlier Turkic strata” (Schweickard 2023: 1141). Questo copricapo era “eine ursprünglich mittelasiatische Kopfbedeckung, die von den Osmanen nach Europa eingeführt wurde und dort weite Verbreitung fand” (TMEN 3, 494).

♦ Machek 1968: 258; Kakuk 1973: 211; ESUM 2, 485 sg.; Vasmer 2, 297; HLSL 1, 136; Stachowski 2014: 346 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 1140 sg. – Eren 1999: 203; KEWT 199 sg.

**kapiaga** ‘comandante di un reparto della fanteria turca’ 18° sec. (HSSJ 2, 25; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm. parlato *kapı ağa* ‘dux Janissariorum seu militiae praetorianaе’ (Meninski 1680: 3620) = osm. lett. *kapı ağası*, t. *kapı ağası* ‘chief white eunuch in the Imperial

palace' (NR 597), formato da *kapi* 'porta' e *ağa/ağa* (→ *aga*). La voce può essere giunta in slovacco attraverso l'ungh. *kapi aga*, che però sembra avere solo il significato di 'chef des eunuques blancs du sérail' (Kakuk infra).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 214; Stachowski 2014: 294 sg.; Schweickard 2023: 1153 sg. – Pakalín 1983<sup>3</sup>: 2, 166 sg.

**karavanzár** 'caravanserraglio' 1760 (HSSJ 2, 29; SSJ (-); *karavanserail* VSCS 599; Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. (< pers.) *kervansaray* 'caravanserai, inn with a large courtyard' (NR 642). Per la forma apocopata slovacca cfr. l'osm. parlato *kârvasara* in Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 141) e le voci ungheresi e polacche segnalate da Kakuk e St. Stachowski (v. infra).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 224 (1605 *karuazaria*, *karuazária*); Stachowski 2014: 309 (1641 *karwäsera*); Schweickard 2023: 1177 sgg. – TETTL 4, 133.

**káva/kave** 'caffè (pianta e bevanda)' 1689 (*kave*); 1714 (*káva*) (HSSJ 2, 37; solo *káva*: SSJ 1, 686; VSCS 614; 'coffee' Kon 356).

• Osm., t. *kahve* (< ar.) 'coffee' (NR 582). Sulla diffusione della parola turca in italiano e altre lingue occidentali v. Schweickard 2017.

♦ Machek 1968: 246; Kakuk 1973: 208; ESUM 2, 333; HLSL 1, 144; Stachowski 2014: 313 sg.; Králik 2015: 262 – KEWT 197.

**kepeň/kepenek** 'soprabito, impermeabile' 1644 (retrodatibile al 1588: HLSL) (*kepenek*); 1629 (*kepeň*) (HSSJ 2, 44; nei repertori moderni solo *kepeň*: SSJ 1, 691; VSCS 616: antiquato; 'cape, mantle; cloak; wrap; spring coat' Kon 359).

• ? Osm., t. *kepenek* 'coarse cape or cloak worn by shepherds' (NR 639). Questa voce è largamente diffusa nelle lingue dell'Europa orientale e come subcentro di irradiazione ha certamente agito l'ungherese. Tuttavia non è affatto sicuro che i magiari abbiano mutuato la parola dagli Ottomani, tant'è vero che Kakuk (1973) non la include nel suo lavoro, e potrebbe provenire da qualche lingua turca centroasiatica. Scrivono Róna-Tas/Berta: "The [Hungarian] word *köpenek* occurs in the sources relatively late and in principle may even be of Ott[oman] origin. (...) An argument in favour of the pre-Ott[oman] origin of the word is that it is distributed in all dial[ect]s" (2011: 1, 597). Quanto allo slc. *kepeň* potrebbe essere un prestito dall'ungh. *köpény*, ma forse si tratta piuttosto di una neoformazione interna sorta per ipercorrezione in seguito all'interpretazione della terminazione *-ek* come suffisso diminutivo.

♦ Machek 1968: 249; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 872 sg.; ESUM 2, 476; Vasmer 2, 297; HLSL 1, 146; Stachowski 2014: 350 (non è possibile stabilire da quale lingua turca provenga la voce magiara); Králik 2015: 263 – KEWT 217.

**kila** 'misura per cereali' 1687 (HSSJ 2, 45; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *kile* 'bushel (36 ½ kilos)' (NR 664) > ungh *kila* (1573), prob. > slovacco.

♦ Kakuk 1973: 243; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 668; HLSL 1, 148; Stachowski 2014: 330 sg. – KEWT 224.

**korbač** ‘tipo di frusta’ 1556; 1595 *karabač*; 1596 *karbač* (HSSJ 2, 102; SSJ: 1, 745; VSCS (-); ‘lash, whip, kurbish’ Kon 391).

• Osm., t. *kırbaç* ‘whip, scourge; riding whip, horsewhip’ (NR 653), con le varr. *korbač/korbac* attestate in testi in trascrizione (Rocchi 2011: 221; Stachowski infra) > ungh. *korbács* (1585) ‘cravache’ > slovacco. La var. *karabač* è mediata dal ceco.

♦ Machek 1968: 241; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 673; ESUM 2, 388; Vasmer 2, 195; Kakuk 1973: 238 sg.; HLSL 1, 155; Stachowski 2014: 350 sg.; Králik 2015: 289 – Eren 1999: 237; KEWT 221.

**martalúz** ‘soldato appartenente a truppe turche dedite al banditismo nel 16° e 17° secolo’ 1572 (HSSJ 2, 262; SSJ 2, 100: storico; VSCS 753: storico; Kon (-)).

• Osm. (< gr.) *martoloz/martulos* ‘Christian sailor from the Danube in the pay of Turks in their forts’ (NR 734) > ungh. *martalóc* (1494) ‘soldat turc; bandit, voleur’, con varr. come *martalóz, martaloz* (HLSL) > slovacco.

♦ Machek 1968: 352; Kakuk 1973: 268; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 689 sg.; HLSL 2, 20 sg.; Stachowski 2014: 386 sg. – TETTL 5, 152.

**molla** ‘prete musulmano’ 1785 (HSSJ 2, 346; SSJ (-); *mullah/mulla* VSCS 815; Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *molla* ‘theological student; mullah; (Ott[oman] hist[ory]) chief judge; doctor of Muslim law’ (NR 782)

♦ Kakuk 1973: 281; Stachowski 2014: 409 sg. – KEWT 257.

**musulman** ‘musulmano’ 1734 (HSSJ 2, 348; *musulman/muzulman* SSJ 2, 201: antiquato; *musulman/muzulman* VSCS 818: antiquato; *muzulman* ‘a Moslem’ Kon 524)

• Osm., t. (< pers. < ar.) *Müslüman* ‘a Muslim, Mohammedan’ (NR 830), con molteplici varianti tra cui *müsülman, musulman* (Kakuk infra).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 295 sg.; ESUM 3, 541; Stachowski 2014: 427 sg. – KEWT 259.

**pačmag**, solitamente pl. **pačmagy** ‘calzatura leggera di pelle’ 1613 (HSSJ 3, 442; in tale senso: SSJ (-); *pačmaga* VSCS 888; Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. *başmak/paşmak* ‘shoe; slipper’ (NR 139, 920) = osm. parlato *pačmak/pačmag* (Kakuk infra) > ungh. *pacsomag* (1576) ‘sandale, chaussure’ > slovacco. Per la diffusione del termine turco nelle lingue europee v. Schweickard 2011: 231 sgg.

♦ Machek 1968: 425; Kakuk 1973: 321 sg.; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 702 sg.; Vasmer 1, 139; HLSL 2, 38; Stachowski 2014: 44; Králik 2015: 414 – Eren 1999: 43 sg.; KEWT 80 sg.

**[pajtáš** ‘amico, compagno’ 1745 (HSSJ 3, 449; SSJ 3, 11: antiquato; VSCS 889: antiquato; ‘chum, pal, buddy’ Kon 745: colloquiale).

• Con ogni evidenza prestito dall’ungh. *pajtás* (1552) ‘compagnon’, che gli studiosi fanno concordemente derivare dal t. *paydaş* ‘participator, partner’ (NR 922). Tuttavia

c'è un problema tutt'altro che irrilevante: la voce *paydaş* sembra ignota all'ottomano e difatti il New Redhouse cita la marca espressamente come 'neol[ogism]' e Nişanyan la assegna allo 'Yeni Türkçe' (il 'nuovo turco' sorto nel corso della riforma linguistica novecentesca), datandola al 1965 (!). In base a ciò ci sembra lecito sollevare seri dubbi sul presunto etimo dell'ungh. *pajtás*, che andrebbe ulteriormente indagato.

◆ Machek 1968: 427 sg.; Kakuk 1973: 322; HLSL 2, 40; Králik 2015: 415].

**paloš** 'sciabola, spada' 1603 (retrodatibile al 1515: HLSL) (HSSJ 3, 457; SSJ 3, 15: poetico; VSCS 893: storico; 'sword, heavy broadsword' Kon 747).

• Osm., t. *pala* 'scimitar' (NR 915) > ungh. *pallos* (1575) 'heavy broadsword' (formato da *pal(l)-*, prestito dalla parola turca, + suffisso derivazionale *+os*, secondo l'opinione prevalente degli studiosi; v. però Kniezsa infra e si noti che Kakuk (1973) non include la voce nel suo lavoro) > slovacco. Questo magiarismo ha trovato fortuna anche nelle lingue occidentali, cfr. ted. *Pallasch* 'schwerer Korbsäbel', it. (obs.) *pala-scio/paloscio* 'specie di spada' (HLSL).

◆ Machek 1968: 429; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 703 sgg. (rifiuta l'etimo turco e considera la voce magiara di origine sconosciuta); Vasmer 3, 191; HLSL 2, 41 sg.; Králik 2015: 417 – TETTL 6, 270.

**pamuk** 'filato di cotone' 1625 (HSSJ 3, 459; SSJ 3, 17; VSCS 894; 'cotton' Kon 749).

• Osm., t. *pamuk* 'cotton' (NR 916) > ungh. (obs.) *pamuk* (1608-21; la forma mod. è *pamut*) 'id.' > slovacco.

◆ Kakuk 1973: 318; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 705; Králik 2015: 417 – KEWT 276 (voce turca di origine iranica).

**papuča** 'calzatura soffice e comoda, solitamente di feltro' 1630 (HSSJ 3, 471; SSJ 3, 25; VSCS 900; 'slipper; (dial.) felt boot' Kon 753). Dialettalmente è diffusa anche la forma *papuč* (HLSL).

• Osm, t. *pabuç* (osm. anche *papuç*) (< pers.) 'shoe; slipper' (NR 913, 917) > ungh. *papucs* (1559) 'pantoufle, soulier; babouche' > slovacco.

◆ Machek 1968: 433; Kakuk 1973: 317; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 705 sg.; Vasmer 3, 203; HLSL 2, 44; Rejzek 2001: 446; Stachowski 2014: 458 sg.; Králik 2015: 426 – Eren 1999: 321; KEWT 275.

**reisefendi** 'assistente del gran visir nella conduzione della cancelleria del sultano' 18° sec. (HSSJ 5, 42; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm. *reis efendi* 'caput nominorum aut secretariorum, cancellarius' (Meninski 1680: 2407), 'former trivial title of the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was Chief Secretary of the Chancery, Chief Under-Secretary of State and Assistant to the Grand Vezir' (Redhouse 1890: 999), formato da *reis* (< ar.) 'capo' e *efendi* (< gr.) 'signore, padrone'.

◆ Kakuk 1973: 336 sg.; Stachowski 2014: 472 sg.

**sandžak** ‘sangiaccio, governatore di un sangiaccato’ 1760 (HSSJ 5, 218; SSJ 4, 17 e VSCS 1081 registrano il lemma nei significati di ‘insegna dell’esercito turco’ e ‘sangiaccato’; ‘sanjak’ Kon 1110).

Der.: **sandžakát** ‘sangiaccato, suddivisione amministrativa nell’impero ottomano’ 18° sec. (HSSJ 5, 218; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. *sancak* ‘flag, banner, standard; (Ott[oman] hist[ory]) subdivision of a province’ (NR 983)

♦ Kakuk 1973: 348; Vasmer 3, 558; Stachowski 2014: 495 sg. – Eren 1999: 355; KEWT 293.

**satián** ‘tipo di cuoio pregiato prodotto in Turchia’ 18° sec. (*satán*); l’aggettivo derivato *satiánový* è attestato nel 1692 (HSSJ 5, 221; nei repertori moderni della lingua standard è registrata solo la var. *safián*: SSJ 4, 14; VSCS 1077; ‘morocco (leather)’ Kon 1106). La forma *sat’an* è conservata dialettalmente (HLSL).

• Osm., t. (< pers.) *sahtiyán* ‘Morocco leather’ (NR 975) > ungh. *szattyán* (1544) ‘id.’ > slovacco.

♦ Machek 1968: 535; Kakuk 1973: 345; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 752; HLSL 3, 33; Stachowski 2014: 484 – KEWT 290.

**seraj** ‘accampamento militare turco’ 1592 (HSSJ 5, 238; nei repertori moderni solo la forma *serail* nel senso di ‘serraglio, palazzo del sultano’: SSJ 4, 60; VSCS 1099; ‘seraglio’ Kon 1121).

• Osm., t. *saray/seray* (< pers.) ‘palace; mansion’ (NR 985). Il significato slovacco, ammesso che sia corretto, non può che riferirsi al grande padiglione che si erigeva al centro di un accampamento turco e che viene iperbolicamente paragonato a un palazzo.

♦ Kakuk 1973: 350 sg.; Stachowski 2014: 500 – Eren 1999: 356; KEWT 293.

**sultán** ‘sultano’ 1760 (HSSJ 5, 555; SSJ 4, 337; VSCS 1161; ‘sultan’ Kon 1226).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *sultan* ‘ruler, sovereign, sultan’ (NR 1035).

♦ Kakuk 1973: 372; Vasmer 3, 551, 801; Rejzek 2001: 614; Stachowski 2014: 537 sgg.; Králik 2015: 566 – KEWT 310.

**surma** ‘tromba’ 1666; 1706-07 *surna* (HSSJ 5, 559; SSJ 4, 341; VSCS 1167; ‘bugle, trumpet’ Kon 1227).

• Osm., t. (< pers.) *surna/zurna* ‘a straight trumpet two or three feet long’ (Redhouse 1890: 1055) > ucr. *цурма* ‘military trumpet, bugle, bugle-horn’ (Andrusyshen/Krett 1955: 1021) (> pol. *surma* ‘id.’) > slovacco.

♦ Vasmer 3, 806 sgg.; Stachowski 2014: 542 sg.; Králik 2015: 567 – Eren 1999: 471; KEWT 372

**šalavarda/šalavárka/šalaváry/šaraváry** 1) ‘pantofola, scarpa’ 1669 *šalavarda*; 1721 *šalaváry*; 18° sec. *šalavárka* 2) ‘pantaloni ampi e lunghi’ 1763 *šaraváry*; 18° sec.

*šalaváry* (HSSJ 5, 601; *šaravary/šarováry* SSJ 4, 394 (solo ‘pantaloni’); *šaraváry/šaravary, šarovary/šarováry* VSCS 1179 (solo ‘pantaloni’); Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. (< pers.) *šalvar* ‘baggy trousers, shalwar’ (NR 1048). Sulla vasta diffusione europea della parola, in parte per tramite ungherese, v. HLSSL infra.

◆ Machek 1968: 602; Kakuk 1973: 379; Kniezsa 1974<sup>2</sup>: 473; Vasmer 4, 410; HLSSL 3, 42 sg.; Stachowski 2014: 550 sg. – Eren 1999: 383; KEWT 313.

**tambora** ‘strumento musicale a corde pizzicate’ 1785 (HSSJ 6, 20; nei repertori moderni *tambura*: SSJ 4, 489; VSCS 1203; solo il der. *tamburáš* ‘cittern player’ in Kon 1276).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *tambura* ‘any string instrument played by plucking’ (NR 1093).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 386; Králik 2015: 603 (ritiene che la voce slovacca sia stata mediata dalle lingue balcaniche) – KEWT 321.

**turlak** ‘membro di un ordine religioso musulmano’ 1785 (HSSJ 6, 126; SSJ, VSCS, Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. *torlak* ‘negligens, piger, iners, ineptus vir; secta quaedam Religiosorum Turcicorum, aut vagorum hominum’ (Meninski 1680: 3142 sg.), ‘(obs.) person who has just become a Bektashi dervish’ (Redhouse 1999: 882). Nel New Redhouse la parola è registrata solo nei significati di ‘unbroken colt; wild youth’ (NR 1183). Prob. il dato slovacco riflette un prestito culturale. Ci pare da escludere una mediazione dell’ungherese, dato che in tale lingua la parola è attestata solo come soprannome (Kakuk infra).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 401 – Eren 1999: 414.

**úlema** ‘preti, religiosi’ 1785 (HSSJ 6, 188; SSJ (-); *ulema* ‘teologo musulmano’ VSCS 1272; Kon (-)).

• Osm., t. (< ar.) *ulema* ‘doctors of Muslim theology, ulema’ (NR 1197).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 405; Stachowski 2014: 610 – KEWT 336.

**vezír** ‘alto dignitario che nei paesi musulmani ricopriva una carica paragonabile a quella di ministro’ 1666 (HSSJ 6, 348 sg.; SSJ 5, 78; VSCS 1296: storico; ‘vezir, vizier’ Kon 1396).

