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СОВРЕМЕНА ФИЛОЛОГИЈА JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY PHILOLOGY
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EVENT MODALITY IN BALKAN TURKISH. FORMAL AND SEMANTIC VARIATION IN CONTACT
Part 2: Volitive modality

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This article constitutes the second part of a two-part study on event modality in selected Turkish varieties spoken in Kosovo, North Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Eastern Thrace (Turkey). Building on the analysis of expressions of possibility and necessity in Part 1, this part investigates expressions of volitive modality and their intra- and inter-dialectal variation in Western Rumelian Turkish and Eastern Rumelian Turkish contextualizing the dialectological data with reference to Modern Standard Turkish and Ottoman Turkish varieties. In addition to the consideration of lexical and semantic features, special attention is given to the complementation patterns, which involve both non-finite and finite linking strategies. The Balkan Turkish data will be discussed within the three-dimensional framework of heritage, universal tendencies, and language contact. The survey at the end of this part summarizes and compares the main findings of the study on expressions of possibility, necessity, and volition, and evaluate these findings in the context of Balkan linguistic.

Keywords: dialectology, language contact, semantics, morphosyntax, complementation.

ПРЕДИКАЦИСКАТА МОДАЛНОСТ ВО БАЛКАНСКИОТ ТУРСКИ ЈАЗИК: ФОРМАЛНА И СЕМАНТИЧКА ВАРИЈАНТНОСТ ВО ЈАЗИЧЕН КОНТАКТ
Дел 2. Волитивна модалност

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Статијата претставува втор дел од студијата за предикациската модалност во неколку турски варијанти во Косово, Северна Македонија, Бугарија и во Источна Тракија (Турција). Надоврзувајќи се на анализата на деонтичката модалност од првиот дел, во овој дел се истражуваат јазичните средства со кои се изразува волитивна модалност и нејзината внатрешна и меѓудијалектна варијација во западнорумелискиот и во источнорумелискиот турски јазик. Дијалектолошките податоци се разгледуваат во контекст на современиот стандарден турски јазик и на османлискиот турски јазик. Покрај лексичките и семантичките карактеристики, посебно внимание се посветува на стратегиите за комплементација, коишто опфаќаат нефинитни и финитни конструкции. Турските податоци од Балканот се разгледуваат од тројна перспектива: јазично наследство, универзални тенденции и јазичен контакт. На крајот од статијата се сумираат и се споредуваат главните сознанија од студијата за модалноста на можност, неопходност и волиција, од перспективата на балканската лингвистика.

Клучни зборови: диајлектологија, јазичен контакт, семантика, морфосинтакса, комплементација.

Volitive modality

In this part of the study, expressions of volition will be investigated. These include notions that can be rendered in English with 'to want' and 'to wish', but also encompass expressions encoding intention. The potential for variation (and, consequently, the variation itself) is particularly high in volitive modality as there are two fundamental types of wish, which, strictly speaking, somewhat incorrectly, will be referred to in this paper as "same subject wish" (SSW) and "different subject wish" (DSW) for the sake of simplicity. These two types differ in whether the wisher, i.e., the person or conscious subject entertaining the wish, is identical to the projected performer of the action (S_i wants S_i to X = S_i wants to X) or not (S_i wants S_j to X).

In many languages it is reasonable to assume monoclausal structures for SSWs and biclausal ones for DSW. Whether this distinction is appropriate for all Turkish volitive expressions would require an extended discussion of the definition of clause and of structural issues, which will be set aside here. What is relevant for the present analysis is that DSWs require marking of the two persons, while SSWs may suffice with one. Thus, in addition to the potential variation in the matrix segment and the potential variation in the linking segment, which, as has been shown in part 1, already leads to a considerable variation in expressions of possibility and necessity, the SSW-DSW distinction provides further potential for structural variation. In fact, the full range of volitive expressions in the texts under investigation is nearly unmanageable and could easily warrant a monograph of its own. Consequently, it will be necessary to confine with selected representative types, mention aspects of the variation *en passant*, and leave out much interesting data.

In the domain of matrix segments, the volitive verbs *iste-* 'to want' and *dile-* 'to wish' as well as the noun *niyet* 'intention', borrowed from Arabic, will be considered, whereas other matrix segments such as the nouns *dilek* 'wish' and *arzu* 'desire', which also occur in the texts, will be left out. The usage of the two considered verbs overlaps, with a tendency of *dile-* to express more abstract and idealistic wishes, including wishes in prayers and curses, whereas *iste-* commonly encodes concrete and profane wishes. All examples for *dile-* included in this study represent DSWs, but occurrences of SSWs could likely be found in larger text corpora.[1] As full verbs, *iste-* and *dile-* are transitive and govern the accusative or the unmarked case (differential object marking); this fact must be taken into consideration when evaluating the complementation patterns in the volitive constructions.

As in part 1, fully glossed examples will be cited from Western Rumelian Turkish (WRT), while Eastern Rumelian Turkish (ERT) equivalents, if attested for a given type, will only be mentioned in parentheses. Before citing the examples for *iste-* in Balkan Turkish, let us look at three examples which illustrate the main uses of this verb in Standard Turkish:

(45)	*Ben*	*meme-m*	*çık-sın*	*iste-mi-yor-um.*
	I	breast-POSS.1.SG	come.out-VOL.3	want-NEG-PROG-1.SG
	Para	*kazan-mak*	*isti-yor-um.*	
	money	earn-VN	want-PROG-1.SG	

'I don't want my breasts to grow. I want to earn money.'
(ST, Asena 1987: 12)

[1] An example of *dile-* in a SSW (which moreover encodes a quite profane wish) is given in Rentzsch 2011: 56 ex. (24) for a historical Oghuz variety from Eastern Anatolia. The historical development of Turkic volitive verbs in terms of semantics and combinability would be an interesting object of comparative research.

(46) *Cellat [...]* *olay* *yer-in-den* *en azından* *iki* *günlük*
executioner event place-POSS.3-ABL at.least two day-DNN
uzaklık-ta *ol-ma-yı* *iste-r=di* *hep.*
distance-LOC be/come-VN-ACC want-AOR=PST always
'The executioner [...] always wanted to be at least two days away from the scene.'
(ST, Pamuk 1990: 279)

(47) *Bu* *işaret-ler-i* *iyi* *oku-duğ-un-u*
DEM sign-PL-ACC good read-VN-POSS.3-ACC
Galip Bey-in *bil-me-sin-i* *isti-yor[=du].*
NP-GEN know-VN-POSS.3-ACC want-PROG=PST
'He wanted Galip to know that he had read these signs well.'
(ST, Pamuk 1990: 132)

In example (45) there are two instances of *iste-*. The second one, <-mAK iste->, represents the most fundamental type of expression for SSWs in Standard Turkish. Example (46) represents a variant of SSW, in which the verbal noun is marked with the accusative. This variant is also marked in terms of frequency marked and is relatively scarce. The difference between <-mAK iste-> and <-mAyI iste-> is hard to grasp; the marked variant seems to add some kind of emphasis.

The default expression of DSW is typified in example (47). The state of affairs (SoA) is marked by the short non-factual verbal noun *-mA*, at which the projected performer is marked with a possessive suffix. The resulting item is then marked with the accusative. The resulting structure can be represented as <-mA-sIn-I iste->, to which the second segment *-(s)I(n)*, the possessive suffix, varies according to the person. In less formal (but not only spoken) registers, there is also a subjunctive construction type, which can be seen in example (45), realized here as *-sIn iste-*. The linking segment, as in the subjunctive constructions discussed in part 1, is a finite mood form, specifically the voluntative in the first and third persons and the optative or the imperative in the second persons. Note that the subjunctive strategy can also be employed in SSWs (e.g. *dinlen-eyim iste-dim* 'I wanted to relax', cf. Rentzsch 2010: 218 for more examples).

Almost all these types are attested in both Eastern and Western Rumelian Turkish, although with differences in frequency and specific realization; the examples provided will be given from WRT. The type <VN+iste-> (corresponding to <-mAK iste-> in ST) occurs in example (48). The type <VN-ACC+iste-> (= ST <-mAyI iste->) is seen in example (49). Note that in this example the verbal noun used is not *-mA* but *-mAK*. The DSW construction <VN-POSS-ACC+iste-> appears in example (50). This corresponds to the ST item <-mAsInI iste->. Variants of this type containing other forms can be found in the texts as well, including *-mAKlIGInI iste-* (Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 83) with the infrequent verbal noun *-mAKlIK*. Example (51) typifies <iste-+SBJV> in a DSW. An SSW variant of this type would be *iste-rim onunle evlen-im* 'I want to marry him' (MK/Kanatlarci, Alievska 2003: 158).

(48) *Konuş-mak* *iste-me-y-ler,* *zorla-ama-y-s.*
talk-VN want-NEG-PROG-PL force-NEG.POT-PROG-1.PL
'They don't want to talk, we cannot force them.'
(MK/Debar, Erdem et al. 2024: 357)
[cf. ERT: *Ēr şēt-mek iste-rsen* 'If you want to do thingamajig' (TR/Tekirdağ/Yağcı Köyü, Tosun 2003: 271)]

(49) *Baba-n-ın* *bir* *dost-ı* *var=dı [...]* *hiç olmazsa*
father-POSS.2.SG-GEN one friend-POSS.3 present=PST at.least
bāri *sen-in=le* *görüş-meg-i* *iste-r.*
for.once you-GEN=with meet-VN-ACC want-AOR
'Your father had a friend, he wants to meet you for once at least.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 43)
[cf. ERT: *Ben iste-mem mihtar ol-ma-yı* 'I don't want to become a mukhtar' (BG/Rhodopes/Karabulak, Mustafa-Rashidova 2024: 216)]

(50) *Bi* *cün* *baba-si* *haçın* *dişari* *çik-miş,* *Ayo Osman*
one day father-POSS.3 when out go.out-EVID.PST NP
ana-sın-dan *kasaba-ya* *cütür-me-sın-i* *iste-miş.*
mother-POSS.3-ABL town-DAT bring-VN-POSS.3-ACC want-EVID.PST
'One day when his father has gone out Ayo Osman wants his mother to take him to town.'
(RKS/Prizren, Hafız 1985: 194)
[cf. ERT: *Diğişmeyen bi tarım politikasının izlen-me-sin-i isti-yüz* 'We want a reliable farming policy to be pursued' (TR/Tekirdağ/Yağcı Köyü, Tosun 2003: 255)]

(51) *İste-y* *mi-sın* *yini* *kofer-i* *ver-alım*
want-PROG Q-2.SG new suitcase-ACC give-VOL.1.PL
iste-y *mi-sın* *esçi* *kofer-i.*
want-PROG Q-2.SG old suitcase-ACC
'Do you want us to give you the new suitcase or do you want the old suitcase?'
(RKS/Prizren, Hafız 1985: 209)
[cf. ERT: *İsti-yüz şindi bu kara keçiler kalk-sın* 'Now we want to get rid of these bad goats' (TR/Tekirdağ/Yağcı Köyü, Tosun 2003: 261)]

The nonfinite strategy with dative shift ("infinitive" in **-mAGA*) occurs frequently in Balkan Turkish, in WRT especially in Kosovo and Adakale, but also in Vidin, and also in ERT. The full form can be seen in example (52) from Adakale (19th century) but is attested in the Vidin texts as well. The reduced form is seen in example (53).

(52) *Bir* *gün* *bir* *odun* *tucar-i* *gel-ip* *çocuk-tan*
one day one firewood merchant-POSS.3 come-CVB boy-ABL
odun-lar-ı *satın al-mag-a* *iste-r.*
fireewood-PL-ACC buy-VN-DAT want-AOR
'One day a firewood merchant comes and wants to buy the firewood from the boy.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 205)
[cf. ERT: *Dilinden öp-me-ye istä-rmiş* 'She wanted to kiss her tongue' (BG/Kazanlık, Kakuk 1958: 252)]

(53) *Ē* *de-y* *sen* *ben-i* *ste-d-ın* *ko-ma* *āç.*
PTCL say-PROG you.SG I-ACC want-PRET-2.SG put-VN.DAT hungry
'Well, she says, you wanted to keep me hungry.'
(RKS/Peja, Jable 2010: 223)
[cf. ERT: *İste-diler bizi Uzunköprüde bırak-mā* 'They wanted to leave us in Uzunköprü' (TR/Edirne/Meriç, Kalay 1998: 253)]

Another type different from what is usually seen in ST belongs to the subjunctive strategy but has an intervening complementizer particle between matrix clause and subordinate clause (cf. part 1 footnote 13 for *mümkün*, part 1 footnote 19 for *lazım*, and example [66] below for *niyet*). Example (54) typifies a DSW; an SSW variant of this type would be *İste-r-im ki gidüp onları gör-eyim* 'I want to go and see them' (Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 105).

