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Aims & scope

English Studies at NBU (ESNBU) is an entirely open access, double-blind peer reviewed academic journal published by the Department of English Studies, New Bulgarian University in one or two issues per year in print and online.

ESNBU welcomes original research articles, book reviews, discussion contributions and other forms of analysis and comment encompassing all aspects of English Studies and English for professional communication and the creative professions. Manuscripts are accepted in English, with occasional articles in other languages. Translations of published articles are generally not accepted.

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EDITOR'S MESSAGE

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *English Studies at NBU*!

Let me first of all take this opportunity to wish all our readers, authors, reviewers and the entire editorial team a very happy, peaceful and prosperous 2015.

This first issue of ESNBU comprises, among other articles, a selection of peer reviewed contributions to the International Seminar on Translator and Interpreter Training jointly organized by New Bulgarian University and Moscow City Teachers' Training University in Moscow on 12-14 May, 2014 and in Nizhny Novgorod on 16 May, 2014.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Olga Suleimanova (Moscow City Teachers' Training University) and Professor Elena Porshneva (Nizhny Novgorod State Linguistic University) for their invaluable support in organizing and making possible the seminar and related events.

I hope that you enjoy this first issue of ESNBU which offers an array of engaging articles in the fields of translation, foreign language teaching methodology, literature and political history. Please feel free to add a comment online in the *Discuss* section or contact the author or the editors for further dialogue. We look forward to getting feedback from you, and continue to welcome submissions for our upcoming issues. You can find out more about submitting a paper to ESNBU at our Web site http://www.esnbu.org.

Let me close by expressing my considerable appreciation to all the colleagues whose generous contributions of time and effort has made this first issue of ESNBU possible and by extending my best for your future research endeavours.

With regards,

Boris Naimushin, Editor in Chief

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ON THE CONCEPT OF TERM EQUIVALENCE

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Abstract

The article considers some terminological aspects in the process of harmonization of legislation reflecting on different approaches to the study of terms and especially to synonymy and term equivalence. The various mechanisms available to the translator are examined within the EU context and against the background of Bulgaria's legal culture. The analysis is based on translations of EU legislation from English into Bulgarian and highlights felicitous choices and techniques employed, as well as recurring inconsistencies in the long and arduous process of approximation of legislation.

Keywords: harmonization of legislation, supranational law, EU directives, legal terminology, translation equivalence, translation strategies, multilingual communication

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Countries acceding or seeking accession to the European Union are in the process of harmonizing existing institutions and bodies, creating new ones and finding the language to communicate adequately within unified Europe. Approximation of legislation entails the arduous and demanding task of standardizing legal terminology.

Some terminological aspects in this process are considered reflecting on different approaches to the study of terms. The various mechanisms available to the translator are examined within the EU context and against the background of Bulgaria's legal culture. The analysis is based on 120 pages of selected EU directives[*] on intellectual property, copyright and related rights and their respective translations from English into Bulgarian, highlighting some felicitous choices and techniques employed, as well as some recurring inconsistencies.

At present there is great instability in Bulgarian legal terminology. New terms are coined rather *ad hoc* without regard to uniformity even in one and the same legal instrument. Terms are not evaluated according to the conceptual system of the particular field under codification. There is a process of replacement of Bulgarian terms due to the demand of international lexis and a marked shift of content of some native words under the influence of the languages in contact (cf. Yankova & Vassileva, 2002).

The setting

Community law is a prime example of supranational law and given the now 24 official languages presents quite an idiosyncratic legal, linguistic, social and cultural setting. The A*cquis communautaire* or the collection of EU legislation encompasses primary legislation (the Treaties), secondary legislation (deriving from the Treaties) and case law. There are five types of secondary EU instruments: regulation, directive, decision, recommendation, and opinion, of which the first two are the most important and most recurrent. It is essential for the translator to be aware of the parts that compose each instrument, the functions it performs and whether and to what extent it is binding.

EU directives are one of the means for achieving the aims and purposes of the European Community and are binding to all Member States who have the discretion to

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[*] Council Directives 91/250/EEC, 92/100/EEC, 93/83/EEC, 93/98/EEC, 96/9/EC

determine how to incorporate their stipulations in the respective national legislation. Non Member States seeking membership are also in the process of harmonization of their national laws.

What are some of the characteristics of the specific EU context and how do they shape the linguistic and cognitive structure of the produced texts? The distinctive nature of the EU setting lies in the fact that a Member State translates and incorporates Community legislation into its own national law and language, whereas in traditional cases nations draft their own laws, rather than adopt from outside.

The supranational environment in which EU legal instruments are drafted and the absence of a single culture are defining features of this setting. EU's multilingualism is a challenge for translation of legislative texts since the legal systems are not comparable. Terms that are used in one Member State sometimes cannot be easily rendered into the languages of another (e.g. summary judgement in English law is non-existent in the German legal system). Other realities that bear upon the way texts are shaped are the recommendations of the fight-the-fog campaign, the non-binding observance of age-long linguistic and legal traditions (as is the case in Britain for instance), the equal footing of all the official languages, the aspiration to draft legislation that will be comprehensible to the public at large and that can easily be translated into different languages, the fact that sometimes legislation in English is drafted by non-native speakers. Supranational and multilingual are the two most salient features of Community law. At least in theory.

In practice, some languages like Greek or Danish hardly ever function as source languages. Most documents are drafted in French, German, English or Spanish (cf. Robertson, 2001, p. 699, Trosborg, 1997, p. 150) with a marked predominance of English. The English text of a document is often used for negotiations between delegations and in the accession procedures with non-member countries. According to a 2001 public opinion survey in the then 15 Member States conducted by INRA-Europe, although the proportion of population of the EU speaking English as a mother tongue is 16% (24% for German) the total proportion speaking this language both as mother and non-mother tongue is 47% (32% for German), making it the most widely used language

in the European Union. With the 2004 accession of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Estonia and Finland, German rose in importance although English remains the most widely-spoken language within Europe. This is also in keeping with the worldwide tendency to employ English as the lingua franca in international communication.

Notwithstanding the existing linguistic diversity, the working groups which try to institute a common European legal framework choose English as the language of communication. From a practical point of view, this precludes the necessity of elaborating uniform terminology in each language and facilitates greater concentration on the legal issues to be tackled. Concurrently, it aggravates potential language problems since English legal language is closely related to English legal concepts, which can sometimes essentially depart from civil law notions.

EU citizens that speak regional languages like Catalan (an estimated 4.5 mother tongue speakers in Spain, France and Andorra) do not enjoy the same linguistic rights as those speaking the national languages of the member States. More people speak Catalan than those who speak the official languages Swedish, Portuguese, Greek, Danish and Finnish (Forrest, 1998). Jacques Delors (1992, p. 32), among other EU officials, has expressed concern about the feasibility of maintaining language equality in an expanded and expanding European Union. Furthermore, at its 2667th meeting on 13 June 2005 in Luxembourg the Council of the European Union decided to amend the 1958 Regulation No 1 to grant Irish full status as official and working language and authorized the limited use at official EU level of languages recognized by member States other than the official languages.

What are the implications of this supranational, multilingual, multicultural context on professional interaction within EU institutions and more specifically on the communicative situation?

The specific multilingual communicative situation

Let us consider some features of the genre of statutory legislation from the point of view of the communicative situation, namely the participants in the communication, the purpose of communication, and the production strategies.

In the context of a national legislation process the legal draftsman does not as a rule participate in parliamentary discussions, he is only the writer of the document and not the actual author of legislation. To make matters more complicated, legislation is multi-authored prose and often time-pressured. In codification the link between addresser and addressee is mediated. The law is intended for each individual in the society, but is interpreted by the specialist. Its illocutionary force holds no matter who the participants in the communication are. The main function of statutes is directive - it imposes obligations and confers rights.

The principal concern in legal drafting is the expression of the intent of the legislative body, not the facilitation of text comprehension. The ultimate concern of statutes is to regulate behaviour and not so much to inform and impart knowledge.

In many other types of text, the author often expresses an idea and then reformulates it in a different way so as to give the reader sufficient means and time to digest it. In legislation, sentences are over-compact and arranged in lists: the interpreter has the task to determine which ideas are important. The draftsman always has to keep in mind that he is writing for a hostile audience - the text will be interpreted by warring sides in the courtroom. Statutory writing strives to be precise and at the same time all-inclusive.

In the context of Community law we are witnessing a remarkable communicative situation where standard concepts of sender-receiver of message, medium, text type, have become rather fuzzy, giving rise to hybrid texts (cf. Trosborg, 1997, p. 146) that derive from languages and cultures in contact, from intercultural communication. In addition to the traditional participants in legislative communication – the text producers (initiators and authors of statutory instruments) and text receivers (specialists who interpret the law and the general public) in this supranational and multilingual environment - there is another set of participants: that of translators and revisers who make certain that the produced texts are legally flawless and best suited to the local context. Translators are considered acting as mediators between text producers and receivers but can also be regarded as producing a new text and whose primary concern is target text receivers.

Translation problems that surfaced in the translated EU directives

In principle, Bulgarian legal language is not much different from other types of formal language. Bulgarian Acts can, as a rule, be read like ordinary prose with ordinary words with familiar meaning and ordinary grammar: they are easy to apprehend. Being part of the Continental tradition, the stress is on general principle at issue (or the 'ratio legis') resulting in brevity of expression.

The Bulgarian translation of the Directives under examination, however, demonstrates a marked deviation from this tradition, especially in the numerous Preambles and the long and complex sentences. Certainly, a point to consider is the standardization of texts produced in the Union. All the different versions have to be uniform not only regarding the content, but also regarding the organization of the text. The layout, articles, paragraphs, sentences have to match completely in order to facilitate reference to the document in any of the official languages. The full stop rule requires "an equal number of full stops in source text and translations" (Trosborg, 1997, p.152). The translator, though constrained by EU requirements for standardization and uniformity of legislation, should observe the natural word order in the target language, making the sentence sound as natural as possible.

Some of the terminologically problematic areas encountered in the translation of the directives into Bulgarian can be systematized as follows:

Conceptual non-equivalence. Since translation is a form of cross-cultural communication, one of the difficulties translators most often encounter is institutions or concepts which do not exist in one of the cultures. For instance, the Bulgarian terms *предварително следствие* (*predvaritelno sledstvie*, preliminary investigation) or *дознание* (*doznanie*, preliminary inquest) do not have conceptual equivalents in Britain. The National Investigation Service, an independent body in Bulgaria, does not exist in other law systems. The work of the *дознател* (*doznatel*) is performed by a police inspector in England. Another such term is *възпитателна работа* (*văzpitatelna rabota*) which is usually rendered by a loan translation in English as *educative work*. A corresponding example would be the fundamental to Common law concepts of *torts* or *trust* foreign to Continental legislative systems.

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Specificity/Generality of terms*.* A greater or lesser degree of lexical density on the semantic continuum poses great demands on the work of the translator. Concepts in one language may have multiple meanings in another. More often than not Bulgarian legal terms have broader meaning than corresponding English terms. A case in point would be *адвокат* (*advokat*) which corresponds to *advocate, barrister, solicitor, counsel, lawyer, attorney*. The English *enactment* in the sense of *a legal document codifying the result of deliberations of a committee or society or legislative body* is rendered in Bulgarian with *закон* (*zakon*, act)*, нормативен акт* (*normativen akt*, enactment)*, правно предписание* (*pravno predpisanie*, regulation)*, постановление* (*postanovlenie*, ordinance)*, указ* (*ukaz*, decree)*.*

Faux amis or false cognates*.* Superficial resemblance conceals their different meanings e.g. *third country* instead of *non Member State*, *process of law* is not *законен процес* (*zakonen proces*) but *законна процедура* (*zakonna procedura*). One of the most glaring examples of a semantic deviation of international lexis in the analysed texts is the translation of *public* as *публика* (*publika*). The word in Bulgarian means *audience*. The correct rendition of *public* is *общество* (*obštestvo*) or *общественост* (*obštestvenost*).

Collocational semantic variation*.* Discrimination between the diverse meanings of one and the same word depending on the immediate context: e.g. *legal –* *правен* (*praven*)*, юридически* (*juridičeski*)*, съдебен* (*sădeben*)*, законен* (*zakonen*)*.*

Positive or negative latent value attribution to words or phrases in particular contexts. These are occurrences when past semantics hinders the adoption of loan words owing to negative connotation. The word *directive* itself, for instance, is a term associated with the former totalitarian regimes in Eastern block countries with negative overtones. It has seemingly undergone a motivated shift of content, however, and is currently freely used in relation to the institutional discourse of the European Union.

Selecting adequate translation strategies

In establishing equivalencies different criteria can be considered depending on the purpose of the translation. Equivalents can be communicative, linguistic (literal),

functional. A communicative translational equivalent is one that is directed to the recipient of a text. The purpose is to facilitate the specialist in the target language in understanding the concept behind the term. Secondly, a translational equivalent can be oriented towards the source-language term, giving primary importance to linguistic form. Thirdly, the translator can opt for an equivalent that is a legal term in the target language (for discussion of types of conceptual equivalence cf. Yankova, 2003, p. 57 ff.).

Of paramount importance in translating statutory texts is focusing on the content of the message and the precision and accuracy in meaning which override considerations of style. The prescriptive, authoritative character of legislation as a rule calls for literal translation in order for the translated text to achieve an effect identical to that of the source text. Therefore, functional equivalence is of utmost concern in legal translation. It is also recipient oriented in that it should correspond pragmatically to the source text.

In the absence of adequate conceptual equivalents in the target language there are several possibilities the translator can resort to. If we take as example the Bulgarian *касационен съд* (*kasacionen săd*) or *Cour de Cassation* in French, it can be translated as *Supreme Court* in which case a communicative translational equivalent would be employed, focusing on the concept. The aim would be to make a foreign lawyer understand that it is the highest court in the Bulgarian system. The other option would be for the term to be translated as *Court of Cassation* whereby it would be source-language oriented and faithful to the linguistic form. It would also convey the foreign nature of the concept it refers to. However, it might hamper text comprehension unless the foreign lawyer is well versed in French or Latin or is acquainted with the Franco-Germanic legal system on which the Bulgarian is based.

The Anglo-American term *trust* has no equivalent in civil law. First, the translator can supply additional information to explain that *trust* is a *right of property, real or personal, held by one party for the benefit of another*. Another possibility would be to preserve the source term. There has been an increasing tendency to use Anglicisms in the Bulgarian language. Most young professionals feel comfortable with the English language and the untranslated usage of English terms would eliminate mis-translation. However, the primary purpose of translation is to make the source text accessible to

people who do not know the source language. Moreover, non-translation renders an already hard to unpack legal text even more difficult for ordinary citizens. A third solution would be to find a short but sufficiently explanatory phrase, e.g. in the case of *trust*: *опека и управление на имущество* (*opeka i upravlenie na imuštestvo*). A fourth option would be to create a neologism. In my opinion, in most similar cases the best solution is the third option - finding a short, explanatory phrase that would be both relatively succinct and sufficiently descriptive. In Šarčević's view (1997) the most adequate rendering in cases of terminological incongruity is the attempt to convey the intended meaning in neutral language.

The creation of new lexical entities (neologisms) in cases of terminological incongruity can be of two types: totally new creations and borrowings from other languages. Neologisms should not be selected in an arbitrary way; they should show to a certain degree the content of the source term and be understandable by the target audience. When choosing neologisms the translator should also take into consideration the choice of earlier translators. Borrowings can be of three types: direct borrowing, e.g. *компютър* (*kompjutăr*) > *computer*; b) loan translation (calquing), e.g. *Бялата книга* (*Bjalata kniga*) > *White Paper*; c) internationalisms (Latin or Greek basic root forms, e.g. *магистрат* (*magistrat*) > *magistrate*. Direct borrowing can be recommended when the source language term can be easily integrated into the phonemic, graphemic, and morphological structure of the target language and if it permits derivatives. The use of Latin or Greek word elements produces internationalisms which facilitate text comprehension: e.g. *jurisprudence* > *юриспруденция* (*jurisprudencija*), ministry > *министерство* (*ministerstvo*), *restitution* > *реституция* (*restitucija*). Loan translation is generally used for complex or compound terms and phrases; e.g. *common law jurisdiction* > *обичайно-правна юрисдикция* (*običajno-pravna jurisdikcija*) and is generally preferred to direct borrowing. However, neither form of term creation is acceptable if it violates the natural word formation techniques of a linguistic community.

When the term is transparent or semantically motivated a good choice is a literal translation (*Community law, Green Paper* > *право на Общността* (*pravo na Obštnostta*), *Зелената книга* (*Zelenata kniga*). There are instances of description of the terms, as in

collecting society rendered as *организация за колективно управление на права* (*organizacija za kolektivno upravlenie na prava*).

Another approach would be to extend the meaning of an existing term to encompass that of a new concept, e.g. *piracy* now refers also to audio piracy, something that could not have been foreseen when the word was first created. Many terms are coined by the use of simile, i.e. the naming of a concept in analogy to another, familiar one. When a special concept (belonging to a target domain) is designated by the name of a general concept (belonging to a source domain) because of some resemblance between the two, then we have metaphorical term formation and its motivation can be found in similarities of form, function and position (e.g. *mouse* in computing, *control arm* in engineering, *bedrock* in geology). A term in one field can also be re-used in another field for a different concept (e.g. *hardware* in computing and general language).

When a concept in the source language has several equivalents in the target language, i.e. when it manifests differences along the semantic continuum, the felicitous choice would be effected through descriptive terms in order to make this distinction.

Most important of all before attempting translation, however, is to look closely at the system of concepts and concept relationships in each individual language. Acknowledging that concept systems are logical hierarchies in which concepts are subordinated, superordinated or juxtaposed to each other, of special importance for terminological work is the study of these hierarchical relationships. Conceptual differences between two (or more) languages are especially manifest in legal terminologies.

Let us take as an example the English legal term *defamation*. Black's Law Dictionary gives the following definition: "holding up of a person to ridicule, scorn or contempt in a respectable and considerable part of the community. The definition includes both libel and slander. Under *libel* we find: "a method of defamation expressed by print, writing, pictures, or signs" and under *slander*: "the speaking of base and defamatory words tending to prejudice another in his reputation, office, trade, business, or means of livelihood".

Within the conceptual system of British law *libel* and *slander* are both methods of defamation; the former being expressed by print, writing, pictures, or signs; the latter by oral expression or transitory gestures; and *defamation* is the generic term. Or, in linguistic terms, *defamation* is the superordinate term for the co-hyponyms *libel* and *slander*. The semantic characteristics look like this:

defamation: (+ false), (+ defamatory), (+ (or) - permanent form), (+ (or) - transient form)

libel: (+ false), (+ defamatory), (+ permanent form)

slander: (+ false), (+ defamatory), (+ transient form)

If we consider the conceptual system of Bulgarian law, we only find the term *клевета* (*kleveta*) which corresponds in semantic features to the generic term *defamation*:

клевета: (+ false), (+ defamatory), (+ (or) - permanent form), (+ (or) - transient form).

In an English-Bulgarian translation the appropriate choice is a descriptive equivalent (e.g. a phrase that is equivalent to *oral defamation* and *defamation in a permanent form*). When translating such terms from Bulgarian into English, translators should be careful in choosing the pertinent co-hyponym.

In cases of collocational variation Jacobs's (1995) assignment of thematic roles can be very useful in delineating the diverse meanings of a word. Undoubtedly a componential analysis is indispensable in the choice of translation procedure. The term and its concept have to be identified, delineated in the source language in order to find the appropriate term in the target language. Semanticians have resorted to analysing the meaning of a single word (word-internal semantics) and the meaning that word has with other parts of a sentence (external semantics). The legal terms under consideration in this study constitute a semantic unit; their definition is a proposition consisting of a predicate and arguments that fulfill varying semantic or thematic roles. Fillmore (1968) explains the propositional content (the deep structure) of a simple sentence through deep cases (relations) such as: Agentive, Instrumental, Objective, Factitive, Locative, Benefactive, which are converted into surface representation of

sentences. Jacobs (1995) talks of the following thematic roles that the predicate assigns to its arguments: Agent, Instrument, Theme, Experiencer, Source and Goal, Benefactive, Location and Time.

- *Agent*: a mind-possessor who acts intentionally;
- Instrument: the thing with which the action is done;
- *Theme*:

    a.   inert entity, which is in a certain state or position or is changing state or position,
    b.   affected mind-possessing entities (or Patient);

- *Experiencer:* the one who experiences a mental state or process such as thinking, knowing, believing, understanding, fearing, etc.;
- *Source and Goal:* source refers to the location from which someone or something originates and goal to the location that serves as the destination;
- *Benefactive:* the role of the individual for whose benefit some action is undertaken;
- Location and Time: these are thematic roles for nonargument noun phrases. (Jacobs 1995, pp. 22-29).

All the different ways of rendering *legal* in Bulgarian included the thematic roles: + Agent, + Instrument, + Theme. However, the various uses demonstrated a different thematic role as the salient one in the four cases, or even additional thematic roles, besides the essential ones:

legal & noun:

правен (*praven*) **& noun:** + Agent: *legal protection > правна закрила* (*pravna zakrila*), *legal implications > правни последствия* (*pravni posledstvija*);

юридически (*juridičeski*) **& noun:** + Instrument in the salient role: *legal entity > юридическо лице* (*juridičesko lice*) *legal residence > юридическо местожителство* (*juridičesko mestožitelstvo*);

съдебен (*sădeben*) **& noun:** + Locative: *legal costs > съдебни разноски* (*sădebni raznoski*), *legal opinion > съдебно становище* (*sădebno stanovište)*;

законен (*zakonen*) **& noun:** + Theme as the salient role: *legal duties > законен дълг* (*zakonen dălg*), *legal right > законно право* (*zakonno pravo*).

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Another example is **(un)authorised & noun** (e.g. *an authorized person*, *unauthorized removal*) where depending on the presence of the semantic roles + Theme or + Patient, the respective Bulgarian terms are: *упълномощено лице* (*upǎlnomošteno lice*), *непозволено отстраняване* (*nepozvoleno otstranjavane*).

Conclusions

A basic difficulty in translating legal (or any other specialized) texts is the lack of equivalent terminology. A successful translation is one that relays the content of the source text achieving adequate semantics and pragmatics in the target language. Searching for terminological equivalence entails constant comparison between the legal systems of the source and target languages. Legal traditions and cultures are so diverse that concepts in one system are alien to another system; therefore the cultural dimension of the concept should also be taken into account when looking for terminological equivalents. Some authors hold the view that full equivalence can only occur when the source and target language relate to the same legal system. "In principle, this is only the case when translating within a bi- or multilingual legal system, such as that of Belgium, Finland, Switzerland and - to some degree – Canada" (de Groot, 2000, p. 133). The on-going process of establishing a uniform legal system and institutions across Europe would mean that terminological equivalence is both necessary and possible. The issue is how to achieve this equivalence? What conceptual and linguistic resources to employ? Analysis of the objective form of language, the outsider view or the 'etic' aspects in conjunction with how language functions for users in real-life, the insider view, or the 'emic' aspects can offer insights into both the common, shared meaning and the culturally specific facets of meaning.

To summarize, I would like to give a list of proposals that have resulted from the present study as guidelines for further legal translations from Bulgarian into English and from English into Bulgarian:

- each term should be evaluated with regard to the conceptual system of the particular field under codification;
- a componential analysis of the semantic features of the concept is indispensable in finding the most appropriate translational equivalent of a term;

- in the absence of adequate equivalents the possible choices are: non-translation (preserving the source term), finding a short explanatory phrase (paraphrase), creating a neologism;
- preserving the source term is the least desirable option unless it concerns established Latinisms in one of the languages;
- paraphrase is a very useful technique for non-existing legal terms. It should be short, but sufficiently explanatory;
- neologisms cannot be chosen in an arbitrary way. They should be somewhat transparent to the target audience and should not violate the natural word formation of the target language. They should also allow for derivatives;
- in choosing neologisms, the choice of earlier translators should be taken into account in order to achieve continuity and avoid confusion.

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HOW FAR DO WE AGREE ON THE QUALITY OF TRANSLATION?

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Abstract

The article aims to describe the inter-rater reliability of translation quality assessment (TQA) in translator training, calculated as a measure of raters' agreement either on the number of points awarded to each translation under a holistic rating scale or the types and number of translation mistakes marked by raters in the same translations. We analyze three different samples of student translations assessed by several different panels of raters who used different methods of assessment and draw conclusions about statistical reliability of real-life TQA results in general and objective trends in this essentially subjective activity in particular. We also try to define the more objective data as regards error-analysis based TQA and suggest an approach to rank error-marked translations which can be used for subsequent relative grading in translator training.

Keywords: TQA, translation mistakes, inter-rater reliability, error-based evaluation, error-annotated corpus, RusLTC

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This research deals with inter-rater reliability of quality assessment in translator training. Our data come from two university translation contests which involved ranging translations based on aggregated grades awarded to translations by several raters and from error-based description of quality as part of routine training. In all cases the translation tasks involve standard, largely informative texts set in non-specific pragmatic and communicative situations, while assessment aims at summative and formative evaluation of the overall translation quality as a measure of general transfer competence (Neubert, 2000, p. 9-15), which is mostly centered around (macro)linguistic issues. The research is limited to translation into the trainees' mother tongue, which to an extent helps concentrate on those components of translation competence which deal with transfer proper as it drives active foreign language skills out of focus (Zwilling, 2009, p. 60).

The subjective nature of TQA is widely recognized in translation studies, yet at the same time it is not seen as a bar to employing statistical measures to gauge it (Zwilling, 2009; Kelly, 2005, p.140; Knyazheva & Pirko 2013; Waddington, 2001, p.24). For both major approaches in TQA – holistic and error-based – there are descriptions and grading scales, which, if successfully acquired by the raters involved, and within a carefully staged experiment, can yield statistically reliable results as shown by Waddington (2001).

This article aims to describe inter-rater reliability of real-life TQA carried out with different methods and assessment criteria and various degrees of their discussion by the assessors. In this research we also put our translation error classification, proposed for error annotation in Russian Learner Translator Corpus (RusLTC[1]), to a reliability test.

In his article on TQA, Williams insists that any assessment model should comply, inter alia, with the requirements of reliability, which is defined as "the extent to which an evaluation produces the same results when administered repeatedly to the same population under the same conditions. Thus a TQA system is reliable if evaluators' decisions are consistent and criteria are stable" (Williams, 2009). In statistics, inter-rater reliability measures show how much agreement there is among raters, by giving a

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[1] http://www.rus-ltc.org

score of how much consensus there is in the ratings given by different judges as regards the same object and assessment criterion[2].

Throughout this research we rely on one of the various statistical measures of the inter-rater agreement called Krippendorff's alpha. This coefficient is a statistical approach to generalize several known reliability indices, which (unlike other measures) can be applied to data produced by more than two raters, using any metric or level of measurement; it takes into account chance agreement, can handle incomplete and missing data and allows for algebraic differences between the units of the scale. This coefficient range is $1 \geq \alpha \geq 0$, where $\alpha=1$ means perfect agreement, $\alpha=0$ means that units and the values assigned to them are statistically unrelated, while $\alpha<0$ means that disagreements are systematic and exceed what can be expected by chance (Krippendorff, 2011). This measure originated in content-analysis research and is used in humanities to assess manually coded data (Artstein & Poesio 2008). It is considered more reliable than other reliability measures such as percent agreement or Cohen's kappa. The calculations have been performed using the on-line service developed by Deen Freelon (Freelon, 2010[3]).