• Osm. (< pers.<sup>5</sup>) *vezir* ‘vizier; minister’ (NR 1228). Data la [i:] della parola slovacca, è possibile che ci sia stato il tramite dell’ungh. *vezír* (v. Stachowski 2020: 201).

◆ Kakuk 1973: 414; Vasmer 1, 313; Rejzek 2011: 709; Stachowski 2014: 620 sg.; Králik 2015: 657 – KEWT 344.

5   Sull’etimo v. le nostre osservazioni in Bufli/Rocchi 2021: 501.

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# L'interferenza nelle sentenze in spagnolo e italiano della Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea: un caso di studio

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## ABSTRACT

This paper aims at investigating Toury's law of interference, which posits that translations tend to under-represent target language features and to over-represent source language ones, by means of corpus-based empirical study. More specifically, it aims at testing the influence of French, the working language of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), on the Spanish and Italian versions of the CJEU judgments. The analysis, carried out by comparing parallel corpora of judgments delivered by the CJEU (CSCG) and comparable corpora of non-translated texts issued by national judges (COSPE), provides an example of positive and negative transfer, namely the explicitation of the subject and the different frequency of use of complex prepositions. The results seem to confirm both instances of interference. As far as the positive transfer is concerned, since French is a non-pro-dop language – unlike Spanish and Italian –, more explicit subjects are actually found in European judgments. The differences in the frequency of phraseological patterns are seen as negative transfer: court translators tend to use complex prepositions resembling French ones rather than those traditionally used in national judgments.

This paper yields interesting results which confirm the law of interference and suggest further investigation on the overlapping of different translation universals detected in CJEU judgments.

## KEYWORDS

interference, positive transfer, negative transfer, corpus-based analysis, CJEU, legal translation

### 1. INTRODUZIONE

La Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea (CGUE) è un organo giurisdizionale unico nel suo genere, la cui caratteristica fondamentale è il rispetto del multilinguismo: in quanto istituzione dell'UE deve garantire l'accesso alla giurisprudenza e la sua comprensione a tutti i cittadini e a tutte le cittadine di ogni singolo Stato membro. Questa garanzia passa attraverso il servizio di traduzione giuridica della Corte.

L'obiettivo del presente studio è indagare l'influenza esercitata dal francese, lingua di lavoro della Corte, sulle versioni spagnole e italiane delle sentenze emesse dalla stessa. Essendo tutte le sentenze della Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea, a prescindere dalla lingua processuale, redatte preliminarmente in francese, si ipotizza il riscontro dell'universale dell'interferenza. Ci si aspetta quindi che, nel processo di traduzione, i giuristi linguisti della Corte tendano a trasferire nei testi di arrivo le caratteristiche della lingua di partenza.

Adottando la metodologia *corpus-based* si intende presentare di seguito un caso di *transfer* positivo, l'esplicitazione del soggetto, e un caso di *transfer* negativo, le diverse frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive.

### 2. IL MULTILINGUISMO DELLA CORTE DI GIUSTIZIA DELL'UNIONE EUROPEA

Con l'entrata in vigore del trattato di Lisbona nel 2009, gli Stati membri dell'Unione europea hanno dato origine alla Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea, ex Corte di giustizia delle Comunità europee, con sede a Lussemburgo e il cui compito è quello di assicurare "il rispetto del diritto nell'interpretazione e nell'applicazione dei trattati" (art. 19, par. 1, TUE). La CGUE si articola in tre rami distinti: la Corte di giustizia, il Tribunale e i tribunali specializzati. Queste tre diramazioni svolgono funzioni esclusivamente giurisdizionali, eccezion fatta per la Corte di giustizia che esercita anche compiti consultivi (Cavallari 2021: 106).

Il multilinguismo, così come definito nel Quadro comune europeo di riferimento per le lingue (CEFR) dal Consiglio d'Europa – ossia "la coesistenza di diverse lingue in una determinata società o a livello individuale" –, è il requisito giuridico e funzionale della Corte oltre a rappresentarne una ricchezza e un valore (CGUE 2023: 20-21). Difatti tutte le lingue ufficiali dell'UE possono essere lingua processuale. Secondo l'articolo 38 del regolamento di procedura della Corte, la lingua processuale è usata nelle memorie e nelle difese orali delle parti, negli atti e nei documenti prodotti o allegati e nei verbali e nelle decisioni della Corte.

Bisogna tuttavia sottolineare che proprio il multilinguismo, che può essere definito la cifra di questa istituzione e in generale dell'Unione europea, è stato al centro di alcuni importanti contenziosi, presentati dinanzi alla Corte di giustizia o al Tribunale, dovuti alle discrepanze tra le versioni linguistiche di articoli, norme, sentenze.

## 2.1 LA TRADUZIONE GIURIDICA PRESSO LA CGUE

La Direzione generale del multilinguismo, creata il 1° gennaio 2018, riunisce il servizio di interpretazione e di traduzione giuridica della Corte del Lussemburgo. Si potrebbe affermare che il vero responsabile del multilinguismo e dunque delle traduzioni dei documenti della Corte è il cosiddetto *giurista linguista*, figura in possesso di una formazione giuridica completa e di una conoscenza approfondita di almeno due lingue diverse dalla sua lingua materna!

La qualità della traduzione giuridica offerta dalla Corte riveste una grande importanza ma rappresenta anche una sfida continua per i giurilinguisti. Numerose sono le difficoltà, infatti, con cui si confrontano quotidianamente nel processo di traduzione: si può citare, a tal proposito, la difficoltà per eccellenza della traduzione giuridica in generale, ossia la traduzione di concetti giuridici propri degli ordinamenti degli Stati membri.

Fin dall'istituzione della Corte, i giudici degli Stati membri originari avevano avvertito la necessità di avere una lingua comune da utilizzare per deliberare, soprattutto per garantire la segretezza della deliberazione: non è ammessa neanche l'assistenza di interpreti, ad esempio (Berteelot 1987: 12-13). La scelta ricadde sul francese per due motivi principali: i) il prestigio politico della Francia dell'epoca della nascita della Corte e ii) l'influenza esercitata dal sistema procedurale francese sui primi ricorsi (Berteelot 1987: 11). Di conseguenza, tutti i documenti di lavoro che circolano all'interno della Corte sono redatti in francese.

Tuttavia, la presenza di un'unica lingua di lavoro aggiunge non poche complicazioni. Già dopo i primi anni di lavoro della Corte, si parlava della nascita di una sorta di "francese comunitario" che per molti aspetti si allontanava dal linguaggio giuridico francese (Berteelot 1987: 15-20). Anche studi più recenti sembrano confermare questa ipotesi. Dall'indagine di McAuliffe, condotta nel 2011 intervistando i *référéndaires*<sup>2</sup> della Corte, è risultato che i funzionari francofoni percepiscono il francese usato presso la Corte come corrotto: lo definiscono un francese formulaico, artificiale e meccanico che nulla ha a che vedere con il francese "vero" (McAuliffe 2011: 105) – si è venuto a delineare dunque il cosiddetto "Court French".

1 [https://curia.europa.eu/jcms/jcms/Jo2\\_10744/](https://curia.europa.eu/jcms/jcms/Jo2_10744/) consultato il 13/09/2023.

2 Con questo termine si intendono gli assistenti legali che fanno parte del team di giudici o avvocati generali, con i quali lavorano a stretto contatto. Generalmente si occupano di svolgere ricerche preliminari sui casi, preparano i documenti processuali, redigono le bozze delle sentenze, ecc. (McAuliffe 2011: 101).

La definizione dello stile delle sentenze della Corte ha rappresentato un compito arduo fin dalle sue origini: si trattava di un'istituzione del tutto nuova, che non aveva una tradizione precedente a cui aggrapparsi. All'inizio si è ispirata al diritto amministrativo francese, avendo quest'ultimo influenzato i diritti amministrativi europei. Lo stile delle sentenze iniziali riprende quindi quello dei testi del *Conseil d'État*: la famosa « phrase unique », gli « attendu que », il sillogismo francese, i considerando (Schönberger 2015: 506-507). Ma fin da subito la Corte ha iniziato a mutare questo stile e, già nel 1979, ha deciso di abbandonare la tecnica della « phrase unique », gli « attendu que », e di modificare la lunghezza dei testi avvicinandosi maggiormente allo stile italo-tedesco (*ibidem*).

In questo contesto risulta necessario precisare tuttavia che, come osservato da McAuliffe (2009: 99-105), la redazione delle sentenze presso la Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea risulta “vincolata”, e di conseguenza anche le traduzioni lo sono. Essendo un sistema giuridico multilingue ancora oggi in fase di creazione, richiede l'uso ripetuto della stessa terminologia per motivi di coerenza e il riferimento continuo a normative, direttive, regolamenti, codici, per i quali i giudici sono obbligati a utilizzare la stessa formulazione specifica, non potendo in alcun modo derogare alla legislazione UE. In aggiunta, poiché raramente il francese è la lingua madre dei giudici, vi è la tendenza a ripetere espressioni e a “tagliare e incollare” dalla giurisprudenza precedente o dai documenti di partenza. Un altro aspetto da non sottovalutare è che la redazione di queste sentenze avviene alla luce del fatto che, in un secondo momento ma in tempi rapidi, dovranno essere tradotte in tutte le lingue ufficiali dell'UE, dunque si tende a semplificarne lo stile (*ibidem*). McAuliffe (2009: 104-106) li definisce testi di natura “ibrida” costituiti da una miscela di modelli culturali e linguistici, vincolati da un rigido stile di redazione e sottoposti a diverse traduzioni.

## 2.2. BREVE REVISIONE BIBLIOGRAFICA SULLO SPAGNOLO E SULL'ITALIANO DELLA CORTE DI GIUSTIZIA DELL'UNIONE EUROPEA

La lingua usata dalla Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea è stata oggetto di numerosi studi e continua ad esserlo. Ma sono soprattutto gli studi più recenti ad analizzarla con un'ottica incentrata esclusivamente sulla lingua: non ci si focalizza più solamente sul processo di redazione delle sentenze, bensì si analizzano singoli aspetti linguistici appartenenti ai vari livelli – lessicale, morfologico, sintattico, ecc.

In Spagna, questo tipo di studi si inserisce principalmente nell'ambito di un progetto di ricerca interdisciplinare creato e promosso nel 2015 dal *Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad*. Il progetto *Justicia Clara* si propone l'obiettivo di realizzare un'analisi contrastiva della lingua usata dal *Tribunal Supremo* e da quella della CGUE, in quanto si ipotizza che queste costituiscano due diverse varietà di spagnolo giudiziario: rispettivamente, una più tradizionale e una più recente (Pontrandolfo 2021: 261-262).

Un primo studio elaborato nel contesto di questo progetto riguarda i segnali discorsivi ed è stato condotto da Garofalo nel 2018 con l'obiettivo di verificare la diversa distribuzione dei *conectores contraargumentativos* (CCA) nei due corpora presi in analisi (TSE, CGUE) e le ragioni dell'uso diverso nei due tipi di sentenze. I risultati hanno confermato l'esistenza di una varietà europea dello spagnolo giudiziario che si distingue dallo spagnolo giudiziario nazionale e i cui tratti distintivi sono la traduzione dal francese e una maggiore "correttezza" a livello sintattico e lessicale che si traducono nella migliore leggibilità e chiarezza (Garofalo 2018: 163-164).

Sempre nell'ambito del progetto JustClar, Pontrandolfo ha effettuato, nel 2019, uno studio sull'uso del gerundio nei documenti in spagnolo emessi dalla Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea con l'obiettivo di verificare se, anche nelle sentenze della CGUE, si riscontrasse un uso abbondante del gerundio, cifra dello spagnolo giuridico, ma soprattutto se vi fosse il ricorso al cosiddetto *gerundio antinormativo*<sup>3</sup> (Pontrandolfo 2019: 725). L'indagine ha mostrato circa una quarantina di casi di *gerundio antinormativo* nelle sentenze della CGUE, che sono stati attribuiti a tre ragioni diverse: alcuni derivavano dalle citazioni dirette della legge spagnola; altri erano attribuibili all'influenza dei documenti della causa che sono redatti nella lingua processuale (in questo caso lo spagnolo), e infine alcuni corrispondevano a scelte deliberate del singolo traduttore dettate o dal francese lingua di partenza (legge dell'interferenza) o dalla volontà di ricalcare le caratteristiche tipiche della lingua nazionale (normalizzazione).

Nel suo secondo studio sullo spagnolo della CGUE, Pontrandolfo (2021) si focalizza sulla diversa distribuzione e il diverso uso della fraseologia giuridica nelle sentenze della CGUE e del TS: l'ipotesi di partenza è la presenza di una percentuale maggiore di unità fraseologiche nei testi nazionali. In realtà, da un punto di vista esclusivamente quantitativo, si è riscontrata una maggiore percentuale di unità fraseologiche nelle sentenze europee. Da un punto di vista qualitativo, invece, lo studio si è concentrato sulle locuzioni prepositive complesse e ha permesso di osservare che, a livello generale, le sentenze europee usano molte delle unità fraseologiche presenti nei testi nazionali ma che, tuttavia, sono presenti casi di forte disuguaglianza nell'uso e nella distribuzione riconducibili al processo di traduzione dal francese.

Per quanto riguarda l'italiano, nel 2015 Ondelli ha realizzato una ricerca sul cosiddetto *eurocratese* con lo scopo di verificare se si tratti effettivamente di "una versione corrotta del burocratese, o se possa invece essere fonte di ispirazione in senso semplificatorio" (Ondelli 2015). Ai fini di ciò, con l'ausilio dei corpora, Ondelli si è concentrato sul genere discorsivo "sentenza", analizzando sentenze emesse dalla Corte di Cassazione civile e sentenze emesse dalla CGUE con lingua facente fede italiano. L'analisi dei fenomeni linguistici considerati – tempi verbali, inversione di soggetto e verbo, anteposizione dell'aggettivo al nome, ecc. – ha registrato effettivamente importanti differenze tra l'italiano della Cassazione e quello della CGUE. I

3 Con questa espressione si intende l'uso agrammaticale del gerundio (cfr. Pontrandolfo 2019: 729-730).

risultati sono inoltre in linea con la “nota tendenza” della Corte del Lussemburgo alla standardizzazione delle scelte redazionali, anche a causa della necessità di tradurre le sentenze in tutte le lingue dell’UE (Ondelli 2015) e riflettono una certa influenza del francese, lingua di partenza.

Un altro studio che ha avuto come oggetto d’analisi l’italiano della Corte di giustizia dell’Unione europea è quello condotto da Pontrandolfo nel 2011, con lo scopo di paragonare la frequenza e le diverse tipologie di unità fraseologiche presenti nelle sentenze penali della Cassazione, della CGUE e della Corte europea dei diritti dell’uomo. I risultati hanno mostrato, ad esempio, che le formule di rito sono usate maggiormente nell’italiano non tradotto, ma che tra la CGUE e la Corte EDU è la prima ad abbondarne di più, oppure hanno mostrato che nel discorso tradotto vi è una maggiore tendenza all’uso dei sinonimi, dettata da scelte deliberate dei traduttori. L’analisi delle collocazioni lessicali ha invece permesso di rilevare altri aspetti linguistici connessi, ad esempio la tendenza dei traduttori a restare fedeli all’ordine non marcato (Pontrandolfo 2011: 226-230).

Infine, si cita in questa selezione di studi sulla lingua della CGUE una recente analisi contrastiva francese-italiano realizzata da Preite nel 2022. Lo studio si è concentrato sull’uso dei connettivi, in particolare i *marqueurs de l’énoncé définitoire*, nelle sentenze francesi della CGUE e nella loro traduzione in italiano per constatare se producono gli stessi effetti e se la lingua di partenza influenza in qualche modo la lingua di arrivo. I risultati di questa analisi hanno rivelato che i connettivi non sono semplici “ornamenti retorici” ma servono a ottenere un testo coeso e coerente e ad arricchire la struttura della sentenza. In aggiunta, questa analisi contrastiva non ha mostrato vere e proprie tendenze traduttive ma piuttosto una traduzione “one-to-many” (Preite 2022).

### 3. LA LEGGE DELL’INTERFERENZA

Nel 1993, grazie al famoso articolo di Mona Baker “Corpus Linguistics and Translation Studies. Implications and Applications”, vennero legittimati lo studio delle caratteristiche universali della traduzione – i cosiddetti “universali della traduzione” – e la loro ricerca attraverso la linguistica dei corpora (Maurenen & Kujamäki 2004: 1-5). A partire da quel momento, all’interno dei *Translation studies*, gli universali della traduzione hanno svolto un ruolo sempre più centrale: numerosi sono infatti gli studi volti a identificare prove della loro esistenza. Il presupposto teorico del presente studio è l’universale dell’interferenza.

Uno dei primi teorici a introdurla è stato Gideon Toury (1995) con il concetto di *law of translation*: “in translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text” (Toury 1995: 274-275). Secondo Toury, l’interferenza può manifestarsi sotto forma di *negative transfer*, ossia deviazioni dalle pratiche normali e codificate del sistema linguistico di arrivo, o di *positive transfer*, ossia la maggiore probabilità di selezionare in traduzione strutture comuni



a entrambi i sistemi linguistici coinvolti. Diversi sono i fattori che possono determinare l'interferenza. Innanzitutto, il teorico della traduzione riconduce l'interferenza ai processi mentali di base coinvolti nella traduzione, come il passaggio rapido dalla lingua di partenza a quella di arrivo. Quindi l'interferenza viene intesa come la manifestazione di una legge cognitiva di carattere generale (*ibidem*). Ma l'interferenza può dipendere anche da quanta importanza viene accordata alla forma del testo di partenza: in altre parole, quanto più è importante mantenere il “make-up” del testo di partenza, tanto più il testo di arrivo mostrerà tracce di interferenza. Inoltre, la tolleranza o meno dell'interferenza in una determinata comunità di arrivo può dipendere da una serie di fattori socio-culturali, quindi ad esempio una forte resistenza può portare a una sorta di meccanismi di “censura”. Un altro fattore determinante è il prestigio della cultura e della lingua di arrivo. Toury (1995: 277-279) afferma che l'interferenza viene maggiormente tollerata quando la traduzione viene effettuata da una lingua/cultura di grande prestigio. Lo studioso specifica, a tal proposito, che a volte l'interferenza viene adottata deliberatamente come strategia per “arricchire” la lingua/cultura di arrivo considerata carente in un determinato aspetto. Riassumendo, i fattori determinati sono molteplici e soprattutto possono riguardare uno o più livelli linguistici e testuali (Toury 1995: 279).