(54) *İste-r-im* *ki* *bu* *kız-ı* *da* *kına gecesin-e* *haykır-a-sın.*
want-AOR-1.SG COMP DEM girl-ACC too henna.night-DAT call-OPT-2.SG
'I want you to invite this girl to the henna night.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 99)
[cf. ERT: *Biz de isti-yü-z ki çocuklarımız dā bi şeyler öğren-sin* 'We want our children to learn something else' (TR/Tekirdağ/Yağcı Köyü, Tosun 2003: 255)]

A rather rare type within the subjunctive strategy, which is mentioned due to its interesting structure, contains the quotation particle *deye* (ST *diye*), which in the present case functions as a postposed complementizer particle. *Diye* has been grammaticalized from a converb form (verbal adverb) of the *verbum dicendi de-* 'to say'. Items like these occur in almost all Turkic languages, but the use in an expression of wish is not widespread in Turkish.

(55) *Senin* *can-ın-ı* *al-ma-yayım* *deye* *iste-r=se-n*
your life-POSS.3-ACC take-NEG-VOL.1.SG QUOT want-AOR-COND-2.SG
ayaγ-ın-dan *don-lar-ın-ı* *at* *ta*
foot-POSS.2.SG-ABL pant-PL-POSS.2.SG-ACC throw.IMP too
bu *ciger=le* *göt-ün-e* *düv-eyim.*
DEM liver=with arse-POSS.2.SG-DAT beat-VOL.1.SG
'If you do not want me to kill you, take your pants off so that I can spank your arse with this liver.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 92)

The most striking derivation from the structures attested in Modern Standard Turkish is the **-mAGA* type (see examples [52]–[53] above) as it represents a violation of the original government rules of the full verb *iste-*, which takes direct objects as complements. The structure <-mAGA iste-> is very widespread in Balkan Turkish SSW expressions. It is also not entirely new, as the following example from Middle Ottoman shows (the author was born and raised in Pécs/Hungary; thus his idiolect can be supposed to be a pre-modern variety of WRT):

(56) *Ašağï* *ṭaraf-dan* *beč-iŋ* *dere-si* *yan-ın-da*
down side-ABL Vienna-GEN river-POSS.3 side-POSS.3-LOC
otur-maġ-a *ve* *ṭabūr-ï* *qo-n-dur-maġ-a* *iste-di.*
sit.down-VN-DAT and camp-ACC put-REFL-CAUS-VN-DAT want-PRET
'He wanted to settle down and to set up the camp at the banks of the river at Vienna from the lower side.'
(Middle Ottoman/TP 58b10–11, Gürışık 2005: 57)

Apart from the *iste-* structures mentioned so far, there are also idiomatic expressions such as <can-ı iste-+3.SG> (literally 'his/her soul wants') and <gönül iste-+3.SG> (literally 'the heart wants'), of which several instances occur in the texts, e.g. *Bu kışın git-mē can-ım iste-yverü eme çok duramam* 'In this winter I want to go, but I cannot stay long' (TR/Edirne/Merkez, Kalay 1998: 200); *Ayvanlarımız iyi yāni, ama gönül iste-rdi ki dā iyi ol-sun* 'So our animals are good, but the heart

wants them to be even better' (TR/Tekirdağ/Yağcı Köyü, Tosun 2003: 260). Such idiomatic expressions also potentially combine with various linking segments.

As for *dile-* 'to wish', the investigated texts contain several examples. (57) exemplifies a type which is also normal in ST (cf. *çalışmalarınızın başarılı ol-ma-sın-ı dile-rim* 'I wish you a successful work'). In (58), *dile-* is constructed with the subjunctive, whereas (59) displays the complementizer particle *ki* between the matrix clause and the complement clause.

(57) *Ben-i* *dunya* *yüz-ün-e* *çıkar-ma-n-ı*
I-ACC world surface-POSS.3-DAT take.up-VN-POSS.2.SG-ACC
dile-r-im.
wish-AOR-1.SG
'I wish that you bring me to the surface of the earth.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 21)

(58) *Ah* *çocuk,* *dile-r-im* *Allah-tan* *Ceylen hanım-a*
PTCL Boy wish-AOR-1.SG god-ABL NP-DAT
günül *ver-e-sin* *da,* *on-ın* *ok-ın-a*
heart give-OPT-2.SG too DEM-GEN arrow-POSS.3-DAT
uγra-ya-sın.
get.into-OPT-2.SG
'Ah boy, I wish from God that you fall in love with Miss Ceylen and come under her arrow.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 34)

(59) *Dile-r-im* *ki* *ben-i* *ana-m-ın* *ev-in-e*
wish-AOR-1.SG COMP I-ACC mother-POSS.1.SG house-POSS.3-DAT
yolla-ya-sın *hem de* *bana* *altın* *elmas* *ver-e-sin.*
send-OPT-2.SG and I.DAT gold diamond give-OPT-2.SG
'I wish that you send me back to my mother and give me gold and diamonds.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 52)

Constructions with the noun *niyet* 'intention' display a certain variation even in ST. The lexical noun *niyet* itself seems to have a propensity for complements in the dative, deriving from the inherent semantics of the noun (cf. English *intention to*). Idiomatic expressions such as *niyet-i yok* 's/he has no intention' (occasionally also unnegated with *var*) can either be constructed with the dative (*-mA-yA niyet-i yok* 's/he has no intention to X'), cf. example (60), or using a combination of the plain, uninflected verbal noun *-mAK* with the postposition *gibi* 'like' as a linking device (*-mAK gibi [bir] niyet-i yok* 's/he has no such intention like X-ing'), cf. example (61). Besides, there is a construction *-mA[k] niyet-in-de ol-* 'to be in the intention of X-ing', which is only constructed with a plain verbal noun (cf. example [62]), as well as some other expressions of minor frequency.

(60) *Sıcak* *yatağ-ın* *içinden* *çık-ma-ya*
warm bed-GEN from.inside get.out-VN-DAT
hiç *niyet-im* *de* *yok=tu.*
at.all intention-POSS.1.SG too absent=PST
'I had no intention of getting out of the warm bed.'
(ST, Pamuk 2003: 193)

(61) *On-u* *suçla-mak* *gibi* *bir* *niyet-im*
DEM-ACC accuse-VN like one intention-POSS.1.SG
ol-ma-ma-sın-a *rağmen,* *alın-dı.*
be/come-NEG-VN-POSS.3-DAT although take.offense-PRET
'Although I had no intention of accusing him, he took offense.'
(ST, Ümit 2008: 101)

(62) *Kendisi=yle* *evlen-me* *niyet-in-de* *ol-ma-yan*
s/he=with marry-VN intention-POSS.3-LOC be/come-NEG-PTCP
bir *erkek*
one man
'A man who does not intend to marry her'
(ST, Pamuk 2008: 64)

In Balkan Turkish, the variation is considerable. An example with *-mAGA*, structurally similar to ST (60), is given in (63). The linking segment *-mAK* appears in example (64), which is roughly comparable to ST (62). Example (65) typifies the matrix segment **niyet var/yok* and in this respect resembles (63); however, (65) is constructed with the subjunctive. A subjunctive construction also occurs in (66), albeit not with *var/yok* but involving a cataphoric pronoun (*bu* 'this') and with an intervening complementizer particle between the matrix clause and the complement clause. The last three examples contain a slightly different matrix segment **niyet et-* 'to intend', formed with the auxiliary *et-* 'to do'. The interesting variation lies in the selection of the linking segment: In (67), the verbal noun is in the dative, preserving the original government properties of the noun *niyet*, whereas in (68) *neyet et-* behaves like a transitive verb governing a direct object. In example (69), finally, *neyet et-* is constructed with the subjunctive.

(63) *Evlen-meg-e* *neyet-im* *yok.*
marry-VN-DAT intention-POSS.1.SG absent
'I do not have the intention to marry.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 8)

(64) *Ben* *de* *kendi-sin-i* *üldür-mek* *neyet-i=le*
I too self-POSS.3-ACC kill-VN intention-POSS.3=with
gel-d-im=se *de,* *ben-i* *gör-ünce* *kendi-sin-i*
come-PRET-1.SG=COND too I-ACC see-CVB self-POSS.3-ACC
dere-ye *at-tı* *orada* *boyul-dı.*
river-DAT throw-PRET there drown-PRET
'While I came with the intention to kill her, she threw herself into the river when she saw me and drowned there.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 204)
[cf. ERT: *Sōna o işi yap-mak niyet-in=le tutuyor o kadının çantasını* 'And then he grasps the bag of that woman with the intention to do that thing'
(TR/Tekirdağ/Bıyıkali Köyü, Tosun 2003: 220)

(65) *Kim-ın* *var* *idi* *niyet-i* *ügürtle-sın* *birangi*
who-GEN present PST intention-POSS.3 pick.up-VOL.3 some
kıs-çe, *giyin-ır=di,* *su-da* *bogul-ur=di.*
girl-DIM dress.oneself-AOR=PST water-LOC drown-AOR=PST
'Who had the intention to pick a girl would dress up and bathe [lit. 'drown'] in the water.'
(MK/Struga, Ahmed 2004: 324)

(66) *Neyet-im* *bu* *idi* *ki* *memleket-im-e*
intention-POSS.1.SG DEM PST COMP country-POSS.1.SG
git-tig-im *gibi* *kendi-m-e* *nikā ed-er* *al-ayım.*
go-VN-POSS.1.SG as self-POSS.1.SG-DAT marry-AOR take-VOL.1.SG
'My intention was to marry her as soon as I got back home.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 166)

(67) *Bey* *oγl-ı* *hāc-e* *git-meg-e* *neyet ed-er.*
beg son-POSS.3 pilgrimage-DAT go-VN-DAT intend-AOR
'The son of the bey intends to go on pilgrimage.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 63)

(68) *Padişah* *da [...]* *kız-ın* *saray* *un-in-e*
king too girl-GEN palace front-POSS.3-DAT
git-meg-i *neyet ed-er.*
go-VN-ACC intend-AOR
'The king intends to go to the girl's palace.'
(Adakale, Kúnos 1907: 58)

(69) *Em* *oyle* *ükümdar* *niyet ed-er* *ara-sın*
and such ruler intend-AOR ask-VOL.3
o *kız-i* *kendi* *çöyce-sın-e.*
DEM girl-ACC own son-POSS.3-DAT
'And thus the ruler intends to ask the girl for his own son.'
(MK/Resen, Ahmed 2001: 143)

Survey

Considering the expressions for possibility, necessity, and wish together, the Balkan Turkish dialect material displays some remarkable intra- and interdialectal variation. At the same time, there are similarities and differences to Standard Turkish, with the differences increasing from east to west. The most striking variation occurs in the linking segment. The dominant variants in Balkan Turkish are clearly "infinitival" linking strategies with segments of the *-mAGA* type, developed from the verbal noun *-mAK* in the dative, and subjunctive linking strategies. Both strategies do exist in ST as well, but are combinationally more restricted. The former strategy is, with the matrix segments considered in this paper, confined to *niyet* 'intention' (with linking segment *-mAyA*), the latter to *iste-* 'to want'. As has been shown by Römer (2012) for the 16th and Rentzsch (2018) for the 17th century, these types are attested for some matrix segments in Ottoman Turkish, thus they represent patterns that were available for the creation of new constructions through analogy, and language contact could contribute to certain patterns gaining prominence in a given Turkish variety (cf. also Rentzsch 2014 for a more global perspective on the Turkic languages).

Principally, as we have seen in the examples, both subjunctive and infinitive strategies occur in both Eastern and Western Rumelian dialects. Regarding their distribution across construction types, they are clearly more prominent in the west than in the east, but still more prominent in Eastern Rumelian dialects than in ST. In WRT, all major matrix segments investigated in this paper are attested with subjunctives, and many with verbal nouns in the dative (**-mAGA*). *Var* and *dile-* are never attested with **-mAGA* in the texts consulted for this study. WRT has subjunctive constructions with significantly more matrix segments than those investigated in this paper, including verbs such

as *başla-* 'to begin', *bekle-* 'to expect', *unut-* 'to forget, *utan-* 'to be ashamed of', *kork-* 'to be afraid', etc. The prominence of the subjunctive in WRT can certainly be attributed to influence from the surrounding contact languages such as Macedonian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Greek, although the pattern itself, as has already been mentioned, has a long history within the Turkic languages.