In Section 2 of this article we calculate and describe the inter-rater reliability of TQA in the context of translation competition. This description is based on the scores reached by several raters without prior discussion of either criteria for assessment or evaluation method. It shows how much variance there is in the professional community as far as the opinions on the overall translation quality are concerned. Section 3 contains the description of inter-rater reliability of translation error-analysis based on an agreed error typology. In this case we measured consensus between raters as to the locus of the error and its type, as well as its seriousness. Special emphasis is made on the more subjective and less subjective areas in our implementation of error analysis. In Section 4 there is a description of an experiment which involves both error-analysis and subsequent grading, which helps to establish correlation between number and types of errors and translation ranks in the sample. Section 5 draws comparisons of the results and conclusions of the study and provides an outlook for the error-based TQA research and its classroom applications.

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[2] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inter-rater_agreement
[3] http://dfreelon.org/utils/recalfront

Inter-rater Agreement for Random Panel of Professional Translators and Teachers

The data in our first sample was collected under the following conditions. Six independent raters with different affiliations, including translator trainers and acting translators, assessed 70 student translations produced during a translation competition held by one of the Russian universities. They used a 15-point scale, which was applied as the raters saw fit, i.e. no translation values or assessment criteria were discussed beforehand. All raters worked independently under a reasonable time constraint and the contestants names were encoded, which ruled out any personal bias. The translation brief required a translation of excerpts from a magazine article (352 tokens in size, with full text available) on a general subject aimed for general readership and included no specific communicative challenges.

In order to calculate the alpha coefficient for inter-rater reliability we assumed that the data received from the competition jury of the six people mentioned above are interval by nature. It means that on a translation quality assessment scale from 0 to 15, it is the difference between values that matters. The higher the score, the better the translation, but unlike ratio scales (such as height or weight) the interval scale doesn't have a rational zero point which marks an object with no attribute in question (in our case a translation with no quality of translation). Also we can't say that a 10-point translation is as much better than 8-point one as 14-point translation is better than a 12-point one, which would be the case if the scale belonged to the ratio type.

The inter-rater reliability of data obtained under the conditions described reaches the value of $\alpha=0.569$. The author of the modern mathematical structure of this coefficient specifies that though the minimum acceptable alpha coefficient depends on the importance of the conclusions drawn from the imperfect data, the common threshold is known to be $0.800 > \alpha \geq 0.667$ (Krippendorff, 2004), and in other research $\alpha>0.74$ is described as perfectly reliable (Strijbos & Stahl 2007).

The relatively low degree of agreement suggests that the translation contest jurors either have been very inconsistent in assessing translations, lack the linguistic or subject-field knowledge required, or else they have very different opinions on what is

good in translation, i.e. they have used very different yardsticks for gauging quality. Lack of any quantification or description behind the points awarded by evaluators does not allow any further analysis in this case.

Nonetheless, further analysis of the data shows that Juror 3 can be considered an outlier. This term is used in statistics to refer to observation points that are too distant from other observations. It is possible to exclude these data from the set for statistical analysis. If we exclude data from Juror 3, the agreement between the remaining five jurors jumps to 0.676. The specific approach taken by Juror 3 is confirmed by agreement statistics for any team of five jurors including Juror 3: it amounts to 0.543 without Juror 4, $\alpha=0.512$ without Juror 1, and $\alpha=0.590$ without Jurors 5 or 6. Note that all these figures are lower than that for the jury without Juror 3.

By comparing statistics we have found jurors who agree the most (Jurors 1 and 2 show inter-rater agreement $\alpha=0.824$, Jurors 1 and 6 – 0.774, and the result for any other possible pair does not exceed $\alpha=0.539$).

The low reliability of TQA results revealed in this research signals a good deal of subjectivity in assessing translations and disagreement within the professional and educational community when the assessment is exercised in the holistic setting. For the results of this approach to be reliable it requires a much more complicated procedure than the sum total of the points awarded by all raters, which determined the competition winner in our case. As shown by Knyazheva and Pirko (2013), the variety of opinions displayed within a holistic approach to translation assessment can be fairly accounted for on the basis of system analysis methods. It requires formulating criteria and prioritizing them in terms of significance to the overall translation quality as well as meticulously assessing translations according to these criteria.

Error Analysis Reliability

In the second experiment we aim to describe different aspects of reliability of data that come from translation assessment, performed by two translation teachers, who used a pre-defined error typology to mark up mistakes in student translations. The inter-rater agreement is described as agreement between raters as to the error location in translation and as to the type and seriousness of errors marked.

This statistics is supposed to highlight the types of mistakes that are spotted and agreed upon by both independent raters versus those which cause most disagreements and, therefore, can be considered more "subjective". Besides, the results of this analysis and the discussion of its results will help to determine the faults of the proposed error classification and improve it before it is used for RusLTC mark-up.

The sample under analysis included 27 anonymized translations from English into Russian of 6 original newspaper texts which added up to 7874 tokens in size. The number of translations to each original varies from two to seven. All translations were done by students majoring in translation studies and translation.

The two evaluators worked independently on the basis of RusLTC Translation Error Mark-up Manual, which contains the general description of the translation error classification, its principles and examples for each type of mistake along with a commentary. The mark-up was technically performed in the customized version of the text annotation program brat (Stenetorp et al, 2012) installed at RusLTC site. It creates standardized text annotations that can be processed automatically.

Within the scope of the present research we do not analyze agreement in all types of mistakes provided for in the classification, and we will not describe the latter here in detail, limiting ourselves to characterizing it as a three-level hierarchy which includes 30 mistake types equally split between two major categories – content-related and language-related, depending on whether the mistake affects understanding of the source text or expression in the target language respectively[4]. In addition to defining the category and the specific type of mistake, the raters were also asked to evaluate them in terms of seriousness using a three-member scale (critical, major and minor) and considering the effect of the errors on the overall quality of translation.

The figures for the total number of mistakes marked by the raters in the same targets in our sample differ substantially, but the ratio of content-related and language-related mistakes is very similar (see Table 1). It means that the raters differ in the rigor of mistakes analysis, i.e. they show different degree of tolerance for mistakes, especially

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[4] The complete classification can be found at the RusLTC site http://www.rus-ltc.org/classification.html .

when it comes to target language accuracy. This conclusion is further confirmed by the striking difference in the number of critical errors.

To determine the inter-rater reliability of these data we have tried to examine how often the raters agree on the mistakes locus in the translation and the mistakes types and seriousness. In the first case we calculated the quantity of mistakes marked by both raters in the same text span. In our sample the raters agreed on the locus of a mistake in the text in 343 cases, including 33 cases of double or overlapping annotations. It makes 54.4% for Rater 1 и 76.6% for Rater 2 (see Table 2).

This means that raters more often agree that translations are faulty in a particular text fragment. It is important to highlight that our data are characterized by the high percent agreement on the category of the mistakes located by both raters – 80.5 %; whilst they only disagree in 67 cases out of 343. The fact that raters tend to agree on the general type of mistake which they both locate in a particular text span confirms the validity of the traditional dichotomy between content-transfer errors and target language errors that are often used as the top-level categories in translation error hierarchical classifications.

If we bear in mind that for each rater target language-related mistakes prevail in our sample, it is no surprise that they are more numerous among the "locus- and type-agreed" mistakes. It is noteworthy that the ratio between language and content mistakes in this part of the data is tilted towards the former – it is 0.747. We can therefore conclude that our raters tend to agree on content-related mistakes a bit more than on target-language related ones.

At the same time, we have to admit that in our first inter-rater experiment "subjective" mistakes (those that are accounted for by only one of the raters) make up a considerable part of the data – 45.6% for Rater 1 и 23.4% for Rater 2 (solid sectors in Fig. 1). In the case of Rater 1, "subjective" mistakes together with cases of disagreements about the type only (shown with the dotted background in Fig. 1) account for more than 50% of the annotation data for this sample.

The figures for the second rater, who showed much more tolerance for language mistakes, are less dramatic. The more subjective area of translation mistakes mark-up

extends to include the degree of mistakes gravity. The raters agreed on this attribute of mistake only in 34.4% of cases. At the same time one can notice that "disagreement" sectors (solids and dots) are always smaller in the area of content-related mistakes (darker sectors in Fig. 1), which speaks of higher agreement on the more serious truly translational mistakes, rather than those associated with language competence.

Drawing conclusions for this part of the research we can summarize it as follows. Our research shows that 1) our raters spot a mistake in the same text locus in more than half cases; 2) out of those, they agree on the type of mistake in more than 80% of cases; 3) they tend to agree more about content errors than language errors. On the other hand, they disagree substantially on 1) degree of tolerance to minor mistakes; 2) the nature and number of good solutions, and 3) the way in which to apply the classification, even at the level of mistakes categories, all of which undermines reliability of the error annotation and points at its subjectivity.

Translation Evaluation Based on Error-analysis

To improve the inter-rater reliability determined in the previous experiment we have introduced changes into the classification, discussed results of the research, and before proceeding we developed and discussed a translation of the source text that could be used for reference by the evaluators.

In the second error-analysis experiment we compared error annotations made by three raters, two of whom had already taken part in the previous experiment. The raters error-annotated 17 translations of the same text (EN>RU, source text size - 571 tokens), and then awarded each of them a grade, based on a 20-point scale. It is important to foreground that they did not use any agreed standard to convert number and types of errors into points, but relied on their own understanding of each translation relative worth.

The inter-rater reliability of the three raters' evaluations in points of the interval scale measured with Krippendorff's statistics for this sample is 0.734. For reasons described above it is close to acceptable.

Estimating reliability of TQA data in this research we have found out that raters tend to agree more on the poorer translations than on the better ones. In the first sample, the agreement between the three raters with the highest level of internal consistency of the data provided (Raters 1, 2 and 6) on the bottom ten translations (according to the aggregated score of the contest results) is estimated as 0.425. In the current sample it is 0.607. Krippendorff's alpha for the top ten translations is 0.127 and α=0.265 in the first and the second samples respectively. As it can be seen from these figures the lower subgroup of translations causes less disagreement between the raters than the higher subgroup.

If we compare the data from this error-analysis experiment to that obtained in the previous experiment, we can register certain improvement in agreement between Raters 1 and 2, while Rater 3 has contrasting results (see Table 3). The difference in data can be attributed to different degree of tolerance to target language mistakes which do not affect understanding and to different levels of understanding of the classification itself. Nonetheless, these data show that the annotations are still dominated by target language mistakes, while the concept of "a good translation decision" remains elusive.

As it has been stated in the case of mistakes analysis, we estimate inter-rater agreement as consensus on locus of mistakes in the text and mistakes type. In the sample used for experiment three, there are a total of 109 words or phrases which, according to the three raters, are erroneous translator decisions. These "more objective" mistakes account only for 1/5 or 1/4 of all mistakes marked by each rater. But if we exclude data from (untrained) Rater 3, the agreement between Raters 1 and 2 will jump to over 2/3 (69.35% and 71.59% for Raters 1 and 2 respectively; the number of mistakes located in the same place in the target text is 310, including 242 which are referred to the same type). It is interesting to note that the figures for the total number of mistakes for these raters are very close (in contrast with Rater 3), which means that the raters applied more or less the same rigor when conducting their mistakes analysis, while percent agreement and Krippendorff's alpha for agreement on the type of mistakes is a bit lower (80.5% and 78.1%; α=0.605 and α=0.561 for the data in the 1st and 2nd error analysis experiments respectively). We attribute these differences to the

insignificant statistical variance related to the nature and size of the sample under analysis.

These data prove that additional training helps to achieve more reliable data, at least in terms of total number of mistakes. However, agreement on the type and seriousness of the mistakes does not improve much, which means that evaluators tend to agree that a particular phrase is not an adequate translation solution, but they disagree on how to describe it in the categories of error classification and on how to value the seriousness of the error. The data from the second experiment confirm our previous conclusion that the raters tend to see more target language mistakes than content-related ones (the percent of the former varies from 60 to 68%, in Fig. 1 the light-green sector is always larger), but when it comes to the agreement on type of mistake it is the content-related mistakes that cause less disagreement (in Fig. 1 solid dark-red sectors are disproportionally smaller than solid light-green sectors). The agreement on seriousness of mistakes improved, too, from 34.8% to 59.6%, but these data are far from reliable as regards critical mistakes.

However subjective the translation mistakes annotations are, we hypothesized that there is a correlation between the number and types of mistakes and the number of points awarded to each translation according to a certain scale and reflecting the overall relative quality of students' production. To find this correlation we sorted tables containing results of error analysis (such as total number of mistakes, number of target language mistakes, number of content mistakes, number of critical mistakes, number of good translation solutions) and the evaluation in points produced by each rater. It turns out that the most reasonable way to range translations is to take into account the number of critical errors, the number of content-related errors and the total number of mistakes in this consecutive order as this ranging better reflects, in our opinion, their relative quality and can be used for grading translations. In each individual situation a teacher can determine the baselines between different quality groups (grades) depending on the text difficulty, time constraints or other conditions of translation. The grades can be further adjusted to accommodate the number of "good translation solutions" marked-up in translations.

Conclusion

This research has shown that TQA, although rather subjective, does have objective trends that can be used to produce reliable data for further analysis. For both samples of translations that were assessed according to different scales inter-rater reliability of TQA results amounts to $\alpha=0.784$ and $\alpha=0.734$. Generally, raters tend to agree more on bad translations than on good ones, probably because bad translations tend to be more homogeneous, while good translations contain more creative and non-standard decisions which may cause disputes.

Error-analysis based TQA can lack reliability if the raters stick to different principles of language use and evaluation of mistakes seriousness. The general trend in error annotation is towards greater number of language errors, although their ratio to content-related mistakes seems to be constant – 0.6. The raters more often agree than disagree on whether a certain translation variant can be described as an error (the agreement averages at two-thirds of all mistakes annotations).

Provided that raters are previously trained, the use of error classification seems to provide more reliable data than holistic approaches to translation evaluation. The more reliable ("objective") data from translation error annotation are the total number of mistakes and the number of content-related mistakes, while the important qualification of mistakes seriousness in terms of the overall text quality or loss/unwanted change of communicative effect raises disagreements and is, therefore, found "more subjective" in this research.

These quantitative translation quality characteristics can be used to range translations of a group of students working on the same target under the same conditions to arrive at a fair and understandable marking grade. The approach suggested on the basis of our analysis is to range translations consecutively on the number of critical errors, number of content errors and total number of mistakes. We do not suggest definitions for any quality baselines, because they should be individual for each text, group of students and translation situation.

Apart from reliability, the application of error analysis has other important benefits. It provides a clear justification of the grade reached by the teacher which is

appreciated by most students. Even if it is not fully reliable, it raises issues for discussion in class. The results of error-analysis, if produced in a machine-readable format allow all sorts of automatic processing, useful in all aspects of translator training (from assessment to teaching material and curriculum design), as well as in translation studies research.

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Appendix

Table 1. General mistakes statistics in student translations as marked by two independent raters

	Rater 1	**Rater 2**
Total number of mistakes	630	448
inc. content-related	247	165
inc. language-related	383	283
inc. marked as critical	102	30
Content- and language-related mistakes ratio	0.645	0.583
Percent of language-related mistakes to the total number	61%	63%
Number of translators' decisions marked as particularly good	4	9

Table 2. Two raters: Inter-rater agreement statistics as to the locus, type and seriousness of mistakes

	Absolute figures	**Agreement measures**
Number of mistakes marked in the same text span ("locus agreement")	343	54.4% (of Rater 1 total) 76.6% (of Rater 2 total)
inc. mistakes which were referred to the same category	276	80.5% α=0.605 (based on coded nominal data)
inc. content-related	118	42.8%
inc. language-related	158	57.2%
inc. mistakes with the same seriousness for both raters	96	34.8%
inc. crititcal	19	5.5%
inc. minor	23	6.7%

Table 3. Three raters: general statistics on translation mistakes analysis

	Rater 1	**Rater 2**	**Rater3**
Total number of mistakes	447	433	262
inc. content-related	173	172	83
inc. language-related	274	261	179
inc. marked as critical	39	50	No data
Content- and language-related mistakes ratio	0.631	0.659	0.464
Percent of language-related mistakes to the total number	61%	60%	68%
Number of translators' decisions marked as particularly good	17	30	18

Table 4. Three raters: Inter-rater agreement statistics as to the locus, type and seriousness of mistakes

	Absolute figures	Agreement measures		
		Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3
Number of mistakes marked in the same text span ("locus agreement")	109	24.38%	25.17%	41.60%
inc. mistakes which were referred to the same category	72	76.758% (average percent agreement) α=0.535 (based on coded nominal data)		
inc. content-related (of the content-related mistakes total for each expert)	38	21.96%	22.09%	45.78%
inc. language-related	34	12.40	13.02	18.99
inc. mistakes with the same seriousness for both raters	185 of 310 (for two raters)	59.68%		No data
inc. critical	20	6.5 (of all mistakes located in the same place for two raters)		No data
inc. minor	81	26.13 (of all mistakes located in the same place for two raters)		No data

- unique content-related
- language-related marked in the same locus
- disagreement about type, refered to language-related
- disagreement about type, refered to content-related
- content-related marked in the same locus
- unique language-related
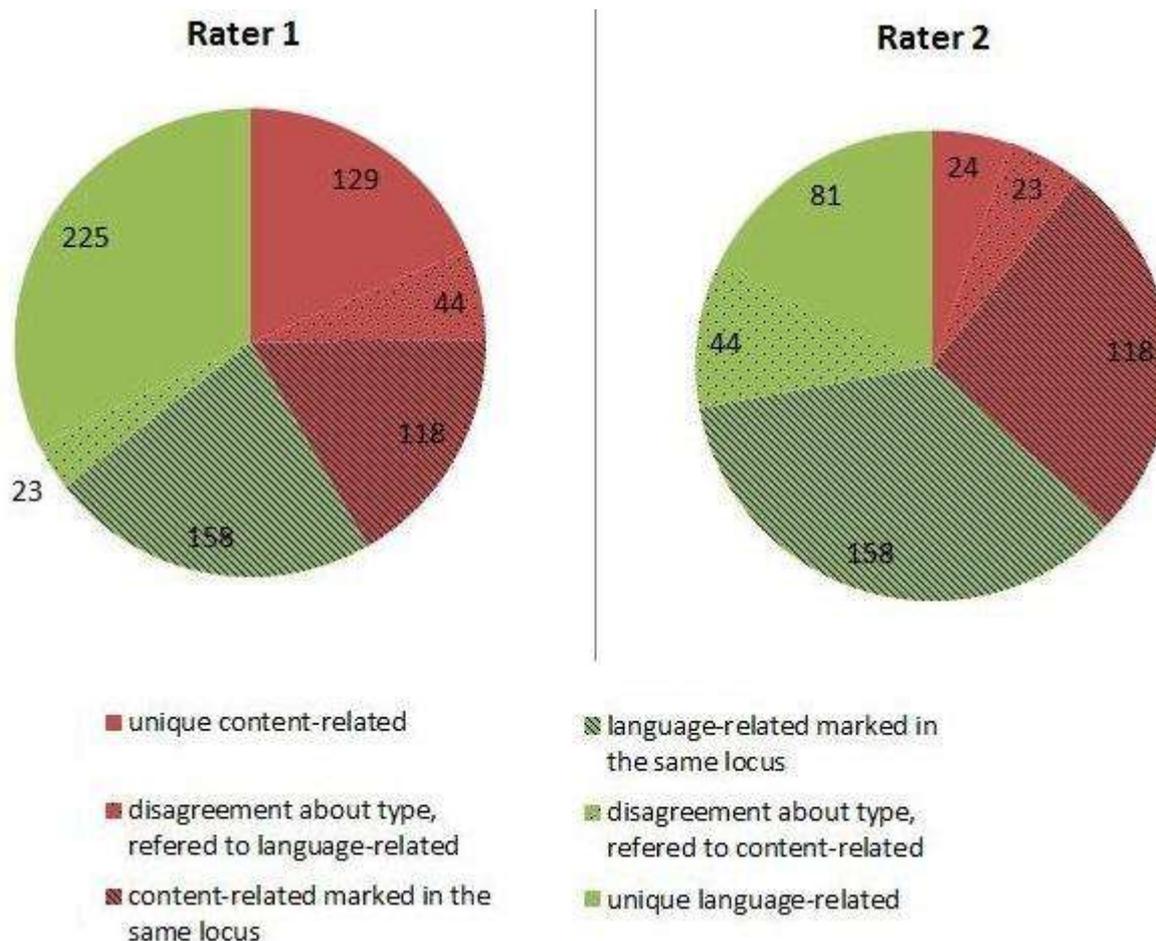
Figure 1. Raters 1 and 2: Ratio of different mistakes, including inter-rater agreement groups

THE METHODOLOGICAL STRUCTURE
OF A LANGUAGE *A* TO LANGUAGE *B* TRANSLATION TEXTBOOK

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Abstract

The paper is based on the author's experience of writing a Russian-English translation textbook and looks into the methodology of teaching students to translate into their non-mother tongue (language B). It is argued that a textbook delivering a course on general, rather than specialized, translation should move away from the popular format of text samples followed by glossaries and comments. Instead, the primary focus should be made on the utterance as the principal unit of translation. Utterances need to be analysed in terms of the situations which they reflect and their semantic class components (objects, events, abstracts, and relations). This approach, termed semantic-situational, can help make the learning and teaching of Language A to Language B translation more consistent and streamlined.

Keywords: teaching translation, non-mother tongue translation, A2B translation, language B translation, translation textbook, textbook methodology, instructional principles

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Why a different approach is needed for teaching translation into Language B

It is a widespread belief that professional translation should only be undertaken into one's mother tongue or near-native language (referred to as language A), so many universities and translator schools do not teach translation into languages other than A (to which I will refer here broadly as 'B languages').

There are quite a few countries, however, whose universities cannot afford the luxury of not teaching their students to translate into B languages (a subject which will be termed 'A2B translation' here[1]), if only for the lack of a sufficient number of native speakers of those languages available as professional translators. In Russia, for example, the ability to translate well into B languages studied is directly stated in the national standard for linguist/translator training. So for Russian universities the question is not whether or not to teach A2B translation, but how to teach it.

The methods of teaching A2B and B2A translation are vastly different. In either case, of course, the global task is to teach students to create a target text (TT) which is equivalent to the source text (ST). However, in B2A translation the emphasis has to be on correctly extracting the sense from the ST, since this is where most mistakes are made. A further task—expressing that sense in language A correctly and competently—is made easier by the students' inherent (though, of course, not always expert) command of, and previous education in, the target language.

Although the issue of understanding and interpretation in A2B translation is not totally irrelevant, it is less challenging for the same reason; the ST is written in the students' mother tongue. The task that comes to the fore and presents the most serious challenge here is that of expressing well-understood meaning with resources of a language with which the students are much less comfortable.

To present the difference more graphically, albeit rather simplified, one might say that in B2A translation the focus is on understanding the original and not distorting it in translation, while in A2B translation it is on putting the given meaning into words without making mistakes.

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[1] Abbreviations used in this paper: *A2B translation* – translation from language A (native or near-native) into language B (non-mother tongue); *B2A translation* – translation from language B to language A; *ST* – source text; *TT* – target text. Russian text is cited using 'scientific transliteration of Cyrillic' (Scientific transliteration of Cyrillic, n.d.), with the exception of the authors' names given in accordance with their traditional Romanization.

When translating into language A, the students may not always be good at providing smooth and well-balanced sentences, but it is still a language they know fluently and systematically. There can be no matching fluency or systemic knowledge of a B language. Desirable systemic knowledge can and should be gained, however, within a well-organized, if limited, arsenal of resources.

Finally, the teaching of A2B translation imposes some additional requirements on the instructor: not every language teacher is equally efficient in translating both ways him or herself, and, consequently, in teaching it.

The above seems a good argument in favour of teaching A2B translation as a separate course. The structure of such a course and the methodology behind it deserve attention and are the subject of this paper.

Legacy: Katzer & Kunin, Gak

Let us take a look at our legacy. For the Russian/English language pair, Russia's one and only A2B translation textbook was published by Yuli Katzer and Vladimir Kunin (1964) half a century ago. The book consists of two unequal parts. The introductory part contains 13 chapters with "theory" dedicated to various translation difficulties and techniques, followed by exercises consisting of isolated sentences or paragraph-long contexts.

The textbook's main part is made up of sample texts to translate, each followed by comments on potential translation issues and then by exercises for students to practice the resolution of those issues either in class or at home. Interestingly, lessons 1–13 also contain model English translations of the Russian STs. Lessons 14–26 do not provide such model TTs, but the final four lessons containing excerpts from classical literature and their translations bring the students back to comparative ST and TT analysis.

Russian scholars and educationists have traditionally paid meticulous attention to defining two aspects of their teaching efforts: *metodologija* (methodology, or global scientific principles) and *metodika* (more specific instructional principles or methods). Katzer & Kunin describe their approach as follows: "In their instructional principles the authors have assumed that specific translation theory can be built by both inductive and deductive logic" (Katzer&Kunin, 1964, p. 8).

The term 'methodology' is not used here, but it is obviously equated with specific

(i.e. language-specific) translation theory, a version of which the authors had to develop, at least partially, while writing the textbook. What is described as 'inductive' and 'deductive' logic are the two components of the book's *metodika,* or instructional method: inductive learning implies mastering bits of theory first and then applying them to practical translation; deductive learning means drawing such bits of theory, in the form of translation rules and techniques, from TTs done earlier or from one's own practice under an instructor's guidance.

The Katzer & Kunin (1964) textbook widely employs comparative analysis of the ST and TT, a tool whose advantage is that it can be used both deductively and inductively.

The above solution determined the book's structure: although most of it was built around texts, the latter had been selected so as to illustrate various 'bits of theory' and techniques of translation, rather than to exemplify some technical subject areas or to train some glossary. It also explains why comparative analysis was given so much space in the textbook: students were not just asked to translate a text after reading the authors' comments; they had to compare professionally translated TTs against their own STs. In this way, not only did they learn to assess other people's translations, but eventually also their own.

Another notable Soviet-era book in A2B translation was written by Vladimir Gak (1975), a unique blend of textbook and research paper. In addition to analytical chapters, the book contains no STs at all, only exercises each containing a handful of isolated sentences (or slightly longer strings of text) to translate. Unlike the Katzer & Kunin work, its instructional method is purely deductive, with a comparative typology of Russian and French chosen as it general methodology.

In contrast to the two works described above, most, if not all, other A2B translation textbooks of the Soviet period were based on inductive logic, essentially being compilations of Russian STs selected and grouped by subject matter: international relations, labor unions, industry, science, art, etc. None of those works received the acclaim accorded to the textbooks by Katzer & Kunin (1964) or Gak (1975), or remained as memorable.

This statement is not intended to imply opposition to the inductive principle in university teaching. On the contrary, it may be quite appropriate in two-way or B2A

translation textbooks and courses. There are strong arguments, however, that it should not play a significant role in general (i.e. non-specialized) A2B translation courses, especially at the basic and intermediate (bachelor's degree) level.