Come afferma Mauranen (2004: 64), tuttavia, nella ricerca degli universali della traduzione, lo status dell'interferenza è rimasto poco chiaro. Infatti sembra essere perfino esclusa dalla definizione di universale della traduzione fornita da Baker: “features which typically occur in translated texts rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic system” (Baker 1993: 243). Questa esclusione che potrebbe sembrare in controtendenza conferma invece la teoria di Toury che la definisce per l'appunto una “fundamental law of translation” e non un universale (Mauranen 2004: 66). Mauranen sottolinea inoltre la diversa connotazione che sembrano avere il concetto di *transfer* e quello di interferenza (*interference*): il primo viene inteso in senso positivo, la seconda in senso negativo. Ai fini del presente studio, però, si resta nei confini dell'interferenza e del *transfer* positivo e negativo così come elaborati da Gideon Toury (1995).

### 3.1 L'INTERFERENZA IN TRADUZIONE GIURIDICA

Se già di per sé gli studi sull'interferenza sono tutt'oggi esigui, il numero di studi effettuati sull'interferenza in traduzione giuridica è davvero ridotto: questo campo di studio rappresenta ancora una “research novelty” (Stepanova 2019: 4).

Alcuni dei principali studi sul legame tra traduzione giuridica e interferenza arrivano dal mondo russo: uno dei primi risale al 2018 ed è stato condotto da Stepanova *et al.* Questo studio, che parte dall'idea che la traduzione nell'ambito giuridico rivesta una grande importanza dato che un “semplice” errore può avere conseguenze legali, indaga i tipi di interferenza più comuni che si manifestano nelle traduzioni giuridiche in russo, inglese e francese, proponendo soluzioni per correggerle (Stepanova *et*

*alter* 2018: 294). L'obiettivo di questa ricerca sono i casi in cui la traduzione suona innaturale o comunque insolita (Stepanova *et al.* 2018: 299). I risultati hanno messo in luce che è più facile incorrere nell'interferenza quando la distanza tra le due lingue coinvolte è molto ampia, come il caso di francese e inglese o russo e inglese – che appartengono a tradizioni giuridiche diverse –, e che l'interferenza può manifestarsi a qualsiasi livello: cognitivo, semantico, strutturale, grammaticale, culturale (*ibidem*). Ad esempio, a livello sintattico l'interferenza emerge dall'infrazione delle strutture grammaticali del testo di arrivo, come lo spostamento dell'enfasi di una frase da un elemento sintattico a un altro; a livello semantico, si verifica – per esempio – con una sovrapposizione di significati, parzialmente equivalenti, tra l'unità lessicale del testo di partenza e l'unità lessicale del testo di arrivo oppure con errori dovuti alla traduzione letterale. Concludendo, le autrici ribadiscono il peso rilevante che l'interferenza ha nella traduzione giuridica e le serie conseguenze legali che può comportare, quindi sostengono che l'aspetto fondamentale di cui un traduttore deve tenere conto nella traduzione giuridica è la fedeltà al senso giuridico piuttosto che all'equivalenza formale (Stepanova *et al.* 2018: 300).

Nel 2019 invece Stepanova, sempre al fine di individuare l'interferenza in traduzione giuridica, si è concentrata su un tipo di testo e argomento specifici: le versioni inglese (lingua di partenza) e russa della Convenzione del Consiglio d'Europa per la protezione dei bambini contro lo sfruttamento e gli abusi sessuali. L'obiettivo di questo studio era l'analisi di tutti i tipi di traduzione errata derivata da traduzioni letterali, prestiti, trasferimento della struttura grammaticale e sintattica inglese sulla lingua russa, errori legati alla polisemia delle parole. La conclusione di questo studio ha permesso di constatare che non è sempre facile identificare l'interferenza in quanto, sebbene l'errore di traduzione sia semplice da rintracciare, risulta complesso attribuirlo a un motivo specifico (Stepanova 2019: 14): spesso uno stesso errore può essere spiegato da diversi fattori linguistici o di altra natura. L'analisi ha in ogni caso rivelato che l'interferenza dominante nelle traduzioni dall'inglese al russo della Convenzione di Lanzarote è quella semantica. Infine, Stepanova (2019: 14-15) ribadisce che l'interferenza può causare problemi enormi nella comprensione del messaggio sia per questioni legate allo stile, alla grammatica, al lessico e alla fraseologia convenzionalmente accettati dalla lingua e dalla cultura di arrivo, sia per quanto riguarda il trasferimento di concetti giuridici molto diversi da un ordinamento all'altro.

#### 4. MATERIALI E METODOLOGIA

Seguendo il filone di studi di Baker (1993), per la ricerca dell'universale dell'interferenza si è scelto in questo studio di combinare gli universali della traduzione con la linguistica dei corpora. La metodologia adottata è quella *corpus-based* perché permette di fornire prove concrete dei cosiddetti modelli di comportamento regolari in traduzione (Zanettin 2014: 13). Inoltre, sempre seguendo le orme di Baker (1993), per studiare l'ipotesi di partenza si è deciso non solo di creare un corpus di traduzioni,

ma anche di confrontarlo con un corpus di testi originali non tradotti. Nello specifico, si è proceduto con la creazione del corpus CSCG e con il confronto con il corpus di riferimento COSPE.

Il “Corpus di Sentenze Penali” (COSPE) è un corpus trilingue comparabile, creato da Pontrandolfo (2016), contenente sentenze penali in spagnolo, italiano e inglese emesse nel periodo compreso tra il 2005 e il 2012. COSPE è diviso in tre componenti (CospES, CospEN, CospIT) e due subcorpora (COSPE-Sup, COSPE-Ap)<sup>4</sup>. Ai fini del presente studio si è optato per l’uso, come corpora di riferimento, solamente del subcorpus COSPE\_SUP – comprendente sentenze emesse dal *Tribunal Supremo* – e del subcorpus COSPE\_IT – comprendente sentenze emesse dalla Corte Suprema di Cassazione – perché, essendo la CGUE una corte sovranazionale, si è reputato opportuno allinearla, in quanto a stile delle sentenze, con le corti supreme nazionali, tralasciando così le corti di grado inferiore.

Il “Corpus di sentenze di materia penale della Corte di Giustizia dell’Unione europea” (CSCG) è un corpus parallelo creato ad hoc per il presente studio grazie al software online Sketch Engine e contenente sentenze di materia penale emesse dalla CGUE nell’arco temporale 2000-2023. Si tratta di un corpus parallelo articolato in 4 subcorpora: CSCG\_ES, contenente sentenze tradotte in spagnolo; CSCG\_FR1, contenente i testi di partenza in lingua francese di CSCG\_ES; CSCG\_IT, contenente sentenze tradotte in italiano; CSCG\_FR2, contenente i testi di partenza in francese di CSCG\_IT. Nello specifico, CSCG\_ES contiene 81 sentenze (12 con lingua processuale spagnola, 69 con lingua processuale francese), mentre CSCG\_IT contiene 106 sentenze (37 con lingua processuale italiana, 69 con lingua processuale francese). Si precisa che il numero non equivalente di sentenze tra i due subcorpora è dovuto alla maggiore lunghezza delle sentenze in spagnolo (CSCG\_ES): al fine di bilanciarli al meglio in base al numero di *token*, il subcorpus italiano contiene più testi. Le sentenze sono state estratte dal sito ufficiale della Corte di giustizia dell’Unione europea, che raccoglie tutta la giurisprudenza<sup>5</sup>.

Ai fini di una comparazione il più possibile ottimale con COSPE, CSCG contiene sentenze di materia penale. Infatti, tenendo conto delle competenze della Corte, per la compilazione, sono state scelte sia sentenze che derivano da procedimenti penali svolti proprio davanti alla Corte di giustizia sia sentenze che hanno ad oggetto cause che nei procedimenti nazionali coinvolgevano anche procedimenti penali. Inoltre, si tratta di sentenze emesse da tutti e tre gli organi giudicanti: la Corte di giustizia, il Tribunale e il Tribunale della funzione pubblica.

Come anticipato, le sentenze UE contengono numerosi riferimenti intertestuali ad altre fonti, quali direttive, regolamenti, codici. Poiché queste parti vengono copiate e incollate nelle sentenze così come sono state tradotte in precedenza, si è deciso di

4 Per ulteriori informazioni, cfr. Pontrandolfo 2016.

5 <https://curia.europa.eu/juris/recherche.jsf?language=it#> consultato il 15/09/2023.

eliminarle dalle sentenze incluse in CSCG, in quanto ne esiste già una traduzione ufficiale e, in ogni caso, non sono traduzioni attribuibili ai giuristi linguisti della Corte.

Per quanto riguarda la rappresentatività del corpus, i parametri di Bolasco (2013: 72), ossia rapporto type/token inferiore al 20% e percentuale di hapax sull'intero vocabolario inferiore al 50%, sono stati rispettati e quindi il corpus può essere considerato rappresentativo a livello statistico.

Si riportano in tabella 1 i principali dati statistici riguardanti CSCG\_ES e CSCG\_IT, i due subcorpora utilizzati per l'analisi dello spagnolo e dell'italiano tradotto.

	CSCG_ES		CSCG_IT	
Numero testi	81		106	
	12 con LP_ES	69 con LP_FR	37 con LP_IT	69 con LP_FR
Tokens	869.167		896.982	
Words	736.152		741.187	
Types	20.947		21.911	
Fraasi	18.275		21.850	
Type/token ratio	2,4%		2,4%	
% hapax	33%		33%	

Tabella 1: Dati statistici di CSCG\_ES e CSCG\_IT.

Si ritiene opportuno precisare, in questo contesto, che l'estrazione dei dati, sia nel caso del *transfer* positivo che negativo, è stata operata utilizzando Sketch Engine, con cui è stato compilato il corpus CSCG. A tal proposito, nella lettura dei risultati, bisogna tenere presente dei limiti del programma utilizzato. Sketch Engine, infatti, è un software di analisi testuale soggetto a limitazioni computazionali e di algoritmo, pertanto l'annotazione non sempre avviene con estrema accuratezza. Tuttavia, nel corso dell'analisi, si è osservato a livello generale che gli errori introdotti sono dello stesso ordine di grandezza per ogni elemento considerato e pertanto si è concluso che gli errori di calcolo non hanno impatto rilevante nello studio dei subcorpora.

Si specifica infine che l'interrogazione di tutti e quattro i subcorpora analizzati è avvenuta in particolare con la funzione *Concordance* di Sketch Engine e l'utilizzo del linguaggio CQL. Inoltre, trattandosi di corpora (CSCG e COSPE) di dimensioni diverse, per giungere a conclusioni accettabili e verosimili si sono prese in considerazione le frequenze relative.

## 5. ANALISI E DISCUSSIONE DEI RISULTATI

L'ipotesi da cui si muove questo studio è il riscontro della legge dell'interferenza touriniana nel processo di traduzione delle sentenze spagnole e italiane della CGUE.

Si ipotizza quindi che i giuristi linguisti tendano a trasferire al testo di arrivo le caratteristiche del testo di partenza. Nel presente studio si presentano specificamente un caso di *transfer* positivo e uno di *transfer* negativo.

Come già accennato in § 3, il *transfer* negativo si verifica quando il testo tradotto si discosta dalle pratiche generalmente accettate dalla comunità di arrivo ed è dovuto a fattori testuali, linguistici e socio-culturali che influenzano il processo di traduzione (Corpas Pastor 2008: 117-118). Il *transfer* positivo, invece, non presuppone errori di traduzione, cioè non si manifesta attraverso usi devianti, ma attraverso la valorizzazione di caratteristiche comuni presenti nei due sistemi linguistici coinvolti (*ibidem*). Il caso che si è deciso di presentare come *transfer* positivo è l'esplicitazione del soggetto perché, pur non essendo lo spagnolo e l'italiano lingue non pro-drop come lo è il francese, permettono nei loro sistemi linguistici l'esplicitazione del soggetto. Mentre come caso di *transfer* negativo si propongono le diverse frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive. Si ritiene possano rappresentare un caso di *transfer* negativo perché si ipotizza che, a causa dell'influenza esercitata dal francese, i giuristi linguisti tendano a scegliere in traduzione soluzioni più "vicine" alla lettera del francese rispetto a quelle normalmente usate dai giudici nazionali.

Prima di verificare se vi sia effettivo riscontro di questi due casi di interferenza nelle sentenze della CGUE, si propone di seguito un primo inquadramento lessicometrico di CSCG e COSPE, focalizzandosi sui tre principali indici comunemente adottati per descrivere i corpora di testi tradotti e originali: ricchezza lessicale, densità lessicale e leggibilità.

SPAGNOLO		
	CSCG_ES	COSPES_SUP
Tokens	869.167	1.202.280
Words	736.152	1.038.344
Types (lexicon size: words)	20.947	39.433
Lemma	12.856	22.194
Numero di frasi	18.275	27.123
Standardised type/token ratio	29,74%	38,26%
Numero di hapax	6.903	10.732
% hapax	33%	27%
Parole per frase	40,28	46,78

Tabella 2: Dati lessicometrici di CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP

ITALIANO		
	CSCG_IT	COSPIT_SUP
Tokens	896.982	1.221.664
Words	741.187	993.863
Types (lexicon size: words)	21.911	37.619
Lemma	14.942	19.576
Numero di frasi	21.850	23.940
Standardised type/token ratio	37,57%	46,06%
Numero di hapax	7.322	11.327
% hapax	33%	30%
Parole per frase	33,92	41,51

Tabella 3: Dati lessicometrici di CSCG\_IT e COSPIT\_SUP

Normalmente la ricchezza lessicale viene calcolata prendendo in considerazione il *type-token ratio* e le occorrenze e la percentuale di *hapax legomena* (Ondelli 2020: 175). Non essendo, però, CSCG e COSPE perfettamente bilanciati – esiste infatti una differenza di circa 330.000 *tokens* – si è ritenuto opportuno calcolare tramite *WordSmith Tools* lo *standardised TTR*, dato che il TTR varia sensibilmente in base alle dimensioni del singolo corpus. Stando ai dati riportati nelle tabelle 2 e 3 è quindi possibile affermare che CSCG\_IT e CSCG\_ES sono più poveri lessicalmente rispetto a COSPES\_SUP e COSPIT\_SUP. Osservando i dati nelle tabelle 2 e 3, le sentenze europee appaiono dunque più ripetitive. Tuttavia, la percentuale di hapax sembra non confermare la ricchezza lessicale, ma in realtà anche in questo caso bisogna tenere conto che si tratta di corpora non perfettamente bilanciati.

SPAGNOLO			
		CSCG_ES	COSPES_SUP
Parole piene	Nomi	25,94%	23,94%
	Aggettivi	5,58%	6,68%
	Verbi	11%	12%
	Avverbi	2,2%	2,9%
		44,72%	45,52%
Parole grammaticali	Articoli	10,26%	9,73%
	Preposizioni	18,46%	17,96%
	Pronomi	2,92%	4,46%
	Congiunzioni	4,34%	4,98%
		35,98%	37,13%

Tabella 4: Dati per la densità lessicale di CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP

ITALIANO			
		CSCG_IT	COSPIT_SUP
Parole piene	Nomi	27,44%	25,69 %
	Aggettivi	7,64%	7,8%
	Verbi	11%	10,25%
	Avverbi	2,82%	2,66%
		48,9%	46,4%
Parole vuote	Articoli	6,27%	6,06%
	Preposizioni	18,89%	9,23%
	Pronomi	3,33%	0,64%
	Congiunzioni	3,59%	2,75%
		32,08%	18,68%

Tabella 5: Dati per la densità lessicale di CSCG\_IT e COSPIT\_SUP

La densità lessicale, invece, emerge dalle percentuali di parole piene (nomi, aggettivi, verbi e avverbi) e parole vuote (articoli, preposizioni, pronomi e congiunzioni), riportate nelle tabelle 4 e 5. Essendo testi scritti, sia CSCG che COSPE sono caratterizzati dal predominio delle parole piene, ma è CSCG\_IT a risultare più denso lessicalmente rispetto a COSPES\_SUP, COSPIT\_SUP e CSCG\_ES.