The subjunctive constructions registered in this paper present a certain challenge regarding their affiliation to constructions that represent different degrees of syntactic integration. Constructions such as *Lāzim ki sen onnarı dāvet edesin* 'It is necessary that you invite them' (see part 1, footnote 19) must certainly be analysed in terms of a matrix clause and a subordinate clause, whereas the construction in *Gelin de bindallıyı giysin lāzım* 'the bride has to wear the *bindallı*' (see part 1, below example [33]) is clearly an auxiliary construction due to its inverted word order, which corresponds to the canonical Turkic pattern (which is frequently violated in Balkan Turkish). But what about *Lazım düşünalım* 'We have to think' (cf. part 1, example [33])? This example as such could be analysed either as an auxiliary construction (with Balkan-type word order) or as a construction consisting of a matrix clause and a complement clause in which the complementizer has been omitted.[2]

Unfortunately, while this study could shed some light on the number and distribution of the construction types, it was impossible to do a frequency analysis for the tokens, as the available text corpus is too small and the data too heterogeneous in terms of text types, number and sort of speakers consulted, and research methods. It would be desirable to have a comprehensive electronic corpus of Balkan Turkish texts from strategically selected dialects and a diversity of speakers, but it seems utopic that such a corpus will ever be established. My impression from the reading is, however, that also the token frequency of subjunctive constructions is massively higher in WRT than in ERT.

While the prominence of the subjunctive in Balkan Turkish is not surprising in light of the well-known infinitive loss in Balkan languages, one might at first sight be surprised about the importance of Haspelmath-type infinitives (i.e., the *-mAGA* type) in the Balkan Turkish dialects, which seem to be very widespread throughout the Balkans, albeit with strong foci in Kosovo, Central and Eastern Bulgaria, and Eastern Thrace, while they are much rarer in North Macedonia and Western Bulgaria. Compared to ST, one could even appropriately state that infinitive complementation strategies are more pervasive in Balkan Turkish (except North Macedonia and Western Bulgaria) than in ST. However, in light of the findings of Joseph (1983), at least the difference in this respect between the varieties in Kosovo and in North Macedonia can be explained. As Joseph has shown, the infinitive loss is most radical in Macedonian and in Greek, whereas Albanian has a renewed infinitive (paskajore). The degree of presence of infinitive-like structures in WRT seems to correspond to the situation in the major contact languages.

On the other hand, verbal nouns are generally more widespread in the Eastern Rumelian dialects, and while subjunctive constructions are significantly more prominent in these dialects than in ST, it would be clearly an exaggeration to speak of a serious "infinitive loss" – in the sense of scarcity of verbal nouns – in ERT dialects, and this even though the major contact language, Bulgarian, lacks an infinitive. As has been shown in this paper, Haspelmath-type infinitives (the **-mAGA* items) are significantly more widespread in ERT than in ST. There may be several reasons for this. First of all, the density of Turkish settlement historically was – and still is – significantly higher in the Eastern part of the Balkans, while in Western Rumelia, Turkish speaking groups have always been a small minority. The structural impact of contact languages can be expected to be stronger in areas with relatively few speakers. This may account for the massive dominance of subjunctive constructions in North Macedonia and Western Bulgaria. On the other hand, the geographical vicinity to Istanbul with its enhanced mobility and contact possibilities probably has

[2] Considering the whole example (*Ne isteyecegımızi lazım düşünalım*) it becomes clear that an analysis as matrix clause plus complement clause in its purest, original form is not possible because part of the SoA is separated from its predicate by the matrix segment.

linked the Eastern Rumelian dialects more strongly to this important linguistic centre, where non-finite complementation and linking techniques play a large role. It seems that the infinitive strategy and the subjunctive strategy are identified as equivalent and exchangeable patterns in ERT for those domains where a separate subject marking is not required.

Several problems could not be explored in the framework of this study. One of the open questions concerns the degree of conventionalization of some of the attested items; e.g., it is unclear whether constructions such as <mümkün-POSS+yok+SBJV> (example [12]), <-mAK için mümkün yok> (example [13]), and <SBJV+deye+iste-> (example [55]) represent stable patterns, i.e. are more than stray, almost idiosyncratic occurrences. Furthermore, the interaction of negation and modality could only be touched upon. It has been mentioned that *niyet* 'intention' in ST has a strong tendency to combine with a verbal noun in the dative when negated, whereas in unnegated constructions, plain verbal nouns seem to be more easily suitable as linking segments. The situation in the dialects is less clear. An interesting case present *var* and *yok* plus subjunctive, where the positive form with *var* encodes necessity, while *yok* is ambiguous between impossibility and prohibition. In the texts investigated for this study, *var/yok* plus subjunctive only occurs in WRT. As for the type *var/yok* plus subjunctive with an intervening question word, it is also confined to WRT according to the investigated database, but Menz documents it for Gagauz, too (1999: 59–66), so we may assume that it is not uncommon in ERT. This gap in our data shows that the Balkan Turkish dialect material consulted for this study is not comprehensive enough to obtain a clear picture about all existing conventionalized modal constructions.

As this study of eight selected matrix segments has shown, there is still a lot of research to do on complement clauses and auxiliary constructions in Balkan Turkish.

The following table shows the main constructions presented in this paper and their rough distribution among dialects according to the considered data. Constructions for which no example was noticed but which can be strongly postulated (for example, due to their presence in Gagauz) are marked with (*).

MOD	Construction	ST	ERT	WRT
P	VN+bil-		x	x
P	VN-ACC+bil-	x	x	
P	VN-POSS-ACC+bil-	x		
P	VN-DAT+bil-		x	x
P	-bil+SBJV			x
P	-bil+Q+SBJV			x
P	VN+mümkün	x	(*)	x
P	VN-POSS+mümkün	x	(*)	
P	VN-DAT+mümkün			x
P	mümkün+SBJV			x
P	mümkün+COMP+SBJV			x
–P	mümkün-POSS+yok+SBJV			x
–P	VN+için+mümkün+yok			x
–P	VN-DAT mümkün yok		x	
–P	VN+yok	x	x	x
–P	VN+yok/VN-DAT+yok		x	x
–P	yok+SBJV			x
–P	yok+Q+SBJV		(*)	x
N	VN+lazım	x	x	x
N	VN-POSS+lazım	x	x	

N	lazım+SBJV		x	x
N	lazım+COMP+SBJV			x
N	VN-DAT+lazım		(*)	x
N	var+SBJV			x
V/N	PRO.VN-POSS+var	x	(*)	x
V/N	PRO.VN-POSS+gel-	x	(*)	x
V	VN+iste-	x	x	x
V	VN-POSS-ACC+iste-	x	x	x
V	VN-ACC +iste-	x	x	x
V	VN-DAT+iste-		x	x
V	iste-+SBJV	x	x	x
V	iste-+COMP+SBJV		x	x
V	SBJV+QUOT+iste-			x
V	VN-POSS.ACC+dile-	x		x
V	dile-+SBJV			x
V	dile-+COMP+SBJV			x
–V	VN-DAT+niyet-POSS yok	x		x
–V	VN+gibi+niyet-POSS yok	x		
V	VN+niyet-POSS.3	x	x	x
V	niyet+SBJV			x
V	niyet-POSS+COMP+SBJV			x
V	VN-DAT niyet et-			x
V	VN-ACC niyet et-			x
V	niyet et-+SBJV			x

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Abbreviations
Glossing follows the conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (version: 31 May 2015). In addition to the list of standard abbreviations mentioned there, the following abbreviations are used in this study.

AOR	aorist
BG	Bulgaria
DIM	diminutive
DNN	denominal noun
DSW	different-subject wish
ERT	Eastern Rumelian Turkish
EVID	evidential
MK	North Macedonia
N	necessity
OPT	optative
P	possibility
POT	potential
PRET	preterite
PRO	prospective

PTCL	particle
RKS	Kosovo
SoA	state of affairs
SSW	same-subject wish
ST	Standard Turkish
TP	Tārīḫ-i Pečevī
TR	Turkey
V	volitional
VN	verbal noun
VOL	voluntative
WRT	Western Rumelian Turkish

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INDIRECT CAUSATION: ENGLISH *GET*-CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR MACEDONIAN EQUIVALENTS

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This paper presents the results of an empirical investigation into the typology of indirect causation in English and Macedonian. The study focuses on English causative analytic constructions formed with the verb *get* and non-finite verb forms. The aim of this research is to identify typological differences in how indirect causation is encoded in the two languages by comparing English constructions with their translational equivalents in Macedonian. Given that English, unlike Macedonian, possesses dedicated lexico-grammatical markers for encoding indirect causation – such as the grammaticalized verb *get*, we hypothesize that the Macedonian translational equivalents of causative *get*-constructions will vary depending on the construction type. To test this hypothesis, we extracted examples of these constructions from both fiction and documentary prose. The quantitative analysis of the data shows that the functional equivalents of infinitival contructions are predominantly biclausal structures, whereas the translations of present participial *get*-constructions tend to use monolexical verbs.

Keywords: contrastive analysis, translation, constructions, typology, causation.

ИНДИРЕКТНА КАУЗАЦИЈА: АНГЛИСКИТЕ *GET*-КОНСТРУКЦИИ И НИВНИТЕ МАКЕДОНСКИ ЕКВИВАЛЕНТИ

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Овој труд ги претставува резултатите од емпириското истражување за типологијата на индиректната каузација во англискиот и во македонскиот јазик. Истражувањето се фокусира на англиските каузативни аналитички конструкции, формирани со глаголот *get*, и на нефинитните глаголски форми. Целта на ова истражување е да се утврдат типолошките разлики во изразувањето на индиректната каузација на двата јазика, преку споредба на англиските конструкции со нивните преводни еквиваленти на македонски јазик. Имајќи предвид дека англискиот, за разлика од македонскиот, поседува посебни лексико-граматички обележја за кодирање на индиректната каузација, како што е граматикализираниот глагол *get*, претпоставуваме дека македонските преводни еквиваленти на каузативните *get*-конструкции ќе варираат во зависност од типот на конструкцијата. За да ја провериме оваа хипотеза, собравме примери за овие конструкции од уметничката и од документарната проза. Квантитативната анализа на податоците покажува дека функционалните еквиваленти на инфинитивните конструкции се, претежно, двореченични структури, додека преводите на сегашните партиципни *get*-конструкции најчесто користат полнозначни глаголи.

Клучни зборови: контрастивна анализа, превод, конструкции, типологија, каузација.

1 Introduction

This paper presents the results of our investigation into English causative infinitival and present participial *get*-constructions (examples 1–2) and their translational equivalents in Macedonian. Formally, these analytical constructions consist of *get*, a semantically bleached causal predicate, and a non-finite complement.

(1) *I got him to sit.*
(2) *I got him sitting.*

These *get*-constructions express indirectly caused transitive events, representing mediated causation, in which a volitional causer initiates and controls the action, while an affected causee carries it out. The causee is seen as an intermediary force directly involved in bringing about the effect of the caused event. The effect predicate is expressed through a non-finite complement with either an intransitive or transitive verb. Our aim is to identify typological differences in how indirect causation is encoded in the two languages by comparing English *get*-constructions with their Macedonian translations.

In typological studies (e.g., Comrie 1989), causative constructions are considered to encode temporally ordered events, the cause and the result of the caused event, within a single macroevent. In other words, the entire causal situation is conceptualized as a single event (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001: 140). This conceptual integration has led to syntactic fusion (Givón 2001). In *get*-constructions, blending occurs through raising, where the subordinate subject is promoted to the direct object position in the main clause. Raising has a cognitive basis, as it foregrounds the participant rather than the event, thereby affecting the degree of control of the object participant, i.e., the causee.[3]

In cognitively oriented literature, it has been argued that the caused event in periphrastic constructions is conceptually dependent on the main event and is therefore not fully elaborated (Kemmer and Verhagen 1994: 117). This semantic dependency means that *get*, having partially lost its lexical and morphosyntactic properties (Hopper and Traugott 2003), has grammaticalized into a causative auxiliary. As a full verb, *get* is characterized by a high degree of polysemy across a wide range of constructions (Downing 1996: 179). Its basic meanings are grounded in an abstract conceptualization of transfer between two participants (Hollmann 2003). From this, meanings such as *to obtain* (*I got a book*) or *to arrive at a location* (*I got home*) emerge, both of which imply a schematic notion of change.

Besides analytic constructions, English can also express indirect causation through complex sentences in which a causative verb in the main clause governs a non-finite complement. Both the English causative constructions in (1–2) and the causative sentence in (3) are typically translated into Macedonian as biclausal structures consisting of a verb with causative meaning and a subjunctive *da*-complement.

(3) *I urged him to sit down.*
'Го натерав да седне.'