Post-Soviet experience

In the 1990s and 2000s no textbooks or manuals on A2B translation were published in Russia. The unfinished edifice of specific Russian/English translation theory, whose foundation was laid by Yuli Katzer and Aleksandr Kunin, resembled an abandoned and neglected construction project.

Elements of Russian-English translation were included in some of the numerous 'learner's books' (*uchebnye posobija*) on English translation composed as subject-area selections of texts and exercises to develop an "active" vocabulary. The emphasis on vocabulary was understandable: in the early 1990s, Russia was going through a period of dramatic change, and its society, as it opened up to the world, was flooded with new information and terminology.

Whatever their merits, all earlier translation textbooks had lost their relevance. The demand for translation was associated with new and different types of discourse, and language teachers felt it to be their first priority to fill huge lexical gaps in their students' (and their own) education.

These new textbooks and learner's books were text-centered. Each text or group of texts was dedicated to a 'topic' and its associated lexicon. However, the texts—and, therefore, textbook chapters or 'lessons'—depended little on one another. One could study them in any order, some could be skipped and others added without any tangible impact on the logic of how the skill of translation was supposed to be developed, if the author had that in view at all.

To put it in a straightforward way, there was simply no method or principle of teaching A2B translation to students of English in any textbooks published in the last quarter of the 20th century. The only "method" apparent in them was the requirement that students use the prescribed equivalents for the clichés, expressions and terms listed after the texts.

I have had to read a large number of these sorts of manuals as an expert of the Russian Education and Science Ministry's Instructional Association in the Sphere of Linguistics (*Učebno-metodičeskoe ob"edinenie*). When reading them, I often felt that the

authors had a very remote understanding of the essence of the translator's craft. In their explanatory notes and cover letters they often admitted that their goal was to expand the students' bilingual vocabulary. It seemed that, according to the authors, all that aspiring translators needed to know to do their job well in the future was to accumulate as many word and phrase equivalents as possible. A huge number of translation textbooks are still based on the same understanding today, both in my country and abroad.

Two books which broke that trend around the turn of the century were written by Yevgeny Breus (1998) and Igor Poluyan (2005). Both authors gave up the inductive text-centered principle, and both brought back specific translation theory as the methodology for teaching translation. That could have been expected, since both had had a long affiliation with Moscow State Linguistic University, home to the translation studies school to which Katzer and Kunin had belonged.

These two books, however, could form no basis of a systematic course for training professional A2B translators—if only because they were too short. The pieces of specific translation theory which they contained were fragmentary and limited in range and number. For example, the main part of Breus's (1998) book, which is dedicated to the rendering of the text's referential meaning (or denotative function, to use the author's term), only deals with five translating issues barely if at all connected with one another: the change of predicates in translation; translating sentences with inverted word order; translating verbal noun constructions; splitting or merging sentences in translation; translating free word combinations.

The comparative observations given in Poluyan (2005) are valuable, but again very fragmented. In addition, some of the author's theoretical assumptions cannot be easily shared. As an example, differences in how the underlying situation is described in the ST and TT surface structure are seen by the author as "processes", a term which runs through the entire book and is included in its title but is highly debatable.

Despite their vulnerabilities, Breus (1998) and Poluyan (2005) were a real breath of fresh air in the world of translation teaching. However, they rose like solitary rocks above the boundless turbid sea of other teaching materials which reduced all translation theory to just a single technique, that of substituting prescribed equivalents for words and clichés from rote-learnt lists.

Role of curriculum

For a university textbook to be efficient, it needs to be based on a well thought-out curriculum. Back in the Soviet period, the translation curricula of foreign languages institutes were typically broken down into sections corresponding to the traditional divisions of the language system: lexical issues of translation; grammatical issues of translation; and stylistic issues of translation.

As translation theory developed, this three-aspect approach became a Procrustean bed for translation studies and teaching. To give an example, complex transformations such as modulation (also termed metonymic translation—in Russian, *smyslovoe razvitie*) were classified as 'lexical'. It is clear, however, that they do not only affect words and phrases, but also some non-lexical aspects of text and thus do not fit in the traditional class of lexical phenomena.

The development by Vilen Komissarov (2011) of the *equivalence levels theory* was a landmark in translation studies. Not only did he underscore the need to take account of the referential situation reflected in a ST utterance (something which other authors, including Vladimir Gak, had done before him), but he also identified two levels on which a situation can be referenced in translation: component-dependent (*sposob opisanija situacii*) and component-flexible (*identifikacija situacii*) (Komissarov, 2011, pp. 124–129). The latter level can account better than other theories for legitimate 'deviations' from ST structure, but the requirement that the translator should seek to attain equivalence at as many levels as possible (out of the five identified by Komissarov) leaves no room for an unjustifiably liberal translation.

With the equivalence levels theory accepted, translation had to be taught in a new way, which called for development of an appropriate translation course curriculum driven by what can be called a semantic-situational approach. I happened to draft the first such curriculum for the Moscow State Linguistic University back in 1987, and was entrusted as executive editor with coordinating work on its updated 2000 version (Yermolovich, 2000). The curriculum gained wide recognition in academic circles. Its later versions were amended only in minor details.

However, back in the early post-Soviet period of the 1990s, when the Russian educational system was muddling through a largely anarchic phase of development, academic curricula were of little actual interest to anybody. As the demand for

translators increased, many universities and colleges even outside the humanities field seized at the opportunity to fill the gap, most often with no competent instructors or good training materials. The university departments and courses set up then to train so-called 'translators in the sphere of professional communication' (a coinage designed to replace the too-down-to-earth-sounding *technical translator*) had no proper curricula because they did not have the expertise to develop them. The situation and its side effects are described in greater detail in Yermolovich (2007). As a consequence, there was nothing for new textbooks and learning materials to rely on in training A2B translators through the end of the century.

However, in the early 21st century the Russian education authorities tightened their grip on the universities, also by checking whether they had all the curricula and other educational requisites in place. Many of the new translator training colleges and departments reacted by putting forth clones of the MSLU translation department curriculum, often slightly abridged or modified, without apparently giving too much thought, as the 'clones' were often eclectic, watered-down or lacking an inherent logic.

That was an expected result. A curriculum is not self-explanatory by definition: it just names modules and subject areas but never expounds on them. After reading, for example, a wording like "Ways to render citational relations" (*Peredača otnošenij iz"jasnitel'nosti*) or "Verbalizing the implicit meaning of concession in translation" (*Vyjavlenie nejavnogo značenija ustupitel'nosti pri perevode*) not every new convert to translation teaching can tell what it is about and what there is to teach their students.

From a curriculum to a textbook

For a curriculum to be implemented successfully it takes a congruent set of teaching materials, primarily a relevant textbook. I began working on such a textbook shortly after the curriculum had been finalized and, due to a number of circumstances, brought it to completion more than a decade later (Yermolovich, 2014a).

Going from a curriculum to a textbook is not any trivial matter. A curriculum is not much more than a declaration, one to be filled with content in a textbook. From the onset, the textbook's structural framework has to be defined. Items of the curriculum do not have to be covered in the same order or in the same way in the textbook. Certain units can be grouped together; others may be broken down into smaller bits and scattered across several units. Some issues are only touched upon once, others may be

recurrent.

So the main question that arose when writing the textbook was how to structure it in such a way that it is knit together by a common logic, so that translation techniques are mastered in a systemic way, and so that the material is generally presented in a simple-to-complex sequence.

It was clear from the very beginning that a Russian-to-English translation textbook, like the curriculum, must rely on specific translation theory for the two languages as its methodological basis. The only problem was that the edifice of that theory was still 'under construction'. Despite a multitude of academic papers in this area and the fact that specific translation theory lectures are given at most universities, there was not a single monograph with consistent coverage of the subject. Therefore, a specific theory for the two languages had to be developed in the course of textbook writing.

As I thought over how to make the theory of equivalence levels the organizing principle for the textbook, I couldn't help noticing that Komissarov applied it to individual *utterances* (or *messages*), rather than complete texts. An utterance is not the same as a sentence, although the latter is the surface part of the former. An utterance is a complex speech sign which corresponds to the sentence in the expression plane and to a certain *situation* (i.e. a fragment of physical or mental reality) in the content plane. Another feature of a complete utterance is that it is characterized by one or more predications.

The emphasis on the utterance in translation theory should be seen as absolutely natural, as the utterance is the main unit of communication and, therefore, translation. If the teaching is to be based on the simple-to-complex principle, translation should be taught starting from the basic unit of translation, i.e. the utterance.

As soon as this approach was taken, it became clear that the structure of the textbook could be laid out into a sequence of the following stages:

- the rendering of the utterance's *referential content*, starting from individual utterance components according to Eugene Nida (1964): the object, the abstract, and the event (with a section of the book dedicated to each of them; relations are taken up later as they function both within an utterance, connecting its components, and between utterances);

- the rendering of the utterance's structure, primarily associated with the nature of predication—whether full or reduced, or 'wrapped-up' (*svërnutye*)—and the presence of an agent in the predication, a feature particularly important for the Russian language where impersonal predications are plentiful and multiform;

- the rendering of the utterance's *communicative content*, such as communicative structure and modality;

- the rendering of the utterance's internal and external *relational elements*: conjunctive, contrastive, concessional, cause-and-effect, etc.

"Where do grammatical and stylistic issues of translation go?" the reader may ask. As a matter of fact, the grammatical and stylistic aspects of translation are dispersed throughout the textbook and discussed together with associated aspects of reference and meaning. There is no need whatsoever to isolate them into separate sections.

In accordance with this approach, for example, differences in the use of plural nouns are discussed partly in the section entitled "Taking account of language differences in object designation" and partly under the title "Variations in the syntactical structure of agent predications", as well as a few others.

Similarly, the situation-oriented approach helps remove the unnecessary accent on translation techniques. There is no doubt that a translator should master those techniques, but they must not be looked upon as an end in itself—rather, as a means of equivalent rendering of various semantic nuances. That is the reason why, for instance, *antonymic translation* is treated in the section on rendering utterance modality in connection with ways to translate affirmative/negative utterances.

Achieving consistency

The structural framework chosen allows for various translation issues to be discussed in a logical and consistent way against the broader horizon of utterance reference, meaning and logic. Let us return to the rubrics constituting the main part of Breus (1998), where they look somewhat isolated and disconnected.

It appears that these rubrics may look more logical, if placed in a broader and more systematic specific translation theory context. As an example, the issue of verbal noun constructions (Breus, 1998, §1.4) is treated in the new textbook under the heading

"Paying attention to language differences in the designation of events" and, more specifically, "The rendering of utterances with a noun designating an abstract event" (Yermolovich, 2014a, §62). The issue of splitting and merging utterances in translation (Breus, 1998, §1.5) is discussed as part of "The rendering of relations between predications and their components" (Yermolovich, 2014a, §86).

To give a further example, let us look at another of five main topics in Breus (1998), "Change of predicates in translation". The book says quite rightly that "in translating Russian utterances with a verbal predicate denoting the manifestation of some property, like *nervničat', revnovat', opazdyvat'...* predicates denoting a state should be used (compare *On opazdyval*—He was late)" (Breus, 1998, §1.2). However, the title, "Change of predicates", is too focused on form, it obscures the semantic aspect of the utterance and all other language resources that denote abstracts. If the semantic-situational approach is assumed, the issue is naturally discussed in the chapter "Paying attention to language differences in the designation of abstracts" or, more precisely, in the section entitled "Ways to render permanent and nonpermanent attributes" (Yermolovich, 2014a, §32).

The semantic-situational approach, which examines the objective reference of the utterance, gives a broader and more coherent overview of various translation issues. It just helps see more of them, and the textbook (Yermolovich, 2014a) consists of about 100 paragraphs, each dedicated to a category of translation difficulties.

Each section in the textbook is structured as follows. It opens with a theoretical discussion of the title issue, explaining, among other things, the relevant concepts and terms. It goes on to give a contrastive overview of the Russian and English language resources used to express analogous meanings or referential components of an utterance. Then the relevant principles and techniques of equivalent translation are discussed.

It is here that the translation equivalence levels concept is brought into play as an analytical tool. Comparative (both pre-translational and post-translational) analysis is part of the textbook's fabric. This explains why a lot of space in the book is taken up by comments analyzing and editing earlier translations found in print or online. As an example, the reader is asked to compare the following message and its published translation:

Včera v dome pravitel'stva Respubliki Tatarstan sostojalos' soveščanie, posvjaščënnoe podgotovke k meždunarodnomu ekonomičeskomu sammitu Rossii i stran OIS.

*There was a meeting devoted to preparations for the International Economic Summit of Russia and OIC Countries in the government house of the Republic of Tatarstan yesterday.

The textbook book explains why this translation is in need of improvement: the phrase "there was" is stylistically out of place in the context of a news item. Modified versions are then suggested, including one that makes the logical circumstance the subject of the sentence:

The Republic of Tatarstan's Government House hosted (or: was the venue of) a meeting to discuss preparations for the Russia–OIC International Economic Summit yesterday.

The comments do not confine themselves to pointing to a different sentence structure in the translation (whose grammatical subject denotes the place of the action, while the meaning 'to be the scene of action' is expressed by the grammatical predicate). It is underscored that equivalence has been reached at the component-flexible level and that the situation is thus described from a different angle. Students are taught in this way to analyze translation in terms of equivalence theory, so that they might apply it to their own and other people's translations in the future.

It was indeed gratifying to find a consonant message in the Katzer & Kunin book: "The objective of this course is to help the students develop conscious, rather than mechanical, translation skills" (Katzer & Kunin, 1964, p. 8).

The use of texts in a textbook

Does the emphasis on the utterance professed and implemented by the author mean that he recommends total renunciation of the popular topic- and text-centered principle built into many translation textbooks? No, not at all. Text-centered organization can be well justified in advanced courses with the focus on the genre and style of texts to be translated, and also in specialized or technical translation courses. However, the semantic-situational approach, which gives priority to the utterance rather than the text, appears optimal for the general A2B translation course leading to a bachelor's or so-called specialist's degree (the latter being an intermediate degree

between B.A. and M.A. in Russia).

It is, of course, impossible to teach translation without practical training. Translation exercises follow almost every paragraph in the textbook, but short assignments consisting of utterances (or groups of utterances) relatively independent of a broader context come first. Such exercises help the student concentrate on the theoretical subject just learned and on finding solutions to associated translating difficulties.

That is not the only type of exercise, of course. Students do need to grasp and render the supra-situational semantic and stylistic structure of a complete text. So exercises consisting of individual utterances and short text fragments are followed, in many sections, by assignments to translate either full texts or extended text fragments. The texts and fragments are selected so that they contain the types of difficulties discussed earlier, to the extent possible.

Though not text-centred, the textbook nevertheless permits discussing certain peculiarities of text genre and subject-area categories, such as biographies, annotations, opera synopses, guidebook descriptions, historical texts, conference agendas, official releases, meeting minutes, executive orders and quite a number of others. It is true that this fundamental course does not place an emphasis on genre: it is believed, as noted above, that a more detailed study of text genre and subject-area specificities is best dealt with at an advanced academic level or in industry-specific translator courses.

It remains to be added that a separate book with guidelines for teachers and keys to exercises has been published (Yermolovich, 2014b) as a supplement to the textbook. It is intended more for instructors than for students, assuming that instructors too are sometimes in need of a translation version suggested. Where this author has felt necessary, versions of translation are commented on and recommendations are given as to what translation issues might require a more detailed discussion by the instructor.

Just one textbook cannot be sufficient for a translation course: students also need to be taught to use authoritative dictionaries, linguistic corpora, precedent texts, and related literature, to become good translators. Nevertheless, a logically structured textbook that amounts to more than a selection of sample texts with accompanying glossaries seems to be an absolute must for a university to be able to produce good A2B translators. In addition, such a textbook also performs the role of a reference book to be

consulted at times of difficulty.

The new Russian-English translation textbook discussed in this paper is an attempt to put A2B translation teaching on the methodological foundation of a specific translation theory for the two languages, the semantic-situational translation model, and Komissarov's equivalence levels theory. Its instructional principles involve deductive application of specific translation theory in combination with comparative ST and TT analysis.

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CHALLENGING ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

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Abstract

Academic presentations are hard to teach and students frequently have difficulties in their preparation and delivery. This article aims to present some of the findings of researchers in this area related to communication apprehension encountered both by native and non-native speakers of English. It also discusses the notion of high- and low-context cultures as well as various types of organization of presentations and overviews presentations as a process rather than a product developed with New Bulgarian University (NBU) students of EFL courses at level B1-B2 according to CEFR.

Keywords: academic presentations, university students, communication apprehension, EFL, culture

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Giving academic presentations is beyond any doubt one of the challenges most university students and teachers have to cope with. However, when these presentations are delivered in a foreign language, the challenge is even greater. If according to CEFR (Council of Europe, 2011) the level of fluency of the students trained to speak before an audience is B1-B2, the challenge might seem just too great to cope with. If we consider the main principles of successful speakers to be confidence, purpose and preparation, then we can better comprehend the importance of communication apprehension. Moreover, we should also bear in mind that there are culturally-specific influences on the way presentations are structured and that it is important to view a presentation as a process rather than a product, because it is in the process of preparation itself that students become successful presenters in a foreign language.

The basic principles of successful presentations

A number of researchers have formulated the basic principles of speaking before an audience (Lucas, 2004; O'Hair, Stewart & Rubinstein, 2007; Osborne & Osborne, 1997; Verderber, 1994). The most important characteristics of successful speakers are confidence, purpose and preparation.

One of the most important principles for a speaker is to display a strong sense of confidence and purpose. The generally accepted view is that that the more informed people are about the subject of their presentation, the more confident they are when they deliver their presentations.

Furthermore, confidence adds to the sense of purpose, i.e. the more evidence speakers can summon, the more convincing they are. In other words, in order to defend a position the effective speaker should be as convincing and as confident as possible. To achieve this, the speaker should be aware that presentations are inherently interactive. When speakers face their audiences, they are expected to give as many arguments as necessary to support their position and to convince their audience. Although each presentation or speech is usually viewed as a monologue, it is in fact dialogical in its nature. As a result, speakers should be able to anticipate what questions might be asked in a plausible dialogue on a certain topic. Thus all the messages in a presentation are

expected to be well-organized rhetorically, which is the third principle used by speakers who want to be effective communicators.

Finally, the above-mentioned authors claim that audiences respond best to well-prepared, extemporaneous presentations. However, it should be highlighted that being extemporaneous does not necessarily presuppose lack of preparation. Neither does it imply that speakers should spend no time at all in preparation. On the contrary, the best extemporaneous presentations need extensive experience and practice in the field of expertise.

To sum up, confidence, purpose and preparation are the indispensable prerequisites of a successful presentation and should be effectively employed in speeches both in the native and foreign language. However, in order to attain this level of confidence, purpose and preparation, a student should first be assisted by the teacher to cope with communication apprehension. The student should also be aware of the differences between rhetorical organizations of presentations in high and low-context cultures and should view an academic presentation as a process rather than a product.

Communication apprehension

It is a most natural human reaction, to be nervous, scared or distressed when speaking in front of a group of people even in one's native language. It may be translated as shyness, reticence or a lack of skills and knowledge associated with the topic of the speech. However, it is worth examining whether anxiety about giving a presentation is typical of most English speaking people and whether non-native English speakers view it in a similar way.

Speaking in front of a group of people has been viewed as one of the most common fears among Americans. Many authors define it as one of the major fears which the majority of people suffer from. For instance, Lilyan Wilder states (Wilder, 1999, p. 1) that "Fear of public speaking consistently tops every list of human fears. In an oft-cited 1993 study done by the polling firm Bruskin-Goldring, 45% of those surveyed said they feared public speaking. In comparison, only 30% said they feared death. In a study of 3,000 Americans published in the *Book of Lists* (Wallechinsky & Wallace, 1995) the number one fear cited by 41% of those studied was speaking to an audience. A similar

study by Seifert of the Behavioral Institute of Atlanta indicated that "40 million Americans hate speaking so much, they'd do almost anything to avoid it, and perhaps as many as 40 million who speak all the time feel anxious and do not want to give a talk!" Morreale (2010, p.53) also used the results of the Bruskin-Goldring Research Report (Feb.1993) and ranked "Speaking before a group" as the top fear of 45% of Americans, 54% of women and 34% of men respectively.

Apprehension associated with speaking to a group has been studied by American researchers since the 1930s. In 1970s McCroskey introduced the term and notion of "communication apprehension" standing for "an individual's level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons" (Morreale, 2010, p.78). He suggested that communication apprehension may be encountered in interpersonal communication, in communication in meetings, in group communication and in public speaking, which overlaps with the area of giving presentations before an audience.

Interpersonal communication is defined as a "trait-like communication apprehension" or an "invariant characteristic of an individual", and it is viewed as "a relatively enduring, personality-type orientation toward a given mode of communication across a wide variety of contexts" (McCroskey, 1977, p.147). The researcher noted three varieties of communication apprehension accompanying interpersonal communication, namely apprehension about oral communication, about writing, and about singing.

The apprehension encountered when communicating in meetings has been labelled as "situational communication apprehension" or "the reactions of an individual to communicating with a given individual or a group of individuals at a given time" (McCroskey, 1977, p.149). In other words, it is "a transitory orientation toward communication with a given person or group of people" (McCroskey, 1977, p.149), while "a relatively enduring orientation toward communication with a given person or group of people" (McCroskey, 1977, p.148) is thought to define communication apprehension, typical of group communication, known as a "person – group communication apprehension", which is ascribed to "the reactions of an individual to communicating with a given individual or a group of individuals across time" (ibid.).

The so-called "generalized context communication apprehension" type of apprehension concerns the fear of public speaking. It has been defined as "a relatively enduring, personality-type orientation in a given type of context" (McCroskey, 1977, p.147). As a type of apprehension discussed primarily in this article, its causes, either hereditary or due to some influences of the environment, are of particular importance. No pathological cases will be examined here; nevertheless some of the causes triggered by environment will be referred to. McCroskey (1977, p.155-156) discusses some of the reasons associated with learned behaviour, namely certain elements in a situation which are usually considered cause increased apprehension, such as novelty, formality, subordinate status, conspicuousness, unfamiliarity, dissimilarity, and degree of attention of others. Novelty is associated with situations which people rarely encounter. Being asked to deliver a presentation is not an experience a person is involved in every day. Consequently, it is stressful and most people are uncertain about their performance. Moreover, presentations are associated with formal occasions and there are conventions to be followed. When a person is uncertain about the rules, it is natural for the level of apprehension to rise. Another context-induced factor of stress is the subordinate status of the speaker in a type of academic presentation experience. If a teacher sets the task of preparing a presentation, students feel more than tense about their performance, which adds to the level of apprehension. Furthermore, the fear of being conspicuous is a factor which makes a presentation a particularly stressful experience. It is very hard for a person to feel relaxed, when an audience is focused on him/her. Students are additionally stressed by fears related to grades and performance. Last but not least, the factors of unfamiliarity with the audience, dissimilarity to it and the degree of attention paid by it to the speaker also relate to the audience itself. Some people are particularly apprehensive when they speak before an unfamiliar audience. However, there are cases when speakers prefer to talk to unfamiliar listeners because of certain personal factors. This also applies to the type of audience: some speakers prefer their audience to be comprised of their peers whom they usually consider friendlier and more good-willed. On the other hand, others might appreciate an audience consisting of people completely different from them as personalities. Another very personal factor influencing presenters is the degree of attention each speaker feels comfortable with which is dependent on each and every situation. However, it is claimed that a moderate degree of attention is usually least stressful, since too much or too little attention may

add to the level of apprehension. To sum up, when discussing academic presentations, the most important factors which cause stress and apprehension are features such as novelty, formality, subordinate status and conspicuousness. Conversely unfamiliarity, dissimilarity and degree of attention of others vary from person to person and may be even disregarded since the audience is usually comprised of familiar, friendly and good-willed peers who act as prompters rather than deterrents while students are delivering academic presentations.

There are also studies addressing communication apprehension experienced by non-native English speakers. Yung and McCroskey (2004) published the results of their study of bilinguals in the United States, showing that the level of apprehension registered in the non-native English speaking students in public speaking situations is high and even higher when they have to communicate in English. The instrument used by the researchers to measure communication apprehension was Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA-24) (Yung & McCroskey, 2004). It comprises twenty-four statements concerning feelings about communicating with others. Each respondent is supposed to indicate the degree to which each statement applies to him/her by marking 1 (Strongly Disagree); 2 (Disagree); 3 (Neutral); 4 (Agree); 5 (Strongly Agree). The statements are listed is the Appendix.

The scores can range from 24 to 120. Those below 51 are typical of people who have very low communication apprehension, scores from 51 to 80 show average communication apprehension, while scores above 80 show high levels of communication apprehension. The norms set for PRCA-24 are based on over 40,000 college students, while data from over 3,000 non-student adults in a US sample provided similar figures. The mean total score quoted by McCroskey (1982) was 65.6 distributed into the following subscores:

- group discussion apprehension: 15.4;
- apprehension at meetings: 16.4;
- interpersonal communication apprehension: 14.2;
- public speaking apprehension: 19.3

This research tool was used with twenty NBU students enrolled in EFL courses at B1-B2 level according to CEFR (Council of Europe, 2011). They were asked to complete the PRCA-24, grading from 1 to 5 the statements included in it.

The NBU students asked to fill in the questionnaire achieved a mean total score of 82.8 and the following subscores:

- group discussion apprehension: 20.7;
- apprehension at meetings: 21.5;
- interpersonal communication apprehension: 20.2;
- public speaking apprehension: 20.4

The following graphic represents the two sets of scores::
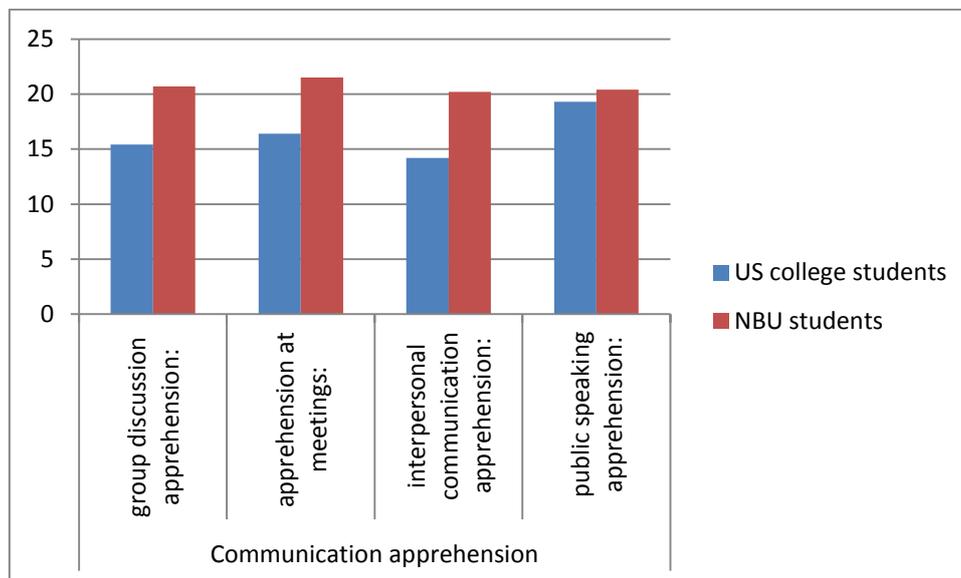
Fig. 1 Communication apprehension measured in US college students and NBU students

The envisaged standard deviation of the total score is 15.3, while the deviations of the subscores are 4.8 (group discussion apprehension); 4.2 (apprehension at meetings); 3.9 (interpersonal communication apprehension); 5.1 (public speaking apprehension) respectively. Thus the scores of the NBU students are within the reasonable limits. Naturally, the scores are higher due to the fact that the NBU students use English as a foreign language, they are not immersed in an English-speaking environment as the US college students and have not been trained to participate in group discussions, meetings, conversations or give speeches or presentations as part of their secondary education. Moreover, if there is much anxiety related to speaking in

front of a group of people including representatives of a nation with such a long tradition in developing this skill, non-native speakers of English are unsurprisingly even more distressed when giving a presentation in a foreign language.