SPAGNOLO						
	CSCG_ES			COSPES_SUP		
	F-5/05	T-63/10	C-12/19 P	ES_TS_1357_2005	ES_TS_558_2010	ES_TS_240_2012
Numero frasi	457	349	255	362	326	362
Numero parole	12.877	10.410	5.957	6.578	8.912	6.577
Numero caratteri	81.913	65.585	35.673	40.171	53.667	40.140
<i>Legibilidad <math>\mu</math></i>	44,18	44,81	43,12	46,77	45,98	46,78

Tabella 6: Leggibilità di CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP

ITALIANO						
	CSCG_IT			COSPIT_SUP		
	C-446/05	F-54/11	T-290/14	IT_CSC_ 33642_2005	IT_CSC_ 16673_2010	IT_CSC_ 21205_2012
Numero frasi	131	279	134	329	51	274
Numero parole	2.048	9.402	3.319	6.082	1.014	3.026
Numero caratteri	13.946	66.031	23.471	36.437	5.097	17.778
Indice Gulpease	50	38	40	55	64	67

Tabella 7: Leggibilità di CSCG\_IT e COSPIT\_SUP

Infine, per quanto riguarda la leggibilità (tabelle 6 e 7), per l'italiano è stato utilizzato l'indice Gulpease<sup>6</sup> e per lo spagnolo l'indice *Legibilidad*  $\mu$ <sup>7</sup>. Trattandosi di corpora molto ampi e con un grande numero di testi, si è optato per un'analisi a campione della leggibilità di tre testi: come criterio di selezione per CSCG è stato usato l'organo giudicante (Corte di giustizia, Tribunale, Tribunale della Funzione pubblica), per COSPE invece l'anno di emissione della sentenza e il tipo di risoluzione. In entrambi i casi, più è alto l'indice di leggibilità più è semplice il testo. Contrariamente a quanto ci si poteva aspettare, sono le sentenze nazionali ad essere più leggibili.

Tendenzialmente, in letteratura, le traduzioni appaiono più semplici dei testi originali per via della semplificazione linguistica cui sembrano fare ampio ricorso i traduttori e che, per tale motivo, viene considerata un vero e proprio universale. Benché i tre indici utilizzati (ricchezza lessicale, densità lessicale e leggibilità) siano impiegati per la ricerca della semplificazione linguistica (Ondelli 2020: 175), i risultati ottenuti in questo studio riguardanti COSPE e CSCG non sembrano in linea con questo universale della traduzione. Da un lato, CSCG appare più povero lessicalmente e quindi più semplice, dall'altro appare più denso lessicalmente – quindi più complesso – e meno leggibile di COSPE. Dai risultati di due indici su tre emerge dunque che le sentenze della CGUE sono più complesse di quelle del *Tribunal Supremo* e della Cassazione. Bisogna, però, non sottovalutare alcune variabili che sicuramente hanno un peso rilevante in questi risultati: i) gli strumenti di analisi utilizzati – a partire da Sketch Engine – sono limitati e tendono a introdurre errori; ii) il calcolo della leggibilità è stato condotto su un campione ridotto. Sicuramente risulta necessario approfondire in futuro questo aspetto della semplificazione delle sentenze della Corte di giustizia con strumenti più precisi e uno studio incentrato esclusivamente su tale aspetto. Per il momento, i risultati di questo studio appaiono in linea con quanto affermato da Ondelli (2013: 76), secondo il quale, per alcune ragioni tra cui l'utilizzo della terminologia specifica e il minore ricorso a sinonimi e riformulazioni, la CGUE redige testi più difficili rispetto alle corti nazionali.

6 [https://farfalla-project.org/readability\\_static/](https://farfalla-project.org/readability_static/) consultato il 17/09/2023.

7 <https://legible.es/blog/legibilidad-mu/> consultato il 17/09/2023.



## 5.1 ESPLICITAZIONE DEL SOGGETTO

Il caso di *transfer* positivo presentato di seguito è l'esplicitazione del soggetto. Il francese – lingua di lavoro della Corte –, a differenza dello spagnolo e dell'italiano, è una lingua non-pro-dop, in altre parole il soggetto deve essere obbligatoriamente espresso (Blini 2018: 35). Quindi si ipotizza che, per interferenza del francese, nelle sentenze spagnole e italiane della Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea emergano più casi di soggetti esplicitati rispetto alle sentenze emesse dal *Tribunal Supremo* e dalla Cassazione. Si considera un caso di *transfer* positivo perché, grazie ai soggetti esplicitati, si potrebbe iniziare ad attenuare la complessità linguistica dei testi giuridici: nello specifico ciò potrebbe contribuire a ridurre l'inutile opacità che caratterizza sia lo spagnolo giuridico (Alcaraz Varó *et al.* 2014: 17-22) che l'italiano giuridico (Ondelli 2021: 13-18), andando a disambiguare il senso del messaggio con il recupero del soggetto.

Per lo studio di questo caso di *transfer* positivo si è ritenuto sufficiente per l'analisi dell'ipotesi di partenza l'approccio puramente quantitativo. Al fine quindi di verificare quantitativamente l'esplicitazione del soggetto, si sono adottate varie strategie: i) si è prima proceduto a verificare, in generale, il numero di pronomi personali presenti nei corpora; ii) successivamente, si è deciso di interrogare i corpora controllando quante volte il soggetto come sintagma nominale viene esplicitato in posizione S-V-O; iii) infine, per ricomprendere tutte le casistiche possibili di esplicitazione del soggetto, si è optato per la ricerca delle occorrenze dei singoli pronomi personali esplicitati. Si precisa che dalle tabelle sono stati eliminati i risultati che sia in CSCG che in COSPE erano pari a 0.

### 5.1.1 SPAGNOLO

Come è possibile rilevare dalla tabella 8, i dati concernenti la frequenza relativa dei pronomi personali (CSCG\_ES 2454,07; COSPES\_SUP 5500,38) indicano che sono presenti più pronomi personali in COSPE. In realtà, ad un'attenta analisi, questi dati non possono essere presi in considerazione perché molti dei pronomi personali che Sketch Engine ha considerato per la stringa di ricerca [tag="PP.\*"] sono in funzione di oggetto e quindi non validi ai fini dell'esplicitazione del soggetto. Dati più efficaci, invece, vengono forniti dall'analisi automatica del soggetto – come sintagma nominale – esplicitato in posizione S-V-O: CSCG\_ES 6386,57; COSPES\_SUP 5764,05. Effettivamente l'esplicitazione del soggetto ricorre più spesso in CSCG\_ES che in COSPES\_SUP. Per attribuire questi dati all'interferenza del francese, si è proceduto con un controllo dei dati di CSCG\_FR1 (subcorpus contenente i testi di partenza di CSCG\_ES). La stessa stringa di ricerca con linguaggio CQL usata per CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP ([tag!="V.\*"] [tag="D.\*"] [tag="N.\*"] [tag="V.I.\*"] + [tag="V.S.\*"]) ha dato come frequenza relativa in CSCG\_FR1 7591,51. Questa cifra conferma che la presenza di una maggiore esplicitazione del soggetto in CSCG\_ES è attribuibile

all'influenza della lingua di partenza. Inoltre il fatto che le cifre di CSCG\_FR1 e CSCG\_ES non siano combacianti – in CSCG\_FR1 la frequenza relativa è maggiore – potrebbe far supporre che vi è una tendenza dei giuristi linguisti spagnoli alla normalizzazione: in traduzione, tendono a ridurre i casi di esplicitazione del soggetto francesi perché meno frequenti, in generale, in spagnolo.

Infine, stando ai dati sull'esplicitazione dei singoli pronomi soggetto nei due subcorpora CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP, non è possibile confermare la presenza di questa influenza del francese e, anzi, nei testi originali i pronomi soggetto sono in numero maggiore. Tuttavia, questo risultato potrebbe essere indice di un altro fattore importante ossia la spersonalizzazione abbondantemente impiegata nelle sentenze di grado superiore per conferire al ragionamento logico-giuridico maggiore autorevolezza e obiettività (Preite 2005).

SPAGNOLO				
	CSCG_ES		COSPES_SUP	
	n.	Freq./ mil.	n.	Freq./ mil.
[tag="PP.*"]	2133	2454,07	6613	5500,38
[tag!="V.*"][tag="D.*"][tag="N.*"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	5551	6386,57	5334	5764,05
[word="yo"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	1	1,15	0	0
[word="él"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	27	31,06	55	45,75
[word="ella"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	24	27,61	59	49,07
[word="usted"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	1	1,15	0	0
[word="nosotros"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	0	0	1	0,83
[word="ellos"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	12	13,81	86	71,53
[word="ellas"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	6	6,9	35	29,11

Tabella 8: Esplicitazione del soggetto in CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP

### 5.1.2 ITALIANO

Prima di commentare i risultati riportati in tabella 9, è necessario chiarire che per l'italiano sono state utilizzate stringhe di ricerca con linguaggio CQL diverse perché CSCG\_IT e COSPIT\_SUP sono stati annotati automaticamente da Sketch Engine con due sistemi diversi: CSCG\_IT con l'*Italian FreeLing morphological tagger*<sup>8</sup>, mentre COSPIT\_SUP con l'*Italian TreeTagger*<sup>9</sup>. Come si può notare dalla tabella 9, fin dai primi risultati è evidente la netta differenza tra CSCG e COSPE. È interessante no-

8 <https://www.sketchengine.eu/italian-freeling-part-of-speech-tagset/> consultato il 17/09/2023.

9 <https://www.sketchengine.eu/italian-treetagger-part-of-speech-tagset/> consultato il 17/09/2023.

tare come la differenza sia significativa sia nel caso dei pronomi soggetto esplicitati (CSCG\_IT 7164,02; COSPIT\_SUP 1622,38) sia nel caso dei sostantivi come soggetto (CSCG\_IT 5605,46; COSPIT\_SUP 335,61). Anche nel caso dell'italiano, tuttavia, il numero di pronomi personali presenti nei subcorpora non è sufficiente a dimostrare l'interferenza del francese, pur essendoci una grossa differenza (scarto di 5.541,64), in quanto Sketch Engine non è in grado di differenziare i pronomi personali in base alla loro funzione. Verificando la frequenza relativa in CSCG\_FR2 dell'esplicitazione del soggetto come nome è risultata pari a 7.138,36. In questo caso, il dato di CSCG\_FR2 si avvicina molto a quello di CSCG\_IT (7164,02), pertanto non essendo l'italiano una lingua non-pro-dop, si può affermare che i giuristi linguisti italiani della Corte tendono a trasferire questa caratteristica del francese all'italiano. Per quanto riguarda i dati relativi all'esplicitazione dei singoli pronomi personali soggetto, desta interesse il sovrasfruttamento da parte dei giuristi linguisti italiani di *esso/a/i/e* rispetto ai giudici nazionali (totale: CSCG\_IT 935,37; COSPIT\_SUP 121,98). Infine, va sottolineata la tendenza che appare chiara dalla tabella e che è descritta in letteratura, ossia l'uso da parte dei traduttori di forme corrette ma in disuso. È il caso del recupero di *ella*, usato pochissimo in COSPIT\_SUP (CSCG\_IT 26,75; COSPIT\_SUP 7,37), e il non utilizzo assoluto di *lei, lui, loro* in funzione di soggetto che, seppur in misura modesta, appaiono in COSPE (totale: CSCG\_IT 0; COSPIT\_SUP 11,47).

ITALIANO					
CSCG_IT			COSPIT_SUP		
Tag	n.	Freq./mil.	Tag	n.	Freq./mil.
[tag="PP.*"]	6426	7164,02	[tag="PRO:pers"]	1982	1622,38
[tag!="V.*"] [tag="D.*"] [tag="N.*"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	5028	5605,46	[tag!="VER.*"] [tag="DET.*"] [tag="(NOUN NPR)*"] [tag="VER:fin"]	410	335,61
[word="io"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	1	1,11	[word="io"] [tag="VER:fin"]	5	4,09
[word="egli"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	233	259,76	[word="egli"] [tag="VER:fin"]	56	45,84
[word="ella"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	24	26,75	[word="ella"] [tag="VER:fin"]	9	7,37
[word="esso"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	278	309,93	[word="esso"] [tag="VER:fin"]	36	29,47

[word="essa"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	296	330	[word="essa"] [tag="VER:fin"]	45	36,84
[word="lui"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	0	0	[word="lui"] [tag="VER:fin"]	7	5,73
[word="lei"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	0	0	[word="lei"] [tag="VER:fin"]	6	4,91
[word="noi"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	0	0	[word="noi"] [tag="VER:fin"]	1	0,82
[word="essi"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	161	179,49	[word="essi"] [tag="VER:fin"]	30	24,56
[word="esse"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	104	115,95	[word="esse"] [tag="VER:fin"]	38	31,11
[word="loro"] [tag="V.I.*"] + [tag="V.S.*"]	0	0	[word="loro"] [tag="VER:fin"]	1	0,83

Tabella 9: Esplicitazione del soggetto in CSCG\_IT e COSPIT\_SUP

## 5.2 DIVERSE FREQUENZE D'USO DELLE LOCUZIONI PREPOSITIVE

Secondo la definizione di Toury (1995), il *transfer* negativo comporta deviazioni dagli usi normali sanciti nella lingua di arrivo. In questo studio, il *transfer* negativo è stato ricondotto alle diverse frequenze d'uso delle preposizioni complesse: si ipotizza che i giuristi linguisti le usino con una frequenza diversa rispetto ai giudici nazionali perché condizionati dalle locuzioni francesi. In altre parole, l'interferenza si manifesterebbe nella tendenza dei giurilinguisti a impiegare locuzioni prepositive più somiglianti alla loro versione in francese piuttosto che a scegliere quelle più frequentemente usate nella lingua giuridica nazionale. Questa ipotesi è stata formulata tenendo conto dei risultati dello studio di Pontrandolfo (2021) da cui, mediante lo studio della fraseologia giuridica spagnola utilizzata nelle sentenze della Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea, è emerso che nelle sentenze europee sono presenti casi di usi diversi tra le sentenze del *Tribunal Supremo* e della CGUE, possibilmente riconducibili al francese, lingua di partenza (Pontrandolfo 2021: 267-271).

Per l'analisi volta a individuare il *transfer* negativo, si è scelto di adottare come modello di indagine della fraseologia quello proposto da Pontrandolfo (2016) e ai fini

del quale era stato creato COSPE, il corpus di riferimento del presente studio. I due parametri principali fissati per l'estrazione delle unità fraseologiche e che si è deciso di rispettare per la presente analisi prevedono che le singole preposizioni complesse devono avere una frequenza minima pari a 5 e devono figurare in almeno 5 sentenze diverse (Pontrandolfo 2016: 92).

Il focus di questa analisi è incentrato sulle locuzioni prepositive che presentano lo schema preposizione + sostantivo + preposizione perché, dai precedenti studi di Pontrandolfo (2016; 2021), sono risultate essere quelle più sfruttate in ambito giuridico e – di conseguenza – maggiormente presenti in COSPE. Tuttavia, nel presente studio, si è scelto di testare con approccio quantitativo tutte le locuzioni prepositive appartenenti a questa tipologia, non limitandosi quindi a quelle di uso giuridico, per avere un panorama più ampio degli usi di questo tipo di preposizioni complesse in CSCG.

### 5.2.1 SPAGNOLO

Ad una prima scorsa della tabella 10, in cui vengono riportate le frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive estratte da CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP, è già possibile individuare sostanziali differenze nelle frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive tra i due subcorpora presi in considerazione. Si osservano numerosi casi in cui la frequenza relativa è molto alta in CSCG\_ES, come per la locuzione “a efectos de” che ha una frequenza relativa in CSCG\_ES pari a 265,76, mentre in COSPES\_SUP è pari a 30,7 e per la locuzione “con arreglo a” con freq./rel. pari a 760,49 nelle sentenze europee e pari a 67,37 nelle sentenze nazionali. Vi sono però anche casi – seppur limitati – in cui la frequenza è più alta in COSPE: “al amparo de” (COSPES\_SUP 813,45; CSCG\_ES 39,12); “de acuerdo con” (CSCG\_ES 138,07; COSPES\_SUP 47,17); “a través de” (CSCG\_ES 90,89; COSPES\_SUP 391,76). Infine, si registrano casi in cui le frequenze d'uso sono molto simili tra CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP: “a resultas de” (CSCG\_ES 5,75; COSPES\_SUP 5,82), “a petición de” (CSCG\_ES 24,16; COSPES\_SUP 19,13).