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the typology of causative *get*-constructions, with a focus on the encoding of indirect causation. Section 3 provides a brief overview

[3] Comrie (1989: 181) observes that the accussative, as the basic morphological encoding of the direct object, typically refers to an entity with a very low degree of control.

of the methodological procedure. The next section examines the semantic distinctions between infinitival and participial *get*-constructions, emphasizing the roles of animacy and volitionality. Section 5 offers an analysis of these constructions along with their translational equivalents. Finally, Section 6 concludes the paper by summarizing the key findings of the investigation.

2 Theoretical prerequisites: encoding indirect causation

A key distinction in causative typology is that of direct vs. indirect causation (Comrie 1985: 333), considered by Dixon (2000: 67) as a decisive feature. In direct causation, the causer physically manipulates the causee to bring about the effect, typically rendered by a transitive verb. The interaction between an agonist (the causer) and an antagonist (the causee) is captured by the force-dynamic nature of causation (Talmy 1978, 2000), which involves force transmission. For causation to occur, the agonist must exert a force that is stronger than the opposing force of the antagonist. Direct causation is expressed by lexical causatives, which form a causative–inchoative pair with a non-causative counterpart. They may be suppletive (e.g., *raise – rise*) or morphologically unrelated to their counterparts (e.g., *feed – eat*). Some intransitive verbs can also be used causatively without morphological marking (e.g., *dry*). Known as labile, they belong to lexical causatives (Kulikov 2001: 888).[4] Direct causation can also be realized morphologically through the addition of valency-increasing morphemes to a verb's argument structure (Haspelmath 1993). However, modern European languages do not possess dedicated causative morphemes.[5]

Indirect causation, where the action is mediated rather than directly imposed, is generally encoded syntactically through analytic causative constructions. Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001: 147) refer to indirect causativization as "associative", identifying three subtypes based on the degree of control the causer has over the causee: joint action, assisted action, and supervised action. For example, in *Mother seated her child*, the causer (mother) is physically involved in helping the child perform the action of sitting. In contrast, in the analytic causative *Mother got her child to sit*, the causer influences the action more indirectly, through commands or persuasion rather than physical assistance (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001: 139). Thus, the contrast between synthetic and analytic causatives hinges on the level of causer control: the less physical involvement, the weaker the control. This claim indirectly supports Levshina's findings (2017) that the choice between lexical and analytic causatives in English reflects the causer's involvement and the nature of the effect. When the causation is indirect or involves a mental effect, speakers tend to prefer the longer, analytic forms.[6]

Our treatment of forms encoding indirect causation in English and Macedonian mainly draws on typological classifications (Dixon 1976; Comrie 1989; Haspelmath 2016) and cognitive-functional approaches that take into consideration the semantic intergration the causative event and the degree of agentivity of the causee (Shibatani 1976, 2002; Talmy 1976; Kemmer and Verhagen 1994; Givón 2001; Hilpert 2008; Gilquin 2010; Croft 2012; Levshina 2017, among others). Levshina et al. (2013: 843), drawing on Talmy's force-dynamic theory (Talmy 1976, 2000), suggest that the more animate or agentive the causee is, the stronger the causer must be in order for causation to occur.

It has been noted in the literature that *get*-constructions tend to select human causers and causees (Hollmann 2003: 201). According to Gilquin (2010: 118), the causer is typically human in both constructions, but the referents of the causees differ: in infinitival constructions, they are

[4] More on labile verbs in Macedonian, see Mitkovska and Bužarovska (2020). For typological comparisons see Letuchiy (2009).

[5] Macedonian, similar to other Slavic languages, often employs perfectivizing prefixes to mark causativization or transitivization (e.g., *ѝплаче – расѝплаче* 'cry').

[6] Comrie (1989: 169) identifies a typological correlation, noting that the continuum from analytic to morphological to lexical causatives corresponds to a continuum from less direct to more direct causation.

predominantly human (92%), whereas in participial constructions, human causees are much less frequent (37%). This variation reflects more general patterns in how animacy and volitionality influence the meaning of causative constructions. We argue that the animacy of the causee plays a crucial role in shaping the semantics of *get*-constructions and underlies their classification into different causation types. Building on Talmy's (1976) classification of semantic causative types, causatives can be differentiated according to the animacy and volitionality of both participants: inductive (animate causer and causee), affective (inanimate causer and animate causee), volitional (animate causer and inanimate causee), and physical (both inanimate).

In the context of *get*-constructions, we propose that differences in the animacy of the causee help distinguish between prototypical and non-prototypical forms. This distinction is supported by Comrie (1989), who contrasts the prototypical scenario (where an animate causee performs the action) with marginal or non-prototypical constructions involving inanimate causees that exhibit limited control or autonomy.

Prototypical *get*-constructions feature animate causees upon whom the causer exerts effort to bring about an action that the causee performs. Non-prototypical constructions, by contrast, involve inanimate causees, which typically lack volition or agency. Gilquin (2003) notes that although the conflation of the causer and the causee makes them less typical examples, they still convey causation. The effect predicates typically refer to physical actions often caused by external force acting on an entity to generate a physical result (*start, open, mov*e, etc.).

The typological and cognitive-functional approaches outlined above explain how variations in causer control and causees' animacy influences the meaning of causative *get*-constructions and their distinction from non-prototypical isomorphic forms.

3 Methodology

To investigate the translational equivalents of causative *get*-constructions, we initially collected over 370 instances of these constructions along with their corresponding translations. However, due to space limitations and a need for a deeper and more comprehensive analysis, the study focuses on 153 examples involving infinitival and present participial *get*-constructions. These were selected because they exhibit distinct semantic and syntactic properties. The remaining 219 past participle examples were excluded on this basis.

English examples and their Macedonian translations were manually extracted from more than 40 e-books originally written in English, as well as from electronic corpora such as ParaSol and CLARIN.SI. The collected data were organized into two databases according to genre: fiction and non-fiction.

We acknowledge that the overall number of analyzed examples is relatively small. This is due to the fact that infinitival and present participial *get*-constructions are more typical of spoken language and thus underrepresented in written corpora. Consequently, while the study is based on a substantial body of written texts, the findings are intended to reveal general tendencies rather than provide definitive conclusions.

Each example was analyzed with respect to the form and meaning of the English construction and its translational equivalent, the type of causative relation involved, and the semantics of the participants, including animacy. We hypothesize that the translational equivalents of infinitival and present participial *get*-constructions will differ.

To test this hypothesis, we propose the following research questions:

1. Does the choice of translational equivalents depend on the distinction between prototypical and non-prototypical *get*-constructions?
2. Is the choice of translational equivalents influenced by the form of the *get*-construction?
3. Is the choice of translational equivalents influenced by genre?

4 Properties of *get*-constructions

4.1 Distribution

The distribution of *get*-construction in English corpus was established in Gilquin (2010: 48). It was found that the most frequent is the past participial construction (62%), followed by the infinitival construction (28%), while the present participial construction is the least represented (10%) of the three *get*-constructions. These constructions are more frequent in spoken than in written language, reflecting their colloquial and more dynamic nature in comparison to causative *have*-constructions (Gilquin 2010: 226). In all three constructions, the causer predominantly (99%) refers to a human participant.

The above findings were also confirmed in our own research. In the examined sample, infinitival and present participial constructions are less represented than past participial constructions. Out of a total of 371 examples, 219 are past participial constructions, followed by 100 infinitival and 53 present participial constructions.

Table 1. Distribution of the causative *get*-constructions in the sample

Constructions	**Fiction**	**Non-fiction**	**Total**
Get smb/smth to do	75	25	100
Get smb/smth doing	41	12	53
Total	116	37	153

The past participial *get*-constructions (e.g., *I got the car washed*) significantly outnumber the other two constructions: of 219 examples 131 were found in fiction and 88 in non-fiction. As mentioned earlier, they are not discussed here because its complex semantics and multifunctionality warrant a separate and in-depth investigation.

The infinitival and present participial *get*-constructions share similar semantics and syntax but differ in aspect (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1233). Infinitival constructions, which are unmarked for aspect, typically profile the inception of a process, whereas durative participial constructions emphasize the ongoing nature of the event. For example, *Bill got the boy to run* implies that the boy was caused to begin running. In contrast, *Bill got the boy running* suggests the boy was already in the process of running as a result of the causer's influence.

4.2 Infinitival *get*-constructions

Infinitival *get*-constructions in our sample appear far more often in fiction than in non-fiction (75 vs 25 tokens). Using the parameter of animacy we separated the prototypical causative *get*-constructions from non-prototypical ones. Prototypical causatives make up the majority of the sample: 89 tokens out of 100 examples (89%).[7] This distribution correlates with Gilquin's (2010: 128) corpus findings.

The predominant causation type is inductive, while the number of affective examples is considerably lower. Both types dominate in fiction: of 88 tokens, 81% are in fiction and 19% in non-fiction. Non-prototypical *get*-contructions make up 12%, with the volitional type greatly prevailing over the physical.

[7] According to Gilquin (2010: 128), prototypical infinitival constructions account for 89%, whereas only 34% present participial constructions belong to prototypical.

Table 2. Distribution of causative types in infinitival *get*-constructions

Causation type	**Animacy**	**Fiction**	**Non-fiction**	total
Inductive	Anim-Anim	65	14	**79**
Affective	Inanim-Anim	6	3	**9**
Volitional	Anim-Inanim	3	7	10
Physical	Inanim-Inanim	1	1	2
Total		75	25	100

The majority of examples express inductive causation, where a human causer acts on an animate causee: 79/88 (90%) in fiction and 9/88 (10%) in non-fiction.

(4) *He could not get her to speak or move...*
(5) *I could not get Rebecca to give me any help.*

Human causers pressure human causees to act according to their wishes or social norms, typically through verbal persuasion, ranging from subtle to coercive (6). As Givón (2005) notes, the manipulation of a human agent tends to be weaker, less direct, and less successful, with the manipulee retaining a larger degree of agentive control. On the other hand, causers referring to social phenomena exert less control over human causees (7).

(6) *Practically, you have to bribe her to get her to take a bath…*
(7) *There has been an aggressive campaign to get her to join an Internet dating site.*

In the following example, the causer physically manipulates a child, which is characteristic of assistive causation (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002).

(8) *Meanwhile Mom tried to get the little kid to sleep on her lap.*

The affective type involves an animate causee pressured by an inanimate causer to perform an action typically associated with human activity.

(9) *There has been an aggressive campaign to get her to join an Internet dating site.*
(10) *Sometimes I'd be… yelling at her, anything just to get her to talk to me again.*

In several examples, the *get*-construction conceptualizes the transfer of an entity to a new location (11). This indirectly supports the hypothesis that the infinitival *get*-construction historically originated from the grammaticalization of a structure combining an infinitive, noun phrase, and locative complement (Hollmann 2003: 90).

(11) *First you and Bobby Lee get him and that little boy to step over yonder with you.*

The non-prototypical causative *get*-contructions are relatively rare (12 out of 100 examples), but they are more common in non-fiction (8 tokens). The volitional causation type dominates. In such constructions, the causer physically manipulates the inanimate causee, provoking its change. The volitional causer is highly determined to fulfil the activity to the end despite causee's resistance (12). In (13), the causer/agent aims to "shine" the car by washing. The infinitive form implies a goal that needs to be achieved.

(12) *They finally managed to get the door open.*

(13) *Your neighbor doesn't stop washing and getting his little economy car to shine….*

We assume that non-prototypical *get*-constructions are used for pragmatic effects: they add extra emphasis on the causer's effort and causee's resistance. Thus, in (14), it seems that the agent makes a greater effort to open their eyes compared to the sentence with the transitive verb *I opened my eyelids* (which is very unusual).

(14) *I got my lids to open, and I stared into warm gold.*

4.3 Present participial *get*-constructions

Present participial constructions are the least frequent in both samples, with 53 instances, 41 of which (77%) appear in fiction.

Table 3. Distribution of casative types in present participial *get*-constructions

Causation type	**Animacy correlation**	**Fiction**	**Non-fiction**	**total**
inductive	Animate-Anim	13	1	14
affective	Inanimate-Anim	4	2	6
volitional	Animate-Inanim	21	5	26
physical	Inanim-Inanim	3	4	7
Total		41	12	53

Though structurally similar to infinitival constructions, they differ in aspect: the present participle encodes a durative event, implying that "the caused event can continue for some time after the impingement stops" (Levshina et al. 2013: 829).

(15) *She'd come up with something new to get people talking again*.

In addition to differences in frequency and durativity, these constructions also differ in the referential semantics of their causees, which predominantly refer to inanimate entities (62.3%). This indicates that more than half of such examples are non-prototypical. The corpus fundings in Gilquin (2010: 128) are very similar showing 66%. In contrast, non-prototypical infinitival constructions make up only 11.9% of the cases.