To sum up, it is necessary to overcome this fear, even though it is rated as one of the most significant. It should be remembered that giving a presentation involves with the sharing information and information has been conveyed orally since the dawn of times. As a result, it is vital to be able to present pertinent information in the most effective culturally-specific way. To be able to fight it, students should be aware that it is a common and widespread fear even among native speakers of English and that there are culturally-specific rhetorical organizations within the so called high and low-context cultures.

Culturally-specific rhetorical organizations

Pointing at the organizational structure, it is worth mentioning that sometimes the expectations of teachers as representatives of the target language culture and EFL students as representatives of their native non-English cultures clash. If a certain organizational structure is expected by the teacher but the students' idea of an effective structure differs completely, then there might be some culturally-specific reasons that explain the dissimilarity. Furthermore, even if students and teachers have one and the same organizational pattern in their minds, the supporting material presented by the student may not be enough. In this case it might be a matter of "high context" and "low context" cultures (Connor, 2004).

High-context cultures (incl. Middle East, Asia, Africa, and South America) are defined as collectivist and intuitive, in which people are said to emphasise interpersonal relationships. According to Hall (1976), these cultures prefer group harmony to individual achievement and are governed mostly by intuition and feelings which makes context, gestures and even the atmosphere of a situation more important than words. Communication in such cultures is usually indirect and formal, typically consisting of flowery language and elaborate apologies.

In contrast, low-context cultures (incl. North America and Western Europe) are suggested to be logical, linear and individualistic. Logic and directness are mostly

valued by their representatives and most decisions are based on fact rather than intuition. Communication is usually straightforward, concise and action-packed, making use of precise words, intended to be taken literally.

The development of rhetorical organization is linked to education and culture. It starts in early childhood when children are taught in a culturally-specific way how to understand and organize ideas. Kaplan (1966) explores why the rhetoric of essays written by non-native English speaking students varies considerably from the rhetoric of native speakers' essays by analysing the organization of paragraphs in ESL student essays. He identifies five types of paragraph development for five nationalities and visually represents different rhetorical organization patterns – the "English" line of organization is straight or the rhetorical organization pattern is direct, at least it is thought to be so by the speakers of English, while all the rest are less direct. In his research Kaplan shows that the native rhetorical structures persist in the essays written by non-native English speakers.
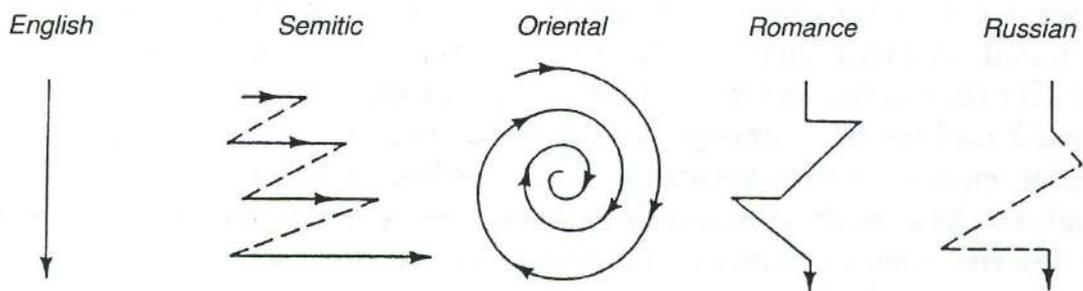
Fig. 2 Kaplan's (1966) diagram presenting cross-cultural differences in paragraph organization in the study on cultural thought patterns in intercultural education

The diagram illustrates the fact that people with different mother tongues and cultural backgrounds communicate in a different way. Connor (1996, 2004) states that individuals write differently based on their native language and the differences are evident in sentence organization, selection of main points and the entire structure of essays.

Although these authors are predominantly concerned with explaining patterns in writing, including EFL writing, their findings may be applied to speech, especially when

presentations are concerned, since they are the junction where reading, writing and speaking skills cross over. Academic presentations as one of the types of presentations are characterised by a strict organizational pattern, resembling the essay structure; however, they should be listener-friendly and dialogical.

In all probability Bulgarian culture may be described as a high-context culture, with a pattern of thought similar to the Russian organization as presented in Kaplan's study (1966) on cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. Therefore, it may be suggested that the most part of communication in Bulgarian is organized and communicated indirectly and formally. Following the model of low-context cultures, especially as far as the English language and tradition are concerned, writing and probably speaking are already characterised by summaries and transitions, which are typical for these cultures. However, in most cases the presence of transitions, linking phrases and summaries may be viewed by many representatives of high-context cultures as unnecessary. It is difficult for a person accustomed to one type of context to enter another one without any preparation. Students who come from high-context cultures have to adapt to the requirements a low-context culture imposes on them. Writers or speakers belonging to a high-context culture include in their writings or presentations information they presume to be relevant and necessary. However, if they are supposed to communicate in a low-context culture, their audience may find that information hard to understand.

To sum up, it might be helpful to students who deliver academic presentations, especially if their level of fluency in English is B1-B2 of CEFR (Council of Europe, 2011), to familiarise themselves with the different types of organization usually encountered in the English-speaking cultures, in order to be successful speakers.

Types of organizational order typical of English

Many authors propose different types of organization of presentations: Lucas (2004), O'Hair, Stewart & Rubenstein (2007), Verderber (1994), Sprague & Stuart (1996), in which the order of the main points depends on the topic, the purpose of the speaker and the audience. Thus students can choose the most adequate rhetorical organization that fits their purpose and suits their audience. They may opt for a

chronological order, spatial order, causal order, problem-solution order and topical order.

The chronological order is suitable for presentations in which the pattern of the main points is based on time. Presentations on topics dealing with a process, a story, a performance, a historical event or a biography naturally apply this pattern. It is easy for the audience to anticipate the order of the ideas and easily follow the speaker. Moreover, presenting steps in a chronological order is a strategy made frequently use of in the English-speaking cultures, as it is evident in the Disney Channel interactive animated series *Special Agent Oso* which introduce English-speaking children to a culturally-specific way of reasoning and sequencing. An emblematic song is typical of each episode and, setting a specific task, it follows a chronological order. In episode 1 the song goes as follows:

Three special steps: that's all you need.
Three special steps and you'll succeed!
Your special assignment is starting now
And three special steps will show you how
Step one: Find wrapping paper
Step two: Fold and tape it around the present
Step three: Put a bow on the wrapped gift
Three special steps, so now you know.
Three special steps and you're ready to go.
The checklist has all the steps you need.
Just follow them and you will succeed
With three special steps.

Apart from the chronological order, the song teaches the English-speaking audience to use the number three, so familiar and widely used in these cultures, since thinking of three reasons (or being told the three special steps to finish an assignment in the series) means that a person is convincing enough (or the main character is successful every time).

The second type of order, spatial order, is as straightforward as the chronological order, easy to follow and typical of explanatory presentations. In this case the direction

determines the order of the ideas. For example, a presentation dealing with the sites of heritage in Bulgaria may be organized from East to West or from North to South.

The third type of organizational order is the causal order which is typical of informative and persuasive presentations due to its main characteristic, i.e. to establish a cause-and-effect relationship. A presentation on smoking being bad for the health clearly establishes a causal relationship.

The fourth type, problem-solution order, sets a problem and offers a solution. In the 1930s Alan Monroe, Purdue University, USA, developed a technique to be used in speeches to inspire people to take action when trying to solve a problem. His "motivated sequence" is still used today (Council of Europe, 2011). It consists of five elements, namely attention, need, satisfaction, visualisation and action. The speaker is advised first to grab the attention of the audience using a shocking example, a dramatic occasion or a quotation. By using the next element, need, the speaker personalises the problem, convincing the audience that it is vital to solve it. The element "satisfaction" provides a solution, while "visualisation" presents the consequences suffered unless action is taken. In the "action" element the speaker tells the audience what they are supposed to do personally to help solve the problem.

Last but not least, the type of organizational order, typical of the English-speaking culture, is topical order. It offers no specific pattern among the main points of the speech. In this way the speaker is required to explain the pattern to the audience.

To sum up, when students are aware of the fact that they are expected to follow a certain organizational order, their task becomes easier to cope with. Familiarisation with the various organizational orders is a responsibility of the teacher who should also explain and show that preparing a presentation is a process in which s/he becomes a facilitator, assisting and advising students throughout all its stages.

The process of preparing a presentation

Seeing a presentation as a process is based on the concept of process writing. The important part is that the focus is on the various stages of the process (planning stage, composition stage, and presentation stage) and not on the final product. Tobin

(2001), a proponent of writing as a process, states that "traditional teaching produces canned, dull, lifeless work" as opposed to "lively, engaging, dynamic, and strongly voiced" work. Teaching how to prepare presentations as a process evaluation takes place at each of its stages. Thus corrective actions are taken early enough to prevent possible misunderstandings later on. It is important to state clearly the presentation requirements at the very beginning, so that students are certain that they are heading in the right direction.

At the planning stage the role of the teacher is to help students set their goals, choose their main points and organize them in the most effective way. It is of utmost importance to choose a subject, which is defined as the first step when preparing a presentation by authors such as O'Hair, Stewart & Rubenstein (2007), Osborne and Osborne (1997), Verderber (1994), Sprague & Stuart (1996), Cochrane, Fox, & Thedwall (2004). There are various methods suggested to students to select their topics (Lucas, 2004). Some students may prefer topics they know a lot about because they may feel more comfortable speaking. Previous knowledge is viewed as very important by some students and may even lessen their communication apprehension. On the other hand, there are students who opt for topics they want to know more about. There are many cases when students are interested in certain topics and they do some research to learn about them. Another method of selecting a topic involves brainstorming and using various resources. In this case the goal is to find a topic students are familiar with or would like to know more about. Sprague & Stuart (1996) add more steps to narrowing the topic, e.g. determining the number of ideas one can cover in the allotted time, selecting main ideas based upon the audience, the occasion and the personal strengths of a speaker, and clarifying the purpose of the speech. At this stage early feedback monitors topic selection, organization pattern, and the effective use of the Power Point.

At the composition stage the teacher is expected to help students evaluate various rhetorical orders. One of the ways to do it is to have them prepare multiple methods of organizing a topic, i.e. to have them prepare the main points of a topic by following a different rhetorical order each time. In this way students may think of different options and later on decide on the best organization of their topic.

The presentation stage deals with the outcome of the mutual efforts of the teacher and the student. The issue of communication apprehension, together with the important issues of eye contact, body language and answering questions asked by the audience should be discussed with students, in order to raise their awareness of the different strategies to cope with stress and nervousness typical for most speakers.

To sum up, the planning, composition and presentation stages should be developed by the students themselves in collaboration with their teachers in their role of mediators between the native and target culture expectations and conventions.

Academic presentations at level B1-B2 according to CEFR (Council of Europe, 2011) prepared by NBU students

After familiarisation the different types of organization of presentations, the students enrolled in EFL courses at NBU are asked to prepare a presentation on a topic of their own choice. The planning stage is especially important and the role of the teacher there is crucial. It is at that point when students are advised to think about the areas they are experts in or to brainstorm and collect information from different sources prior to starting to think about their main points.

Another important aspect is to help them narrow down the topic and determine three ideas that can be covered in a three-four-minute presentation. They are advised to prepare Microsoft PowerPoint™ presentations to organize their main ideas in the most effective way. The requirements of their ppt-s are as follows: no more than six slides: title; an introduction, consisting of three main points; the three main points, each one presented on a slide; conclusion. The use of ppt-s is a challenge itself since many students deliver presentations by simply reading out whole passages pasted on the slides. The following sample presentation usually sets a good example and clarifies the major aspects of successful preparation:

Title: Successful Presentations

Slide 1: MajorPrinciples
- Keep it simple and straightforward
- Use the rule of three
- Rehearse, rehearse, rehearse

Slide 2: Keep it simple and straightforward

- organization;
- sentences;
- design.

Slide 3: Use the rule of three

- three main ideas;
- three points in each slide;
- three examples.

Slide 4: Rehearse, rehearse, rehearse

- confident;
- purposeful;
- prepared.

Slide 5: Wrapping up

- Keep it simple and straightforward
- Use the rule of three
- Rehearse, rehearse, rehearse

The layout of the sample presentation sets an example on how students should organize their own presentations and shows them how a simple and straightforward structure works, namely: tell your audience what you are going to talk about; talk about it; summarize what you have talked about.

Conclusion

Academic presentations in a foreign language are a real challenge to both university students and teachers. Familiarity with the specific nature of communication apprehension, the existence of culturally-specific rhetorical organizations and viewing the presentation as a process rather than a product, usually works as the necessary prerequisite to encourage, advise and assist students while acquiring the basics of becoming successful speakers. To develop this skill, students should realize that it is of vital importance for both their academic and professional development in the 21st century. Their knowledge and understanding of these aspects of oral communication can help them alleviate the fear and distress which both native and non-native English speaking students experience at the mere thought of preparing and giving academic presentations.

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Appendix

1. I dislike participating in group discussions.

2. Generally, I am comfortable while participating in group discussions.

3. I am tense and nervous while participating in group discussions.

4. I like to get involved in group discussions.

5. Engaging in a group discussion with new people makes me tense and nervous.

6. I am calm and relaxed while participating in group discussions.

7. Generally, I am nervous when I have to participate in a meeting.

8. Usually, I am comfortable when I have to participate in a meeting.

9. I am very calm and relaxed when I am called upon to express an opinion at a meeting.

10. I am afraid to express myself at meetings.

11. Communicating at meetings usually makes me uncomfortable.

12. I am very relaxed when answering questions at a meeting.

13. While participating in a conversation with a new acquaintance, I feel very nervous.

14. I have no fear of speaking up in conversations.

15. Ordinarily I am very tense and nervous in conversations.

16. Ordinarily I am very calm and relaxed in conversations.

17. While conversing with a new acquaintance, I feel very relaxed.

18. I'm afraid to speak up in conversations.

19. I have no fear of giving a speech.

20. Certain parts of my body feel very tense and rigid while giving a speech.

21. I feel relaxed while giving a speech.

22. My thoughts become confused and jumbled when I am giving a speech.

23. I face the prospect of giving a speech with confidence.

24. While giving a speech, I get so nervous I forget facts I really know.

HELPING LEARNERS WITH DYSLEXIA READ IN ENGLISH

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Abstract

Dyslexia is a specific learning difficulty which resists conventional teaching methods. The phonological deficit hypothesis of dyslexia determines the present day focus on phonics targeting the primary area of difficulties experienced by learners with dyslexia – decoding. Phonological instruction, however, needs to be accompanied by the development of comprehension skills and presented within a rich language environment. Verbal memory and processing difficulties, typically associated with dyslexia, as well as other frequently co-occurring disorders require the adoption of a number of additional strategies for the teaching of reading to learners with dyslexia. The paper identifies a number of them: multi-sensory approaches, systematic (structured, cumulative and sequential) instruction, over-learning, reinforcement and metacognition. It recognizes the need of time, task and materials differentiation. The choice of particular teaching methods should take into account both the learner's weaknesses and strengths. Such individually adapted teaching makes the successful inclusion of learners with dyslexia possible in the mainstream classroom.

Key words: dyslexia, reading, teaching, inclusion, strategies, phonics, multisensory

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In increasingly inclusive educational settings, teachers are challenged to meet a considerable variety of learning needs, including those shaped by dyslexia. The estimation that around 10% of the population has a certain level of dyslexia implies that 'all teachers are teachers of dyslexic children' (BDA, 2014b). The main difficulties experienced by individuals with dyslexia are phonological awareness and establishing phoneme-grapheme correspondences. Snowling asserts that 'we can now take as established the fact that children with dyslexia have phonological deficits' (2006, p. 9), i.e. difficulties affecting what she calls the 'core dimension' of reading – decoding. Dyslexia, however, is a complex and non-homogeneous phenomenon that can be characterized by a combination of features. The British Dyslexia Association (BDA) links it to 'difficulties with phonological processing, rapid naming, working memory, processing speed, and the automatic development of skills that may not match up to an individual's other cognitive abilities' (BDA, 2014a). In a similar vein, England's influential Rose Report (2009, p. 10) associates it with 'difficulties in phonological awareness, verbal memory and verbal processing speed', and explicitly states that dyslexia is independent on intellectual abilities. In addition, the BDA (2014a) acknowledges that various other types of difficulties (e.g. visual and auditory) often co-occur with dyslexia. Importantly, it also stresses that all individuals with dyslexia possess a combination of strengths and weaknesses that affects its manifestation at the behavioural level. The BDA recognizes that dyslexia is usually uninfluenced by conventional teaching methods, but can be ameliorated by proper teaching adjustments. The article will explore some of the possible adjustments teachers can make when teaching reading to students with dyslexia.

Main principles of teaching reading to learners with dyslexia

According to the Simple Theory of Reading (Hoover & Gough, 1990), which has been chosen as the framework for literacy teaching in England since 2007 (Singleton, 2009), and to the developmental models of reading acquisition (e.g. Frith, 1985, Ehri, 2002), acquiring decoding skills is the most essential element of reading development. It is precisely this area that poses difficulties for the majority of learners with dyslexia. When addressing such difficulties, intervention studies highlight the role of **structured phonics** presented in a rich language environment. Besides the extensive focus on phonics, Rose (2009, p. 14) defines a number of other important principles to follow:

'**highly structured, systematic, "little and often", using graphic representation, allowing time for reinforcement and encouraging generalisation'**. Some other authors subdivide systematic instruction into **structured, cumulative and sequential**, adding some more elements such as **overlearning and metacognition** (e.g. Thomson, 1990, Townend, 2000, Walker, 2000, cited in Singleton 2009). **The multisensory approaches are** a major component of dyslexia-friendly teaching (Reid, 2011). As they combine the simultaneous or sequential involvement of the auditory, visual, oral and kinesthetic-tactile sensory modalities, they enhance memory and facilitate the achievement of automaticity (Walker, 2000).

Phonics and work on reading comprehension

Phonics involves developing phonemic awareness and knowledge of grapheme-phoneme correspondences and spelling patterns. Additional phonics classes are commonly arranged for learners with dyslexia as phonologically-based interventions are found to be generally effective (Brooks, 2007), especially in enhancing word decoding skills (Snowling & Hulme, 2011). The role of phonics is substantially emphasized in the Rose Review (2009) in its recommendations for the teaching of pupils with dyslexia. The Review recommends systematic phonics which involves:

- Teaching grapheme/phoneme correspondences in a clearly defined, incremental sequence;
- Applying the skill of blending phonemes in order, all through a word to read it;
- Applying the skill of segmenting words into their constituent phonemes to spell;
- Learning that blending and segmenting is a reversible process.

Rose, 2009, p. 59

However, Rose (2009) points out that a learner's progress in decoding does not necessarily accompany his/her progress in reading comprehension. That could be caused by insufficient mental resources because of effortful decoding – fluency assists comprehension and the effort learners with dyslexia need to put into reading words accurately can disrupt the flow of their reading and hamper comprehension (Reid & Green, 2007). Other reasons could lie in insufficient syntactic awareness, lack of print exposure, underdeveloped strategies for reading comprehension, or poor vocabulary (Rose, 2009).

The implications of such findings are that in addition to sound-letter-based activities learners with dyslexia should be exposed to a rich language environment and involved in *reading comprehension* activities. Teachers should make them familiar with techniques of skimming or scanning a text. Learners may also be asked to repeat written pieces of text in order to realize that reading should sound like talking, i.e. to develop a sense of prosody. Automaticity of reading could be improved through exercises targeting both reading comprehension and word recognition, such as 'find the odd word out' (Reid & Green, 2007).

To facilitate comprehension, long sentences are very often cut shorter and vocabulary is simplified (Reid & Green, 2007). This, however, should not lead to overusing simplified books based on phonological or phonetic patterns. Continual oversimplification of texts may disrupt the learners' acquisition of more sophisticated vocabulary. Therefore, Reid and Green (2007) recommend that children with dyslexia are encouraged to additionally read books above their level – individually, as well as in paired reading or with an audio book, in order to enhance their comprehension skills and active vocabulary.

The time factor

Slower word processing slows down decoding and hinders comprehension (both in terms of correctness and speed). Therefore, students may need more time to reread a text, 'may produce quality of work or quantity, but not both' (Massey, 2008, p. 35). They may lose the gist of instructions or totally 'switch off' when their brain is overloaded (ibid). The crucial strategy is *time*. Teachers should pace the delivery of the lessons, repeat instructions, allow extra time, give breaks for students to process and retain the new information, not reproach ostensible daydreaming as it might be a subconscious break to assimilate information (ibid).

Systematic instruction

The principles of *sequential, cumulative and structured* teaching can be applied in strategies targeting difficulties with short- and working memory. To facilitate short-term memory, it is important to give instructions *one at a time.* Materials and tasks need to be broken into *small steps* and follow a logical sequence (Reid & Green, 2007). The information should be interspersed with questions and answers, each section repeated

as many times as necessary before proceeding to the next level (Massey, 2008). Also, it is important to keep learners with dyslexia involved while their classmates are reading, for example, by asking them questions and identifying their level of literal, inferential, creative or critical understanding (Reid & Green, 2007).

Students with dyslexia need to be helped with *time-management, organization, and planning*, so checklists and to do lists might be of considerable help (Reid & Green, 2007). Students can keep track of their tasks by having a personal diary. Notes taken during classes or using a dictaphone are good strategies to cope with memory deficits, especially if reviewed shortly after being recorded (ibid). Notes handwritten by the pupils must be checked for accuracy. There should be sufficient opportunities for revision.

Individuals with dyslexia often cannot make the *connection between old and new knowledge*, so these have to be reinforced by making the students reflect on what they have already learned and what they still need to find out (Reid & Green, 2007). For the embedding of information in the long-term memory, the pupils' interest should be provoked and links with previous knowledge should be explicitly made (Farrell, 2006). Self-monitoring and self-correction should be encouraged as students need to ensure themselves that they have mastered one level before going onto the next one. Checklists can help them monitor their progress (Reid & Green, 2007). *Metacognition* is essential and students are encouraged to get to know themselves as learners, to become aware of their preferred learning style and of the strategies they can apply when facing reading difficulties outside the classroom.

Multisensory approaches

The multisensory principle can be applied by involving multiple modalities while presenting and reinforcing new information. *Visual* aids support memory and provide structure. It is recommended to use illustrations, charts and diagrams, mind-maps and spidergrams, video recordings (Farrell, 2006). Mind-mapping is particularly effective as it not only helps organization but also encourages lateral thinking and creativity (Reid & Green, 2007). As learners with dyslexia often have poor auditory memory, new material should be provided in a visual form, instructions should be written down. Auditory processing problems may result in difficulties perceiving rapid sounds (Massey, 2008). This area can be targeted through a combination of phonic approaches (by training

phonemic awareness) and multisensory techniques (e.g. visual aids as well as gestures supplementing the spoken word) (Farrell, 2006). Printed hand-outs should be preferred to asking students with dyslexia to copy from the board – it may take them more time than the rest of the class, it might be inaccurate and it may give them a sense of failure (ibid). Vocabulary can be consolidated with flash cards of important words. Key words can be highlighted with colour or bold. The *auditory* channel can be used, for example, by complementing reading activities with audio recordings (Farrell, 2006). Role-play, mime and gesture, drama can create opportunities for the *kinesthetic* learner to get involved (Farrell, 2006; Reid & Green, 2007). With younger learners, the *tactile* sense can be utilized by handling artefacts (Farrell, 2006), e.g. shapes of letters, or by constructing things following the principle 'Doing is better than hearing it!' (Reid & Green, 2007).

There should be a conscious effort to establish a balance between the active and passive aspects of learning (ibid). As early as 1972, Craick and Lockhart (cited in Massey 2008) suggested that the efficiency of transference is facilitated mostly not by repetition but by the manner in which it is transferred. Utilizing different mediums of instruction and a variety of activities provides opportunities for *reinforcement* and *overlearning* – major principles recommended in dyslexia-friendly teaching.

More on visual aid

Though wrongly equated with dyslexia, certain *visual problems* often co-occur with this specific learning difficulty. Some of them are difficulties with convergence (coordinated eye movement to receive a unified image of the written letter), accommodation (adjusting the focus of the eye to the changing distance from the print), and tracking (keeping one's place within the text) (Farrell, 2006). Another problem which may co-occur with dyslexia is Scotopic sensitivity, or Meares-Irlen Syndrome – 'the presence of a visual defect that can be treated to difficulties with light source, glare, wave lengths and black and white contrast' (Fawcett & Reid, 2009). According to Fawcett and Reid (ibid) and Farrell (2006), these difficulties might be ameliorated in some individuals by using coloured overlays or tinted glasses. However, Singleton (2009, p. 24) claims that visual stress is *not* neurologically linked to dyslexia and 'coloured tints cannot be recommended as a generic treatment for dyslexia because in most cases they will not help the child'.

While use of colour tints is subject to debate, making the text more visually accessible is an indispensable tool that benefits all learners, especially those with dyslexia. Students need to navigate effortlessly through the page. Worksheets have to be organized with *well-spaced out information and larger print* (Reid & Green, 2007). Dyslexia-friendly fonts are usually Times New Roman, Century Gothic, Comic Sans. A font specifically designed for readers with dyslexia and downloadable for free is the Dyslexie font (Dyslexie Font, B. V., 2015). The individual preferences should be established by asking the learners themselves (Reid & Green, 2007).

The classroom environment

If students with dyslexia have memory deficits, they are more vulnerable to distracting noises. They may find it difficult to filter out background noise, and as a result receive faulty or incomplete information in their short-term memory (Kelly & Phillips, 2013). Usually, they learn more effectively if they sit at the front, next to a well-motivated study buddy, with reduced background noise or visual movement, in an adequately lit room, with well-spaced displays (ibid). They should be given opportunities to express their preference for the environment they feel most comfortable to work in (e.g. regarding light, temperature, sound, classroom arrangement) (Reid & Green, 2007).