SPAGNOLO				
	CSCG_ES		COSPES_SUP	
	n.	Freq./rel.	n.	Freq./rel.
A causa de	35	40,27	38	31,61
A condición de	11	12,66	2	1,66
A consecuencia de	17	19,56	43	35,77
A diferencia de	17	19,56	18	14,97
A efectos de	231	265,76	37	30,77
A falta de	50	57,53	12	9,98
A favor de	19	21,86	94	78,18

A fin de	60	69,03	72	59,89
A instancia(s) de	19	21,86	26	21,63
A juicio de	29	33,37	38	31,6
A la luz de	236	271,52	12	9,98
A la vista de	97	111,6	88	73,19
A los efectos de	37	42,57	70	58,22
A nombre de	10	11,51	89	74,03
A partir de	187	215,15	183	152,21
A pesar de	99	113,9	117	97,32
A petición de	21	24,16	23	19,13
A raíz de	182	209,4	22	18,3
A resultas de	5	5,75	7	5,82
A tenor de	174	200,19	68	56,56
A título de	6	6,90	25	20,79
A través de	79	90,89	471	391,76
Al amparo de	34	39,12	978	813,45
Al margen de	20	23,01	49	40,75
Al término de	58	66,73	4	3,33
Con anterioridad a	11	12,66	28	23,29
Con arreglo a	661	760,49	81	67,37
Con el fin de	171	196,74	88	73,19
Con fines de	53	60,98	23	19,13
Con objeto de	65	74,78	13	10,81
Con ocasión de	52	59,83	14	11,64
Con respecto a	102	117,35	102	84,84
Con vistas a	33	37,97	4	3,33
De acuerdo con	41	47,17	166	138,07
De cara a	7	8,05	24	19,96
De conformidad con	254	292,23	48	39,92
En aplicación de	33	37,97	14	11,64
En apoyo de	152	174,88	20	16,64
En aras de	14	16,1	13	10,81
En atención a	15	17,26	46	38,26
En ausencia de	21	24,16	11	9,15
En beneficio de	12	13,81	12	9,98
En calidad de	307	353,21	25	20,79
En caso de	163	187,54	100	83,18
En concepto de	56	64,43	117	97,32

En contra de	52	59,83	47	39,05
En cuanto a	248	285,33	277	230,39
En detrimento de	18	20,71	4	3,33
En ejecución de	15	17,26	34	28,28
En el seno de	57	65,58	35	29,11
En el sentido de	567	652,35	99	82,34
En favor de	25	28,76	21	17,47
En forma de	14	16,11	7	5,82
En función de	101	116,2	84	69,87
En materia de	156	179,48	26	21,63
En nombre de	333	383,13	62	51,57
En perjuicio de	8	9,2	20	16,64
En razón de	21	24,16	11	9,15
En relación con	478	549,95	529	440,00
En virtud de	577	663,85	151	125,59
En vista de	15	17,26	12	9,98
Por medio de	17	19,56	49	40,76
Por motivos de	10	11,51	1	0,83
Por razón de	48	55,23	84	69,87
Por razones de	12	13,81	24	19,96
Sin perjuicio de	77	88,59	78	64,88
So pena de	17	19,56	6	4,99

Tabella 10: Frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive in CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP

Nel caso del *transfer* negativo la sola lettura dei dati in tabella, pur rivelando grandi differenze nelle frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive tra CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP, non è di per sé sufficiente a dimostrare l'interferenza del francese: si ritiene infatti necessario verificare da dove derivano tendenzialmente queste locuzioni, tramite l'interrogazione del corpus CSCG\_FR1.

Ad esempio, la locuzione “à condición de” in COSPE\_SUP appare solo in 2 casi, con frequenza relativa 1,66, mentre in CSCG\_ES è di 12,66. Questo uso maggiore in CSCG\_ES è dovuto al francese “à condition que”: i giuristi linguisti quando incontrano la locuzione francese “à condition que” tendono a tradurla con “a condición de”, che richiama formalmente il francese, pur non essendo molto sfruttata nelle sentenze del *Tribunal Supremo*. Analogamente accade con altre locuzioni: “a falta de” (CSCG\_ES 57,53; COSPES\_SUP 9,98) deriverebbe da “à défaut de” e “en l'absence de”; “al término de” (CSCG\_ES 66,73; COSPES\_SUP 3,33) sarebbe il traduttore di “au terme de” e “à l'issue de”; “con vistas a” (CSCG\_ES 37,97; COSPES\_SUP 3,33) scaturirebbe da “en vue de” e “aux fins de”; “con fines de” (CSCG\_ES 60,93;

COSPES\_SUP 19,13) tradurrebbe “aux fins de” e “à des fins de”; “con ocasión de” (CSCG\_ES 59,83; COSPES\_SUP 11,64) deriverebbe da “à l’occasion de”; “en aplicación de” (CSCG\_ES 37,97; COSPES\_SUP 11,64) sarebbe il traduce di “en application de”; “en función de” (CSCG\_ES 116,2; COSPES\_SUP 69,87) discenderebbe da “en fonction de”; “en razón de” (CSCG\_ES 24,16; COSPES\_SUP 9,15) sarebbe dato da “en raison de”.

Osservando la tabella 10, si nota inoltre che vi sono casi in cui la differenza tra le frequenze d’uso in CSCG\_ES e COSPES\_SUP è molto ampia, a volte arriva a discostarsi perfino di 100/200 punti: anche in questi casi, lo scarto è dovuto all’influenza del francese. Si cita qualche esempio: “a efectos de” (CSCG\_ES 265,76; COSPES\_SUP 30,77) traduce solitamente il francese “aux fins de”; “a la luz de” (CSCG\_ES 271,52; COSPES\_SUP 9,98) deriverebbe da “à la lumière de”; “en apoyo de” (CSCG\_ES 174,88; COSPES\_SUP 16,64) discende abitualmente da “à l’appui de” o “au soutien de”; “en el sentido de” (CSCG\_ES 652,35; COSPES\_SUP 82,34) sarebbe determinato da “au sens de”; “en virtud de” (CSCG\_ES 549,95; COSPES\_SUP 125,59) sarebbe il traduce di “en vertu de”.

Menzione a parte merita la locuzione prepositiva “en calidad de” in quanto la differenza tra le frequenze relative nei due subcorpora considerati è significativa (CSCG\_ES 353,21; COSPES\_SUP 20,79). Tuttavia, non può essere ritenuta un caso di *transfer* negativo perché, come è possibile notare dagli esempi (1), (2) e (3), pur derivando dal francese “en qualité de”, viene usata abbondantemente in CSCG per la struttura della sentenza della Corte di per sé: viene usata per indicare la funzione che una determinata parte assume nel procedimento davanti alla CGUE.

	CSCG_FR1 →	CSCG_ES
(1)	« pour le gouvernement espagnol, par M. S. Ortiz Vaamonde, <i>en qualité d’agent</i> [...] ».	“en nombre del Gobierno español, por el Sr. S. Ortiz Vaamonde, <i>en calidad de agente</i> [...]”.
(2)	« pour la Commission européenne, par Mme C. Vrignon et M. L. Malferrari, <i>en qualité d’agents</i> [...] ».	“en nombre de la Comisión Europea, por la Sra. C. Vrignon y el Sr. L. Malferrari, <i>en calidad de agentes</i> [...]”.
(3)	« pour l’Irlande, par Mme M. Browne, M. A. Joyce et Mme J. Quaney, <i>en qualité d’agents</i> , assistés de M. D. Fennelly, BL [...] ».	“en nombre de Irlanda, por la Sra. M. Browne, el Sr. M. A. Joyce y la Sra. J. Quaney, <i>en calidad de agentes</i> , asistidos por el Sr. D. Fennelly, BL [...]”.

Successivamente, prendendo in considerazione, ad esempio, la locuzione prepositiva “con arreglo a”, si nota che in CSCG\_ES la frequenza relativa è pari a 760,49, mentre in COSPES\_SUP è solo di 67,37. Ricercando possibili ragioni legate a questo uso così elevato in CSCG\_ES, è emerso che “con arreglo a” è il traduce della maggior parte delle formule che servono a introdurre un articolo, una legge, una disposizione precedente della Corte (*au titre de, en application de, conformément à, ecc.*). La



stessa funzione di “con arreglo a” in CSCG\_ES è svolta in COSPES\_SUP da “al amparo de”, che infatti presenta una frequenza molto alta in COSPES\_SUP (813,45) e molto bassa in CSCG\_ES (39,12). Al di là della questione del *transfer* negativo – così come inteso in questo studio –, questi ultimi dati sembrano dimostrare che i giuristi linguisti spagnoli tendano a usare pochi tipi di locuzioni e a ripeterle, sebbene siano necessari ulteriori approfondimenti in tal senso.

Concludendo, tali risultati consentono di affermare, a livello generale, che vi è riscontro effettivo dell’universale dell’interferenza: i giuristi linguisti piuttosto che usare una locuzione più frequente nello spagnolo giudiziario nazionale, tendono a “calcare” il francese, proprio come previsto in linea teorica dall’universale del *transfer* negativo.

## 5.2.2 ITALIANO

Come nel caso dello spagnolo, anche per l’italiano, già la sola analisi quantitativa dei dati registrati in tabella 11 sembra confermare l’ipotesi di partenza dello studio. Le frequenze d’uso delle locuzioni prepositive divergono significativamente tra CSCG\_IT e COSPIT\_SUP. Leggendo la tabella 11 è infatti possibile constatare che vi sono casi in cui le frequenze sono più alte in CSCG\_IT – “a decorrere da” (CSCG\_IT 72,47; COSPIT\_SUP 4,91), “a motivo di” (CSCG\_IT 40,13; COSPIT\_SUP 0,82); “ai sensi di” (CSCG\_IT 13330,02; COSPIT\_SUP 439,56) –, casi in cui le frequenze sono più alte in COSPIT\_SUP – “alla stregua di” (COSPIT\_SUP 133,42; CSCG\_IT 5,57); “in ordine a” (COSPIT\_SUP 618,83; CSCG\_IT 64,66); “in sede di” (COSPIT\_SUP 312,69; CSCG\_IT 85,84) – e, infine, pochi casi in cui le frequenze tra i due subcorpora sono più o meno simili – “in modo da” (CSCG\_IT 30,10; COSPIT\_SUP 24,56), “allo scopo di” (CSCG\_IT 43,48; COSPIT\_SUP 36,02).

ITALIANO				
	CSCG_IT		COSPIT_SUP	
	n.	Freq./rel.	n.	Freq./rel.
A carico di	200	222,96	236	193,18
A causa di	131	146,04	84	68,75
A decorrere da	65	72,47	6	4,91
A favore di	47	52,4	119	97,41
A fini di	63	70,24	20	16,37
A fondamento di	12	13,38	78	63,85
A fronte di	10	11,15	167	136,7
A giudizio di	11	12,26	16	13,09
A motivo di	36	40,13	1	0,82
A norma di	191	212,94	157	128,51

A partire da	113	125,98	42	34,38
A pena di	9	10,03	43	35,20
A proposito di	18	20,07	48	39,29
A seconda di	34	37,9	12	9,82
A seguito di	251	279,83	257	210,37
A sostegno di	152	169,46	96	78,58
A tenore di	5	5,57	1	0,82
A termini di	33	36,79	0	0
A titolo di	96	107,02	80	65,48
Ai fini di	380	423,64	385	315,14
Ai sensi di	1193	1330,02	537	439,56
Al di fuori di	52	57,97	57	46,66
Al fine di	790	880,73	710	581,17
Al pari di	34	37,9	21	17,19
Al termine di	83	92,53	42	34,38
Alla luce di	609	678,94	203	166,17
Alla stregua di	5	5,57	163	133,42
Allo scopo di	39	43,48	44	36,02
Con decorrenza da	7	7,8	2	1,64
Con riferimento a	45	50,17	589	482,13
Con riguardo a	31	34,56	147	120,33
Con riserva di	14	15,61	2	1,64
In grado di	95	105,91	134	109,69
In applicazione di	121	134,9	23	18,83
In assenza di	75	83,61	114	93,32
In base a	170	189,52	200	163,71
In capo a	13	14,49	77	63,03
In caso di	218	243,04	142	116,23
In conformità a	39	43,47	23	18,83
In conformità con	9	10,03	2	1,64
In conformità di	35	39,01	6	4,91
In conseguenza di	12	13,38	40	32,74
In considerazione di	93	103,67	81	66,3
In deroga a	7	7,8	14	11,46
In esecuzione di	15	16,72	19	15,55
In esito a	28	31,22	9	7,37
In forza di	299	333,34	66	54,02
In funzione di	40	44,59	42	34,38

In grado di	95	105,91	134	109,69
In mancanza di	70	78,04	68	55,66
In materia di	319	355,64	76	62,21
In merito a	162	180,61	102	83,49
In modo da	27	30,10	30	24,56
In occasione di	93	103,68	72	58,94
In ordine a	58	64,66	756	618,83
In qualità di	450	501,68	38	31,11
In ragione di	32	35,68	111	90,86
In relazione a	71	79,15	1034	846,39
In risposta a	45	50,17	3	2,46
In sede di	77	85,84	382	312,69
In seguito a	159	177,25	33	27,01
In seno a	64	71,35	13	10,64
In violazione di	95	105,91	73	59,75
In virtù di	56	62,43	51	41,75
In vista di	16	17,84	47	38,47
Nel corso di	277	308,81	307	251,3
Nel rispetto di	135	150,5	31	25,38
Sulla base di	295	328,88	371	303,68
Sulla scorta di	12	13,38	40	32,74

Tabella 11: Frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive in CSCG\_IT e COSPIT\_SUP

Al fine di fornire elementi più certi per avvalorare l'ipotesi dell'interferenza del francese, si affianca ora all'analisi quantitativa l'interrogazione del corpus CSCG\_FR2.

In linea generale, i risultati relativi alle locuzioni prepositive italiane sono analoghi a quelli relativi alle locuzioni spagnole precedentemente analizzate (cfr. § 5.2.1): i giuristi linguisti italiani, quando devono tradurre una locuzione in lingua di partenza, tendono a calcare il francese nel testo di arrivo, determinando così usi diversi tra CSCG e COSPE. Si riportano di seguito alcuni casi evidenti: “a partire da” (CSCG\_IT 125,98; COSPIT\_SUP 34,38) tradurrebbe “à partir de”; “a sostegno di” (CSCG\_IT 169,46; COSPIT\_SUP 78,58) viene principalmente usato come traduce di “à l'appui de” e “au soutien de”; “a motivo di” (CSCG\_IT 40,13; COSPIT\_SUP 0,82) scaturisce in prevalenza da “au motif que” e “en raison de”; “con riserva di” (CSCG\_IT 15,61; COSPIT\_SUP 1,64) costituirebbe il traduce di “sous réserve de”; “nel rispetto di” (CSCG\_IT 150,5; COSPIT\_SUP 25,38) sarebbe dettato da “dans le respect de”; “in violazione di” (CSCG\_IT 105,91; COSPIT\_SUP 59,75) sarebbe il traduce di “en violation de”; “a titolo di” (CSCG\_IT 107,02; COSPIT\_SUP 65,48) tradurrebbe “au titre de” e “à titre de”.

Anche in CSCG\_IT, le frequenze relative di alcune locuzioni prepositive in CSCG\_IT e COSPIT\_SUP hanno uno scarto di 100/200 punti: “in materia di” ha una frequenza relativa in CSCG\_IT pari a 355,64 mentre in COSPIT\_SUP è solo di 62,21. Questo sovrasfruttamento di “in materia di” sembra essere determinato dal francese “en matière de”. Similmente, pare che i giuristi linguisti tendano ad adottare “in applicazione di” (CSCG\_IT 134,9; COSPIT\_SUP 18,83) come traduttore di “en application de” e “in caso di” (CSCG\_IT 243,04; COSPIT\_SUP 116,23) per rendere in italiano “en cas de”.

Analogamente a quanto ipotizzato per lo spagnolo, l’analisi delle frequenze di alcune locuzioni prepositive presenti in CSCG\_IT ha consentito di rilevare che i giuristi linguisti italiani tendono a tradurre con una sola soluzione svariate locuzioni prepositive francesi, il che confermerebbe inoltre il dato emerso dall’analisi lessicometrica della maggiore povertà lessicale in CSCG. Difatti, “alla luce di” (CSCG\_IT 678,94; COSPIT\_SUP 166,17) che traduce principalmente “à la lumière de” viene usato anche per tradurre, tra gli altri, “eu égard à”, “au regard de” e “au vu de”. Lo stesso accade con “ai sensi di” (CSCG\_IT 1330,02; COSPIT\_SUP 439,56) che viene usato principalmente come traduttore di “aux termes de”, “au sens de”, “en vertu de”, “au titre de”. Anche questi risultati sono in linea con l’ipotesi del *transfer* negativo perché dimostrano che nelle traduzioni le locuzioni prepositive tipicamente usate nel linguaggio giudiziario nazionale sono sottorappresentate: tutte quelle soluzioni che tradizionalmente si ritrovano nelle sentenze nazionali e che, infatti, presentano in COSPIT\_SUP una frequenza relativa molto alta, appaiono di rado nel subcorpus CSCG\_IT – “a fondamento di” (COSPIT\_SUP 63,85; CSCG\_IT 13,38), “in ordine a” (COSPIT\_SUP 618,83; CSCG\_IT 64,66), “a fronte di” (COSPIT\_SUP 136,7; CSCG\_IT 11,15), “alla stregua di” (COSPIT\_SUP 133,42; CSCG\_IT 5,57), “con riferimento a” (COSPIT\_SUP 482,13, CSCG\_IT 50,17).

Risulta interessante, infine, analizzare la locuzione prepositiva “a termini di” che in COSPIT\_SUP ha frequenza relativa 0, mentre in CSCG\_IT la freq./rel. è pari a 36,79. Analizzando i testi originali in francese, si è osservato che questo uso insolito deriva dal calco del francese “aux termes de”. È curioso sottolineare, sempre relativamente a “aux termes de”, che alcune volte viene tradotto in un altro modo che trova riscontro quasi nullo in COSPIT\_SUP “a tenore di” (CSCG\_IT 5,57; COSPIT\_SUP 0,82).

In conclusione, si può sostenere che, anche nel caso dell’italiano, l’interferenza viene confermata dai dati: le frequenze d’uso delle locuzioni prepositive complesse differiscono sensibilmente tra il corpus di sentenze tradotte e il corpus di testi originali, determinando in tal modo deviazioni dagli usi codificati dal sistema linguistico di arrivo.

## 6. CONCLUSIONI

L’analisi proposta in questo studio, che non ha pretese di esaustività, ha permesso di indagare tramite la linguistica dei corpora la presenza dell’interferenza del francese

nelle sentenze spagnole e italiane della Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea, presentando un caso di *transfer* positivo e uno di *transfer* negativo, principalmente da una prospettiva quantitativa. I risultati ottenuti hanno evidenziato che effettivamente le traduzioni tendono a sottorappresentare le caratteristiche linguistiche proprie delle lingue di arrivo e a sovrarappresentare le caratteristiche proprie della lingua di partenza, che trovano riscontro anche nella lingua di arrivo.