The classification of these constructions also reveals important differences. The most widespread non-prototypical type is the volitional type, which accounts for 85% of the non-prototypical examples, found predominantly in fiction (twenty two instances vs. six in non-fiction). In this type, represented by eighteen instances, typically a human causer induces an inanimate causee into a state or process, as in (16). In contrast, the less frequent physical type (15%) involves inanimate causers, such as activities (17).

(16) *We got the motor going, but we're low on power.*
(17) *Exercise, in the form of running, gets the circulation pumping.*

Prototypical causatives account for 37.7% of the data, with the inductive type featuring animate participants as in (18), predominantly occurring in fiction with thirteen instances versus one. In the affective type, causers refer to activities or abtract entities (19).

(18) *Esme's got them finishing things up out back.*
(19) *Brief as it was, that taste of freedom had got us thinking.*

5 Analysis of translation equivalents

Macedonian translation equivalents of the causative *get*-constructions include: (a) lexical verbs, comprising mostly transitive verbs with causative semantics as well as some non-causative verbs; (b) biclausal structures; (c) paraphrases; and (d) nominalizations. The remaining examples consist of free translations, idiomatic expressions, and passive verbs. The distribution of more frequent forms is given in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of translational equivalents in the sample

	Get smb/smth to do		**Get smb/smth doing**	
	Non-fiction 25	**Fiction 75**	**Non-fiction 12**	**Fiction 41**
Lexical verbs	10	4	3	15
Biclausal structures	8	48	4	12
Paraphrases	4	19	/	6
Nominalizations	1	/	/	5
Other	12	4	5	3

5.1 Translational equivalents of the infinitival *get*-constructions

The analysis of the examples shows that prototypical infinitival *get*-constructions are most often translated into Macedonian using biclausal structures (56 instances), followed by paraphrases (22 instances). These two strategies dominate in fiction, accounting for 86% of the cases. The third most frequent strategy is the use of lexical verbs, with 10 occurrences, which are more common in non-fiction (7 instances).

The main clause in the biclausal structure contains a verb with causative or broadly undersood manipulative semantics, while the complement *da*-clause expresses the effect of the induced action. The most common causal verb is *natera* 'force', while other verbs are less frequent: *se obide* 'try' (20), *ubedi* 'convince' (21), *navede* 'direct', *nagovori* 'persuade', *prinudi* 'force', *se potrudi* 'make effort', *pobara* 'ask for', *načne* 'start', *izdejstvuva* 'achieve' etc. The verbs in the *da*-clause are usually in the perfective aspect, except for a few examples with verbs that denote processes (*spie* 'sleep') or ongoing activities (*gleda* 'watch', or *probuva* 'try').

(20) *Now I am trying to get her to leave again…*
'Сега пак се обидувам да ја **натерам** да си замине.'

(21) *How do you get people to spend money and come to your events?*
'Како да ги **убедите** луѓето да **потрошат** пари и да дојдат на вашите настани.'

Persuasion is occasionally accompanied by more forceful and even violent methods, including threats (22). This nuance is conveyed in the translation through the use of the verb *natera* 'force'. Such examples confirm Wierzbicka's observation (1998: 124–125) that the causee in get-constructions is typically more autonomous. This autonomy is reflected in the get-causative's encoding of situations involving resistance from the causee.[8]

[8] Stefanowitsch (2001:154) points out that in *get*-constructions, the resistance tends to be much more passive than in *force*-causatives, resembling inertia.

(22) *Sometimes I'd be begging her to stop it, crying, yelling at her, anything just to get her to talk to me again.*
'Понекогаш ќе ја преколнував да престане, ќе плачев, ќе се дерев, …само за да ја **натерам** повторно да ми зборува.'

However, the causer's influence on the causee can be subtler and need not involve overt or unpleasant coercion. In such cases, it is rendered by the verb *navede* 'lead to' (23).

(23) *Sophie is telling her mother about how she got Jake to smile for the first time.*
'Софи ѝ раскажува на мајка си како го **навела** Џејк да се насмевне првпат во неговиот живот.'

Next in frequency are the paraphrases (over 20 instances), which include more flexible biclausal structures where the *da*-clause can indicate purpose. They are characterized by weaker syntactic integration because the two events are not cotemporal. In some examples, when the infinitive construction expresses purpose, verbs such as *vikne* 'call' or *najde* 'find' are used as translation equivalents. These verbs indirectly cause the action, as finding and/or calling the necessary person is a prerequisite for the action to take place (24).

(24) *Get somebody to fix that door.*
'Викни некој да ја поправи онаа врата.'

Some *get*-contructions that imply causation are translated with verbs denoting transfer of the human causee to a locative goal (25). In the translation of (26), the causative relation becomes clear only within the context of the intended activity: that the causer will take the causee to a football match.

(25) *First you and Bobby Lee get him and that little boy to step over yonder with you.*
'Прво ти и Боби Ли **однесете** ги него и момчево таму позади.'

(26) *So I hear you're getting my girl to watch baseball.*
'Значи, ќе ја **водиш** мојата малечка да гледа бејзбол.'

More flexible translation equivalents are justified when a causal connection is made between two consecutive events, e.g., begging the craftsman and getting the product of his work (27). In such examples, the semantic and syntactic integration between the clauses expressing cause and effect is not tight (cf. Givón 2001: 40).

(27) *After much begging and whining, Circe got a Negro blacksmith to solder a bit of gold wire to the box.*
'На крајот по многу молење и цимолење, Кирке **отиде** кај еден ковач црнец кој ѝ **залеми** златна жичка на кутијата.'

Lexical verbs rank next in frequency among the translation equivalents. The category of lexical verbs is not uniform as it includes verbs with varying degree of causative semantics.

Most of these verbs (*open, collect, scatter*) are highly transitive and can be considered causative in a broad sense. In (28), the translation employs the deontic *treba* ('should') to impose a required practice on the customer, making the plea more direct and forceful than the original *get*-construction.

(28) *I'll just get you to fill out these two forms, and then I will need proof of identity.*
'Треба само да ги **пополните** овие два формулара, а потоа ќе ми треба документ за идентификација.'

However, non-causative verbs are also present, more frequently in non-fiction (e.g., *spend*, *learn*). In (29) the causal relation is established based on encyclopedic knowledge about educational institutions. In (30), the intransitive verb *se trga* 'move away' implies causation because it occurs in a purpose clause.

(29) *School gardens are a great way to get children to learn about nutrition…*
'Училишните градини се одличен начин децата **да научат** за исхраната.'

(30) *If you blow your horn to try to get them to clear your way, they will not move...*
'Ако им свирите за да ви **се тргнат** од патот … тие нема да се поместат.'

The causative meaning can be marked morphologically with a prefix. Thus, the transitive verb *uspie* 'put to sleep' is formed by adding the perfective aspect prefix *u-* to the intransitive *spie* 'sleep' (31). In (32), the reflexive verb is transitivized by removing the reflexive marker *se* (e.g., *se premisliv – premisliv nekogo* – change someone's mind).

(31) *When they can't get the baby to sleep, Callum puts him over one shoulder.*
'Кога не можат да го **успијат** бебето, Калум го става преку едно рамо.'

(32) *In an attempt to get the police to reconsider and let them protest ... citizens shouted "Release the people".*
'Во обид да ја **премислат** полицијата да ги пушти да протестираат … граѓаните извикуваа „Пуштете го народот!"'

Among the translation equivalents of infinitival constructions, we also found a labile verb that has become causative without morphological derivation. In (33), the causer applies verbal imposition on the causee to sit down. Interestingly, the author did not use the transitive causative verb *to seat*, but instead chose an infinitival *get*-construction. It seems that the verb *seat* refers to assisted causation involving physical manipulation, while the verb *sit* is more suitable for expressing inductive causation.

(33) *Now when I finally managed to get you to sit down with me, I wanted to ask you why you think that is the case?*
'Сега кога конечно те **седнав** на маса, сакам да те прашам зошто така мислиш?'

The translations of twelve non-prototypical *get*-constructions rarely employ biclausal structures. Instead, they favor paraphrastic renderings (5 tokens), as in (34), or lexical verbs (2 tokens). In (35), the verb acquired a causative meaning through transitivization of the reflexive verb.

(34) *Petrus is struggling to get the coupling to fit.*
'Петрус **се мачи** со муфот.'

(35) *You should flee from any sort of turmoil in order to get your hypersensitive nervous system to relax.*
'Со цел да го **одморите** пречувствителниот нервен систем, би требало да ги избегнувате турканиците.'

5.2 Translation equivalents of present participial *get*-constructions

The translation equivalents of present participial *get*-constructions show a more balanced distribution between lexical verbs and biclausal structures (17 vs. 23). Biclausal structures generally employ causative verbs that convey directive manipulation of the causee, such as *naredi* 'order' (36) and *nauči* 'teach' (37). The causee is typically reluctant at first to do what the causer wants, so the causer has to put in extra effort to convince them. (cf. Wierzbicka 1998: 124–125). This is felt strongly with the verb *natera* (36).

(36) *Esme's got them finishing things up out back.*
'Есме ги **натера да довршат** одзади во дворот.'

(37) *Of course, Connie had been the one to get Rose smoking in the first place.*
'Се разбира, Кони првично беше онаа што ја **научи** Роуз **да пуши**.'

The distribution of lexical verbs in translations is influenced by genre: there are 15 instances in fiction and only 3 in non-fiction. Some translational choices do not express causative meaning.

(38) *I bet she's got her working away on that dried-up old withered.*
'Се обложувам дека **работела** на таа исушена, стара, овената.'

In (39), the translation does not express any causation because of a structural change in the translation equivalent: the causer in the subject position is removed from the sentence and the causee (Jessica) becomes and agent who acts on their own.

(39) *Once I got Jessica talking, I would be able to get away with a few mumbled responses.*
'Штом Џесика ќе **почнеше да зборува**, јас не морав да учествувам во разговорот.'

Other verbs used in translations express varying degrees of causation, ranging from weak to strong, depending on the level of manipulation involved. In (40), the causer is instructed to help the causee breathe, likely by creating enabling conditions rather than exerting direct control. In (41), the causee is forced to "run" while performing various Christmas-related chores. The Macedonian translation, which adopts a colloquial style, conveys the causative meaning by transitivizing the reflexive verb *se iznatrča* ('run a lot').

(40) *Get her breathing.*
'Нека **дише**!'

(41) *They got me runnin tonight. Christmas comin and all, all I do is run up and down.*
'Ме **изнатрчаа** вечерва. Со доаѓањето на Божиќ, само трчам ваму-таму.'

The paraphrastic translation of (42) successfully conveys the non-causative meaning of the *get*-construction. It implies that the is nonagentive and non-volitional causer does not bear any responsibility for the durative effect event.

(42) *Yeah, it's an off day when I don't get somebody telling me how edible I smell.*
'Аха, ретки се деновите кога **некој нема да ми каже** дека мирисам хранливо.'

Non-prototypical constructions have inanimate causees, frequently related to machines or systems, that are portrayed as having a will of their own (Wierzbicka 1998: 124). The choice of translational equivalents mirrors the strategies observed in prototypical constructions Lexical verbs are used most frequently (12 instances), followed by paraphrastic expressions (10 instances) and biclausal structures (6 instances). All three strategies are predominantly found in fiction, whereas translations of non-fiction examples tend to favor lexical verbs and paraphrases over biclausal structures (examples 43–45). They instantiate cases of volitional causation, which represents the most typical form of force transmission. As Croft (2012: 266) notes, it is conveyed through a simple verb, whose participants are subject and object.

(43) *I couldn't wait to get the heat going in my truck.*
'Одвај чекав да **вклучам** греење во камионетот.'

(44) *This will get the waterworks going!*
'Од оваа ќе почнат да се **леат** реки!'

(45) *Exercise… gets the circulation pumping.*
'Вежбите … ја **поттикнуваат** циркулацијата.'

In some translational equivalents, the English causative constructions are rendered using verbs that do not emphasize causer's control. For instance, in (46), *get your head working* implies initiating a mental process, but the translation uses *razmisli* 'think over', which denotes a cognitive process but does not explicitly encode the cause. Similarly, in (47), *get a fire going* captures both the initiation and potential maintenance of a fire, while in the translation, the volitional involvement of the agent is less explicitly conveyed. These constructional shifts suggest a certain weakening of causativity in the translations.

(46) *Get some sleep, Bells. You've got to get your head working.*
'Наспиј се, Бела. За да можеш убаво да **размислиш**.'

(47) *Behind the stable they get a fire going*.
'**Палат** оган зад шталата.'

6 Conclusion

This study examined the Macedonian equivalents of English *get*-constructions, testing the hypothesis that translation choices vary based on linguistic and contextual factors. The analysis identified three key factors: the prototypicality of the construction, its form (infinitival vs. participial), and the genre of the source text.