Boosting learners' self-confidence

Boosting learners' self-confidence is a significant factor determining their engagement with the learning process and the outcome of it. Reid and Green (2007, p. 86) suggest that as students with dyslexia often develop a so-called 'learnt helplessness', convincing themselves of not being able to complete certain tasks, it is important to make sure that they *experience achievement and success*. The authors point out the importance of providing opportunities for students with dyslexia to demonstrate their competence. That can be done by involving them in activities that do not require a significant amount of reading, such as: investigation in groups, debating, making posters, brainstorming, quizzes, videoing, role-play, fieldwork and enquiring, oral presentations, learning in pairs, comic strips, drawing pictures, computer work, songs and poems. Learners with dyslexia are often imaginative, curious, good lateral thinkers, skillful with design and technology, drama and sport, able to bring together the missing pieces of a bigger picture, to reconstruct the whole (Massey, 2008). BDA

(2014a) and Massey (2008) stress the importance for the learners' strengths to be recognized and employed in order to successfully facilitate the learning process, making new knowledge more accessible to them but also building up their self-esteem, nourishing their interest and motivation.

Conclusion

As dyslexia tends to resist conventional teaching methods, teaching styles need to be accommodated to meet the individual needs of learners diagnosed with this specific learning difficulty. Decoding skills are both a corner stone in the acquisition of reading and the primary area of difficulties for learners with dyslexia. Intervention studies confirm the role of phonological awareness and letter-sound correspondence in reading development and produce evidence that a highly structured phonics instruction is of benefit to all learners struggling to read (Rose, 2009). Phonological instruction, however, needs to be accompanied by the development of comprehension skills and presented within a rich language curriculum. Additional principles such as systematic (structured, cumulative and sequential) instruction, multi-sensory approaches, over-learning, reinforcement and metacognition have been recommended in the teaching of learners with dyslexia. In addition, students' preferred learning styles and strengths need to be taken into account. Their significance lies not only in bootstrapping the learners' weaknesses but in providing them with self-confidence and opportunities to express themselves beyond the restrictions imposed on them by their dyslexia. Only such kind of individually adapted education can make the successful inclusion of learners with dyslexia possible in the mainstream classroom.

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THE GOVERNESS AS A GOTHIC HEROINE IN HENRY JAMES' *THE TURN OF THE SCREW*

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Abstract

One of the questions perpetually plaguing the critics of Henry James' The Turn of the Screw is whether the ghosts are real or the governess had lost her mind. This paper offers an interpretation of James' novella from the viewpoint of the Gothic novel, and the author draws parallels between the actions and behavior of the young and impressionable governess and those of a heroine from the Gothic genre, taking into account the governess' narrative style, her repressed self, the evil she faces and finally, the overall position of governesses in Victorian society. The result is an aligning of James' protagonist with the generally accepted image of a Gothic heroine, thus working towards the conclusion that, seen from the perspective of the Gothic novel, the ghosts are real and the governess is caught in a battle between good and evil, fighting for the children's souls.

Keywords: Gothic novel, governess, ghosts, narrative style, Victorian

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The Governess as a Gothic Heroine

The sentimental gothic novel places its heroines into an imaginary space where anything can happen. They are pure and chaste damsels in distress, persecuted by the grimy tyrant, locked up in a dilapidated castle or a monastery, where they divulge terrifying secrets from the past, before managing to run off to safety. What the Gothic novel offers its heroines is actually a paradox of liberty. They are forced to become prisoners so that their worth and importance can be proven, so that they would become aware of their contemptible position and free themselves of the shackles of such an existence.

Since most of the reading public was comprised of women, they found it exceptionally easy to identify with female protagonists. For instance, Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* owes its enormous popularity to the character of Emily. Emily is the embodiment of sentimentality: passive, melancholic and emotional, she reacts led by her emotions, but simultaneously, she never disregards the obligation to act like a lady, the essence of which is propriety. James' governess in his novella *The Turn of the Screw* reacts identically: she is bewildered, somewhat lost, in love and easily frightened. It is quite possible that some of her actions could have been more thoroughly thought through, but she is what she is: the sentimental heroine of an innovative Gothic novel, imprisoned in a house with a mystery that needs to be solved. She is not like Cinderella - the poor, abused heroine who, though she is abandoned, is never really alone - since she always has someone or something to help her, emanating from the universe that surrounds and protects her. James' governess is not offered this magical protection of the symbolic womb of the universe; she has to fight to prevail.

Her sentimental features, along with the strict religious upbringing of her childhood, her lack of experience, vulnerability, anxieties and fears, make her the Victorian cliché of sexual ambivalence. Like many other sentimental heroines, the governess, too, possesses an idealistic innocence and naïve romantic impulses, which might align her with other unreliable narrators. Though her story might be considered too flimsy and untrustworthy due to an excess of subjectivity, the evidence of her healthy state of mind cannot be denied. The narrator, named Douglas, generously provides his own testimony to her impeccable business conduct after the tragic events at Bly, which might be tainted by his emotions, but the psychotic behavior that she had

apparently shown at Bly could not have been left unmentioned. He claims that 'She was the most agreeable woman [he's] ever known in her position; she would have been worthy of any whatever… [He] liked her extremely and [is] glad to this day to think she liked [him] too' (James, 2000, p. 3). If she had shown any indications of any mental instability, she would have been fired on the spot, which is something that never happened. Douglas is very careful in his concern to portray the governess' love for her employer as pure and asexual, due to the fact that 'she saw him only twice,' but that it is exactly where 'the beauty of her passion' lies (James, 2000, p. 7). He does not refer to her feelings as love, but rather passion, and continues in the direction of the asexuality of her emotions, because it was a love that was never consummated. As such, it can forever remain pure and unblemished.

Her Narrative Style and its Origins

In addition, her narration possesses the traits of an epistolary novel; it is reminiscent of a diary of the events that she witnessed while at Bly. For this very reason, it is believed that she succumbed to the impression of all the events that took place, and that her writing the events as they happened, makes her insufficiently reliable in the portrayal of the previously mentioned. It is true that she can be accused of ambiguity and a lack of clarity on numerous occasions, due to the fact that she often presents her own, subjective version of the events, rather than firm facts. In presenting the events, she frequently uses the words 'I felt' instead of a plain and clear 'I saw', with which she gives the following information as a personal impression, and not a factual claim, things between which a hysterical victim of hallucinations would not be able to distinguish. A deranged person would insist on her version as the only plausible one, because other versions would make her seem insane. Her story is not the result of hysteria, but of deep thought and careful examination, because it was written after the events had taken place and not while. This way, she was allowed to understand the events from a realistic perspective, think long and hard about the cause of the tragedy and give the most logical solution possible.

The governess' story is a narration arisen from a structuralized society in which wealthy, aristocratic families hire governesses to take care of their children. It is usually a middle class woman, from a respectable, though impoverished family, who is educated, hardworking and ready to provide the best care possible. This is where James'

governess fits in perfectly. She is the daughter of a country parson, who is adorned with all the characteristics vital for such a position. In Victorian times, there was a predominant belief that governesses could be very effective in providing love and care to children who were either motherless or whose mother did not have the time or the desire for such affairs.

Sensing the danger to come, the governess refers to *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and *Jane Eyre* wondering 'was there a *secret* at Bly – a mystery of Udolpho or an insane, an unmentionable relative kept in unsuspected confinement?' (James, 2000, p. 23). What connects these literary works is a dominant, though concealed motif: the wish to save. Jane Eyre becomes a helping hand to the crippled and helpless Rochester, while the ambitions of James' governess do not reach such a happy ending. She perceives herself as a guardian angel, a defender in love, who bravely takes upon herself this duty, empowered by a blind love for the master from Harley Street. Her employer, the uncle of her two protégées is also their legal guardian who categorically refuses to do right by his responsibilities. This man 'all in a glow of high fashion, of good looks, of expensive habits, of charming ways with women' transfers all of his burden to her and leaves her with the words that she is never to 'trouble him – but never, never: neither appeal nor complain nor write about anything; only meet all the questions herself, receive all moneys from his solicitor, take the whole thing over and let him alone' (James, 2000, p. 5, 7). He remains as a negative, almost evil influence over the events at Bly, because though physically absent, he is a frequent topic of discussion. The fatal attraction of the first and only encounter and the relentless passion that she feels help her do her duties more diligently and with greater fervor. Even though he appears only for a brief moment, the master symbolizes the Byronic hero whose divine spells no woman can stay immune to. He is mysterious, sophisticated and educated, highly intelligent, with a magnetically charming and charismatic personality. For her, he is the prize of all prizes. Had she been able to be victorious over evil, she would have been given the opportunity to present herself not only as an extraordinary governess, but a capable wife, worthy even of a man in a position such as his. For all of the reasons mentioned, her narrative sets out to capture all the sentimental notes of a heroine in love. She suspects, instructs, tempts and is tempted as she tries to demystify these ghoulish games. Some may choose not to trust her narrative technique, but she is, nonetheless, revealing more than she intends to by saying less than she chooses to.

Evil in Gothic Novels and Fairy Tales

This literary creation possesses all the elements of the gothic novel: the damsel in distress, a young, virtuous, vulnerable heroine in mortal danger, the antagonist in the guise of the two spirits who return from beyond to wreak havoc at Bly, and the darkly romantic Byronic hero who in fairy tale endings saves the heroine. Endowed with a deep sensibility, the governess is the lonely, pensive, subjugated heroine endangered by a dominant male antagonist, in this case one of the two specters, Peter Quint. In these novels, as is the case in fairy tales, evil is omnipresent and its formulation is not put into question. It gives the protagonist an ultimatum: face your fear to save yourself or die.

Additionally, fairy tales do not doubt the plausibility of the protagonist or the heroine, nor their state of mind. Though James' bold psychological analysis brings color into the black and white world of fairy tales, so that the border dividing good and evil is not so clearly visible, it does not mean that he presented his readers with a wolf in sheep's clothing. On the contrary, with a burning desire to reach the deepest layers of the subconscious, he portrays the cavernous complexity of the human mind. His governess is not the sickly sweet, goody-two-shoes fairy tale princess, characterized by a complete lack of action. She is all too human, prone to mistakes and bad judgment, and as such, on some occasions does seem inconsistent as a narrator.

Governesses in Victorian Society

Humans are social beings, though every person is bound by his social standing. Thusly, Victorian society was dependent on faith in the stability and righteousness of the society which did not propose a democratic solution to the existential plights of the working class. The position of a governess in Victorian society was an unenviable one, because they were not considered maids, and nor were they part of the family. Finding themselves in this social limbo, they often ate in isolation. This kind of employment was one of the few legitimate ways in which single women were allowed to sustain themselves in such a society, which looked upon them with pity. The alternatives to this employment were marriage, house work, prostitution or homeless shelters. The only case in which it was considered appropriate for a woman to work was the financial destruction of a family or the death of the head of the household (i.e. the father). Resilience, patience and self-refusal were the characteristics a governess had to have in order to be successful.

But, this was certainly not enough. They were expected to be above their own social status in intellect and manners, so as to be fitting for the job of a governess. James himself praised their 'closed vessel of authority, closed against sloppy leakage' where her rigid prudishness was 'one of the ways in which authority can be conveyed' (Habegger, 2004, p. 235). His governess was to mold little Flora and her behavior, and teach her the skills which would make her an appropriate and attractive bride-to-be. Victorian parents demanded governesses who would teach their daughters sophisticated manners and foreign languages, because that is what the education of girls was based on. The ideal wife was an idle woman of expensive habits, who left her housework to the servants, her children to the governess and whose husband was wealthy enough to support their unproductive habits.

Due to their inability to properly classify their position in society, their status was always problematic. In Victorian society, women were allowed to occupy one of the three possible stations: a mother, a whore or a lunatic (Walton, 1992). As motherly figures, they were considered asexual beings, because all ladies respected in general society were chaste and asexual. Women who openly presented and offered their sexuality were considered whores and lunatics, because as such, they represented a danger to the social structure which condemned female sexuality as dirty, immoral and lacking in common sense. Since governesses represented substitutes for mothers, they held the powerful symbolic function of a chaste motherly figure. On the other hand, their youth, and, not rarely, their beauty, along with the fact that they were unmarried, transformed them into a threat to the balance and structure of the home. Thus, governesses were floating in an undefined area of Victorian society which refused to accept anything outside its strictly set grounds, out of fear of losing control over the female population.

The Female Ghost as the Governess' Other, Repressed Self

The motif of a divided personality or the *doppelganger* represents the realization of the person's other nature, the need to be and act like someone else. It is generally believed that the meeting of these two halves, the vision of one's double, represents an omen of death, as it is the case in Poe's short story "William Wilson," Wilde's novel *The Picture of Dorian Grey* and many others. Numerous versions of the story of twin-selves end tragically: by insanity or suicide, that is, the murder of the other. In James' novella,

this process of identification commences with a simple comparison between the governess and Miss Jessel, expressed by Mrs Grose, who claims that the previous governess was just as beautiful and young as the current one (James, 2000, p. 19). The identification becomes even more prominent when the governess, tired from all the troubles and anxiety, drops down on the final step of the staircase, exactly where, some nights prior, she had seen the specter of her accursed predecessor (James, 2000, p. 83). Their identification reaches its climax when the governess sees the ghostly apparition of Miss Jessel, sitting at her own desk, propping her head with her elbows, apparently in a state of utter shock, disbelief and sorrow (James, 2000, p. 84). Looking at her, the governess has the feeling that she is looking into a fictional mirror and is seeing her own reflection, given the fact that Miss Jessel acted led by her desires, while the governess is not allowed to do so. Thus, the governess needs to be careful where she treads, in order not to be aligned with the likes of her predecessor. So, on one hand, she has the motherly figure of Mrs. Grose and on the other, the condemned, sexualized figure of Miss Jessel, who is actually the governess herself, only having taken one step further. The governess' stoic battle to save the children's souls is actually, on a symbolic level, a desire to overcome the boundaries of the patriarchal society in which she is living.

The battle between the governess and the ghosts is in fact, the fight for possession. She wants to take control over the children, control once had by Peter Quint and Miss Jessel, and guide the children along the right path. Both the governess and Quint wish to control the children's access to knowledge, and as the novella unveils, this knowledge becomes more and more associated with sexuality and experience. What Quint is offering little Miles during their solitary walks, is the world of adult experience, unnatural sexuality and instinctive, animalistic desire. For the governess, the freedom that Quint is offering Miles is the reflection of all that is unknown, dangerous, and risky. She wishes to keep the children in a blissful state of innocence, keeping them sheltered and their souls uncorrupted by the disease of the adults, i.e. experience, for as long as possible. That is why the final surrender of Quint's name by little Miles represents her final victory over their ghoulish presence, which purifies Miles' soul.

Conclusion

The dilemma of every reader is how to maintain the ambiguity of James' novella, and simultaneously find meaning. James himself elucidates on his exorcistic procedures in his novella in his New York preface:

It is an excursion into chaos while remaining, like Blue-Beard and Cinderella, but an anecdote- though an anecdote amplified and highly emphasized and returning upon itself; as, for that matter, Cinderella and Blue-Beard return. I need scarcely add after this that it is a piece of ingenuity pure and simple, of cold artistic calculation, an *amusette* to catch those not easily caught (the "fun" of the capture of the merely witless being ever but small), the jaded, the disillusioned, the fastidious. (James, 1999, p. 5)

Because, as is the case with true art, *The Turn of the Screw* possesses depth and richness of meaning, which go far beyond anything that can be extracted by the minutest of excavations. It is an open and processed work, a meaningful puzzle, and every second, third, fifth reading only adds to the already existing layers of meaning. It is certainly as Louis Rubin states, 'The whole point about the puzzle is its ultimate insolubility. How skillfully he managed it… The Master indeed' (Rubin, 1964). The conventionally accepted interpretation is that it is, in essence, a fairy tale, with a happy, but, at the same time, sad ending. The ghosts return, their evil influence is more than real and the governess fights with all her might to save the children. A real fairy tale simplifies all life situations, so that no character is ambivalent, they are not both good and evil, as real humans are. Yet, James overcomes this ancient simplification and offers a complex heroine in a deep and stunningly structured work. Though her victory might seem a Pyrrhic one, she does save the children's souls. Flora is removed from the wicked influence of Bly and Miles' little heart stopped beating in the arms of his savior. She did not save his body, but she saved his immortal soul and, as such, humanly fragile, she is resolutely standing at the edge of an abyss out of which she managed to root out evil.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTION: THE ENLIGHTENMENT, PROVIDENTIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND CHANGES IN MORAL PERCEPTION

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Abstract

This article analyses Enlightenment ideas and nation-making practices in the American Civil War and pre-War civil societies. It analyses African American mobilization and the abolitionist movement, and Lincoln's role in war, reconciliation and development. The international context is investigated in a case for relational nation making. The role of non-violent mobilization is assessed. It examines the war's social revolutionary implications. The war's unprecedented violence anticipated 20th century total war, fundamentally deciding the republic's future. State/civil society interactions, and changes in public moral perception, reshape longstanding institutional arrangements, and decide core ethical issues including the meaning of humanity.

Keywords: American Civil War, Enlightenment, slavery, mass movements, revolution, globalization, modernization, religion

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Enlightenment ideas, and modern nation-making practices, radically evolved in the American Civil War context. Like the French Revolution, or Indian National Independence, it was a uniquely constitutive moment in the Enlightenment heritage, marked by mass politics. It touched a revolutionary threshold: state collapse, destruction of an economic regime, and the creation of a new one. It involved a population hitherto excluded from citizenship (section 5). The war defied universal expectation: uncontrolled duration, tragic and revolutionary outcomes. Senator James Chesnut had promised to "drink all the blood that might be shed as a result of the Confederate declaration of independence" (Faust, 2008, p.18). The war subverted core 18th century Enlightenment premises, echoing the French Revolution, portending World War I as one of the earliest industrial wars. Revolution and Enlightenment intersected, the ideal heritage tested in lived reality. The social revolution fulfilled unrealized Enlightenment promises of the divided 1776 American Revolution. The revolution was locally subverted in counter-revolutionary patterns obstructing its promise for a century. Abolitionists in 1843 repealed the Massachusetts black/white intermarriage ban. Later, the Supreme Court (1967 Loving v. Virginia) negated the "anti-miscegenation" laws of the remaining Southern states (intermarriage was punishable by prison).

The American Civil War is investigated through global interactions (section 4): English abolitionism, the French Revolution, and the Caribbean revolutions. Modern revolutions are not uniform lines of intent (of a class, a people, an idea, etc.). Many-sided struggles shaped public consciousness. Transformed public moral perceptions informed grassroots struggle, impacting political heights in state action. Violent and non-violent nation-making alternatives competed. Military conflict grew from a larger world of purposeful but fragmentary everyday action, the new publics of modern technology (i.e. print industry).

Enlightenment and nation-making involved a hermeneutic battle in the Revolutionary American heritage, and an alternative counter-Enlightenment national path to modernity (section 3). Abraham Lincoln embraced Enlightenment in thought and conduct, inspired by its "economic and political ideas" (Guelzo, 2009, p. 9). He rose above a deadly conflagration in modern nation-making history. The life worlds were critical. Fragmented American civil society flourished, from popular religiosity (the Great Awakening) to natural law schools (informing Lincoln's view). The Southern slave master's authority encompassed plantations, court rooms, churches, private clubs and colleges. Mobilizing black populations, free black and slave, rejected exclusion from the citizen-human matrix under racist civil society and New World chattel slavery. Abolitionist and Civil War black Americans fought an ontologically sanctioned caste system of the counter-Enlightenment tradition (a slave labour/master race hierarchy).

The European Enlightenment was revolutionized by the American Civil War, its racist ontology negated through practice. It unbandaged the double heritage of Enlightenment and slavery (section 2), entrenched in venerable canons (i.e. Aristotle's defence and the traditional Biblical linkage). The archetypal moment, the 1865 slave liberation at Richmond jail by black Union soldiers, still resonates from the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign (nine months of trench warfare) which led to Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

It was a history of national consciousness: a new Southern master class consciousness, a combative black American rights-entitlement consciousness, and Northern identity distinct from old Europe. Institutional carriers included technology and industrial capitalism, market exchange, trans-Appalachian steamboats, canals, and railroads, as well as mass movements and intellectual tendencies. Amartya Sen's component model of intellectual change is used, rather than essentialist conventions (Sen, 2000, p. 233-4). The Civil War pitted Enlightenment and counter-Enlightenment national modernization visions: egalitarian humanist versus divinely hierarchic. Embracing the "universality of freedom", Lincoln fought for the Constitution at the national level, to promote industrial development and concentrate national power (Guelzo, 2009, p. 113). The democratic system, enmeshed in civil society conflicts, demonstrated the experimental character of the U.S.A. Despite Lincoln's death, post-Civil War America combined mass democracy with rapid development (Bensel, 2000, p. 1-19).

Slavery and Enlightenment

Slavery grounded New World development economic institutions, preceding Enlightenment ethical discourses and practices. West African slaves built history's first global production system and mass market (sugar, tobacco, coffee, chocolate, dye-stuffs, rice, hemp, and cotton). By the 16th century, the Atlantic Slave System crystallized, flooding Spanish Florida and Virginia with human cargo (1560-1619). It launched the Sugar Revolution of British Barbados. England's New York (after 1664) had a 20 percent slave population, its mid-18th century slaves performing one-third of physical labour (carpentry, blacksmithing, shoemaking, stone working, butchering, milling, weaving, and goldsmithing). Rural slaves built roads, cleared land, cut timber, and herded cattle (Davis, 2006, p. 129). Nineteenth century New World slavery was modernized and capitalist, an intensive labour system of maximal production for international markets.

At America's Revolutionary eve, 1770, legal slavery was accepted in the New World. William Lloyd Garrison, later, was deemed eccentric by mainstream voices. 1888 Brazilian emancipation completed Western Hemisphere illegalization. History's first antislavery societies were small clusters in Philadelphia, London, Manchester, and New

York. New World slavery's end followed "a major transformation in moral perception" engendered by "the emergence of writers, speakers, and reformers, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century" (Davis, 2006, p. 1). The Enlightenment tradition produced a major transformation in public ideas and values through everyday human organizational efforts.

Slavery and secular republican beliefs conflicted. Three impact points pit the Enlightenment heritage and the chattel institution: the 1776 American Revolution, the 1789 French Revolution and Britain's 1830s peaceful emancipation of eight hundred thousand colonial slaves. The American Revolution, for nationalist and economic development purposes, consolidating a cultural interclass unity among whites (i.e. Virginian planters co-opted white workers under the unifying banner of republican liberty and white identity) (Morgan, 1975, p. 386). Enlightenment ideals troubled Anglo-Americans regarding slavery's cosmic immutability. The 1776 Declaration of Independence stated that "all men are created equal". Jefferson, with children by a slave, was silent on slavery in the Declaration in "deference to his fellow Southerners, and Northerners who were profitably engaged" (Tulloch, 2006, p. 72, 1). Slaves were freed and armed as a British war tactic, many thousands escaping. Northern slaves demanded freedom in natural rights language, echoing "British tyranny" discourses. A New Hampshire slave, witnessing combat and revolutionary rhetoric, told his master: "you are going to fight for your liberty, but I have none to fight for." (Keysarr, 2000, p. 12-14). Post-Revolutionary Americans, however, legislated the antebellum segregation system (from 1815, manumission was excluded) (Davis, 2006, p. 3). The federal government projected eradication within a twenty-year Constitutional restraint (by 1808). Abolition, immediate in northern New England, was gradual from Ohio to the Mississippi River. The slaveholding South, encircled, might have retracted, but for technological fortuities boosting profitable slavery (i.e. the cotton gin) and the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. The 1776 American Revolution harboured a second potential revolution, rooted in the contradiction of Enlightenment ideals and enslavement of the population.

The French Revolution politicized doomed slave revolts (emancipatory ideology linked to a major state); and, secondly, provided a unique revolutionary opportunity in state collapse (historically, slave rebellions were suicidal without prior state collapse). In 1792, the new French Legislative Assembly decreed full equal rights for free blacks and mulattoes in the colonies (Doyle, 2012, p. 412). The discursive foundation of British West Indian political order and economic production tilted. Bourbon state collapse permitted the successful Haitian Revolution (1791-1804). British mass public pressure was a second condition for effective rebellions. Organized struggles over public ethics undermined the moral legitimacy of global slave regimes (linked to official ideologies of free labour and new consumer markets). Non-violent uprisings, and an international

network of states and publics, pushed British power towards legislated abolition (see section 4). This anticipated an alternative permutation in the Enlightenment tradition of mass political action, in non-violent direct action. Modern non-violence was born in the anti-slavery struggle.

Civil Society and Modernization: apocalypse and human

The Civil War was rooted in the civil societies of Northern and Southern states, based in uneven national modernization. Deracinated populations sought political and cultural solutions. The "conflict above the Mason-Dixon Line [was] between anti-materialist, pre-bourgeois values and the 'cash-nexus' at the center of the modern civilization". We see "conflicts of tradition and modernity, of human and material values, of science with religion", "problems in social philosophy and values confronting all Americans of this era" (Faust, 1981, p. 20). New movements negotiated the unfamiliar industrial world. Post-Revolutionary relativism had politically sustained America, the South controlling government. Northern appeasement occluded the contradictions that John Quincy Adams articulated during his nine-year battle with the House of Representatives' "gag rule" (against antislavery petitions or during the 1839-40 Amistad trials) (Meyers, 2005, p. 46-62).

Southern slavery meant wealth accumulation, as "the most successful masters cornered an increasing share of the growing but limited supply of human capital" (Davis, 2006, p. 198). Cotton exports reached $29.6 million (1830), then $191.8 million (1860). The South grew over 60 percent of world cotton (1840), supplying Britain, New England, Europe and Russia - over half the value of all American exports, providing the majority of national imports and investment capital. With the newest technology, it allocated slave labour in regional infrastructure construction (diverse agriculture, mining, lumbering, canal and railroad building, textile manufacture, iron and other industries). The Confederacy fought to perpetuate economic advantage (Davis, 2006, p. 84). Slaveholding Southern Democrats owed power to the constitutional "three-fifths" (three-fifths of the slave population counted in elections). In Northern cities, 1820s economic growth outpaced the South. Dislocated Northern populations embraced revivalist movements. Second Great Awakening leaders saw, not progress, but the ordained path to New Jerusalem obstructed. 1830s abolitionism, 18th century Enlightenment inspired, combined this revivalist heritage. Second Great Awakening converts, seeking a correct Christian life, demanded immediate abolition (1830-1833). A national sin, like duelling, intemperance and Sabbath-breaking, slavery signalled Armageddon. Critics were often silent on Northern slavery (New York to 1827; Connecticut to 1848), seeing colonization (return of free blacks to Africa) as the means to averting civil war (following the American Colonization Society, Liberia, 1821–22).

The politicians in this "era of mass, participatory democracy responded all too well to the major concerns of their constituents". The South demanded that slavery "be federally protected and allowed to expand westwards"; the North demanded "free soil, free labour and free men". Pre-Civil War Northerners rallied around "a new, sectional party, the Republicans" (Tulloch, 2006, p. 2). The mass democratic mechanism unexpectedly exited the game of politics into total war. Deeply religious views grounded a "providential understanding of not only the war but also everyday life"; "storms, harvests, illnesses, deaths … unfolded according to God's will". For "clergy and laity alike, the war became a holy crusade". A sacred-violence-truth triangle justified Civil War in a providential narrative. A Confederate artillerist said: "Our president and many of our generals really and actually believed that there was this mysterious Providence always hovering over the field and ready to interfere on one side or the other." Religious authenticity was evoked in condemning southern churches: "what passed for religion there only mocked genuine Christianity" (Rable, 2010, p. 2, 8, 13). Manifest Destiny justified the Mexican War (1846-48) land grab. The apocalyptic vision flourished in the Civil War "rhetoric of service—to nation, to God, to comrades", rationalizing "violence (…) by casting it as the instrument of both nationalist and Christian imperatives" (Faust, 2008, p. 21).