Nello specifico, l'analisi dell'esplicitazione del soggetto, per quanto concerne la lingua spagnola, ha confermato l'interferenza esclusivamente nel caso del sintagma nominale, ma ha permesso di avanzare l'ipotesi dell'ingente uso della spersonalizzazione nelle sentenze della CGUE, il cui studio potrebbe portare a risultati interessanti sempre relativamente alla legge dell'interferenza. Per quanto riguarda, invece, l'italiano, l'esplicitazione del soggetto permea tutti i casi analizzati. Con riferimento, invece, alle frequenze d'uso delle locuzioni prepositive del tipo preposizione + sostantivo + preposizione, l'analisi ha prodotto risultati interessanti per l'ipotesi di partenza su tutti i livelli e per tutte e due le lingue di arrivo considerate. Tuttavia, è necessario approfondire ulteriormente questa indagine procedendo, ad esempio, con l'analisi qualitativa e andando a esaminare l'uso specifico di ogni singola locuzione.

Si precisa infine che, per confermare con assoluta certezza la presenza dell'interferenza, considerando lo studio globalmente, bisogna valutare molteplici variabili, non facilmente prevedibili nei limiti di questo studio: si pensi al peso che possono esercitare sulla resa delle sentenze della CGUE l'uso delle memorie di traduzione, dell'ambiente di lavoro Trados Studio e delle rigide norme redazionali dettate dalla Corte stessa, oppure i tempi sempre più ristretti imposti ai giuristi linguisti per la traduzione delle sentenze.

In conclusione, si può affermare, da un lato, che i risultati ottenuti a livello generale sulle sentenze in spagnolo e italiano della CGUE hanno effettivamente avvalorato l'ipotesi di partenza e, dall'altro, che le sentenze emesse dalla Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea rappresentano un terreno fertile per la ricerca degli universali della traduzione. Si ipotizza infatti che, con ulteriori ricerche, si avrà riscontro in queste sentenze di altri universali della traduzione quali la semplificazione, la normalizzazione e le collocazioni atipiche.

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# Cees Nooteboom: *Rituali, realia e traduzione in contesto transnazionale*

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## ABSTRACT

This contribution unveils the outcomes of a research project undertaken in 2021 by the Dutch section of the University of Trieste, as a collaborative effort within the framework of the Dutch Literature in Translation international platform. The project’s primary aim was the comprehensive analysis and comparative evaluation of the Italian, French, English, and German translations of Cees Nooteboom’s novel *Rituelen* (1980). The focal point of this inquiry lies in the diverse translation strategies employed to convey culture-bound terms embedded in the source text. Moreover, the study involved a group of ten Italian students in Applied interlinguistic communication and Conference interpreting and solicited their insights regarding the translation choices concerning culture-bound terms in the Italian rendition. This article opens by focusing on literary translation as a form of cultural mediation and the translation of culture-bound terms and on Cees Nooteboom’s work from a transnational point of view. Subsequently, the findings of our research project are exposed by focussing on the results related to two case studies: culture-bound terms that are linked to the history of the Netherlands and heterolingualism in the scrutinized novel. For each case study different translation techniques as well as students’ comments will be analysed in a transnational perspective.

Dutch literature, Cees Nootboom, literary translation, *realia*, heterolingualism

## 1. LA TRADUZIONE LETTERARIA COME FORMA DI MEDIAZIONE INTERCULTURALE

Definire il concetto di cultura è impresa ardua, ulteriormente complicata dai diversi significati che assume nel tempo: da “the humanist ideal of what was civilized in a developed society”, cultura è diventata sinonimo di “way of life of a people”, poi ancora di “forces in society or ideology” (Katan 2009: 74), con connotazioni positive tanto quanto negative. La cultura si è fatta strada nei Translation Studies con il ‘cultural turn’ degli anni Novanta e il progressivo affermarsi del concetto di “lingua/cultura” e dell’importanza della competenza interculturale che implica, in primo luogo, “an acceptance that translating texts means mediating for different linguacultures” (Katan 2009a: 297). La mediazione culturale è, infatti, parte essenziale della didattica della traduzione: fin dal primo anno di studio “è necessario fare comprendere ai discenti che essi non stanno studiando soltanto una lingua, ma una cultura in senso lato” (Rega 2010:245) e che la traduzione è “un complesso processo di fragili compromessi per riformulare al meglio un testo da una lingua/cultura di partenza in una lingua/cultura di arrivo” (Rega 2010: 245).

### 1.1. TRADURRE I *REALIA*

A dimostrazione della valenza culturale e non meramente linguistica della traduzione, Florin (1993:123) sottolinea l’esistenza di elementi che consentono di “mettere in contatto due universi”. Si tratta dei *realia*, elementi culturo-specifici che Florin definisce come segue:

*Realia* (from the Latin *realis*) are words and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical colour they have no exact equivalents in other languages. They cannot be translated in a conventional way, and they require a special approach (1993: 123).

L’elevatissima varietà di *realia* esistenti consente di applicare molteplici modalità di classificazione: tematica (a seconda del contesto materiale o logico), temporale (a seconda dell’epoca di appartenenza) o geografica (sulla base del luogo di utilizzo) (Florin 1993: 123). Bazzanini propone una suddivisione tematica in *realia* geografici, della vita quotidiana, culturali, politico-amministrativi ed economico-sociali (2011: 158). Nardi (2019: 123) mantiene la classe dei *realia* geografici (elementi della geografia fisica e della meteorologia, oggetti geografici legati all’opera dell’uomo, quali

città, strade, piazze, ma anche piante e animali), mentre accorpa *realia* della vita quotidiana e culturali in quelli che definisce “*realia* etnografici” (oggetti della vita quotidiana, relativi alla cultura e all’arte, unità di misura e valute), per poi riunire i *realia* politico-amministrativi ed economico-sociali nella classe dei “*realia* socio-politici” (entità amministrative e territoriali, istituzioni e simboli della vita sociale e politica e della sfera militare).

Per agevolare l’individuazione dei *realia*, Rega ne sottolinea la valenza emotiva, che, seppur variabile da individuo a individuo, non si concretizza nel suscitare sensazioni forti in chi appartiene alla lingua/cultura di partenza, ma piuttosto in un senso di riconoscimento. Per un lettore esterno a tale lingua/cultura, invece, la presenza di *realia* genererà al contrario la sensazione di trovarsi di fronte a qualcosa di nuovo, estraneo alla propria cultura (Rega 2010: 246).

Se, come sottolineato nella definizione proposta da Florin, i *realia* richiedono un approccio traduttivo specifico, è possibile considerarne la presenza in un testo come un problema traduttivo, che si manifesta nel momento in cui chi traduce non dispone di una soluzione veloce e immediata per rendere un elemento nella lingua di arrivo ed è pertanto tenuto a modificare temporaneamente il proprio *modus operandi* (Palumbo 2009: 129). Di fronte a un *realia*, sarà dunque cura di chi traduce interrogarsi su molteplici aspetti del testo di arrivo e di partenza: la coppia di lingue coinvolte e la distanza spaziale e grammaticale che le divide (Florin 1993: 127; Rega 2010: 258), tipologia e genere testuale, funzione del testo di partenza e di quello di arrivo (Rega 2010: 248). Solamente a posteriori sarà possibile individuare la tecnica più auspicabile nel continuum di soluzioni possibili lungo l’asse che congiunge due macro-strategie, l’una addomesticante, che comporta l’appropriazione dell’elemento culturo-specifico con conseguente perdita dell’esperienza emotiva descritta da Rega (2010: 248), e l’altra estraniante o esotizzante (Linn 2019: 101). Venuti le distingue rifacendosi a Schleiermacher in *Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens* (1813):

Admitting (with qualifications like “as much as possible”) that translation can never be completely adequate to the foreign text, Schleiermacher allowed the translator to choose between a domesticating method, an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home, and a foreignizing method, an ethnodeliant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad (Venuti, 1995: 20).

È evidente che la scelta di un orientamento verso la fonte o verso la destinazione rimane “un criterio da negoziare frase per frase”<sup>1</sup>. Nemmeno all’interno di uno stesso testo di partenza è sempre possibile ricorrere alla stessa soluzione, poiché la riflessione traduttologica deve avvenire in maniera puntuale per ogni elemento culturo-specifico: che importanza ricopre il *realia* nel co(n)testo? (Florin 1993: 127). Inoltre, è opportuno interrogarsi sullo “scarto temporale tra il momento in cui il *realia* viene impiegato e quello in cui deve essere tradotto”, sulla “presenza/assenza di una carica

1 Eco U., 2003: 193.

emotiva nel *realia*” e sulla “frequenza di un *realia* nella cultura di partenza e in quella di arrivo” (Rega 2010: 248). Una volta fornita risposta agli interrogativi relativi al testo di partenza, di arrivo e all’elemento culturo-specifico in questione, si potrà ricorrere a una gamma di scelte che riassumiamo, pur senza pretesa di esaustività, nell’elenco di seguito.

Per ottenere nel testo di arrivo un elevato grado di aderenza al testo originale, la soluzione più appropriata è il prestito, “identico” o “adattato” alla lingua di arrivo (Nardi 2019: 124). Il prestito identico comporta la “trascrizione” del *realia* nella lingua di arrivo (Florin 1993: 125), evidenziato o meno sul piano tipografico (Bazzanini 2011: 170). Chi opta per una traduzione letterale, ma “tenendo conto delle particolarità morfosintattiche delle lingue considerate”, si dirigerà verso un calco “totale” o “mezzo calco”, che interessa parole composte o sintagmi dove uno dei due termini viene mantenuto in lingua originale, mentre l’altro viene tradotto (Nardi 2019: 124). In presenza di sigle, due strategie efficaci risultano l’esplicitazione della sigla o il riferimento alla sua classe di appartenenza (Bazzanini 2010: 175-6); diversamente, il ricorso a spiegazioni all’interno del testo o a glosse esplicative per altri tipi di *realia*, seppur possibile, viene considerato come una soluzione poco auspicabile (Florin 1993: 126). Le lacune informative possono essere colmate da forme di generalizzazione, ricorrendo a iperonimi con funzione esplicativa, che comportano però la perdita della connotazione culturale specifica (Nardi 2019: 125). Una scelta più addomesticante è quella della sostituzione, che consiste nella rimozione del *realia* “sostituendolo con un termine transculturale, con un’analogia nella lingua di arrivo (equivalente culturale) o una parafrasi” (Bazzanini 2011: 179)<sup>2</sup>. Anche la compensazione è una soluzione traduttiva possibile, che corrisponde al “mantenimento di sfumature semantiche o pragmatiche del testo di partenza che, per qualche motivo (...) non si possono rendere in toto e/o nelle stesse posizioni nel testo di arrivo, ma vengono dosate e anche posizionate diversamente” (Nardi 2019: 125). Talvolta l’omissione dell’espressione culturo-specifica è inevitabile, ma rappresenta “una scelta estrema” da considerare “nell’economia globale del processo traduttivo di un testo” (Nardi 2019: 125).

Si precisa che la problematizzazione dei *realia* e la loro relativa intraducibilità non comportano necessariamente la compromissione della qualità del testo di arrivo. Si è da tempo conclusa l’epoca in cui traduttori e traduttrici dovevano fungere da filtri invisibili attraverso cui si svolgeva il passaggio da una lingua all’altra senza alcuna forma di riconoscimento dei processi di negoziazione, manipolazione e riscrittura che la traduzione comporta (Bassnett 2017: 120). È trascorso il tempo in cui ci si aspettava che il testo tradotto altro non fosse che una “finestra” sul mondo altrui, un artefatto trasparente che permettesse a lettori e lettrici di accedere al mondo dell’originale senza nemmeno accorgersi di aver varcato un confine (Florin 1993: 123). Prendendo le distanze dall’illusoria pretesa che la traduzione e chi traduce

2 Oltre a “equivalente culturale” come presente in Bazzanini (2011), è affermata la dicitura sinonimica di “equivalente funzionale” (Florin 1993: 126).

siano invisibili, i *realia* possono essere considerati molto più come un'opportunità che non come un "problema":

An alternative view of *realia* is that they are not transparent glass, but that they reveal the way in which the glass that allows, or allowed, the author of the original and his or her first audience to look at their own world has been cut, polished, and crafted (Florin, 1993:123).

## 1.2 ETEROLINGUISMO: TRADURRE LA PRESENZA DELL'ALTERITÀ

Il contatto con una forma di alterità linguistica e culturale non è però prerogativa esclusiva del testo tradotto. Kujamäki (2004: 920) menziona come potenziali *realia* anche i riferimenti a particolarità linguistiche quali i dialetti. Anche in un testo originale, infatti, possono manifestarsi forme di ibridismo linguistico, che Grutman definisce "hétérolinguisme" per indicare "la présence dans un texte d'idiomes étrangers, sous quelque forme que ce soit, aussi bien que de variétés (sociales, régionales ou chronologiques) de la langue principale" (Grutman 2012: 50).

Anche nel caso di elementi eterolingui si apre a chi traduce un'ampia gamma di tecniche applicabili: il prestito, certo di più agevole adozione nel caso di parole individuali, è comunque una soluzione utile se "dosata", per esempio traducendo frasi allofone nella lingua di arrivo e mantenendo, invece, il carattere eterolingue di singoli elementi culturo-specifici nella frase stessa (Ross 2009: 186); la normalizzazione, che consiste, per esempio, nel mantenere solo gli elementi "sufficientemente trasparenti per il lettore" (Ross 2009: 187); infine, il ricorso a forme esplicative quali le glosse "che, se ben dosate, possono funzionare bene, forse meglio delle note paratestuali" che, invece, interrompono la voce narrante (Ross 2009: 193). La scelta appare particolarmente complicata quando la variazione linguistica presenta connotazioni diatopiche o diastratiche: al fine di evitare forme di "trapianto culturale" e incongruenze, gli studiosi di traduzione sconsigliano la sostituzione di una forma dialettale della lingua di partenza con un dialetto della lingua/cultura di arrivo o l'imitazione di pronunce dialettali (Ross 2009:191). Chi optasse comunque per una traduzione dialettale dovrebbe perlomeno farvi ricorso "con moderazione e ricorrendo a (...) una specie di gergo riconosciuto a livello nazionale" (Ross 2009: 195). Come avremo modo di illustrare a breve, *Rituelen* è particolarmente ricco di elementi eterolingui, con riferimenti ad altri idiomi, forme dialettali e accenti.

In occasione dello studio di cui si presenteranno a breve i risultati, la presenza di *realia* e di elementi eterolingui ha costituito uno spunto di riflessione sul piano delle competenze interculturali acquisite dagli studenti e dalle studentesse del terzo anno del corso di Laurea in Comunicazione interlinguistica applicata e del primo e secondo anno del corso di Laurea magistrale in Traduzione specialistica e interpretazione di conferenza. La ricerca è stata condotta nell'ambito del progetto Dutch Literature in Translation, che dal 2019 coinvolge dodici atenei europei coordinati dall'Università di Vienna e dall'Università di Wroclaw. Il progetto è finalizzato a un aggiornamento

sistematico della Digital Library and Bibliography of Literature in Translation and Adaptation con metadati recenti sulla traduzione e sulla ricezione della letteratura in neerlandese nei Paesi partecipanti. Inoltre, al fine di favorire la circolazione della letteratura in neerlandese e di coinvolgere le sezioni di neerlandistica nei vari Paesi, tra il 2021 e il 2022 è stato organizzato un ciclo di seminari online che ha visto un totale di oltre centosettanta partecipanti.

Per coinvolgere un pubblico così vasto e multilingue, il team coinvolto presso l'Università di Trieste ha optato per un approccio comparativo in ottica transnazionale, in cui sono state prese in considerazione cinque lingue diverse: il neerlandese come lingua di partenza e l'italiano, il francese, l'inglese e il tedesco come lingua di arrivo. Dall'originale in neerlandese sono stati selezionati dodici frammenti contenenti *realia*, elementi che “costituiscono da una parte un modo per avvicinare lo studente a un mondo nuovo e, dall'altra, offrono un modo avvincente per presentare quella che indubbiamente è una assai notevole difficoltà della traduzione, anche se non quella principale” (Rega 2010: 243).

Un campione di dieci tra studenti e studentesse dei due corsi è stato coinvolto nello studio: è stato loro richiesto di rispondere a un questionario contenente i frammenti selezionati in lingua originale, affiancati dalla traduzione in italiano, pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1993<sup>3</sup>. Al fine di testare la capacità del campione studiato di riconoscere elementi culturo-specifici anche in presenza di poche informazioni enciclopediche, non sono stati richiesti né la lettura del romanzo né approfondimenti tematici sull'autore o sull'opera. Unica richiesta del questionario era di riferire l'esito del confronto tra testo di partenza e di arrivo, con commenti oggettivi, quali l'analisi delle tecniche utilizzate, e/o soggettivi, per esempio esprimendo una reazione personale alla soluzione traduttiva o proponendo un'alternativa. Ai fini del presente articolo, si affronteranno gli esiti relativi a sei elementi culturo-specifici, raggruppabili in due casi di studio tematici: la presenza della Storia e il ricorso all'eterolinguisimo. I risultati saranno esposti nei paragrafi seguenti dopo aver fornito un inquadramento spaziotemporale e letterario dell'autore e del romanzo in esame. Per ogni caso di studio verranno analizzate le tecniche applicate nella traduzione italiana e i commenti degli studenti e delle studentesse adottando uno sguardo comparativo con le soluzioni rilevate nelle traduzioni in francese, inglese e tedesco<sup>4</sup>.