The findings show that the prototypicality of the *get*-construction strongly affects its Macedonian equivalent. Prototypical constructions are most frequently translated using biclausal structures with causative or directive verbs such as *натера* 'force'. In contrast, non-prototypical *get*-constructions are more likely to be translated using paraphrases or single lexical verbs.

The form of the English *get*-construction, infinitival vs. present participial, also plays a significant role in determining the translational strategy. Infinitival *get*-constructions, which

separate the causer's and causee's roles and express purposive or manipulative causation, in Macedonian are predominantly rendered as biclausal structures with *da*-complements. Present participial *get*-constructions are more frequently translated using lexical verbs or paraphrastic expressions, sometimes with a reduced causal implication when it is contextually implied.

Genre influences the selection of translational equivalents, with fiction showing a stronger preference for biclausal causative structures and a more varied use of causative verbs. This can be attributed to the expressive character of fictional discourse, which often foregrounds interpersonal manipulation and internal states. Fiction also tolerates more idiomatic or colloquial expressions, as seen in examples involving emotional coercion, threats, or subtle influence. In contrast, non-fiction favors more neutral or simplified constructions, relying on lexical verbs or paraphrastic renderings to preserve informational clarity and textual cohesion.

In sum, the study shows that the choice of translational equivalents for English *get*-constructions in Macedonian is guided by an interplay of semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic factors. Prototypical, infinitival and fiction-based constructions tend to be rendered with biclausal causative structures, while non-prototypical, participial, and non-fictional constructions more often receive paraphrastic or lexical translations with weaker causative force. Despite the limited dataset, these findings offer a starting point for further cross-linguistic research on the expression of indirect causation.

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ANGLICISMS IN THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE: DIRECT BORROWINGS VS LOAN TRANSLATIONS

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The significant influx of Anglicisms into the Macedonian language has become an undeniable linguistic phenomenon. Anglicisms appear in various domains such as information technology, law, business, social welfare and science. They reflect the influence of English over Macedonian as well as the interest of the Macedonian society. The analysis is qualitative and it is based on a randomly collected corpus of 300 Anglicisms that appear in the Macedonian language from the beginning of the 21st century. The research, first, focuses on the identification and classification of visible Anglicisms and criteria that verify their visibility, and then it contrasts them with the loan translations. The study also examines the patterns of borrowing Anglicisms into Macedonian, focusing on the distinction between direct lexical borrowings and calques or loan translations. It aims to determine why certain English expressions are directly incorporated into the Macedonian language, while others are translated part by part, sometimes coexisting with their original English forms. Certain tendencies are noted, based on the analysis, which indicate that socio-cultural factors play more significant role than linguistic circumstances when establishing the predictable patterns of borrowing.

Keywords: Anglicisms, direct borrowings, calques, domain-specific borrowings, patterns of borrowing.

АНГЛИЗМИТЕ ВО МАКЕДОНСКИОТ ЈАЗИК: ДИРЕКТНИ ЗАЕМКИ НАСПРОТИ КАЛКИ

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Значителниот наплив на англизми во македонскиот јазик претставува неспорен јазичен феномен. Англизмите се појавуваат во различни области, како што се информацискатa технологија, правото, бизнисот, општествените трендови и науката. Тие го одразуваат влијанието на англискиот јазик врз македонскиот, како и интересите на македонското општество. Анализата е квалитативна и се заснова на корпус од 300 англизми, коишто се собрани по случаен избор, а се појавуваат во македонскиот јазик од почетокот на 21 век. Истражувањето, најпрвин, се фокусира на утврдување и класификација на видливите англизми, како и на критериумите што ја потврдуваат нивната видливост, а потоа се прави споредба со фразеолошките калки. Во истражувањето, исто така, се разгледуваат и се анализираат обрасците на позајмување на англизми во македонскиот јазик, со посебен осврт на разликата помеѓу директните лексички заемки и калките. Целта е да се утврди зошто одредени англиски изрази директно се преземаат во македонскиот јазик, додека други се преведуваат дел по дел, а понекогаш и коегзистираат со своите оригинални англиски форми. При утврдување на предвидливите обрасци на заемките, а врз основа на направената анализа, се забележуваат одредени тенденции што покажуваат дека општествено-културните околности имаат позначајна улога од лингвистичките фактори.

Клучни зборови: англизми, директни заемки, калки, заемки во специфични области, обрасци на позајмување.

1 Introduction

The influx of Anglicisms in the Macedonian language is indisputable. The extensive borrowing of English words and phrases in the Macedonian language reflects the cultural, technological, economic, and political influence of English over Macedonian, as well as the needs and interests of the Macedonian society. The entry of Anglicisms is so significant in all fields of life especially in the first decades of the 21st century that there is an unavoidable necessity to identify and classify them.[9]

The motivation for this research lies in the obvious process of borrowing words and expressions directly from English, which further results in an evident change in the lexicon of the Macedonian language. Lexical borrowing together with derivation is the major principle of lexical development as Dragićević and Šipka (2024: 545) state. The great number of borrowings reflects the English influence over Macedonian in all spheres of life such as social welfare, culture, politics, government, the court, the law, warfare, gastronomy, EU legislation, as well as climate changes.

Most of the Anglicisms enter the Macedonian language either as direct lexical borrowings such as *google* 'гугл', *Instagram* 'инстаграм', *Bluetooth* 'блутут', *digitalization* 'дигитализација', *bullying* 'булинг', or as calques or loan translations such as *artificial intelligence* 'вештачка интелигенција', *good practice* 'добри практики', *center of excellence* 'центар на извонредност', *gift card* 'подарок картичка', *fossil fuels* 'фосилни горива', etc.

The various types of English borrowings and loan translations that I have encountered in both daily and professional communication tempted me to think about why certain Anglicisms are directly borrowed and adapted in the Macedonian language and why others are translated part by part without any formal resemblance, or even more, they parallelly exist with their direct-loan counterparts.

2 The study

2.1 Aim

The present research is a follow-up study to Lazarevska-Stanchevska (forthcoming in 2025) which focused on the rise of the invisible Anglicisms in the Macedonian language and the criteria for distinguishing between visible and invisible Anglicisms.

This study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of visible Anglicisms in Macedonian, outlining the key criteria for their identification. It primarily focuses on the factors influencing the adaptation of Anglicisms, specifically, why certain Anglicisms are adopted as direct borrowings in Macedonian, such as *podcast* 'подкаст', *to spin* 'спинува', and *provider* 'провајдер', and/or why certain Anglicisms are adopted as calques, such as *(pre)accession funds* '(пред)пристапни фондови', *good practices* 'добри практики', and *sustainable development* 'одржлив развој'. Additionally, the research tries to identify the possible reasons for the parallel co-existence of direct borrowings and native forms or direct borrowings and calques for the same expressions, for instance, *browser* 'браузер/пребарувач', *gift card* 'гифт картичка/подарок картичка', and *smart phone 'смарт телефон/паметен телефон'*. Finally, the study aims to identify predictable patterns of

[9] A similar pattern emerges across languages: Chesley (2010) finds that Anglicisms in French outnumber all other new borrowings combined, Mišić-Ilić (2017) documents the widespread use of English lexical items in Serbian, Robinson (2006) highlights their frequent presence in Italian newspaper discourse, and Witalisz (2015) examines the English loan translations in Polish.

borrowing, determining which Anglicisms are more likely to enter Macedonian as direct loans and which tend to be adapted as loan translations based on linguistic and socio-cultural factors.[10]

2.2 Method of Analysis

The linguistic analysis is conducted on a sample of approximately[11] 300 Anglicisms (see Lazarevska-Stanchevska, forthcoming in 2025), which are field-collected expressions from electronic media or from everyday communication. All the Anglicisms are manually collected. As Manczak-Wohlfild and Witalisz (2019: 183) state, any corpus-based analysis of loans of English origin (or other) must be preceded by a manual loan identification by a language contact researcher with theoretical background, research experience, and knowledge of diachronic studies of dictionaries and language corpora of the languages in contact. Following this principle, the loan translations that constitute this corpus were also manually collected, and in the process of extraction I relied on my knowledge-based skills and long-term experience in teaching English Lexicology and Phraseology as evidenced in Lazarevska-Stanchevska (2024).

The analysis of Anglicisms is qualitative rather than quantitative. As an initial step, I performed a frequency count of the occurrences in order to determine their distribution across different categories and lexical fields. The frequency results are needed as a starting point for the discussions and are intended to pave the way why some Anglicisms are adapted as direct borrowings and why some are adapted as calques, or furthermore, why some direct borrowings co-exist with native forms, and why some loan translations co-exist parallelly with the direct loans.

The whole process of analysis consists of four stages. First, the Anglicisms are identified through manual extraction. Second, the predefined Anglicisms, if necessary, are checked in English electronic and lexicographic resources and then verified in the Macedonian electronic and lexicographic resources. The main source of information about the contemporary use of English is Oxford English Dictionary – OED, both online version (Oxford University Press, n.d.) and the hard copy (Soanes and Stevenson, 2005), and the Corpus of Contemporary American English – COCA (Davies, n.d.). In order to check and verify the Anglicisms in Macedonian, I relied on the Macedonian monolingual dictionaries, English-Macedonian dictionaries and the Macedonian web corpus CLASSLA-web.mk.[12] Third, the verified Anglicisms are subclassified into direct borrowings, loan translations, hybrids, and semantic loans. Fourth, the verified Anglicisms are further subclassified in lexical fields. The subclassification in lexical fields helps in identifying the possible reasons why Anglicisms are borrowed either as direct loans or as loan translations. Furthermore, the subclassification might even assist in identifying the possible reasons for the co-existence of direct loans and native words and direct loans and loan translations for a lengthy period of time.

2.3 Criteria for identifying Anglicisms

In our analysis, we rely on the classification and defining criteria for Anglicisms that are provided by Gottlieb et al. (2018: 7) for the purposes of GLAD[13] database. The classification is slightly

[10] Andresen (2020a: 50) claims that there is a shift in recent Anglicism research from the individual lexeme towards multiword expressions and phraseology.

[11] It is stated that the corpus contains approximately, not precisely, 300 Anglicisms, because some of the Anglicisms, appear as single units or in collocations such as *online* 'онлајн', *online shopping* 'онлајн шопинг', *human resources* 'човекови ресурси', *human resources management* 'менаџмент на човекови ресурси'. Additionally, they are adapted in Macedonian as loans, calques, or hybrids.

[12] The CLASSLA-web.mk corpus is a part of the South Slavic CLASSLA-web corpus collection, which is the first collection of comparable corpora that encompasses the entire South Slavic language group.

[13] GLAD – The Global Anglicism Database Network founded in 2014.

modified for the purposes of this research. Once predefined, Anglicisms are checked and verified using lexicographic resources and corpus tools.

The following criteria are taken into account when identifying and classifying Anglicisms:

- Unadapted direct borrowings, including simple words, phraseological units, acronyms, lettered words[14], such as: *like* 'лајкна', *hate* 'хејта', *cringe* 'кринџ';[15]
- Adapted direct borrowings or direct loans[16], including simple words, phraseological units, acronyms, lettered words, that are phonologically, morphologically and orthographically adapted, such as: *link* 'линк', *google* 'гугл', *spa* 'спа', *GPS* 'ЏИПИЕС';
- Calques or loan translations[17] in case when English multi-word units or phraseological units are translated part by part without any formal resemblance in the recipient language. These include formulaic expressions, collocations, sayings, proverbs, idioms, catchphrase, mottos, such as: *make money* 'прави пари', *gender studies* 'родови студии', *mission impossible* 'невозможна мисија';
- Hybrid loan translations or hybrids or loanblends in case when one element of the phraseological unit is translated and the other one is adapted from English, such as: *online teaching* 'онлајн настава', *streaming services* 'стриминг услуги';
- Semantic loans[18], referring to domestic words or assimilated borrowings taking on English sense, such as: *icons* 'икони', *profile (in IT)* 'профил'.

Although the definitions for all these different types of Anglicisms are precise and clear, when it comes to practice, it is rather difficult to make a clear-cut distinction. First, because of the significant influx of various types of Anglicisms in the Macedonian language throughout the last several decades. English words are theoretically borrowed 'on a daily basis' and it is difficult to distinguish precisely and to establish a clear boundary between borrowed words or phrases, on the one hand and native ones, on the other hand. Andersen (2020b: 7) states that the categories are not clear cut, as for instance phrasal loan translations may be based on previously borrowed items or internationally shared lexemes. Second, due to globalization and the fast development of technologies and social media, the digital era we live in, and the dominance of English as the lingua franca for more than a century, the influx of direct loans, calques, hybrid loans and semantic loans is high and, as Manczak-Wohlfeld and Witalisz (2019: 188) point out, they are barely recognizable due to their formal nativeness.