Unlike France, the United States experienced the centrifugal power of barely organized religion. From the late 18th century, "religious life had become increasingly entwined with soaring hopes for the United States." Lacking central authority, "the churches themselves became part of the great American experiment in representative government." Official religion upheld the status-quo, while unofficial movements polarized. Mission groups, reform societies, and Sunday schools raised money and proselytized, organizing 'anti-materialist' public campaigns against sins (alcoholism, poverty), with slavery their primary target (ontological not sociological). For Garrison, the nation faced "damnation or salvation" (Rable, 2010, p. 25, 13). Among slaves, religion was collectively crucial, as surviving but hidden African religions (i.e. voodoo) and Islam melted into a belated Christian conversion on the eve of and after the war (Fountain, 2010, p. 114).

Southern proslavery, a counter-Enlightenment ideology (1830s, 40s, and 50s), condemned egalitarian philosophies and exploitative capitalism alike (i.e. Locke's contractual theory; the Founders' vision). Organic society attested to Southern uniqueness and superiority. The Revolutionary heritage was "well-sounding but unmeaning verbiage of natural equality and inalienable rights". The slave, "fed, clothed, protected," was "better off than the northern factory worker". They cited industrial child labour and prostitution. Hierarchy gave spirituality to national existence: "Those who have looked most closely … know how great a portion of human misery is derived

from … the undecided and wavering purpose". A Nietzschean argument, the master class required leisure for civilizational heights. Capitalism and egalitarianism represented decline, after slave-based Greek and Roman ideals. It was a secularized religious vision. "Evangelical stewardship" – comparably to the Ottoman Empire – embodied Providence. Slavers had "been chosen as the instrument, in the hand of God, for accomplishing the great purpose of his benevolence" (Faust, 1981, p.79, 12, 110, 13). The "parties in the conflict are not merely abolitionists and slaveholders" but "atheists, socialists, communists, red republicans, Jacobins, on the one side, and friends of order and regulated freedom on the other". The "world" was a "battle ground" between "Christianity and Atheism", "the progress of humanity at stake" (James Henley Thornwell) (Rable, 2010, p. 13). Natural law concepts yielded to Joseph de Maistre's principle of social organicism (Faust, 1981, p. 12). The Republic was fractured by a mass movement upholding divinely sanctioned hierarchy over secular egalitarian ideals.

Abolitionist Biblical appeal was in spirit, not the letter (the holy word upheld slavery), some abandoning religious appeals (Rable, 2010, p. 27). Secularism's deepest cause was in the existential struggle over humanism. An economically and socially important population struggled for recognition as human beings. Frederic Douglass, escaped Maryland slave turned leader, upon learning to read (it being legally prohibited), affirmed the Enlightenment knowledge-liberty link: "Knowledge opened my eyes"; "I have often wished myself a beast, or a bird— anything, rather than a slave". Yet, with "knowledge", his "spirit was roused to eternal wakefulness" of "Liberty" as "the inestimable birth right of every man" (Douglass, 2008, p. 154-55). Recognition of black slaves as human beings, identical in rights entitlement to Europeans fighting emancipatory wars, was grave. Thomas Roderick Dew stated: "in the plenitude of their folly and recklessness, [some] have likened the cause of the blacks to Poland and France". William Harper ridiculed abolitionism: "Who but a drivelling fanatic, has thought of the necessity of protecting domestic animals from the cruelty of their owners?" These polemics acknowledged a disrupted conventional circle of ethical consideration, expanded by post-Enlightenment secular humanism: "The French revolution had kindled a blaze throughout the world" (Faust, 1981, p. 59, 98, 68).

The Enlightenment imaginings of slaves and ex-slaves subverted even Lincoln's original hopes for a colonial or appeasement solution. Active black agency transformed Abolitionism to favour national integration and shared citizenship, replacing the ACS Liberian project. The "new, radical white abolitionism of the early 1830s was much indebted to the earlier militancy of anti-colonization blacks". Black abolitionists maintained the Underground Railroad, fugitive slave flight into non-slave states or Canada, the material infrastructure. William Lloyd Garrison read the first black newspaper (1829), and became convinced that abolitionism must promote equal

coexistence (Davis, 2006, p. 258-9). African American hegemonic victory was public acknowledgment of a common civil nationality based on equality. Secondly, national redirection occurred more accidentally through Civil War logistics, the war aim becoming abolition rather than regional containment of Southern slavery (section 5).

Black abolitionist David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829) expressed interpenetrating Enlightenment and religious mobilization. He invoked divine punishment: "Whether you believe it or not, I tell you that God will dash tyrants, in combination with devils, into atoms, and will bring you out from your wretchedness and miseries". He evoked violent retribution through human agency: "woe, will be to you if we have to obtain our freedom by fighting". Walker underlined the humanist stakes of social acknowledgment: "they have to raise us from the condition of brutes to that of respectable men". He used natural rights language ("remember that your freedom is your natural right"), and archetypal French Revolutionary imagery ("we must and shall be free and enlightened [or] obtain our liberty by the crushing arm of power") (Waldstreicher, 2001, p. 76-78). A Boston used clothing dealer, he sewed pamphlets into coats for southern markets, provoking the banning of the pamphlets and mass arrests.

1830s abolitionism attained mass proportions, transforming public consciousness. The American Anti-Slavery Society distributed 122,000 pamphlets in 1834, and 1.1 million in 1835. By 1838, 1,346 local antislavery associations had 100,000 members. Black activist Maria Stewart (1832) demanded access to scientific knowledge: "[T]here are no chains so galling as those that bind the soul, and exclude it from the vast field of useful and scientific knowledge". (Waldstreicher, 2001, p. 78-79). Peter Osborne (1832) invented civil rights vocabulary: "The Declaration of Independence has declared to man, without speaking to color, that all men are born free and equal." (Waldstreicher, 2001, p. 86). 1840s northern free blacks demanded the vote, disfranchised since 1821 (black men had previously voted for decades following a 1777 convention). From 1840, they strategized and passed resolutions reproduced in abolitionist newspapers (Waldstreicher, 2001, p. 82).

Shaken North-South equilibrium ended the silence on slavery. Southern opponents built a ''virtual iron curtain around the South'' (Davis, 2006, p. 263). By the 1850s, amidst hate and fear, Northern industrial and Southern trade integration persisted (slave-grown cotton, rice, hemp, tobacco, and sugar). Slaves escaped by the thousands across the frontier, as the United States became divided by a 19th century Berlin Wall. The Fugitive Slave Law, of the 1850 Compromise (admitting California as a free state), tarnished the Northern image of freedom. Federal "kidnappers" dragged escaped slave Anthony Burns through Boston streets, provoking mass civil disobedience. One hundred thousand dollars, and fifteen thousand soldiers, to escort

him through crowds of fifty thousand to forcible Virginian return (Davis, 2006, p. 265). The 1854 Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society rally drew thousands. Dred Scott, brought as property to free territories, attempted to sue for his freedom (1857). The court held that blacks lacked standing in federal court. Natural rights conflicted with property rights, concerning inclusion within legal citizenship and the moral category of 'humanity'. Abolitionists increasingly advocated violence, predicting cataclysm to exterminate slavery and unify mankind. The French Revolutionary pattern of modern violence ascended with a religious aura.

Among intellectual elites, Henry David Thoreau's plea for Captain John Brown celebrated terrorist practice to effect social change. His writing transformed Brown into a peerless cultural hero, united with a larger cause. Brown's martyrdom and vitality contrasted the "dead existence" of his critics. Thoreau demanded whether conformists were "truly alive" (Thoreau, 2003, p.8-9). An element of romantic vitalism, not unlike Bergson's sublimated "quality", permeated American thought. Being was fundamentally re-examined as intellectuals explored Indian philosophical themes such as metaphysical emptiness. New England Transcendentalism challenged dogmatic religious truths, based on scientific Enlightenment. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1830s), at Harvard, rejected Christ's divinity: "I regard it as the irresistible effect of the Copernican astronomy to have made the theological scheme of Redemption absolutely incredible" (Faust, 2008, p. 194). Emerson celebrated a unique American identity in secular terms, "the infinitude of the private man". He argued that "the sacredness of traditions" were "from below, not from above". In ethics, "Good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this" (Emerson, 1950, p. 148). Justice, however, was paramount in Emerson's passionate abolitionism. Nature was mystically linked to the Over Soul, something immortally beautiful. We habitually mistake our ego for the Self. Despite such romanticism, Emerson privileged everyday life over higher revelations: "My life is superficial, takes no root in the deep world, [exchanging] this flash-of-lightning faith for continuous daylight". (Emerson, 1950, p. 100). Emerson supported Civil War, affirming violence to effect national rebirth: "Civil war, national bankruptcy, or revolution, [are richer] than languid years of prosperity" (Emerson, 1860, p. 230). Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851) suggested a non-essentialist identity between America's diverse races: "there is no quality in this world that is not what it is merely by contrast. Nothing exists in itself" (Melville, 1994, p. 68). Popular abolitionism, also, combined secular with apocalyptic religious beliefs, and Enlightenment natural rights philosophy. Lincoln was distinct from the abolitionists in viewing the problem as "an economic one, rather than an evangelical or moralistic one". His secular approach contrasted with popular abolitionism, for whom evangelical Protestantism was the conceptual matrix (Guelzo, 2009, p. 93-94), or the quasi-religious Transcendentalist visions.

The Abolitionist Movement, Non-violence and 19th century global interconnections

Global material and cultural linkages - English abolitionism, the French Revolution, the Caribbean revolutions, and the American Civil War - disclose nation-making as relational rather than essentialist. The Atlantic Slave System was confronted by the slaves themselves, whose only form of struggle for freedom was revolt (nearly always entailing death) or escape. Secondly, there was abolitionism within the public realm based on the category of citizenship. Citizens, ensured participation through impersonal political rights secured by the state, were permitted access to diverse organizational forms (political parties, economic organizations etc.). This system of power sharing derived from the Enlightenment heritage, whose theorists compared slavery metaphorically to conditions of government without consent.

The geographically remote social universes of slave and citizen merged in a wider abolitionist struggle. Abolition was "the product of the interaction between developments within Britain and events in the colonies" (Midgley, 1995, p. 10). The first front, the slave struggle, had historical priority (Barbados in 1675, violent but hopeless; one hundred suspected conspirators were arrested of whom fifty-two were executed). In 1692, leaders were arrested and tortured before execution, revealing organized rebel military units with appointed leaders (aiming to capture firearms, horses, and ships, seize the island, and kill most white men). Following the failed 1701 conspiracy, major slave revolts declined for a century (Postma, 2008, p. 51).

Legal anti-slavery struggle, meanwhile, began with Pennsylvanian Dutch and German Quakers in 1688. The English anti-slavery movement emerged in 1727, slightly later in the Americas (1750s). Despite Quaker roots, the London-based Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade was organized on a non-denominational basis (1787). This practical means to expanded support created a secular basis and common end. Non-violent tactics involved anti-slavery books, pamphlets, organized lecture tours, staged mass rallies and parliamentary petitions. It derived from a spectrum of religious, intellectual and political movements (i.e. 18th century British Enlightenment and Anglicanism). Freedom was "equated with a capitalist system operating in a colonial context and with a Christian society moulded on British lines". Gradualism was espoused, until Leicester Quaker abolitionist Elizabeth Heyrick's 1824 landmark pamphlet "Immediate, not Gradual Abolition" (Midgley, 1995, p. 101-2). It originated in black anti-slavery resistance within Britain. Runaways in London, Bristol and Liverpool formed communities, some joining artisan organisations in the 1790s. A London magistrate, in 1768, charged that they "corrupt and dissatisfy the Mind of every fresh black Servant that comes to England", urging "them to demand wages for their services" (Midgley, 1995, p. 12). Denied citizenship, they organized struggle for minor

empowerment, public recognition and resource access, their actions linked to wider public activist networks. Black resistance sparked the first white action by Granville Sharpe in the 1760s-70s. The combined effect ended slavery inside of England by the 1790s. Intermarriage further attests to the "artificiality of separating black and white civil society at this germinal moment in the British Abolitionist movement" (Midgley, 1995, p. 11-12).

British anti-slavery had transatlantic linkages: early 18th century British and American Quakers criticized the slave trade. The 1789 autobiography of Olaudah Equiano, an account of enslavement and escape, revealed family destruction to the British public: "a day of greater sorrow than I had yet experienced; for my sister and I were then separated … for several days I did not eat anything but what they forced into my mouth" (Waldstreicher, 2001, p. 18). In Manchester, 1787, 10,639 signed a petition, with 10 percent female subscribers. The first national petition campaign followed in 1788, the total signatures nearing one hundred thousand. In 1791, abolitionist William Wilberforce introduced the first anti-slave trade Bill. Clarkson's Committee travelled, raised funds, lobbied and wrote anti-slavery works. The estimated four hundred thousand who signed petitions in 1792 represented 13% of the adult male population of England, Scotland, and Wales. The abolitionist movement thus transformed public perceptions in the world's most economically advanced nation (Davis, 2006, p. 234).

The French Revolution (1789-99) polarized the Enlightenment heritage and illuminated slave struggles with brutal immediacy. It catalysed post-1790 American slave revolts, particularly with abolition in the French Empire (1794). In the French colony Saint-Domingue (Haiti), it ignited a mass slave insurrection (1791 to 1804). In 1804 revival of anti-slave-trade agitation swept Britain, with Napoleon's slave trade restoration. French extermination attempts upon revolutionary Haitians, to repopulate the island with 'uncorrupted' African slaves, showcased the system's murderousness (Davis, 2006, p. 168). In 1814, the Napoleonic Wars ending, abolitionists collected 750,000 names demanding that England force France to abolish its slave trade (the 1815 Congress of Vienna produced only empty condemnation). The Haitian revolution was Enlightenment-inspired: "The slaves' capture of "the spirit of the thing" [Liberty, Equality and Fraternity] … a revolutionary ideal of universal human rights had entered the Caribbean at the end of the eighteenth century … one of the explosive borders of enlightened modernity" (Munro & Walcott-Hackshaw, 2006, p. 10). The Haitian Revolution demonstrated that the "the most abject, helpless, and degraded of mankind" could organize to transform their future (Davis, 2006, p. 159). Slaves were aware of what Haiti represented: Southern planters suppressed information, while an influx of Saint-Domingue slave refugees spread knowledge through Louisiana. It inspired the 1800 and 1802 Virginian slave conspiracies, the 1811 rebellion reaching within

eighteen miles of New Orleans. By the 1820s, blacks in Northern cities celebrated the anniversary of Haitian independence. The Haitian Revolution, pressuring Congress to outlaw the American slave trade in 1807, and patterning early ACS and abolitionist politics, shaped America's national road.

Non-violence was practiced in three major Antilles slave insurrections: Barbados (1816), Demerara (1823), and Jamaica (1831). Thousands of slaves participated with few whites killed. Leaders practiced restraint and discipline. Communication networks spread word of British public opinion, and "British slaves thus … focused their violence on property [and took] extraordinary measures to avoid the killing of whites". The Demerara rebellion spoke in Enlightenment terms of "rights", refraining from killing captured masters. With the Jamaica slave insurrection, British antislavery had expanded on the strength of nonviolent Caribbean insurrections. Sugar estates destroyed, but "not one freeman's life was taken, not one freewoman molested by the insurgent slaves." Leaders urged followers "to not to harm them except in self-defence" (Davis, 2006, p. 219-20). The Jamaica rebellion resulted in fourteen white deaths (one-quarter the number killed by Nat Turner). As Davis has argued, "Turner and other American rebels had no possibility of appealing to a strong, centralized government that showed increasing sensitivity to a burgeoning antislavery movement". Non-violence aided the British abolition movement, "which would surely have suffered a setback if Jamaican blacks had followed the example of Haiti and had massacred hundreds of whites". America's Southern planters linked insurrections to British abolitionism, condemning "the momentous danger of tolerating any similar abolitionism in the Northern states". In 1827, a Southern planter argued that discussion of slavery in Congress would cause "DEATH and DESTRUCTION in the South," just as the Parliamentary debates had incited West Indian insurrectionary movements (Davis, 2006, p. 220-1).

As Britain peacefully emancipated colonial slaves in the 1830s, arguably violating economic self-interest, the Southern United States was consolidating an increasingly authoritarian society under parallel pressures. Events converged within an international pattern of linkages. A planned slave revolt in the American South set for Bastille Day in 1822 testifies to causal powers inhering in implicit global social relations, informing a context-dependent practical consciousness.

The Course of the War, Social Revolution and military-industrial crystallization

The American Civil War ended slavery, redefining the Enlightenment concepts freedom, citizenship, and equality in U.S. history's conflicting potential paths. It created a newly centralized nation-state launched upon a path of economic expansion and world influence (Faust, 2008, p. 12). The United States colonial nightmare was within its borders, rather than overseas (i.e. using Indians in tracking fugitive slaves, and blacks to

raid Indian camps). The Republic's expanding borders encompassed a newly independent Southern Confederacy, the world's greatest slave power, the size of Europe. Paramount global dimensions entailed that the world watched the conflict unfold with baited breath.

The 1861 Fort Sumter bombardment by Confederate forces launched the war, with cotton export cut to pressure global recognition (Britain turned to India and Egypt). With Union demoralization, at the second battle of Bull Run (1862), Britain and France contemplated granting diplomatic recognition. The 1862 capture of New Orleans (the largest Confederate city, cosmopolitan, French speaking, flourishing with industrialism and the gold rush) was a major turning point for the Union. The war turned, secondly, with the accidental 1862 discovery of a lost Confederate letter in a Maryland field. Detailing tactics of Lee's Northern Virginian Army, this impacted the Battle of Antietam by repelling Lee's invasion and probably preventing "European intervention that would have perpetuated American slavery for an indefinite period" (Davis, 2006, p. 316). This was the "bloodiest day of the Civil War with over 23,000 dead or wounded", "a quarter of Lee's army" (Tulloch, 2006, p. 141). It reduced the Confederacy to irreversible disadvantage. Lincoln, seizing the opportunity, declared a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. He had waited, enduring depression, until "the military situation and public opinion in the North might make such a decree effective and not self-defeating" (Davis, 2006, p. 313).

Lincoln's war opposed illegal dismemberment of the United States. Until 1862, he upheld colonisation, citing "an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you free coloured people to remain among us" (Tulloch, 2006, p. 147). Lincoln then realized the indispensable importance of black soldiers: "I believe it is a resource which, if vigorously applied now, will soon close the contest. It works doubly, weakening the enemy and strengthening us." No black soldiers were citizens (until the 1868 14th Amendment). In 1862 black regiments marked public consciousness with heroic combat at Fort Wagner. By 1865 "over 190,000 black troops, constituting 10 per cent of the total Union forces, one-fifth of the male black population under 45 had joined 166 different regiments involved in 40 major battles, with a further 10,000 in the navy" (Tulloch, 2006, p. 140). Fort Wagner and Antietam led to the 1862 preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. The war effort, previously for Union, targeted black freedom. The 1865 13th Amendment formally liberated slaves. Expected to endure briefly, war reached a logistical depth where the procurement and maintenance of personnel imposed a revolution in social relations. Transcending the ideological anticipations of the powerful, it affirmed the collective desires of disempowered populations in a revolutionary meaning. At the War's onset, abolitionist views remained

marginal. By the end, all demands had been met in a sociological (rather than Providential) pattern of change.

The American state (unlike Britain) lacked the centralized authority to decide the slavery issue. The notion of slavery naturally withering away lost credibility. In this context, we see the creation of the Republicans, party of "free soil" in the West, and the rise of Lincoln. Lincoln, Kentucky slave state born, and raised among Indiana Southerners, attacked slavery in 1837. In 1854, he argued: "no man is good enough to govern another man, without that other's consent", this being "the sheet anchor of American republicanism." A political moderate, he was committed to "the dictates of prudence" (Davis, 2006, p. 307). Abolitionism was "excessively self-righteous", but, in his 1858 "House Divided" speech, he declared no middle way for the Republic. A "crisis" had to be "reached and passed". The nation, unable to "endure permanently half slave and half free", must become "all one thing or the other". A "conspiracy", the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska act and 1857 Dred Scott decision, constituted a "design and concert of action" seeking to institute slavery nationwide (Lincoln, 2000, p. 719-22).

Lincoln's 1861 electoral victory provoked seven Southern state secessions, led by traditionally slaveholding coastal regions. The Confederacy (11 states) formed at Montgomery, Alabama, with Jefferson Davis as president (claiming the right of states to autonomy without federal interference). For the slave owning planters, Lincoln's threat to the economy was comparable to the 1848 French revolution and British emancipation (which had inspired expectations of an "immediate black revolution, as presaged by the great Jamaican slave revolt of 1831"). Many viewed American abolitionists as British agents. One Southern woman's (1861) letter described the British West Indies as a twenty-seven year "window" to view the disaster of slave emancipation. Only resistance war could prevent similar socio-economic ruin for the South. Misguided reformers inflamed public ignorance, risked the annihilation of plantation life, millions of dollars in property, and an entire civilization (Davis, 2006, p. 282-3). These collectively imagined terrors illuminate broader international linkages conditioning unfolding events.

The Union had material advantages: a population of 22 million as against 9 million (of whom 4 million were slaves), and an industrial capacity ten times greater. Lincoln's leadership followed the human multitude – the tens of thousands of escaped slaves arriving in the North (a humanitarian disaster) were transformed into the military solution (i.e. Union army black soldiers). The Emancipation Proclamation recognized the right of slave insurrection, saying "the executive government of the United States ... will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons" (Waldstreicher, 2001, p. 157). Lincoln affirmed slavery's abolition as a fundamental war aim, or a "new birth of freedom," in the 1863 Address following the Battle of Gettysburg

(the greatest battle of the war) (Lincoln, 2000, p. 1275). Union slavery ended with the Thirteenth Amendment (1864), the Fourteenth extended full citizenship (1868), and the Fifteenth granted voting rights to adult males (1870) in the last of the Reconstruction Amendments. A civil war is fought between co-citizens along political or other lines, and a revolution to overthrow a government. The American Civil War falls between the two categories. The Union Army was converted into an army of liberation (Davis, 2006, p. 317), overthrowing a regime struggling for independence and based upon an opposed system of practices and ethics.

The war was truth-violence-sacred sanctified. A clergyman celebrated northern victory, arguing that Christian history "must feed itself on blood" and the United States now "may be said to have gotten a history." Now "hallowed" by "rivers of blood", the "Government is now become Providential" (Faust, 2008, p. 213). Apocalypse, linking violence, humanity and God, forged the Civil War narratives. Northerners cited "the sin of slavery as a religious justification for the use of violence". The 1864 Christian Recorder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church concluded: "the goal of overturning the wrong of slavery made the conflict a righteous one and its carnage justifiable". Black soldiers fought to "define and claim their humanity", which for many was "inseparable from avenging the wrongs of a slave system that had rendered them property rather than men." One explained: "To suppose that slavery, the accursed thing, could be abolished peacefully ... after having plundered cradles, separated husbands and wives, parents and children ... would be the greatest ignorance under the sun" (Faust, 2008, p. 50, 64, 70, 160).

A reconciliation ethic, however, pervaded Lincoln's vision and handling of the Civil War. Lincoln, a "thorough fatalist", "believed that what was to be would be, and no prayers of ours could arrest or reverse the decree." No one "was responsible for what he was, thought, or did, because he was a child of conditions." Utilitarian punishment should not be "an expression of hatred." Lincoln often requested revised sentences for wartime criminals. In 1854, he contended that slave owners "were neither better, nor worse than we of the North". Situated as they are, "we should act and feel as they do; and if they were situated as we are, they should act and feel as we do; and we never ought to lose sight of this fact in discussing the subject." Lincoln projected the Civil War ending "with malice toward none; with charity for all" (Guelzo, 2009, p. 39-40). Lincoln's ethics recast the Enlightenment heritage. The ethic of reconciliation spared post-Civil War America from the worst possible tragedies, as the North inflicted no radical vengeance upon the defeated. Most Confederate leaders and officers escaped execution. Nor did murderous slave retaliation occur, as in Haiti. This was the first modern information war, which could have deployed this new power to murderous ends. The 1860 United States was an information culture. War accelerated this, stimulating public demand for reliable knowledge about military and political matters,

and necessitating communication networks improvement. Photographers and print journalists recorded every imaginable fact of the conflict, revelations to "a knowledge-hungry public" (Finseth, 2006, p. 11).

It was a technological landmark in mass military violence. Mass mobilized armies broke 19th century convention: "the war generated a mass mobilization of common citizens and forces of unprecedented size". These "three million ... were not trained professionals, schooled in drill and manoeuvre, but overwhelmingly volunteers with little military knowledge or experience". Battle survivors shovelled corpses into pits "in bunches, just like dead chickens." The pre-Civil War American 'art of dying' gave death transcendent meaning: "death is not to be regarded as a mere event in our history ... Death fixes our state." (Faust, 2008, p. 16, 56, 23). Eternal ideals were subverted by armament innovations: "military technology equipped these mass armies with new, longer-range weapons" providing "dramatically increased firepower". Railroads and industrial capacity facilitated army resupply and redeployment, "extending the duration of the war and the killing". The 1862 Battle of Antietam confronted troops with twenty-three thousand dead or wounded men and horses scattered across battlefields. Numberless "non-combatants [also] perished as a direct result of the conflict" (Faust, 2008, p. 156, 76, 53, 89, 19). The Civil War experience forced every American's humanity into question. Black Union Army soldiers constituted an existential destruction of the Confederate worldview ("our whole theory of slavery is wrong"). Atrocities upon black Yankees, from "slaughter of prisoners to mutilation of the dead", the 1864 Fort Pillow massacre (nearly two-thirds of the three hundred black soldiers were massacred) attest thus. A Southern newspaper explained: "We cannot treat negroes ... as prisoners of war without a destruction of the social system for which we contend" (Faust, 2008, p. 61). Agents rather than victims of organized violence, African Americans destroyed a fragile secular edifice grounding a religiously sanctified hierarchy claiming eternal value.

Conclusion

The nation-state tradition holds revolution as a seizure of power to obtain the monopoly of violence. The North destroyed Confederate power, in a struggle where general loss of control over the military means of violence and population unrest had to be turned to Northern advantage. The new power formation, as envisaged by Lincoln, derived from the organizational impulses of populations. Counter-revolution, embodied in the Paris, Texas lynching of 1893, followed. Lincoln suppressed the political and cultural autonomy of the fragment, upholding universal equality grounded in the nation-state. Lincoln's revolution, despite 1865 assassination in a Washington theatre, was a rapid acceleration of Northern industrial development combined with mass democracy. Cumulative colonial logic patterned this development drive (it was deadly for Native Americans). The mechanism of democracy also shaped the passage of the future. In time, the localized Southern regime crumbled with the Civil Rights Movement.

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THE LATINIZATION OF MOSCOW STREET SIGNS AS AN APPROACH TO URBAN NAVIGATION IN A MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

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Abstract

The paper discusses directions in the Latinization of Moscow street signs as an approach to facilitating urban navigation in a multicultural environment. Existing transliteration standards are critically reviewed and compared in the aims of identifying the most suitable Latinization approaches to meet the requirements of the modern city.