3 Per il testo originale abbiamo fatto ricorso alla venticinquesima edizione (2016) del romanzo a cura della casa editrice dei Paesi Bassi De Bezige Bij; per la traduzione in italiano, si fa riferimento alla ristampa del 2018 edita da RCS Media Group per concessione speciale al Corriere della Sera e inserita nella collana “I Boreali”, traduzione di Fulvio Ferrari.

4 I frammenti in tedesco, inglese e francese proposti all'interno di questo articolo sono tratti dalle seguenti edizioni, disponibili presso la biblioteca dell'Università di Leida: Nootboom C. (2001) *Rituale*, 7a edizione, München, Goldmann; Nootboom C. (1983) *Rituals: a novel*, 1a edizione, London, Baton Rouge; Nootboom C. (1985) *Rituels*, 1a edizione, Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

È con Cees Nootboom che nel 1991 la casa editrice Iperborea iniziò a pubblicare traduzioni dal neerlandese. Oggi la casa editrice specializzata in letteratura scandinava conta oltre cento traduzioni dal neerlandese (più di quelle dal finlandese) e una miscellanea sulla letteratura dei Paesi Bassi in traduzione italiana: una lunga tradizione scaturita molto romanticamente a Parigi, in un giorno di pioggia del 1990, in cui la fondatrice di Iperborea Emilia Lodigiani si ritrovò a sfogliare Nootboom e Slauerhoff in traduzione francese. L'anno seguente venne pubblicato *Il canto dell'essere e dell'apparire*, traduzione italiana di *Een lied van schijn en wezen* (1981) a cura di Fulvio Ferrari (Ross 2020: 172-4). Da allora oltre venti opere di Nootboom sono state tradotte in italiano da sette case editrici, tra cui si citano, tra le più note, Feltrinelli ed Einaudi; le sue opere sono state tradotte in gran parte proprio da Fulvio Ferrari. Classe 1955, originario di Milano, Ferrari è professore di filologia germanica presso l'Università degli Studi di Trento, traduce da tedesco, svedese, norvegese e neerlandese ed è noto in particolare come voce italiana di Nootboom. L'autore è considerato nel Bel Paese come il massimo scrittore olandese ed è noto per il numero elevato di premi, vinti in svariati generi letterari, tra i quali il premio Grinzane Cavour del 1994 per il romanzo *La storia seguente*, l'edizione del festival Dedicata nel 2011 focalizzata sulle sue opere, il premio Sandro Onofri del 2014 per il Reportage narrativo, il premio Lerici Pea del 2016 alla carriera, il Premio Letterario Internazionale Mondello nel 2017 e Premio Internazionale Elena Violani Landi per la poesia nel 2018 (Ross 2020: 156-7). Si aggiunge che il successo di Nootboom in Italia poggia su solide fondamenta, grazie alla fitta rete di strette collaborazioni tra lo scrittore stesso, le case editrici, traduttori e traduttrici di prestigio e la critica letteraria (Ross 2020: 178).

Oltre che in italiano, le opere di Nootboom sono tradotte in più di trenta lingue e la fama dello scrittore è mondiale con numerosi studi dedicati al successo dell'autore cosmopolita in diverse aree linguistiche<sup>5</sup> (Ross 2020: 175). Il successo di Nootboom nell'area germanofona è indiscusso e in particolare in Germania (van Belle 2014: 2), primo mercato di sbocco per le traduzioni dal neerlandese per prossimità geografica e culturale (Van Es e Heilbron 2015: 299). Lì la fama scaturì nel 1991 da una puntata del programma televisivo 'Das literarische Quartett', in cui un noto critico letterario espresse il suo entusiasmo per *Das folgende Geschichte*, traduzione di *Het volgende verhaal*, pubblicato nello stesso anno anche in lingua originale (Van Uffelen 1993: 254). Il riconoscimento dell'autore crebbe considerevolmente a partire dal 1993, quando si verificò il cosiddetto "effetto Nootboom": il successo di Nootboom e della casa editrice Suhrkamp e il tema della Fiera del libro di Francoforte del 1993 dedicata alla letteratura dei Paesi Bassi e delle Fiandre generarono una circolazio-

5 Ci limiteremo in questa sede a una concisa panoramica del successo dell'autore nelle aree linguistiche relative alle quattro lingue prese in esame. Per approfondire la ricezione delle opere di Nootboom si rimanda a Ross 2020 e alla relativa bibliografia.

ne di traduzioni dal neerlandese senza precedenti sul mercato germanofono (Van Uffelen 1993: 256).

In area francofona, il nome di Nootboom è indissolubilmente legato a quello di Philippe Noble, suo traduttore. Già vincitore del prestigioso premio Martinus Nijhoff per la traduzione, Noble è fortemente coinvolto nelle scelte editoriali di Actes Sud, nota casa editrice che oggi pubblica gran parte delle opere dello scrittore (Ross 2021: 7). Per quanto riguarda l'area anglofona, Nootboom gode di riconoscimento e ha fama di autore cosmopolita, ma rimane tuttora relegato a un certo grado di marginalità. Fanno eccezione le traduzioni di *Rituelen, In Nederland* (traduzione di Adrienne Dixon, pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1987 come *In the Dutch Mountains*) e *Het volgende verhaal (The Following Story*, tradotto da Ina Rilke nel 1993) (Ross 2021: 4-5).

In patria Nootboom è stato insignito di vari riconoscimenti illustri, in particolare il prestigioso Prijs der Nederlandse Letteren, assegnato ogni tre anni dall'Unione per la lingua neerlandese (Nederlandse Taalunie) e a lui consegnato nel 2009 da re Alberto II del Belgio (van Belle 2014: 2). Ciononostante, il suo successo internazionale è di gran lunga maggiore rispetto all'apprezzamento che le opere dell'autore raccolgono in patria. Le ragioni all'origine di questo "paradosso di Nootboom" sarebbero molteplici e riguarderebbero prevalentemente la distanza tanto tematica quanto geografica dell'autore dalla tradizione letteraria dei Paesi Bassi. Lontano dal tradizionale realismo della letteratura olandese, il tono filosofico e le digressioni intertestuali di Nootboom sarebbero poco affini al pubblico neerlandofono e molto più vicino ai gusti di Germania, Spagna, Francia, Scandinavia, Sud America e Paesi anglofoni (Ross 2021: 13; Ross 2020: 176). Oltre alla chiara non appartenenza dell'autore a una corrente letteraria olandese precisa, Nootboom si sarebbe sempre tenuto a distanza dalle cerchie letterarie dei Paesi Bassi, al fine di collocare le sue opere in un contesto internazionale più ampio (van Belle 2014: 2). Concretamente, occorre precisare che lo scrittore è molto spesso in viaggio: risiede ad Amsterdam, trascorre le estati in Spagna, ha vissuto in Germania e negli Stati Uniti e si presta di buon grado agli spostamenti finalizzati alla promozione dei suoi libri nel mondo (van Belle 2014: 2; Ross 2020: 176). Il nomadismo dello scrittore fungerebbe da ulteriore ostacolo alla fama di Nootboom nei Paesi Bassi, rendendolo un outsider nel proprio Paese d'origine (Ross 2021: 14).

Il viaggio costituisce a tutti gli effetti una costante nelle opere di Nootboom. Nei romanzi il viaggio è fonte di ispirazione, come nel caso *Philip en de anderen* (1995, tradotto da David Santoro come *Philip e gli altri* nel 2005 per Iperborea) o di *Paradijs verloren* (2004, tradotto da Ferrari come *Perduto il paradiso* per Iperborea), o elemento della trama e azione dei personaggi, per esempio in *Canto dell'essere e dell'apparire*; il viaggio è inoltre onnipresente nei suoi componimenti poetici (Evenpoel 2018: 106). Ma è soprattutto nella carriera giornalistica e nei reportages di Nootboom che il viaggio svolge in particolare un ruolo chiave, negli editoriali per testate quali Het Parool, Elsevier e de Volkskrant e nelle sue innumerevoli prose di viaggio. Dove c'era azione, c'era Nootboom, sottolinea Bekkering (2006: 8); è infatti attraverso la sua voce che, tra gli altri numerosi eventi storici di cui è stato testimone, il quotidiano



olandese De Volkskrant ha raccontato le rivolte studentesche e operaie a Parigi nel 1968 (Dagnino e Prandoni 2019: 326). Il viaggio è così cruciale nella letteratura di Nootboom che l'autore è sovente soprannominato dalla critica italiana l'"olandese volante" o "errante", con ampi riferimenti alle sue peregrinazioni e al suo nomadismo (Ross 2020: 161-2; Gentile 2021: 116). Una nota citazione dello scrittore pone in relazione la scrittura e il viaggio poiché l'una comporterebbe l'altro: "Per scrivere è necessaria una certa conoscenza del mondo. Per questo ho iniziato a viaggiare" (Marietti, 2012). Il viaggio, in quella che Fenhoulet (2013) chiama la "letteratura nomade" di Nootboom non è dunque esperienza estetica e non è fine a sé stesso:

Viaggiare (...) non significa più ai giorni nostri quel che significava anche solo prima dell'ultima guerra, lo scopo del viaggio non è ormai quello di *vedere*, di scoprire immagini nuove e inaspettate: i mezzi di comunicazione di massa mettono a nostra disposizione qualsiasi immagine con ben poca spesa e ancor meno sforzo. Viaggiare significa allora, in primo luogo, verificare, mettere a confronto un'idea di realtà con la realtà stessa, o almeno con quanto si riesce a cogliere di una realtà diversa e difficile da penetrare (Ferrari 1991: 8-9).

I suoi spostamenti sono umani e culturali e i suoi vagabondaggi attraversano Paesi, ma anche lingue e culture (Grave 2014: 270). Da bravo viaggiatore cosmopolita, Nootboom è noto anche per essere poliglotta, con persino esperienza di traduzione di poesie pubblicate sulla rivista Avenue. Bekkering lo definisce un "autodidatta della linguistica comparativa" (2006: 5), un "letterato" (2006: 13) e un "critico culturale" (2006: 17). Tuttavia, Nootboom rimane sempre fedele alla sua lingua madre nella scrittura, per una "questione di radici e di vocabolario" (Ross 2020: 165) che esprime spesso e volentieri con paragoni musicali: "Se scrivo in olandese è come se suonassi l'organo, se scrivessi in inglese, che pure conosco bene, sarebbe come suonare una spinetta. La mia lingua ha immense possibilità" (Bentivoglio 2014).

### 3. *RITUELEN*: STRATEGIE TRADUTTIVE A CONFRONTO

Il successo a livello nazionale e internazionale è giunto per Nootboom con il romanzo *Rituelen* del 1981, che inaugura una fase estremamente prolifica della produzione letteraria dell'autore, nella prosa, nella poesia e nella saggistica (Ross 2020: 2). Il romanzo segna l'inizio di una serie di traduzioni destinate a succedersi a ritmo serrato fino ad oggi (Ferrari 2018: 213). La prima traduzione fu quella di Adrienne Dixon in inglese nel 1983, che seguì di un anno la vittoria del premio letterario statunitense Pegasus Prize e che diede il via a svariate riedizioni, anche molto recenti, presso diverse case editrici (Ross 2021: 4). Stesso destino per la traduzione in tedesco, a cura di Hans Herrfurth, pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1984 da Volk und Welt, all'epoca editore di spicco per le traduzioni dal neerlandese (Van Uffelen 1993: 252). Nel 1985 seguì la traduzione in francese a cura di Philippe Noble per la casa editrice Calmann-Lévy. Come già menzionato, invece, si dovette attendere fino al 1993 per una traduzione in italiano del romanzo, ma il successo fu tale da consentire di individuare in

*Rituali* una delle opere di riferimento di Nootboom per il pubblico in Italia, spesso menzionata dalla critica per identificare l'autore (Ross 2020: 158).

Nonostante la sua data di pubblicazione sia avvenuta dopo un periodo di viaggi e peregrinazioni, *Rituelen* è insolitamente ancorato ai Paesi Bassi<sup>6</sup>; la Amsterdam degli anni Sessanta e Settanta costituisce il *décor* di buona parte del romanzo, attraverso la quale vagabonda Inni Wintrop, protagonista dell'opera e spettatore di rituali altrui (Bekkering 2006: 7). Eppure, i movimenti di Inni altro non sono che “piccoli spostamenti dalle conseguenze drammatiche” compiuti da questo personaggio centrale ma “irrimediabilmente privo di centro” (Ferrari 2018: 210). Il suo destino si intreccia casualmente, e a vent'anni di distanza, con quello di altri due personaggi, padre e figlio, tra loro conosciutisi a malapena.

Inni, Arnold, Philip: tre uomini che condividono la stessa, solida condizione dell'insensatezza del vivere, ma che da questa convinzione traggono conclusioni diverse e, soprattutto, destini diversi. Perché se Inni s'abbandona al corso della propria vita senza cercare di dirigerlo, limitandosi a osservarlo con una sorta di irridente consapevolezza della sua follia, i due Taads compiono uno sforzo titanico per cancellare il mondo esteriore, per sostituirlo con un universo di propria creazione (...) (Ferrari 2018: 211).

Sono le osservazioni di Inni a guidare la narrazione, soffermandosi puntualmente su dettagli storici, geografici e linguistici che ancorano i suoi vagabondaggi ad una precisa lingua/cultura, quella dei Paesi Bassi, sia pure in frequente contatto con molteplici forme di alterità più o meno lontane. Il tutto avviene lungo la linea di demarcazione, che nelle opere di Nootboom è spesso e volentieri molto labile, tra narrazione e narratore e tra realtà e scrittura.

Ci dedicheremo ora all'analisi dei due casi di studio selezionati, con commenti puntuali sui frammenti in questione, senza però soffermarci sul valore e sulla frequenza dei *realia* nel resto del romanzo. Tale aspetto, infatti, non costituiva oggetto di ricerca dello studio qui presentato. Si sottolinea, innanzitutto, che la presenza di elementi culturo-specifici è stata riconosciuta da tutti gli studenti e le studentesse partecipanti allo studio. Circa la metà dei partecipanti ha fatto ricorso alla terminologia specifica (“*realia*”, “elementi culturo-specifici”) e nella quasi totalità dei questionari è stato sottolineato ripetutamente l'elevato livello di difficoltà che comporta la traduzione dei riferimenti culturali.

6 Nell'intenzione originaria dell'autore *Rituelen* e *Een lied van schijn en wezen* avrebbero dovuto costituire un unico romanzo, ambientato quindi nei Paesi Bassi, ma anche in Bulgaria e in Italia. Nootboom stesso decise di ridurre il progetto iniziale che valutò come troppo ampio (Cartens 1984: 23).

### 3.1. PRIMO CASO DI STUDIO: LA STORIA

Rituali si compone di tre parti, che si svolgono rispettivamente in uno zigzag temporale tra 1963, 1953 e 1973. La Amsterdam e il mondo di quegli anni riemergono in elementi quali l'inquinamento degli oceani nella "noncuranza degli anni Sessanta", i "volti arrabbiati" degli anni Settanta, l'assassinio di Kennedy, la borsa valori, la crescente libertà sessuale in un mondo in cui la sessualità definisce sempre più l'individuo (Byatt 2016: 7-8). La Storia dei Paesi Bassi si intreccia con le vicende narrate e compare sotto forma di numerosi elementi culturo-specifici, resi nelle quattro traduzioni prese in esame adottando molteplici tecniche. A cavallo tra gli anni Sessanta e Settanta incontriamo due movimenti di protesta che segnarono la storia dei Paesi Bassi:

Het was Amsterdam vòòr Provo, voor de kabouters (...) (Nooteboom 1980: 22).

Qui i due *realia* fungono da ancoraggio spaziale e temporale della narrazione. Il movimento *Provo*, da *Provobeweging*, spesso in forma plurale *Provo's* per riferirsi ai manifestanti, costituisce parte integrante della storia della Amsterdam degli anni Sessanta, con le sue proteste volte a mettere in discussione l'ordine costituito e l'autorità in maniera ludica (Stadarchief Amsterdam 2019).

<p>Era l'Amsterdam prima dei Provos, prima degli «gnomi»* (...).</p> <p>* Sotto il nome di «gnomi» (nell'originale <i>kabouters</i>), il movimento di contestazione dei <i>provos</i> continuò la sua attività dopo il 1969.</p> <p>(1993: 14)</p>	<p>It was Amsterdam before the Provos, before the « dwarfs », (...).</p> <p>(1981: 5)</p>	<p>C'était l'Amsterdam d'avant les Provos, d'avant les « lutins l » (...).</p> <p>1 En néerlandais: kabouters; c'est sous ce nom que le mouvement contestataire « Provo » continua ses activités à partir de 1969.</p> <p>(1985: 16)</p>	<p>Es war das Amsterdam vor der Provo-Bewegung, vor den Krawallmachern (...).</p> <p>(1984: 14)</p>
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Si osservano in questo esempio scelte molto simili da parte dei traduttori verso il francese e il l'italiano, con la scelta di un prestito adattato ("Provos") e di una traduzione letterale di "kabouters" segnalata graficamente dalle virgolette, con rinvio a una nota esplicativa a piè di pagina. Nei questionari, tre partecipanti su dieci riconoscono che ricorrere a una nota non è una scelta facile né particolarmente proficua, ma altrettanti hanno ammesso di non conoscere i movimenti di contestazione menzionati.

ti e che la spiegazione fosse necessaria. Diversa la soluzione della traduttrice verso l'inglese, che sceglie di non aggiungere informazioni alla traduzione letterale virgolettata. Due partecipanti avrebbero optato per una traduzione più addomesticante, scelta adottata dal traduttore verso il tedesco. Il mezzo calco “Provobewegung” è infatti seguito da una resa completamente generalizzante di “kabouters” con ricorso a un iperonimo traducibile come “rivoltosi”. Solo un partecipante trova la decisione di una traduzione letterale di “gnomi” nel corpo del testo troppo addomesticante e avrebbe aggiunto più informazioni in nota.