2.4 Some Background Notes

Linguistic investigations in the field of lexical borrowings from English into Macedonian were carried out in the second half of the 20th century. One of the most significant study is the unpublished PhD thesis by Babamova (1993). The thesis gives a detailed linguistic analysis of the Anglicisms in Macedonian, focusing on direct borrowings or loans, as well as on the 30 most frequent calques of English origin into Macedonian. According to Babamova (1993), the first biggest influx of Anglicisms into Macedonian was recorded in the period of WW II from 1942–1945 with the activation of radiocommunication and it intensified in the second half of the century. Babamova (1993) lists 52 semantic fields that include Anglicisms, with the field of sport and music numbering

[14] Bauer (2022: 87) uses the term *initialisms*.
[15] Gruevska-Madžovska (2021) uses the term *varvarisms* in Macedonian.
[16] Throughout the paper the two terms *direct borrowings* and *direct loans* are used interchangeably.
[17] Throughout the paper the two terms *calques* and *loan translations* are used interchangeably.
[18] Gruevska-Madžovska (2021) uses the term *semantic calques* for semantic loans.

the most of the Anglicisms, followed by the field of politics and socioculture, i.e., fields that were the most frequent topics in the news headlines. The final part of the thesis contains a register of the most frequent Anglicisms in Macedonian and incorporates approximately 1200 Anglicisms. Most of them are now well established words in the Macedonian vocabulary, some of them are not frequently used as they are not trendy anymore, such as *hi-fi* 'хај-фај', *spitfire jacket* 'спитфајерка', or some that are not used in cases when the referent of the word has become obsolete, such as *traveller's checks* 'травелерс чекови', *jukebox* 'џубокс'.

The current research includes approximately 300 Anglicisms. When compared with the Anglicisms collected in the late 1980-ies and early 1990-ies of the 20th century in Babamova (1993), it can be concluded that the Anglicisms analyzed in this research are new and not connected with those from the 20th century. Furthermore, three decades ago, music and sports were among the main fields for Anglicisms, while nowadays, it is the information technology and socio-culture.

3 Results

3.1 Analysis of adapted direct borrowings or direct loans

The paper first addresses English direct borrowings or loans adapted in Macedonian and the lexical fields in which they most frequently appear. The analysis of the randomly collected corpus of Anglicisms shows that approximately 125 out of 300 Anglicisms are direct borrowings or loans, predominately single words (80%), then phraseological units (12%), and lettered words (8%). All of them are phonologically and orthographically transposed in Cyrillic and adapted to the Macedonian language. The analysis of the direct borrowings or loans shows that they can be checked and verified in the Macedonian electronic corpus, in the Digital Macedonian dictionary (SAM97 GmbH, n.d.) and in the English-Macedonian dictionary (Murgoski, n.d.). Unadapted borrowings used mostly by Generation Z in a corrupted and barbarous manner, such as *share* 'шерна', *hype* 'хајпна', *vibes* 'вајбови', are not analyzed in this study.

As stated in the introduction, the loans analyzed in this paper have been borrowed in Macedonian in the 21st century. The analysis shows that out of 126 loans, the majority belong to the lexical fields of socio-culture (n = 42) and information technology (n = 40), and the rest to business and law (n = 15), fashion and cuisine (n = 15), and science (n = 14).

The figures indicate that the greatest frequency of borrowings is in the lexical field of socio-culture and information technology. This is expected due to the spectacular development of the field of information technology and communication systems in the past decades, as well as the development of the social media and consequently the development of new social trends and concepts. Since the USA is the leading economic and scientific global power where all achievements and novelties originate from, it can be assumed that American English is the source of all new words and expressions that enter Macedonian.[19]

The following examples show specific instances of loan words (presented in alphabetical order in each field):

- **Socio – cultural field**
  instagram 'инстаграм', *facebook* 'фејсбук', *LGBT* 'ЛГБТ', *mobbing* 'мобинг', *bullying* 'булинг', *narrative* 'наратив', *to spin* 'спинува', *rating* 'рејтинг', *performance* 'перформанс', *predator* 'предатор', *virtual* 'виртуелно', *win-win* 'вин-вин';

[19] American English is the dominant variety in the world today as a consequence of the political, cultural, and economic dominance of the USA (Jackson and Ze Amvela, 2022: 145).

- **Information technology (IT)**
  cyber 'сајбер', *database* 'датабаза', *digitalization* 'дигитализација', *download* 'даунлодира', *IP (address)* 'ај пи (адреса)', *log in* 'логира', *network* 'нетворк', *online* 'онлајн', *server* 'сервер', *URL* 'УРЛ', *web-hosting* 'веб хостинг', *wi-fi* 'вај фај';

- **Business and law**
  Benchmark 'бенчмарк', *directives* 'директиви', *Eurozone* 'еврозона', *globalization* 'глобализација', *grant* 'грант', *hub* 'хаб', *leasing* 'лизинг', *stakeholder* 'стејкхолдер', *team building* 'тим билдинг';[20]

- **Science**
  detox 'детокс', *drone* 'дрон', *impact factor* 'импакт фактор', *curriculum* 'курикулум', *implant* 'имплант', *nutritionist* 'нутриционист', *organic* 'органско', *probiotics* 'пробиотик', *saturation* 'сатурација', *supplements* 'суплементи', *webinar* 'вебинар';

- **Fashion and cuisine**
  Americano 'американо', *dressing* 'дресинг', *facelift* 'фејслифт', *macchiato* 'макијато', *mainstream* 'меинстрим', *outlet* 'аутлет', *red carpet* 'ред карпет', *smoothie* 'смути', *vape* 'вејп', *wellness* 'велнес', *wrap* 'врап';

Some of the loans fulfill the major reason of borrowing and that is to provide a word from the source language English when there is no suitable word in the target language Macedonian, such as *podcast* 'подкаст', *to spin* 'спинува', *liposuction* 'липосукција', *bullying* 'булинг', *mobbing* 'мобинг', *webinar* 'вебинар', *facebook* 'фејсбук', *viral* 'вирални', *GPS* 'ЏИПИЕС', *USB* 'УСБ', *drone* 'дрон', *web hosting* 'веб хостинг', *google* 'гугл', *barcode* 'баркод', etc.

Some of the loans are borrowed out of laziness or out of wish to show off with knowledge of English such as *spa* 'спа', *performance* 'перформанс', *account* 'акаунт', *download* 'даунлод', *copywriter* 'копирајтер', *influencer* 'инфлеунсер', *link* 'линк', *online shopping* 'онлајн шопинг', *PR* 'ПИАР'.

3.2 Visibility of direct borrowings or loans

Direct borrowings or loans are easily visible simply because they are newly borrowed lexical items adapted both phonologically and orthographically. Since they are new and have been borrowed in the last two decades, they are easily connected to the original English forms. Furthermore, in case of direct borrowings the chances of radical phonological modifications are considerably small, so the relation between the original and borrowed forms is evident. So is the case with the borrowed meaning which is equivalent to the original one. When compared to the Anglicisms from the 20th century from the glossary in Babamova (1993), which are well adapted and many of them are not visible as Anglicisms, the 21st century Anglicisms demonstrate opposite tendency, i.e., they can be easily matched with their English counterparts.

The main criterion for identifying these loans as visible direct borrowings in Macedonian is their evident similarity and relation to the English counterparts. An additional argument for supporting their visibility is the prevalence of the element of foreignness over native features, as illustrated in the following examples: *antivaxxer* 'антиваксер', *wellness* 'велнес', *provider* 'провајдер', *narrative* 'наратив', *mindset* 'мајндсет', *smoothie* 'смути', *outsourcing* 'аутсорсинг'.

[20] Neshkovska (2024) points out that the growing use of Anglicisms by Macedonian politicians in public discourse is a tendency that is generally perceived by the public as a positive feature.

3.3 Direct borrowings vs calques or loan translations

The total number of calques in the corpus is 136, i.e., bigger than the number of direct loans which is 126. This ratio between direct loans and calques does not by itself prove that the Macedonian language borrows and adapts calques more easily and more frequently than direct loans. It only shows the current state of the corpus which contains approximately 300 Anglicisms. This means that the corpus is not definite and new Anglicisms are being constantly added.

The anlysis shows that the calques are evenly distributed across the lexical fields: business and law (n = 38), socio-cultural field (n = 36), science (n = 31), with less calques noted in the field of information technology (n = 15) and in the miscellaneous group of sayings, collocations and fashion terms (n = 16). The following examples are instances for each lexical field:

- ***Business and law***
  (pre) accession funds '(пред)пристапни фондови', *strategic partnership* 'стратешко партнерство', *board of trustees* 'одбор на доверители', *investment banks* 'инвестициона банка', *hedge funds* 'инвестициони фондови', *rule of* law 'владеење на правото', *trading in influence* 'тргување со влијание', *negotiation framework* 'рамка за преговори', *consumer society* 'потрошувачко општество';

- **Socio cultural field**
  social networks 'социјални мрежи', *political suicide* 'политичко самоубиство', *non-governmental organizations* 'невладини организации', *brain wash* 'перење мозок', *motivational speech* 'мотивациски говор', *public relations* 'односи со јавност', *investigative journalism* 'истражувачко новинарство', *human rights* 'човекови права';

- **Scientific field**
  climate warming 'климатско затоплување', *sustainable development* 'одржлив развој', *distant learning* 'учење на далечина', *good practices* 'добри практики', *mental health* 'ментално здравје', *political discourse* 'политички дискурс', *career center* 'кариерен центар', *heat dome* 'топлотна купола';

- **Information technology IT**
  information technology 'информациски технологии', *artificial intelligence* 'вештачка интелигенција', *network engineer* 'мрежен инженер', *add to basket* 'додај во кошничка', *about us* 'за нас', *FAQ* 'ЧПП', *digital nomads* 'дигитални номади';

- **Sayings / collocations**
  have a nice day 'имајте убав ден', *at the end of the day* 'на крајот на денот', *on a daily basis* 'на дневна основа', *mission impossible* 'невозможна мисија', *red carpet* 'црвен ќилим', *success story* 'успешна приказна'.

4 Discussion

4.1 What influences the choice of adopting the Anglicisms as direct borrowings or as calques?

There are several factors that influence the way Anglicisms are adapted in the Macedonian language, such as the lexical field and its significance for the society, the formality of the register, the knowledge of English, the age of language users, as well as the tenor. These factors operate simultaneously and (pre)determine the adaptation and use of Anglicisms as either direct loans or as

loan translations. As Andersen (2021: 32) points out, adopting a sociolinguistic approach to phraseological borrowing is essential for identifying the associations of borrowed forms with particular speaker group or usage contexts.

The analysis of the corpus suggests that direct borrowings are the most frequent in the IT field due to the fact that IT terms that are highly technical, globally accepted and enable language users across the world to communicate easily with precision and consistency. In addition, it is rather difficult to translate these highly technical terms or to coin new ones, as it requires time, creativity, and persistence in their application. Besides, the chances that translations or new creations might not be accepted by language users are rather high.

Based on the corpus, calques are also as frequent in the field of business and law, especially the EU law. The major factor that influences the use of calques in the field of the law is the fact that the Republic of North Macedonia being the EU candidate country is obliged to harmonize its whole legislation with the one of the EU. This imposes the need of using the same terminology. Therefore, the easiest way is to translate phraseological units part by part and to adapt them to the Macedonian language. Thus, native speakers could more easily understand the fundamental principles and concepts that underlie the accession processes.

The analysis of the corpus shows that the number of direct borrowings and the number of calques from the socio-cultural field is approximately the same: 42 direct borrowings and 36 calques. The direct borrowings are connected with some global cultural trends and some modern social concepts, especially when the original forms are single words such as in: *influencer* 'инфлуенсер', *bullying* 'булинг', *impact* 'импакт', *hashtag* 'хаштаг', *Instagram* 'инстаграм', *podcast* 'подкаст', *spa* 'спа'. Unlike direct borrowings, calques are equivalents of the English phraseological units and cover mostly the field of new social phenomena that dominate the modern societies, for instance: *freedom of speech* 'слобода на говор', *hate speech* 'говор на омраза', *gender studies* 'родови студии', *fake news* 'лажни вести', *moral minimum* 'морален минимум', *social networks* 'социјални мрежи', *soft power* 'мека моќ', *cultural heritage* 'културно наследство'.

In the field of science, calques prevail over direct borrowings in order to make the complex scientific concepts understandable for the language users such as in: *climate changes* 'климатски промени', *heat dome* 'топлотна купола', *case study* 'студија на случај', *renewable energy* 'обновлива енергија', *sustainable development* 'одржлив развој', *supplemental oxygen* 'кислородна поддршка', *fossile fuels* 'фосилни горива'.