Keywords: linguistics, Latinization, transcription, transliteration, street signs, translation

СИСТЕМА ГОРОДСКОЙ НАВИГАЦИИ ГОРОДА МОСКВЫ КАК ПРОБЛЕМА МУЛЬТИКУЛЬТУРНОГО МОДЕЛИРОВАНИЯ ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОГО ОБРАЗА ГОРОДА

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Аннотация

В статье на примере системы городской навигации г. Москвы рассматривается проблема мультикультурного моделирования лингвистического образа современного города. Различные стандарты транслитерации подвергаются сравнению и анализу с тем, чтобы отобрать наиболее адекватный с точки зрения требований современного города способ транслитерации.

Ключевые слова: лингвистика, транскрипция, транслитерация, лингвистический образ города, перевод

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Моделирование лингвистического образа города представляется актуальной задачей в условиях глобализации, в том числе в туристической перспективе, не говоря уже о том, что является вообще проблемой современного большого города – многие столицы мира сталкиваются с данной проблемой, решая ее с различной степенью успешности. Так, например, в столице Белоруссии (Беларуси) г. Минске создана последовательная трехъязычная (русский / английский / белорусский языки) качественная система городской навигации. Интересна также трехъязычная система навигации в г. Алматы в Казахстане.

Проблема передачи имен собственных на иностранном языке решается в зависимости от сложившейся традиции (в этом ключе название *Кыргызская республика* или *Таллинн, Беларусь* и др. не вполне приемлемы – ср. сохраняющееся транслитерированное *Лондон*, а не **Ландон*) как транскрипционные и транслитерационные названия. Формирование традиции определялось стихийно складывающимися лингвоисторическими условиями и получило закрепление в языке. Такие единицы относились к названиям стран, столиц, крупных городов и известных культурно значимых объектов. Однако даже здесь возможны варианты – например, город Севастополь передаётся на английский язык либо как Sebastopol, где имеет место калькирование и отсылка к исторически и этимологически прозрачному – город (Св.) Себастиана, либо как Sevastopol, на основе транскрипции / транслитерации.

Моделирование лингвистического образа современного европейского мегаполиса представляется многоаспектной лингвистической задачей; во-первых, требуется разработка единой нормативной базы касательно как графики, так и орфографии знаков навигации на родном языке; во-вторых, нуждаются в разработке также принципы передачи городских навигационных указателей на некоем *lingua franca*, понятном для иноязычного пользователя.

Первая задача в настоящее время находится в процессе решения: по-видимому, идет разработка как единообразной графики указателей улиц (на русском языке в том числе), так и правописания. Ср. существующее на данный момент разнообразие графических решений для обозначения улиц, например, в Санкт-Петербурге.

Анализ существующих лингвистических решений и решений касательно шрифта в Москве вызывает ряд вопросов. Прежде всего, нуждается в специальном исследовании механизм восприятия обозначения улицы либо только заглавными буквами – МЯСНИЦКАЯ, или же заглавными и строчными – Мясницкая. На первый взгляд вполне очевидна предпочтительность первого варианта – полностью заглавными буквами: лучше видно, однородный шрифт легче распознается и др. Более того, такое написание снимает еще одну проблему – в составных названиях, где второе слово является словом общелитературного языка, не будет ошибочных или несогласованных решений, а именно: улица Охотный ряд (на здании Государственной Думы) обозначена в полном соответствии с нормами русского правописания, тогда как улица *Земляной Вал обозначена иначе, оба слова пишутся с заглавной буквы (что вызывает обоснованные возражения – не пишется же *Мясницкая Улица!), что не согласуется с принятыми нормами правописания. Понятно при этом, что ошибки такого рода тиражируются в том числе и школьниками, или по крайней мере вызывают у них определённый когнитивный диссонанс. Отметим, что сходная ситуация непоследовательности в графике составных имён имеет место в московском метро: так, наряду с нормативным написанием станций – Речной вокзал, Водный стадион, Октябрьское поле, Филевский парк, Парк культуры,

Александровский сад, Ботанический сад, Воробьёвы горы, Бунинская аллея на карте метро имеются названия, не отвечающие нормам русской графики (при этом не поддерживаемые и традицией написания) –*Охотный Ряд (ср. с правильным написанием улицы – Охотный ряд!), *Тёплый Стан, *Крестьянская Застава или *Марьина Роща, *Красные Ворота, *Кузнецкий Мост. Такая ненормативная и непоследовательная графика, безусловно, нуждается в корректировке. (Понятно при этом, что названия типа Бульвар Адмирала Ушакова или Улица Академика Янгеля абсолютно корректны.)

Вторая задача – создание системы навигации на основе транслитерации, требует разработки специальных принципов на основе учёта нескольких факторов.

Проблема передачи (транслитерации) имён собственных, на первый взгляд представляющаяся относительно легко решаемой, на самом деле легко решается только для простых случаев, тогда как на пограничном уровне требуется провести специальное исследование. В этой связи можно обратить внимание на то, что на создание системы транслитерации в Институте языкознания РАН потребовалось пять лет (1951-1956). Вместе с тем, следует отметить, что эта система предназначена для решения иных задач и потому может служить только основой для разработки принципов транслитерации городских названий.

Прежде всего, понятно, что для европейского города система навигации должна быть основана либо на системе, скорее всего, английского языка, либо быть производна от латыни. Иными словами, возникает задача создания специального метаязыка, производного от естественного, и в этом смысле вторичного, как и всякие искусственные языки, создаваемые по соглашению сторон. Всякий искусственный язык – например, подъязык любой терминологической области: математики, физики, химии и др. - создаётся целенаправленно для решения определённых задач, ориентирован на определённую группу пользователей (целевую группу) и создаётся как система, соответствующая однозначным выработанным критериям. Попытаемся эксплицитно определить (задать) критерии, следование которым позволило бы предложить адекватное решение означенной практической задачи.

Одним из основных критериев является целевая группа, которую в данном случае составляют не-носители русского языка, среди которых туристы (привлекательность страны и ее городов в значительной степени зависят от возможности свободно ориентироваться в новом месте, принимая при этом во внимание тот факт, что новые виды туризма – без традиционного гида и в составе группы – приобретают все большую популярность), так называемые экспаты (иностранные специалисты, работающие, например, в Москве и в большинстве слабо знающие русский язык) и их семьи, многочисленные деловые партнёры российских компаний. В большинстве своём это люди, владеющие либо своим родным (одним из европейских языков), либо в той или иной степени английским языком как языком международного общения. В силу того, что большинство европейских языков основано на латинице, а русский язык на принципиально отличной системе письма – кириллической (или кирилловской), иностранец не способен в принципе прочесть русскоязычные указатели. Опыт многолетнего взаимодействия с европейскими коллегами-лингвистами показывает, что даже они готовы отказаться от поездок в Россию без специального сопровождения именно по этой причине.

Таким образом, задача создания некоторой упорядоченной системы «перевода» русскоязычной кириллической навигации на понятный иностранцу искусственный язык представляется как никогда актуальной в эпоху разворачивания интенсивного межнационального взаимодействия. Турист приезжает в страну не только с целью посмотреть на достопримечательности, новые развивающиеся виды путешествий ориентированы на интеграцию – пусть на короткий момент – в повседневную жизнь местных жителей, с тем чтобы понять как «здесь люди живут», что возможно только в попытках установить межличностные контакты – иными словами, практически осуществить такую широко декларируемую гуманитарную ценность как межкультурная коммуникация. Из этого следует, что речь идёт о **взаимодействии**, предполагающем отправителя сообщения и реципиента, или иностранца и местного жителя. Такое взаимодействие в принципе опирается на различные комбинации следующих речевых действий – иностранец: прочтение и произнесение указателя, реципиент: понимание и ответ; в различных комбинациях. (Интересно отметить, что русскоговорящий турист за рубежом

вполне способен сориентироваться на улицах городов в силу полученного образования – в средней школе в преподавании многих дисциплин в России ориентируются на символические обозначения многих величин при помощи латинского алфавита.) Такой формат межъязыкового взаимодействия требует такой репрезентации указателя, чтобы он звучал понятно для местного жителя, «подвернувшегося» проходящим мимо по московскому дворику заблудившимся «немым» (отсюда и слово *немец* в русском языке) иностранцам. Как хорошо известно из теории и практики перевода, репрезентация указателя в таком случае приобретает вид транслитерации / транскрипции / калькирования, либо их сочетания. Нельзя сказать, что на данный момент, например, в Москве полностью отсутствует иноязычное сопровождение. Вместе с тем, лингвистическое и, в частности, иноязычное сопровождение безусловно требует внимания прежде всего со стороны лингвистов. Что касается передачи латиницей русских указателей, выделим здесь несколько проблем. (Мы не рассматриваем очевидно ошибочные варианты, например, на Тверской (!) улице: при правильности обозначения почему-то существует очевидно ошибочное обозначение *2st – тогда как хорошо известно, что сокращённое обозначение для *второй* в английском языке - 2nd.)

В разрабатываемой в настоящее время программе навигационного сопровождения мегаполиса используются одновременно несколько стандартов транслитерации. Так, в системе метрополитена при обозначении станций за основу взята система ГОСТ, основанная на транскрипционном письме и в принципе относительно адекватно отражающая звуковой образ слова. Вместе с тем, при ее анализе возникает ряд вопросов, связанных, во-первых, с непоследовательностью ее применения. Так, например, в этой системе декларируется передача звука *ё* при помощи диграфа *jo*, однако в случае если буква / звук *ё* следует после шипящей, он передается буквой *o* - см. фрагмент.

СИСТЕМЫ ТРАНСЛИТЕРАЦИИ

						СПОСОБ ПРОИЗНОШЕНИЯ	
РУССКИЕ БУКВЫ		*ЛАТИНСКИЕ БУКВЫ*					
Русский алфавит		**Traveller's Yellow Pages**	**Английская система**	**Немецкая система**	**Русский официальный метод**	**Подобно букве**	**в слове**
А	а	a	a	a	a	a	father
Б	б	b	b	b	b	b	bank
В	в	v	v	w	v	v	**victor**
Г	г	g	g	g	g	g	**g**ood
Д	д	d	d	d	d	d	**d**og
Е	е	e	e,ye	je	e,je	ye	yes
Ⴄ	ꚍ	e	yo	jo	o,jo	yo	yogurt
Ж	ж	zh	zh	sh		g	massage

Однако на практике авторы системы навигации предпочли – вопреки принятой ими системе – обозначить станцию *Щёлковская* через *jo* (тогда как следовало бы *o*).

Принятая в метро система ГОСТа в принципе не представляется приемлемой в ряде случаев - например, в вопросе практической передачи русских шипящих звуков. Так, предложенный вариант транслитерировать / транскрибировать русский звук *щ* как *sch* вызывает возражения как в принципе, так и с учётом латиницы и английского языка как международного, на которые скорее и ориентирована система иноязычной навигации. Во-первых, для носителя и пользователя английского языка данная графема представляется чужеродной – не типичной для английского языка. Вместе с тем, по аналогии с редкими английскими словами, содержащими данную графему - например, универсально известное слово *school*, и производные от него - *scholar*, слово *scheme*, также поддерживающее чтение данной графемы - она почти автоматически читается как *ск*. Тем самым в московском метро вполне вероятно возникновение забавной ситуации, когда иностранец, спросив у жителей города, как проехать на станцию Сколковская (прочитав то, как названа станция Щёлковская – *Schyolkovskaya*), может быть направлен в сторону Сколкова. Общепринятая в лингвистических работах при передаче русского текста графема для русского звука *щ* – *shch*, при всей её громоздкости, адекватно будет прочитана и воспроизведена иностранцем.

В ряде случаев не вполне оправданно передаются русские звуки различными способами, причём в рамках одной карты метро. Схема метро может

вызвать ещё и возражение касательно несоблюдения принципа иконичности в обозначении направления движения в сторону аэропорта Шереметьево. Схематичное изображение самолёта служит иконическим знаком, и таким образом, призвано отражать и направление движения, как это, например, делается в схеме лондонского метро - в сторону аэропорта Хитроу направление движения самолёта совпадает с направлением движения поезда метро в эту сторону, и у пассажира не возникает сомнения в правильности выбранной линии метро. Возможное возражение, что направление знака самолёта совпадает с направлением движения в сторону аэропорта, неверно - аэропорт расположен к северу. В этом отношении система навигации в метро г. Санкт-Петербурга представляется более последовательной.

Иными словами, решение приобретает вид поиска разумного компромисса, во-первых, в пользу транскрипции – ведь именно транскрипция отражает звучание слова в большей степени, чем транслитерация; во-вторых, транскрипционные решения в сложных случаях (например, если в названиях присутствуют русские шипящие звуки) разумно верифицировать применяя существующие транслитерационные программы. Вместе с тем, окончательное решение безусловно остаётся за переводчиком-редактором. При этом во избежание возникновения когнитивного диссонанса у пользователей навигационной сети необходимо последовательно соотнести системы практической транслитерации в системе городского транспорта (наземного и подземного), городской навигации, а также пригородного сообщения. Эта единая система получает при этом отражение на картах и схемах города.

Как отмечалось в начале статьи, иноязычная городская навигация строится на по крайней мере трёх принципах: транскрипции, транслитерации и калькировании городских названий, вопрос о соотношении которых при практической реализации проекта навигации требует специального изучения. Вопрос о соотношении собственно перевода и транслитерации возникает в связи с тем, следует ли транслитерировать всё, например, название улицы и сопровождающий ее классификатор *ул. / пер. /просп.* и др. Как представляется, этот вопрос также следует решать с учётом практической целесообразности, а именно: в первую очередь с учётом целевой группы и формата

функционирования. Так, написанное *латинским шрифтом* слово *ulitsa,* казалось бы, вряд ли понятно иностранцу, в отличие от «родного» для него слова *street,* с одной стороны, тогда как его собеседнику – русскоязычному столичному прохожему с высокой степенью вероятности понятно английское слово *street.* Сходная ситуация наблюдается с передачей на английский язык слова проспект – *avenue* (*av.*). Возможно, что в таких случаях приемлем именно перевод, и речь идёт уже не о латинской транслитерации (пусть и с ориентацией на язык международного общения – английский), а о прямом переводе на английский язык. Однако классификаторы типа *переулок, тупик* по-видимому требуют иного обращения – если учитывать восприятие среднестатистического жителя столицы, к которому за помощью обращается иностранец, понимание будет затруднено, если *переулок* и *тупик, проезд* будут переведены на английский язык. (Ср., однако, появившееся на московской улице обозначение для 4 Войковского проезда через слово *passage* вместо транслитерированного названия для обозначения улицы.)

Таким образом, при работе с классификаторами (точно такая же проблема возникает, например, и при передаче культурных реалий и объектов – городских достопримечательностей; этот аспект городской навигации также требует отдельного исследования) можно предложить компромиссные решения – например, транслитерировать-транскрибировать слова типа *переулок, тупик, поле* (в последнем случае, например, *Воронцово поле* облигаторна транслитерация, поскольку классификатор *улица* заставляет квалифицировать в данном случае *поле* как часть имени собственного, напоминая только об историческом ландшафте). Безусловно неверны варианты типа *Freedom square*, например, в г. Тбилиси для обозначения площади Свободы – маловероятно, что среднестатистический житель г. Тбилиси на данный момент поймёт и свободно пояснит гостю города, как добраться до данного объекта. Иными словами, собственно название (не классификатор) разумно транслитерировать.

Не вполне ясно при этом, как представить такое слово, как *площадь* – либо как *square* (что кажется неудачным, с учётом адресата вопроса), либо как *ploshchad* (что достаточно громоздко, но более гарантированно правильно сориентирует)– и это нуждается в социолингвистическом исследовании.

В целом принятая система передачи латиницей (в нашем случае) иноязычных указателей часто обозначается зонтиковым термином как транслитерация. Итак, под транслитерацией в практических решениях понимается как транскрипция, так и транслитерация в узком смысле этих терминов, выбор из которых осуществляется, как представляется, в первую очередь с учетом их функций и адресата, или целевой группы. Рассмотрим оба способа передачи иноязычных имён.

Транскрипция как способ однозначной фиксации на письме звуковых характеристик отрезков речи (Iartseva, 1990), чаще всего на основе принципов, разработанных Международной фонетической ассоциацией (МФА), или системы, разработанной Щербой (Shcherba, 1940), обе из которых основаны на латинице. (Для учебных целей, при обучении русскому языку и теоретическим аспектам языкознания, а также для научно теоретических целей, вместе с тем, может использоваться транскрипция, основанная на кириллице.) При этом для точного транскрибирования используется разветвлённая система диакритических знаков, обозначающих отдельные дополнительные особенности артикуляции – этой системой обычно владеет лингвист, и предназначена она главным образом для специальных теоретических целей.

Для практических целей – передачи имён собственных и терминов - обычно используется транскрипция практическая (Sukhotin, 1935). В отличие от транслитерации, она отражает произношение графем, и одним из требований, предъявляемым к практической транскрипции, является возможно более точное сохранение звукового облика передаваемого слова, его графических и морфологических особенностей. Практическая транскрипция осуществляется строго на базе алфавита данного языка без использования дополнительных знаков (Iartseva, 1990) – например, в навигационных целях в Москве разумно использовать транскрипцию на латинском языке. Иными словами, в зависимости от адресата и решаемых задач выбирается соответствующее транскрипционное решение.

Транслитерация представляет собой побуквенную передачу слов, записанных с помощью одной графической системы, средствами другой графической системы. По мнению некоторых лингвистов, транслитерация

должна допускать включение диакритических знаков. «Необходимость в транслитерации возникла в конце 19 века при создании прусских научных библиотек для включения в единый каталог работ, написанных на языках с латинскими, кириллическими, арабскими, индийскими и другими системами письма» (Iartseva, 1990). Обратим внимание на то, что данная система транслитерация была рассчитана на специалистов в области библиотечного дела и лингвистов, не для обычного пользователя, не знакомого, например, с диакритикой. Далее составленные для означенных целей системы транслитерации стали в 20 в. основой стандарта для перевода нелатинских систем письма на латиницу, рекомендации для которого разрабатываются Международной организацией стандартов ISO. При этом для передачи русских слов имеют хождение до 20 стандартов транслитерации (Iartseva, 1990). Самой признанной системой является система, разработанная Институтом языкознания РАН в 1951-56 гг., в стремлении упростить которую ISO в 70-е гг. заменила двухбуквенное написание однобуквенным, но в сопровождении с диакритикой. Далее появляется компромиссная система с двухбуквенными написаниями для таких звуков как *щ, я, ю*. Здесь представляется важной способность системы транслитерирования – благодаря ее универсальности – передавать в равной степени успешно русский язык на ряд языков – ср. пример (Iartseva, 1990) передачи русской фамилии *Лапшин* на английский язык как *Lapshin*, на французский *Lapchine*, немецкий - *Lapschin*, итальянский – *Lapscin*, польский – *Łapszyn*. В каждом случае при выборе либо транскрипции, либо транслитерации решение принимается на основе учёта нескольких критериев и, по-видимому, разнонаправленного эксперимента (см. ниже). Так, например, при передаче названия улицы *Песчаная* обычно используется транслитерация Peschanaya, однако и вариант транскрипционного письма был бы ближе к звуковому образу оригинала – *Peshchanaya*, поскольку фактически носитель русского языка произнесёт (и, соответственно, поймёт) вариант ПЕЩАНАЯ. (Отметим, что в данном конкретном случае последовательным будет принцип транслитерации – см. обоснование ниже.)

Принимая во внимание задачи, для решения которых создавались системы транслитерации, для практических целей – например, для передачи названий улиц, описанные системы не вполне пригодны. Во-первых, наличие диакритики

не позволяет адекватно, с учётом целевой группы, решить задачу визуального распознавания и при необходимости аудиального воспроизведения носителем не-русского языка и далее понимания и адекватного ответного действия реципиента-носителя русского языка. Во-вторых, как видно из фрагмента таблицы выше, фактически в ряде случаев имеет место комбинация транскрипции-транслитерации. (Исследователи отмечают, что в русской практике транслитерацией иногда называют практическую транскрипцию иноязычных слов посредством русской графики.)

В настоящее время в Москве имеют хождение по крайней мере несколько стандартов транслитерации, а именно: стандарт ГОСТ, который лежит в основе системы транслитерации в метро г. Москвы, стандарт ГОСТ, реализуемый на дорогах Москвы, и свой стандарт МВД (см. подробнее ниже).

Сегодня несколько сайтов в сети Интернет предлагают услуги транслитерации текстов в режиме онлайн. Необходимо отметить, что лишь на немногих из них объясняется, какими принципами руководствовались создатели сайта при выборе того или иного стандарта транслитерации: в большинстве случаев пользователям предлагается воспользоваться программой, в которую авторами изначально заложен определённый стандарт, а информация об используем принципе транслитерации отсутствует. Приведём несколько примеров подобных сайтов и проверим, каким образом отобранные нами названия московских улиц, набранные кириллицей и включающие в себя сложные на наш взгляд для транслитерации сочетания букв, передаются при помощи букв латинского алфавита.

Сайт Letter in English (n.d.) использует систему транслитерации, применяемую Госдепартаментом США. Интересно, что разработчики сайта заранее предупреждают пользователей о возможных ошибках в получаемом при транслитерации тексте и предлагают клиентам проводить тщательную проверку и корректировку результатов перевода.

См. полученный вариант транслитерации:

А**щее**улов переулок	A**shche**ulov pereulok
Площадь Иль**ич**а	Ploshchad Il**ic**ha

Станция **Щё**лковская	Stantsiya **Shche**lkovskaya
Улица Аля**бье**ва	Ulitsa Alya**bev**a
Улица Пали**х**а	Ulitsa Pali**kh**a
Улица Цюрупы	Ulitsa Tsyurupy
Улица **Що**рса	Ulitsa **Shcho**rsa
Чечёрский проезд	Checherskiy proezd

Отметим, что в данном случае звук [що] в словах *Щёлковская* и *Щорса* при транслитерации получают различное оформление. Мягкие звуки при этом не получают отражения в транслитерированном тексте, см. Площадь Иль**и**ча - Ploshchad I**li**cha, Улица Аля**бье**ва - Ulitsa Alya**bev**a.

Сайт Docent777 (n.d.) предлагает воспользоваться сервисом «Транслит-перевод онлайн». Создатели сайта не уточняют, какая система транслитерации заложена в основу используемой программы.

См. полученный текст:

А**ще**улов переулок	A**sche**ulov pereulok
Площадь Иль**и**ча	Ploschad' Il**'i**cha
Стан**ци**я **Щё**лковская	Stan**c**ija **Schjo**lkovskaja
Улица Аля**бье**ва	Uli**c**a Alja**b'**eva
Улица Пали**х**а	Uli**c**a Pali**h**a
Улица **Цю**рупы	Uli**c**a **Cju**rupy
Ули**ц**а **Що**рса	Uli**c**a **Scho**rsa
Че**чё**рс**к**ий проезд	Che**chjo**rsk**ii'** proezd

Сочетания фонем со звуком [j] при транслитерации систематически получают различное воплощение: сочетания [ja, ju] передаются сочетаниями букв ja, ju , сочетание [je] – литерой «e», [jo] - литерами «jo» и «o», а сочетание звуков [ij] – комбинацией ii'. Мягкие звуки при этом получают специальное выражение, см. Иль**и**ча - Il**'i**cha, Аля**бье**ва - Alja**b'**eva, площа**дь** - Ploscha**d'**. Интересно, что звук [ц] при транслитерации передаётся литерой «c», а звук [x] – литерой «h».

При обратной транслитерации выдаваемого программой текста получаемые названия улиц на русском языке, содержащие в своём составе звук [щ], не соответствуют исходным, ср.:

Ащеулов переулок	Ascheulov pereulok	Ас**сч**еулов переулок
Площадь Ильича	Ploschad' Il'icha	Пло**сч**адь Ильича
Станция Щелковская	Stancija Schjolkovskaja	Станция Щёлковская
Улица Алябьева	Ulica Aljab'eva	Улица Алябьева
Улица Палиха	Ulica Paliha	Улица Палиха
Улица Цюрупы	Ulica Cjurupy	Улица Цюрупы
Улица Щорса	Ulica Schorsa	Улица Щорса
Чечёрский проезд	Chechjorskii' proezd	Чечёрский проезд

Транслитерация текста на сайте Tigir.com (n.d.) выполняется системой «IT tranlit ru online». Стандарт транслитерации, используемый при работе системы, отдельно не обозначается. См. результат транслитерации текста, набранного кириллицей, на латиницу и обратно.

А**ще**улок переулок	A**sche**ulov pereulok	Ащеулов переулок
Площа**дь** Ил**ьи**ча	Ploscha**d'** Il'**i**cha	Площадь Ильича
Станция **Щё**лковская	Stantsiya **Sche**lkovskaya	Станция Щелковская
Улица Аляб**ь**ева	Ulitsa Alyab'**e**va	Улица Алябьева
Улица Пали**х**а	Ulitsa Pali**h**a	Улица Палиха
Улица Цюрупы	Ulitsa Tsyurupy	Улица Цюрупы
Улица **Що**рса	Ulitsa **Scho**rsa	Улица Щорса
Че**чё**рский проезд	Che**che**rskiy proezd	Чечерский проезд

Как видно, в полученном тексте комбинация букв «щё» и «ще», а также «чё» и «че» при транслитерации не получают различия. Буква «х» передается литерой «h». При обратной транслитерации программа выдает адекватный вариант текста.

Самый оригинальный перевод текста из всех проверенных нами сайтов обнаруживается при работе с Translit po-russki (n.d.). Ср. различные варианты транслитерации названий московских улиц, получаемые при использовании различных систем транслитерации, предлагаемыми на сайте:

Название улицы кириллицей	Изначально заданный на сайте стандарт	Стандарт «буквы – цифры»

	(ГОСТ 16876-71)	
А**ще**улов переулок	A**shhe**ulov pereulok	A**sche**ulov pereulok
Площа**дь** Ил**ьи**ча	Plo**shhad'** Il'**i**cha	Plo**schad'** Il'**i4**a
Станция **Щё**лковская	Stan**c**ija **Shhjo**lkovskaja	Stan**c**ija **Schjo**lkovskaja
Улица Аляб**ь**ева	Uli**c**a Alja**b'**eva	Uli**c**a Aljab**'e**va
Улица Пали**х**а	Uli**c**a Pali**h**a	Uli**c**a Pali**h**a
Улица Цюрупы	Uli**c**a **Cju**rupy	Uli**c**a **C**jurupy
Улица **Щ**орса	Uli**c**a **Shho**rsa	Uli**c**a **Scho**rsa
Че**чё**рский проезд	Chechjorskij proezd	**4e4jo**rskij proezd

Интересно, что при использовании изначально заданного на сайте стандарта (его название на сайте не уточняется, но нами было выявлено, что разработчики использовали ГОСТ 16876-71), буква «щ» транслитерируется при помощи комбинации букв «shh». Буква «х» заменяется при переводе латинской буквой «h», буква «ц» - буквой «c». Буква «ё» в сочетании с шипящими, как и при работе с предыдущими системами, получает различное обозначение, хотя количество вариантов сводится к двум – «jo» и «o».