Appare molto diversa la situazione rilevata nel prossimo esempio, che raccoglie la quasi totale unanimità: nove partecipanti su dieci si ritrovano nella traduzione generalizzante con ricorso ad iperonimo adottata dal traduttore italiano, il decimo non esprime posizione. Si tratta in questo caso del lessema “gastarbeider”. Mutuato dal tedesco “Gastarbeiter”, il termine designava i “lavoratori ospiti” provenienti da Paesi quali Italia, Spagna, Turchia o Marocco negli anni Sessanta del ventesimo secolo e dei quali si prevedeva che il soggiorno lavorativo sarebbe stato breve o, perlomeno, temporaneo. Le cose andarono molto diversamente e il concetto di “gastarbeider” è ancora fortemente radicato nella società multiculturale della lingua/cultura neerlandese (Koops 2020).

Wel wist hij nog dat (...) een Italiaanse gastarbeider die in de keuken van Hotel Victoria werkte maar in zijn vrije tijd fotografeerde een foto gemaakt had van Zita (1980: 24).

Certo, si ricordava (...) che un immigrato italiano, che lavorava alle cucine dell’hotel Victoria ma faceva il fotografo a tempo perso, aveva fatto una fotografia a Zita (1993: 17).	He did remember (...) that an Italian migrant worker, employed in the kitchen of the Victoria Hotel but a photographer in his spare time, had taken a photograph of Zita (1983: 18).	En revanche, il se rappelait (...) qu’un immigré italien, employé aux cuisines de l’hôtel Victoria mais photographe à ses moments perdus, avait pris un cliché de Zita (1985: 18).	Wohl wusste er noch (...) dass in der Küche des Hotels Victoria ein italienischer Gastarbeiter beschäftigt war, der in seiner Freizeit fotografierte. Er hatte einmal eine Aufnahme von Zita (1984: 16).
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La scelta dei traduttori in francese e italiano è ancora una volta simile: “immigré” e “immigrato”. Due partecipanti riconoscono la compensazione favorita dalla presenza del verbo “lavorare” nella frase citata. Si osserva in questo esempio il ricorso all’equivalente funzionale, seppur approssimativo, “migrant workers” e la traduzione letterale in tedesco, favorita dalla vicinanza culturale e grammaticale tra tedesco e neerlandese.

Retrocediamo ora ulteriormente nella Storia dei Paesi Bassi con il prossimo esempio, relativo alla Seconda guerra mondiale e al bombardamento del lussuoso quartiere ottocentesco dell’Aia noto come Bezuidenhout. Accadde il 3 marzo 1945 e

il vero obiettivo dei missili britannici erano le basi tedesche situati a pochi chilometri di distanza. Nel quartiere, si contarono oltre cinquecento vittime (Wiemers 2023).

Aan het eind van die winter was zijn vader bij het bombardement op het Bezuidenhout omgekomen (1980: 78).

Alla fine dell'inverno suo padre era morto nel bombardamento dell'Aia (1993: 73).	At the end of that winter his father had been killed during the bombing of the Hague (1983: 49).	A la fin de cet hiver, son père avait trouvé la mort dans le bombardement de la Haye (1985: 73)	Am Ende dieses Winters war den Vater bei einem Bombenangriff auf Bezuidenhout ums Leben gekommen (1984: 67).
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Nelle rese italiana, inglese e francese la scelta è generalizzante: viene omissso il nome del quartiere dell'Aia e sostituito dal nome della città. Cinque partecipanti, contro i tre che sostengono questa scelta, avrebbero optato per una traduzione più esotizzante, mantenendo il nome del quartiere, con eventuale aggiunta esplicativa in cui fare riferimento all'Aia. Si precisa, inoltre, che la scelta di fare riferimento alla città potrebbe far pensare alla Battaglia dell'Aia, iniziata però nel 1940 e non nell'anno del bombardamento. Appare più vaga la scelta di ricorrere all'articolo indeterminativo nella resa in tedesco, pur mantenendo la culturo-specificità di Bezuidenhout: si tratta di un riferimento storico ben preciso, come conferma anche il fatto che il padre di Inni morì “alla fine dell'inverno”, periodo che coincide con la data del bombardamento.

### 3.2. SECONDO CASO DI STUDIO: L'ETEROLINGUISMO IN *RITUELEN*

Oltre ad essere presenti un certo numero di citazioni in altre lingue (Ross 2009: 187), l'eterolinguismo in *Rituelen* si concretizza anche con il riferimento intratestuale e la resa grafica di accenti che deviano dal neerlandese standard. Nel primo esempio selezionato, il riferimento è a una “voce indonesiana”, con variazione della lunghezza vocalica (Salverda 2013: 811) e l'utilizzo della forma sincopata “M'nèr” e del clitico “d'r”, tipici di un registro informale<sup>7</sup>.

[H]ij zat op zijn kamertje toen de Indische stem van zijn huisheer hem riep vanaf de gang. 'M'nèr Wintrop, d'r is een dame voor u' (1980: 46)

7 Non ci dilungheremo in questa sede sull'aggettivo “Indisch”, pur non privo di connotazioni (Paris 2005). Si segnala, però, che nessun partecipante al questionario si è soffermato sulla sua resa, sfruttata nelle traduzioni in francese e in tedesco per far riferimento non tanto alla provenienza del padrone di casa ma alle inflessioni della sua pronuncia.

<p>[E]ra seduto nella sua stanza quando la voce indonesiana del padrone della pensione l'aveva chiamato dal corridoio. "Signor Wintrop, c'è una signora per lei." (1993: 38)</p>	<p>[H]e was sitting in his room when his landlord's Indonesian voice called him from the corridor.  « Misterr Winttrrop, therr is a lady here to see you » (1983: 23)</p>	<p>[I]l était dans sa chambrette lorsque la voix aux inflexions indonésiennes de son logeur l'avait appelé du couloir : « M'sieur Wintrrop, une visite pourr vous, une dame! » (1985 : 40)</p>	<p>Er saß in seinem Zimmer, als er vom Korridor her die indonesische gefärbte Stimme seines Zimmervermieters vernahm. »Herr Wintrop, hier ist eine Dame für Sie!« (1984 : 36)</p>
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È molto interessante la tecnica compensativa adottata nelle traduzioni del discorso diretto in inglese e in francese, che evidenziano, molto più che nell'originale, la tipica pronuncia vibrante della lettera erre (Salverda 2013: 811). Nel caso del francese permane anche il ricorso alla forma sincopata "M'sieur". Scompare completamente, nella traduzione italiana e anche in quella tedesca, il gioco grafico che imita l'accento indonesiano. Sono tre i partecipanti che avrebbero almeno provato a rendere un utilizzo meno sorvegliato della lingua di arrivo al fine di avvicinare il lettore al testo di partenza; altrettanti ritengono, invece, che una soluzione naturalizzante sia la più appropriata.

I pareri dei partecipanti sono discordanti anche nel caso del prossimo esempio, in cui compare il riferimento alla "zachte g", la pronuncia "dolce" della lettera gi associata alle Fiandre e alle regioni meridionali dei Paesi Bassi, in particolare al Brabante Settentrionale. Poche righe dopo, segue una citazione intratestuale in cui il discorso diretto riproduce graficamente il suono dolce della gi, gli accorciamenti vocalici e la pronuncia del digrafo "ij" tipici del dialetto brabantino, parlato da una giovane cameriera.

Maar het verlangen (...) toen zij (...), die ene zin met die verrukkelijke zachte g, even naar hem keek met haar groene spotogen die lachten om 'diejen auwen gek met z'n gloazen ogske en dè moager jong meéj dieje vremde blik asoftie-oe honderd keren wou bekèken' – dat moest er eerst zijn (1980: 91).

<p>Ma prima doveva venire il desiderio (...) mentre la ragazza (...) pronunciava quell'unica frase con il suo incantevole accento meridionale, e l'osservava di sfuggita con gli occhi verdi e beffardi che ridevano del "vecchio pazzo con l'occhio di vetro e del giovane magro con quel suo buffo modo di guardarti come se non potesse toglierti gli occhi di dosso" (1993: 86).</p>	<p>But the longing, (...) [her] hearing say that one sentence with that deliciously soft lilt while she glanced at him briefly with her green mocking eyes that laughed at « that old fool with his glass eye and skinny young one with his look as he couldn't keep his eyes off you » - that had to be there first (1983: 86).</p>	<p>Mais il fallait d'abord en passer par le désir, (...) tandis que la jeune fille (...), prononçait une unique phrase avec un savoureux accent brabançon et l'observait à la dérobée de ses grands yeux verts moqueurs, riant de « l'autre vieux maniaque avec son œil de verre, et ce gringalet qui avait l'air de vouloir vous gober du regard » (1983: 86).</p>	<p>Doch das Verlangen, (...) als sie diesen einen Satz in ihrem entzückend weichen Dialekt sagte, als sie mit ihren lachenden grünen Spötteraugen zu ihm herübersah, belustigt über »diesen alten Geck mit seinem Glasauge und diesen mageren Jungen mit seinem seltsamen Blick, als könnte er sich nicht satt sehen an einem Weibsbild« - das alles musste erst einmal da sein (1984: 81).</p>
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Le scelte traduttive relative alla “zachte g” variano molto nelle quattro lingue d'arrivo. Risulta particolarmente addomesticante la traduzione inglese, in cui “soft lilt” non rende il fatto che la cadenza della giovane è marcata diatopicamente. In tedesco il riferimento è a un “dialetto dolce”, mentre in italiano il traduttore aggiunge un riferimento geografico con “accento meridionale”. La soluzione è considerata come adeguata da cinque partecipanti, anche se alcuni di loro dubitano dell'effettiva equivalenza nell'immaginario del “meridione” per il lettore. Quattro partecipanti, invece, avrebbero optato per una strategia più estraniante, posizione condivisa dal traduttore francese, che rende l'elemento culturo-specifico come “un savoureux accent brabançon”. Altrettanto complicata la decisione da prendere in materia di citazione: parere unanime dei traduttori, condiviso dai partecipanti allo studio, è di non sostituire il dialetto brabantino con una variante nazionale; lo sforzo nelle quattro lingue si è diretto verso l'utilizzo di un registro informale, che appare particolarmente ben riuscito nella resa in francese.

L'ultimo esempio proposto riguarda il contatto linguistico tra tedesco e neerlandese, nel discorso diretto di un chirurgo con un forte accento tedesco. Il personaggio dichiara di essere stato amico di uno dei massimi scrittori olandesi, Jan Jacob Slauerhoff (1898-1936) e si esprime dapprima prevalentemente in tedesco, poi, dopo una precisazione della voce narrante sull'allungamento del suono vocalico nel menzionare il nome dell'autore, il chirurgo passa ad un curioso amalgama di tedesco e neerlandese.

‘Ich war befreundet mit eurem Dichter Schaluerhof.’ De tweede f sprak hij niet uit. Hoof. ‘Een zeer bijzondere man, maar unglücklich, zeer unglücklich. Immer Frauengeschichte, immer roezie. En krank, zeer krank.’ (1980: 109).

<p>“Ero amico del vostro poeta Slauerhoff”. Ma pronunciò Schlauerhoof, senza la seconda effe. Hoof. “Persona assolutamente eccezionale, ma infelice, molto infelice. Sempre storie di donne, sempre liti, molto malato” (1993: 206).</p>	<p>« I was vrient of your poet Schlauerhof ». He did not pronounce the second f of Schlauerhoff. Hofe. « A very remarkable man, but unhappy, very unhappy. Always trouble with women, always sick, very sick » (1983: 73).</p>	<p>« Ch’étais l’ami de votre poète Schaluerhoff. (Il ne prononçait que “Schlauerhōf”). Un homme exceptionnel, mais malheureux, très malheureux. Touchours des histoires de femmes, touchours des scènes. Et malate, très malate. » (1983: 106).</p>	<p>»Ich war befreundet mit eurem Dichter Schlauerhof« sagte er auf deutsch und sprach das zweite f, das eigentlich zu dem Namen gehört, nicht aus. »Ein sehr außerordentlicher Mann, aber unglücklich, sehr unglücklich. Immer Frauengeschichten, immer Streit. Und krank. Sehr krank« (1984: 99).</p>
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In questo caso la maggioranza dei partecipanti si discosta dalla soluzione adottata dal traduttore italiano, che, fatta eccezione per la resa delle precisazioni della voce narrante, non mantiene in alcun modo il gioco di alternanza tra tedesco e neerlandese. Vale lo stesso anche per il traduttore tedesco, che, nonostante la vicinanza tra le due lingue, si limita a convertire in tedesco ciò che nell’originale era in neerlandese e a esplicitare che il chirurgo parlava in tedesco. Diametralmente opposte e molto più esotizzanti le traduzioni in francese e in inglese: qui le citazioni vengono arricchite di una resa grafica che imita i fenomeni fonologici tipici dell’accento tedesco, quali la pronuncia consonantica labiovelare della vu doppia in inglese o la sostituzione della fricativa postalveolare sonora “j” [ʒ] con quella sorda “ch” [ʃ] in francese. Notevole anche il negoziato per simulare l’allungamento vocalico nelle lingue di arrivo: “hofe” e “hōf”, con leggere variazioni nella resa della frase complessiva.

#### 4. DISCUSSIONE DEI RISULTATI

L’analisi puntuale dei due casi di studio esaminati consente di evidenziare delle tendenze generali nelle quattro traduzioni. Il traduttore italiano tende verso una strategia complessivamente addomesticante, in particolar modo per quanto riguarda la presenza dell’eterolinguismo. Tale osservazione si presenta in linea con quanto già osservato da Ross per la presenza in *Rituali* di citazioni in altre lingue (2009: 187). Colpisce che la stessa tendenza sia emersa anche nella traduzione tedesca, che cul-



turalmente e grammaticalmente appare come una lingua/cultura più vicina al neerlandese e si inserisce in un mercato editoriale in cui le traduzioni dal neerlandese si dimostrano come particolarmente numerose (Van Es e Heilbron 2015: 299). La traduzione in inglese mostra una notevole alternanza tra le due macrostrategie: talvolta la soluzione adottata è fortemente estraniante e il tentativo di rendere la presenza dell'eterolinguisimo è piuttosto costante; talvolta, però, lo sforzo di negoziazione emerge con meno evidenza. La traduzione in francese di Noble, a tendenza leggermente più esotizzante di quella inglese, è l'esito, generalmente molto apprezzabile, di un negoziato costante tra l'avvicinarsi al lettore o l'accoglierlo nel testo di partenza, con trovate notevoli nella resa della componente eterolingue.

Per quanto riguarda i questionari, è incoraggiante sottolineare che tutti i partecipanti allo studio sono stati perfettamente in grado di individuare negli esempi a loro sottoposti la presenza di elementi culturo-specifici: prerequisito della capacità traduttiva è, infatti, riconoscere quando il significante accessibile in superficie assume un significante culturale e potrebbe non presentare corrispondenze nella lingua di arrivo (Katan 2009a: 291). Nella maggior parte dei casi, poi, è stata evidenziata a più riprese la difficoltà derivante dalla traduzione di tali elementi. I partecipanti al presente studio, a un livello già piuttosto avanzato nell'apprendimento della traduzione e dell'interpretazione, mostrano anche una elevata capacità di riconoscimento delle tecniche di traduzione adottate, seppur senza ricorrere sistematicamente alla terminologia più specifica. Diversamente da quanto emerso in altri studi che hanno coinvolto studenti con un percorso simile alle spalle (Eszenyi 2013: 119-120), i partecipanti al presente studio non sembrano prediligere soluzioni letterali di dubbia efficacia; al contrario, si mostrano estremamente consapevoli della presenza di una difficoltà traduttiva, pronti ad avviare una negoziazione tra estraniamento e addomesticazione e, eventualmente, ad optare per una soluzione meno vicina al testo di partenza. Sembra che i partecipanti siano sulla buona strada nello sviluppo di due capacità essenziali: "toleration for options and lack of certainty" e "acceptance of cultural differences" (Katan 2009a: 289). Al fine di ampliare i dati raccolti in questo studio potrebbe poi rivelarsi fruttuosa la selezione di un campione simile a quello già coinvolto per chiedere non un commento alla traduzione ufficiale, bensì di tradurre personalmente i frammenti selezionati. Così facendo sarà possibile osservare anche la capacità di negoziazione effettiva degli studenti e delle studentesse, che si ritroverebbero a svolgere un ruolo più attivo rispetto a quanto avvenuto nello studio qui presentato.

Che fungano da mezzo per sviluppare un atteggiamento critico nell'analisi (anche comparativa) della traduzione o che siano utilizzati come utile risorsa per avvicinare gli studenti e le studentesse al legame intrinseco tra lingue e culture, i *realia* si confermano come lo strumento per eccellenza per rammentare che, al di là delle scelte traduttive adottate ad hoc per ogni elemento culturo-specifico, la percezione del contatto con un'alterità linguistica e/o culturale e il manifestarsi del processo di traduzione nel testo di arrivo sono tutt'altro che inusuali. D'altra parte, "le traduzioni sono, e sempre rimarranno, traduzioni" (Florin 1993: 122) e proprio in questo risiede la loro essenza.

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