Особенность стандарта «Буквы – цифры» заключается в том, что буква «ч» автоматически заменяется при транслитерации цифрой «4», другие буквы русского алфавита получают буквенное обозначение. Отметим, что цифры «3», «6», «8» и «9», при этом, заменяются на буквы «з», «ш», «в» и «д» соответственно. См., например: дом 36/89 – **dom зш/вд**.

Далее отметим, что ряд сайтов (DSL na russkom, n.d., Translit, n.d., Cyrillic Transliterator, n.d., Translit po-russki, n.d.) оставляет право выбора стандарта транслитерации за пользователем. В стандартный набор систем транслитерации входят **ГОСТ 7.79-2000** (или международный стандарт ISO 9-1995), **ГОСТ 16876-71** (или СЭВ 13-62-78), **стандарт МВД** (принятый в 2000 году), **ALA-LC** (Система транслитерации Американской ассоциации библиотек и Библиотеки Конгресса - используется библиотеками США, Канады и Великобритании, обновлена в 1997 году), **BGN/PCGN** (стандарт, принятый комиссией по географическим названиям США (BGN, 1944) и постоянным комитетом по географическим названиям Великобритании (PCGN, 1947)), **BSI** (British Standards Institution & Chemical Abstracts Service BS 2979, созданный в 1958 году), **UN** (стандарт Организации

Объединённых Наций для географических названий 1987 года), **WT** (международная научная система транслитерации «Wissenschaftliche Transliteration»), **DIN** (Стандарт, введённый в 1982 году Немецким институтом по стандартизации и Немецкой библиотекой). Рассмотрим, какие результаты транслитерации получаются при использовании каждого из стандартов.

ГОСТ 7.79-2000

Название улицы кириллицей	ГОСТ 7.79-2000
А**ще**улов переулок	A**shh**eulov pereulok
Площа**дь** Иль**и**ча	Plo**shh**ad' Il'**i**cha
Станция **Щё**лковская	Stan**c**iya **Shhyo**lkovskaya
Улица Аляб**ь**ева	Uli**c**a Alyab'eva
Улица Пали**х**а	Uli**c**a Pali**x**a
Улица Цюрупы	Uli**c**a **C**yurupy
Улица **Що**рса	Uli**c**a **Shho**rsa
Че**чё**рский проезд	Chech**yo**rskij proezd

Как можно видеть, буква «щ» согласно ГОСТу 7.79-2000 передается при транслитерации сочетанием букв «shh». Звук [jo] после шипящих в одинаковой позиции получает различную реализацию: «уо» или «о» (см. **Shhyo**lkovskaya, **Shho**rsa, Chech**yo**rskij). Буква «х» транслитерируется при помощи латинской буквы «x», тогда как буква «ц» - передаётся литерой «c». Мягкость согласных звуков отражается при транслитерации.

ALA – LC

Название улицы кириллицей	ALA - LC
А**ще**улов переулок	A**shche**ulov pereulok
Площа**дь** Иль**и**ча	Plo**shch**ad' Il'**i**cha
Станция **Щё**лковская	Stan**t͡s**i͡a **Shch**ё**lkovskai͡a**
Улица Аляб**ь**ева	Uli**t͡s**a Ali͡**ab'e**va
Улица Пали**х**а	Uli**t͡s**a Pali**kh**a
Улица Цюрупы	Uli**t͡s**a T**S͡i͡u**rup**y**
Улица **Що**рса	Uli**t͡s**a **Shcho**rsa
Че**чё**рский проезд	Che**ch**ё**rski͡** proezd

В результате работы со стандартом **ALA-LC** сочетания букв, обозначающие дифтонги, на письме дополняются диакритическим знаком, который, вероятно, призван показывать, что выделенная комбинация букв должна интерпретироваться в совокупности. См. обозначения **ts** для буквы / звука «ц», **ia** для сочетания «ия» и буквы «я», **iu** - для «ю». Шипящая «щ» заменяется на сочетание букв «shch». Буква «х» транслитерируется как «kh», «й» - как **ĭ**. Интересно, что буква «ё» остаётся при переводе неизменной. Мягкость согласных выделяется.

Схожего принципа придерживаются стандарты **BGN/PCGN** и **BSI** за тем лишь исключением, что сложные звуки не дополняются объединяющим знаком. См.:

Название улицы кириллицей	BSI	BGN/PCGN
А**ще**улов переулок	A**shche**ulov pereulok	A**shche**ulov pereulok
Площа**дь** Иль**и**ча	Ploshcha**d'** Il'**i**cha	Ploshcha**d'** Il'**i**cha
Станция **Щ**ёлковская	Stantsiya **Shch**ёlkovskaya	Stantsiya **Shch**ёlkovskaya
Улица Аляб**ь**ева	Ulitsa Alyab'**e**va	Ulitsa Alyab'**e**va
Улица Пали**х**а	Ulitsa Pali**kh**a	Ulitsa Pali**kh**a
Улица Цюрупы	Ulitsa Tsyurup**ȳ**	Ulitsa Tsyurup**y**
Улица **Щ**орса	Ulitsa **Shcho**rsa	Ulitsa **Shcho**rsa
Че**чё**рский проезд	Che**chё**rski**ĭ** proezd	Che**chё**rski**ĭ** proezd

WT, UN и DIN

Название улицы кириллицей	WT / UN	DIN
А**ще**улов переулок	A**šče**ulov pereulok	A**šče**ulov pereulok
Площа**дь** Иль**и**ча	Plošča**d'** Il'**i**ča	Plošča**d'** Il'**i**ča
Станция **Щ**ёлковская	Stan**c**ija **Ščё**lkovskaja	Stan**c**ija **Ščё**lkovskaja
Улица Аляб**ь**ева	Uli**c**a Aljab'**e**va	Uli**c**a Aljab'**e**va
Улица Пали**х**а	Uli**c**a Pali**x**a	Uli**c**a Pali**ch**a
Улица Цюрупы	Uli**c**a **Cju**rupy	Uli**c**a Cjurupy
Улица **Щ**орса	Uli**c**a **Šč**orsa	Ulica **Šč**orsa
Че**чё**рский проезд	Če**čё**rskij proezd	Če**čё**rskij proezd

Стандарты WT, UN и DIN основываются на схожих принципах транслитерации. Для обозначения шипящих звуков здесь используются согласные с гачеком, см.: šč, č, и š. Мягкость согласных отмечается при помощи апострофа. Звук [jo], передаваемый гласной «ё», при транслитерации обозначается литерами «ё» или «о» в одинаковых позициях. Единственным выявленным отличием становится обозначение буквы «х»: системы WT и UN транслитерируют указанную букву как «x», тогда как система DIN используует обозначение «ch».

МВД

Название улицы кириллицей	МВД
А**ще**улов переулок	A**shch**eulov pereulok
Площа**дь** Ил**ьи**ча	Plo**shch**ad**'** Il'icha
Станция **Щё**лковская	Stan**ts**iya **Shchye**lkovskaya
Улица Аляб**ье**ва	Uli**ts**a Alyab**'e**va
Улица Пали**х**а	Uli**ts**a Pali**kh**a
Улица Цюрупы	Uli**ts**a Tsyurupy
Улица **Що**рса	Ulitsa **Shcho**rsa
Че**чё**рский проезд	Che**chye**rskiy proezd

По нашим оценкам, наиболее адекватный из всех рассмотренных способов транслитерации предусматривает стандарт, принятый МВД. Шипящая «щ» при работе с рассматриваемым стандартом передается сочетанием букв «shch», согласная «ц» - сочетанием «ts». Анализируемый стандарт учитывает различия между мягкими и твердыми согласными звуками. Необходимо отметить, однако, что звук [jo] передаваемый гласной «ё» в одинаковых позициях передаётся различными литерами: «ye» (Shchyelkovskaya) и «о» (Shchorsa).

Необходимо также подчеркнуть, что из предлагаемых систем транслитерации однозначное восстановление первоначального русского текста обеспечивают только стандарты BGN/PCGN и ГОСТ 7.79-2000 (или ISO 9-1995)

Таким образом, проведенное исследование систем транслитерации позволяет заключить, что сосуществование нескольких конкурирующих систем транслитерации (латинизации русских названий) в системе городской

транспортной навигации современного российского города обусловлено рядом факторов, учет которых позволит сделать систему транслитерации более адекватной. В первую очередь это предполагает определение объема решаемых задач и учета целевой группы, в связи с чем видится возможным принять за основу стандарт МВД, который далее модифицировать для применения при решении практических задач.

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SUBJECT TYPES AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS IN TRANSLATION

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the category of semantic subject and its syntactical representation. The concept of subject is shaped by extra-linguistic knowledge and personal experiences as well as by people's linguistic knowledge. The concept of subject, among other components, includes accumulated knowledge of the semantic roles which the grammatical subject may have in a sentence. The variety of roles accounts for the radially structured category of subject, with some members more central than others. The prototypical grammatical subject – an agent subject – is expressed by the nominative case of a noun which precedes the verb and is typically represented by an animate initiator or do-er of an action. Other types of subject are scattered within the syntactical category of subject being more central or peripheral. Translation-wise, the most "treacherous" types are the peripheral ones.

*Keywords***:** the concept of subject, an agent, a patient, a causee.

ОСОБЕННОСТИ ТИПОВ СУБЪЕКТОВ В ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКОЙ ПЕРСПЕКТИВЕ

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Аннотация

В статье рассматривается концептуальная категория субъекта и её языковая репрезентация – синтаксическая категория подлежащего. Концепт субъекта выделяется в нашем сознании не только на основе знаний о внеязыковой действительности, но и с учётом опыта отражения событий, происходящих в реальном мире, в языке. Концепт субъекта содержит знание о том, что семантический субъект в позиции грамматического подлежащего может иметь различные семантические роли. Вариативность реализуемых ролей связана с прототипической структурой организации категории субъекта. В качестве прототипа категории подлежащего в современном английском языке выступают существительные конкретной семантики в общем падеже, занимающие в составе предложения начальную позицию; обозначающие одушевленные объекты и выполняющие семантическую роль агенса. Другие типы подлежащего располагаются на разном расстоянии от прототипического центра. В статье рассматриваются некоторые периферийные типы субъектов, потенциально способные вызвать бóльшие трудности при переводе с английского языка на русский, нежели прототипические.

*Ключевые слова***:** концепт субъекта, агенс, пациенс, объект каузации.

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Проблема понимания категории «субъект» всегда являлась принципиальной как для отечественной, так и для зарубежной лингвистики. Языковая репрезентация концептуальной категории субъекта реализуется в форме синтаксической категории подлежащего. Между тем во многих работах термин «субъект» употребляется для обозначения именно синтаксической категории, а не семантической, при этом часто без разграничения предметных областей данных категорий. Так, например, субъект трактуется как: «1. Предмет суждения, логическое подлежащее, по отношению к которому выделяется предикат. 2. То же, что грамматическое подлежащее» (Rozental'&Telenkova, 1985, p. 312).

Как отмечает Н. Н. Болдырев, когнитивным основанием концептуальной и синтаксической категорий субъекта является «концепт «субъект», который формируется в нашем сознании не только с учетом неязыковых знаний и опыта событий, происходящих в реальном мире, но и опыта отражения этих событий в языке, т.е. языковых знаний» (Kobrina et al., 2007, p. 220). Содержание концепта «субъект» соответственно включает в себя и знание того, что в каждом событии есть элемент, который выделяется как его инициатор или источник и который этим же событием характеризуется. Концепт субъекта также содержит знание о том, что все события внеязыковой действительности могут быть представлены в языке как действия, состояния, свойства или отношения, а субъект – как производитель намеренного или ненамеренного действия (*He carefully surveyed* the valley stretching before him; *We unintentionally offended* him); источник свойства (*He reads* a lot) или процесса (*He blushed* to that degree that I felt ill at ease); носитель состояния (*I feel* very bitter about this); элемент отношения (*The book belongs* to me) (Kobrina et al., 2007, pp. 220-221). Тот факт, что сам концепт субъекта выделяется в сознании не только на основе знаний о внеязыковой действительности, но и в результате «регулярной единообразной дискретизации» (Kobrina et al., 2007, p. 221) этого понятия с помощью определенных формальных средств – языковых синтаксических структур и унифицированных формальных способов выражения субъекта (например, падежа или синтаксической позиции, использования служебного слова, правил согласования, возможности или невозможности опущения и др.) (Kasevich 1992, p. 15) – обусловливает многоплановость категории субъекта и его языковой репрезентации – синтаксической категории

подлежащего, отражающей структурные, синтаксические, коммуникативные и семантические характеристики в их взаимодействии.

Подобная многоаспектность категории подлежащего порождает многочисленные проблемы, которые остаются актуальными для современной синтаксической теории, а именно: соотношение семантических и синтаксических функций, членов предложения и частей речи, проблема разграничения функций и реализующих их членов предложения, выделение главных и второстепенных членов предложения и др. Многоплановость категории субъекта оказывается связанной с существующим разнообразием подходов к пониманию и изучению данной категории, среди которых, например, выделяют формально-грамматический, содержательный, семантико-синтаксический (или функциональный), коммуникативный и др. (Boldyrev, 2002).

Вслед за многими лингвистами, мы полагаем, что рассмотрение категории субъекта с позиций прототипического подхода позволяет наиболее полно раскрыть его сущность как языковой концептуальной категории, отражающей единство денотативно-понятийного и языкового аспектов (единство мыслительной основы содержания понятия «субъект» и ее языкового представления чётко выявляется в (Kobrina et al., 2007, Boldyrev, 2002, Shakhmatov, 1941, Bondarko, 1992). Рассмотрим, как в рамках данного подхода интерпретируется понятие субъекта и решаются некоторые проблемы, связанные с его отграничением от смежных понятий.

А. В. Бондарко определяет субъект как такой элемент субъектно-предикатно-объектной ситуации, который выступает в качестве источника приписываемого этой ситуации «непассивного предикативного признака» (Bondarko, 1992, p. 33). Данный источник может выполнять различные семантические функции, или роли (см. Fillmore, 1968), такие, как, например, агенс (реальный производитель действия), эсприенцер (носитель состояния), получатель, или бенефактив, объект каузации, объект действия – пациенс, элемент отношения и другие. Такую вариативность реализуемых функций можно объяснить наличием у субъекта, независимо от его семантической функции, признака «креативности» (Bondarko, 1992, p. 35), которым наделяется субъект по отношению к предикату. Таким образом, признак детерминации (креативности)

предиката можно рассматривать как прототипический признак категории субъекта, позволяющий выделить в ней центральные элементы – прототипические (в качестве субъекта выступает агенс, производитель действия) и периферийные элементы (субъект не является агенсом, ничего не создает и не детерминирует), которые грамматически представляются как источник обозначенного предикатом признака.

Опираясь на имеющиеся исследования категории субъекта (см., например, Kasevich 1992, Shakhmatov, 1941, Bondarko, 1992, Katsnel'son, 1972 and 1974, Seliverstova, 1982), Н. Н. Болдырев выделяет следующие наиболее существенные характеристики субъекта-агенса, выступающего в роли прототипа категории субъекта: 1) одушевленность; 2) энергетическая активность; 3) намеренность (волитивность); 4) каузативность; 5) контролируемость, а также 6) креативность предикативного признака. С точки зрения языковой репрезентации категории субъекта на уровне слова и предложения в качестве прототипа категории подлежащего в современном английском языке выступают существительные конкретной семантики в общем падеже, занимающие в составе предложения начальную позицию, обозначающие одушевленные объекты и выполняющие семантическую функцию исполнителя действия (Kobrina et al., 2007, p. 225), ср.:

(1) *Cecilia* gripped the cool porcelain in both hands as she stood on one foot, and with the other hooked the French windows open wide (McEwan, 2007, p. 24).

(2) *The University of Edinburgh Staff Club* has recently changed its rules to open membership to the graduates of universities other than Edinburgh (BNC, 2007).

(3) In protest, *France* closed its southern border and proposed that the situation in Spain be discussed in the UN Security Council (BNC, 2007).

(4) *Her hand* stroked the soft upholstery of the car (BNC, 2007).

В данных высказываниях субъект-агенс действия обозначен подлежащим, выраженным в примерах (1), (2) и (3) именем собственным, а в примере (4) – названием части тела, метонимически представляющем реального исполнителя действия. Таким образом, в данных примерах подлежащее представлено *одушевленным* лицом (или его активным органом), которое способно использовать собственную *внутреннюю энергию* для намеренного выполнения

какого-либо действия, осуществляя *контроль* за его реализацией. С точки зрения перевода данных высказываний на русский язык, такие структуры, как правило, не вызывают особых трудностей при выборе варианта синтаксической реализации исходной субъектной предикации – синтаксическая структура рассматриваемых английских высказываний совпадает с глубинной (логической) структурой высказывания и обычно не требует от переводчика применения специальных грамматических трансформаций.

В следующей группе примеров подлежащие выражены существительными, обозначающими неодушевленные субстанции, которые могут быть представлены как источник действия, не способный, однако, совершать действие намеренно или контролировать его результат. Таким образом, семантические субъекты, занимающие позицию подлежащего в данных высказываниях, обладают признаком энергетической активности, но не реализуют признаки волитивности и контролируемости (Kobrina et al., 2007, p. 226) – ср.: *The sun* always rises in the east; *The fire* burst into a blaze; *Waves* beat against the shore; *The clock* chimed midnight.

Дальнейшая градация типов подлежащего связана с выражением определенного типа субъекта и степенью проявления им признака активности (2, p. 227). Можно предположить, что чем далее отстоит подлежащее от прототипа, тем больше вероятность того, что переводчику на русский язык придется прибегнуть к грамматическим трансформациям при передаче субъектной предикации, реализованной в английском высказывании.

Рассмотрим примеры, в которых субъект не представлен как реальный производитель действия и обнаруживает отличия от прототипа, ср.:

А.

(5) *The bread* absorbs the stain (BNC, 2007). – С помощью *хлеба* можно вывести пятно / ? *Хлеб* выводит пятна.

(6) *This lotion* adds shine and body to hair (BNC, 2007). – *Лосьон* придает волосам блеск и густоту.

(7) *Some foods* can stain the teeth, as of course can smoking (ABBYY Lingvo x5). – *От потребления некоторых продуктов*, как и от курения, может

появиться зубной налет / *Некоторые продукты*, как и курение, могут явиться причиной зубного налета.

(8) *That whole-wheat flour* bakes wonderful bread (Levin, 1993, p. 82). – *Из цельнозерновой муки* получается / пекут замечательный *хлеб* / * *Цельнозерновая мука* выпекает замечательный хлеб.

В данной группе высказываний подлежащее выражено существительными, обозначающими неодушевленные субстанции, которые представлены как средство осуществления действия. Данный тип субъекта не обладает признаками волитивности и контролируемости, свойственными исключительно агенсу действия. Признак же активности трансформируется в признак «псевдоактивности» (Kobrina et al., 2007, p. 223) – субъект свойства представляется как абстрагированный от конкретных действий субъекта, по которым он характеризуется и которые рассматриваются как не локализованные во времени и пространстве. Таким образом, единственным признаком такого субъекта, определяющим его принадлежность к общей категории субъекта, является свойство *креативности предикативного признака*, что позволяет отнести данный тип субъекта и его языковую репрезентацию в виде подлежащего к периферийным элементам рассматриваемых категорий.

При переводе таких предложений следует учитывать периферийность субъекта, представленного как источник свойства. В высказывании (5) предикация, реализованная в английском предложении, передается на русский язык при помощи безличной глагольной конструкции. При переводе высказывания (6) копируется поверхностная структура оригинала. Субъект предикации в примере (7) (*some foods*) в русском высказывании соответствует либо субъекту-источнику свойства, занимающему в предложении позицию подлежащего, либо приобретает объектно-обстоятельственную интерпретацию и выполняет функцию второстепенного члена. Предложение (8) можно перевести при помощи пассивной или неопределенно-личной конструкции. Таким образом, субъект в английском высказывании, представленный как абстрагированный от конкретных агентивных функций, в русском варианте перевода получает соответствующее представление уже с учётом более широкого диапазона синтаксических структур, которым располагает русский язык.

В следующей группе примеров подлежащее выражено существительными, обозначающими одушевленные или неодушевленные объекты, представленные в высказывании как объекты каузации. При этом субъект-каузатор в данных конструкциях отсутствует, но предполагается.

B.

(9) *These apples* cook well (ABBYY Lingvo x5). – *Эти яблоки* хорошо готовить.

(10) *Whales* frighten easily (Levin, 1993, p. 5). – *Китов* легко напугать.

(11) *Idaho potatoes* bake beautifully (Levin, 1993, p. 244). – *Картофель сорта «айдахо»* хорошо запекать.

(12) *Some kinds of wood* split easily (Kobrina et al., 2007, p. 232). – Некоторые *сорта древесины* легко колоть / легко колются.

Данные предложения описывают свойства субъекта, в основе которых лежат однотипные конкретные действия, рассматриваемые говорящим как действия регулярного характера и характерные для субъекта вследствие присущих ему определённых физических / химических свойств, при этом субъект-источник свойства выступает в роли объекта каузации.

Модель перевода данных высказываний можно представить в следующем виде: «объект каузации, выраженный существительным в родительном падеже, выступающем в роли дополнения + оценочное наречие + инфинитив, который в сочетании с оценочным наречием (*хорошо, легко* и т.д.) образует сложное составное сказуемое».

Обе рассмотренные группы примеров (A и B) представляют собой предложения с одним и тем же типом субъекта – субъектом свойства. При этом в рамках одного и того же типа можно выделить различия в числе и характере выражаемых характеристик, свойственных категории субъекта. Эти различия находят отражение в различных способах языковой репрезентации субъекта в виде подлежащего и, соответственно, способах его перевода на русский язык. Рассмотрим признаки, выражаемые рассмотренными субъектами свойства, подробнее.

Итак, в предложениях обеих групп субъект представлен как источник свойства. Однако высказывания группы А вносят представление о том, что субъект выступает в качестве средства осуществления действия, хотя и является абстрагированным от конкретных агентивных функций и не выступает как одушевленный деятель. В предложениях группы В субъект представлен как объект каузации. Таким образом, субъекты первой группы высказываний оказываются лежащими ближе к прототипу по сравнению с субъектами второй группы, так как обладают бóльшим количеством прототипических признаков (проявляют бóльшую активность) и, следовательно, располагаются ближе к субъекту-агенсу в структуре категории. Сопоставляя русские высказывания, полученные в результате перевода предложений групп А и В, заметим, что в качестве перевода высказываний первой группы в некоторых случаях допускаются двусоставные конструкции, поверхностная структура которых повторяет синтаксическую структуру английского предложения с субъектом свойства в позиции подлежащего. При переводе высказываний второй группы исходная субъектная предикация может быть передана при помощи пассивной или безличной глагольной конструкции (выражаемая таким безличным предложением логическая предикация не бессубъектна – субъектом действия, выраженного глаголами *готовить, напугать, запекать, колоть* выступает человек – предполагаемый субъект каузации).

Особое место в синтаксисе предложения занимают английские структуры с формальным подлежащим it: It is raining; It is getting dark; It is necessary that I phone him. Такие английские высказывания большинством исследователей трактуются как бессубъектные (ср., например, интерпретацию русских высказываний типа *Темнеет. Темно.* в (Pevneva, 1996, p. 3), согласно которой субъектом данных высказываний является локатив, что, как справедливо отмечает О. А. Сулейманова, «трудно согласуется с интуитивным представлением о субъектности» (Suleĭmanova, 2000, p. 15)). Русские безличные структуры не имеют прямого коррелята в английском языке и, следовательно, могут вызывать определенные трудности при переводе. Действительно, в логической структуре предложений типа *В комнате тепло; Темно; Вечереет* отсутствует субъект, в синтаксической – подлежащее. В то же время данная синтаксическая позиция по нормам английского языка является обязательной и при передаче исходной

бессубъектной глагольной предикации на английский язык заполняется формальным подлежащим, выраженным безличным местоимением it.

Для интерпретации русских безличных моделей очень эффективным оказывается понятие «носитель предикативного признака», введенное А. В. Бондарко (Bondarko, 1992, pp. 54-56) в связи с рассмотрением проблематики субъектно-предикатно-объектных отношений. Под носителем предикативного признака понимается «субстанция, которой приписывается предикативный признак» (Bondarko, 1992, pp. 54-55). Под данное понятие подпадают единицы, выполняющие функцию предицируемого компонента синтаксической структуры предложения, которому в активных конструкциях соответствует семантический субъект, а в пассивных – объект. Таким образом, носитель предикативного признака представляет собой синтаксическую субстанцию, в которой разграничиваются и соотносятся структурные и семантические функции, связанные с теми или иными средствами формального выражения. Такая трактовка данного понятия позволяет, например, решить вопрос о залоговой принадлежности ряда конструкций, когда понятия подлежащего и семантического субъекта оказываются недостаточными (Bondarko, 1992, pp. 56-57). Более того, введение понятия носителя предикативного признака «позволяет сохранить понятие подлежащего в его обычном, не расширенном толковании» (Bondarko, 1992, p. 60) и, тем самым, избежать возникновения двойственности и утраты определённости данной категории – ср. предложения типа *Отцу не работается; Ему холодно*, которые трактуются в ряде работ как структуры с подлежащим, имеющим неноминативное выражение (Zolotova, 1982). Итак, говоря о необходимости введения понятия носителя предикативного признака в связи с проблематикой субъектно-предикатно-объектных отношений, можно выделить следующие значимые положения: 1) данное понятие позволяет подвести целый ряд синтаксических явлений под некоторое обобщающее родовое понятие, охватывающее наряду с подлежащим и другие предицируемые компоненты синтаксической структуры предложения – репрезентации носителя предикативного признака; 2) данное понятие оказывается особенно эффективным при анализе бесподлежащных синтаксических конструкций, в составе которых имеется другая структура, выполняющая функцию носителя предикативного признака (Bondarko, 1992, p. 64).

Таким образом, русские безличные предложения типа *В комнате жарко*, реализующие пространственную модель, не содержат в своей синтаксической структуре вербально выраженного подлежащего, но имеют в логической структуре предикации носитель предикативного признака, соответствующий пространственному компоненту высказывания. При передаче данной бессубъектной предикации на английский язык используются английские структуры с формальным подлежащим it, которое, как представляется, и соответствует носителю предикативного признака, получившего языковую репрезентацию в рамках английского предложения. Данную репрезентацию необходимо признать расположенной на периферии класса синтаксических элементов-репрезентантов носителя предикативного признака. Интерпретация формального подлежащего it в качестве носителя предикативного признака согласуется с пониманием А. В. Бондарко о структурном носителе предикативного признака, под которым «имеется в виду носитель структурного (сказуемостного) признака» (Bondarko, 1992, p. 55).

Итак, в рамках настоящей статьи были рассмотрены: 1) принятый в современной лингвистике прототипический подход к изучению категории субъекта; 2) проблема интерпретации понятия субъекта и разграничения таких смежных понятий, как субъект, подлежащее, носитель предикативного признака; 3) некоторые периферийные типы субъектов, потенциально способные вызвать бóльшие трудности при переводе, нежели прототипические; 4) использование понятия носителя предикативного признака при анализе русских и английских безличных моделей.

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