Direct borrowings are more frequent in the case of single technical or scientific terms, such as in: *drone* 'дрон', *curriculum* 'курикулум', *organic* 'органско', *nutritionist* 'нутриционист', *probiotics* 'пробиотици', *liposuction* 'липосукција'.

4.2 Patterns of borrowing

The quantitative analysis shows that the socio-cultural field contains the highest percentage, approximately 33% of total number of direct loans in the corpus, while the IT lexical field constitute more than 32% of all direct loans, making it the second most dominant lexical field for borrowing. Calques dominate in the field of law with 28% out of the total number of calques in the corpus, followed by the socio-cultural field with approximately 26%, and the scientific terminology representing 23% of the total number.

Based on the above analysis, if we are to apply patterns of borrowing Anglicisms in the Macedonian language, we can reasonably predict that direct loans will dominate in the IT lexical field, while calques will dominate in the lexical field of law and science. The predictable patterns for the lexical field of socio-culture will be direct loans in modern social trends, while calques for conventional and well-established social values.

4.3 Parallelism of Anglicisms and native lexical forms

It is relevant to point out that some of the direct borrowings function parallelly with their Macedonian equivalents, for instance:

- *supplements* – 'суплементи' (direct loan), 'додатоци' (native lexical form);
- *network* – 'нетворк' (direct loan), 'мрежа' (native lexical form);
- *detox* – 'детоксикација' (direct loan), 'прочистување' (native lexical form);
- *supervisor* – 'супервајзор' (direct loan), 'ментор' (native lexical form).

Another interesting occurrence is when some calques or loan translations co-exist with the direct borrowings, such as:

- *fake news* – 'лажни вести' (calque), 'фејк њуз' (direct borrowing);
- *red carpet* – 'црвен ќилим' (calque), 'ред карпет' (direct borrowing);
- *shopping mall* – 'трговски центаг' (calque), 'шопинг мол' (direct borrowing);
- *internet browser* – 'интернет пребарувач' (calque), 'интернет браузер' (direct borrowing);
- *smart board* – 'паметна табла' (calque), 'смарт табла' (direct borrowing).

The major reason for the co-existence of parallel forms might be prestige. Speakers have probably introduced these English phrases out of prestige or out of the wish to show off their knowledge of English, even though there is no reasonable need of them. Witalisz (2018) concludes that certain English loans in the field of fashion, leisure, and entertainment appear due to linguistic snobbery and reflect the Polish fascination with American lifestyle.

However, as Bergh and Ohlander state (2017: 15) a direct loan and a native word may co-exist for a lengthy period of time as alternative expressions in a language although they may be used in different contexts. We could add that not only they might be used in different contexts, but they acquire different nuances in meaning. Such is the example of the English word *spa* and its Macedonian equivalents, the native word 'бања' and the word 'спа' which is directly borrowed and adapted from English. The two words 'спа' and бања co-exist, although Macedonian speakers use *спа* more and more frequently, since they regard it as more fashionable and refer to it as 'a modern healthy resort', while *бања* takes on the sense of 'health rehabilitation center for elderly people'. Furthermore, the English term *performance* coexists with its Macedonian native equivalent 'претстава' and the direct borrowing 'перформанс', each carrying distinct yet related meanings. In Macedonian, *перформанс* specifically refers to 'a visual artistic act with an emphasis on the artist's activity', whereas *претстава* most often denotes 'the performance of a theatrical play'.[21]

According to Stefanovski (2007: 120), every lexical system does not allow absolute synonymy and has a tendency to get rid of total identity between words. One might expect that in the course of time there will be many changes in the way parallel forms are used, because when brought into competition, they might start to be used in different contexts or one member of the pair might be disregarded. Therefore, patterns of predictability seem to be difficult to establish. Grieve et al. (2016: 112) noted that new forms are often characterized by very infrequent use for years until they eventually emerge and see relatively widespread usage.

[21] The meaning definitions are based, yet slightly modified, on the definitions given in Murgoski (n.d) https://zoze.mk/tolkoven/index.php

5. Concluding remarks

It is important to point out that Macedonian Anglicisms in the domain of information technology, socio culture, and the law constitute a fairly large part of the corpus. This reflects the outstanding developments in information technology, science, the major breakthrough of social and news media, and consequently the rise of new social concepts and trends that are further mirrored in the lexical development. The dominance of law calques reflects the needs of the Macedonian society to harmonize its legislation with the one of EU.

A vast majority of direct borrowings are nouns their visibility is evident due to the similarity to the original English forms. Evident relation and similarity to original English lexical forms result from the phonological modifications that are considerably small and the meaning is the same. Additionally, the prevalence of the element of foreignness over native features is present which is not measurable, but it is obvious for the current times. Nevertheless, noun borrowings dominate as their major function is to refer to new objects, artefacts or concepts.

It is also important to point out that lexical fields play a significant role when establishing the patterns of predictability of direct loans or loan translations. For instance, it is highly predictable that IT terminology will continue to be adapted as direct loans. As for the predictability patterns of adapting calques, EU phraseological expressions will continue to dominate. Concepts that are part of the conventional social and cultural values will probably be adapted as calques, while modern and fashionable terms will continue to be adapted as direct borrowings.

In summary, based on the results of the present study, we might conclude that lexical borrowing as a major principle in the lexical development of one language and the borrowing patterns are primarily in correlation with the needs of the society rather than with the linguistic causes and circumstances.

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TRANSLATION OF COVID-19 ENGLISH NEOLOGISMS INTO AFRICAN LANGUAGES FOR PUBLIC USAGE: REFLECTIONS ON KISWAHILI IN THE TANZANIAN CONTEXT

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This qualitative study investigated the translation techniques used to translate English COVID-19 neologisms into Kiswahili to suit the communicative needs of the general public. The data were collected from two websites which host health texts that are translated into many languages. From Medline Plus and Doctors of the World websites, a total of five English-Kiswahili translated COVID-19 texts were purposefully selected because they were the only available texts at the time of data collection. From these texts, a total of 18 COVID-19 related neologisms with their English-Kiswahili translations were obtained. The translation pairs containing the neologisms in both languages were extracted and analysed based on the framework of translation techniques proposed by Molina and Albir (2002). The findings show that borrowing, description, established equivalent, modulation, amplification, generalisation, literal translation and reduction techniques were used to adapt those medical terms to the general domains of use where they would be used and understood by the general lay public in the Tanzanian context.

Keywords: medical term, coinage, translation techniques, lay persons.

ПРЕВЕДУВАЊЕ НА АНГЛИСКИТЕ НЕОЛОГИЗМИ ЗА КОВИД-19 НА АФРИКАНСКИТЕ ЈАЗИЦИ ЗАРАДИ ЈАВНА УПОТРЕБА: СОГЛЕДУВАЊА ЗА КИСВАХИЛИ ЈАЗИКОТ ВО КОНТЕКСТОТ НА ТАНЗАНИЈА

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Во оваа квалитативна студија се истражуваат техниките за преведување на англиските неологизми за КОВИД-19 на кисвахили заради задоволување на комуникативните потреби на јавноста. Податоците се собрани од две веб-страници на кои има текстови од областа на здравството, коишто се преведени на повеќе јазици. Од веб-страниците *Медлајн плус* (анг. „Medline Plus“) и *Докторите на светот* (анг. „ Doctors of the World“), за таа цел, беа избрани вкупно 5 текста за КОВИД-19, преведени од англиски јазик на кисвахили бидејќи во тој момент тие беа единствените достапни текстови. Од нив беа обезбедени вкупно 18 неологизми, поврзани со КОВИД-19 и со нивните преводи од англиски јазик на кисвахили. Беа извлечени преводни парови со неологизми на двата јазика и тие се анализираат врз основа на рамката за преведувачки техники, предложена од Молина и Албир (Molina and Albir 2002). Наодите покажуваат дека техниките заемање, опис, воспоставен еквивалент, модулација, засилување, генерализација, буквален превод и намалување се користат за приспособување на медицинските термини во јавните домени на употреба, од каде што би ги презела и би ги користела нестручната јавност во Танзанија.

Клучни зборови: медицински термин, кованица, преведувачки техники, нестручни лица.

1 Introduction

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in late 2019 reshaped human interactions due to the introduction of protective measures against the spread of the virus. The measures introduced by governments throughout the world temporarily reshaped human interactions into what came to be known as the new normal in almost all aspects of human engagements, including language. One of the quick and noticeable changes in language was the introduction of neologisms related to COVID-19. Since English is the world's dominant language and one of the official languages of the World Health Organization (WHO) used to share health information, most of COVID-19 neologisms are available in it. Since COVID-19 health information was shared in English, an information gap was evident in many non-English languages making their speakers vulnerable to infodemic and misinformation (Anastasopoulos et al., 2020). This study, therefore, investigates the translation of those medical neologisms from English into Kiswahili and the way they were adapted for use.

2 The Name of the Disease

Coronavirus was an emerging disease which was not known by the WHO at the time. As a result, various names were used to refer to it, including novel coronavirus pneumonia (nCov) and pneumonia of unknown cause. On February 11, 2020, the WHO officially named it COVID-19, which is the abbreviation of Coronavirus Disease 2019, where 2019 is the year when the disease was first detected (Haddad and Montero-Martínez, 2020; Ivanov et al., 2023).

The name itself started linguistic innovation during the COVID-19 pandemic. The official name COVID-19 is a blend of the first two letters of two words (*CO*- from Corona and *Vi*- from Virus), the initial letter of one word (*D* – from Disease) and the last two numerals of the year when it was first reported (*19* from 2019) and a hyphen (-) used as a linking element (Mweri, 2021). In Kiswahili, a variety of names existed too before WHO officially named it. According to Lusekelo (2021), the names included *corona*, *virusi vya korona* 'coronavirus', *upumuaji* 'respiratory disorder', and *Nimonia* 'pneumonia'. The name *upumuaji*, according to the author, was coined as a euphemism to avoid the name *corona,* which was viewed as stigmatizing.

Unlike other neologisms which emerge spontaneously, the neologism COVID-19 is a result of deliberate efforts by the WHO to name the disease. Haddad and Montero-Martínez (2020) say that these efforts were meant to ensure that the name of the disease is accurate and not stigmatizing of any geographical location, individual or group of persons. Despite the coinage of the neutral name, some stigmatizing names of the disease and the virus still surfaced. For example, the term *Kungflu* was used to label the disease and *Chinese virus* to label the virus. Kurilla (2021) says that the term *Kungflu* was in use even before the pandemic. The author further says that this term was used on a tea brand label to denote the Chinese popular culture and in this usage, it did not have any racist connotations. However, the fact that the term *Kungflu* was used to refer to the coronavirus instead of what it had been used to denote is a linguistic innovation in the sense that it acquired a new meaning (semantic broadening). According to Kurilla (2021), the terms *Kungflu* and *Chinese virus* were used to indicate the fact that the disease originated in China.

In the early periods of its detection in China, the disease was referred to in public communication by a variety of terms such as epidemic, virus, and pneumonia (Dong et al., 2020), indicating that China lacked a preexisting reference name for it. The use of terms that are stigmatizing for China started in China itself. Dong et al. (2021) reveals that COVID-19 related Pinyin terms such as *Wuhàn fèiyán,* and *Zhongguó fèiyán,* which mean Wuhan pneumonia and China pneumonia, respectively, which are both stigmatizing, were used even in Chinese state media in the early times of the disease.

3 COVID-19 Neologisms

Since English is a medical lingua franca, many of the COVID-19 neologisms were introduced in it and then translated into other languages (Alduhaim and Alkhaldy, 2023). At this stage, I focus on neologisms introduced in English and later I will discuss their translations into other languages. Based on the reviewed literature on COVID-19 neologisms in English and some African languages, I view neologisms as created in two ways: when new words are introduced in the lexicon through morphological processes and when existing words assume new meanings and/or domains of use.

The COVID-19 pandemic outbreak led to the introduction of new words through morphological processes such as blending, acronymy, clipping, compounding and derivation.

Blending is the process of joining parts of different words to create a new word (Mweri, 2021). It occurs when parts of different words are conjoined to form a new word whose meaning is related to the root words from which the parts were trimmed off. In order to illustrate this morphological process of neologisms formation, reference will be made to several noteworthy examples provided by Ivanov et al. (2023), such as *diplocovimacy, corohara, coronomics, covismart,* and *quarantime,* to mention but a few. *Diplocovimacy* is the blend of *diplomacy* and *covi-* (from COVID), where *covi-* is inserted within *diplomacy*. It refers to the policy that was formed during COVID-19 pandemic to mitigate its effects. *Corohara* is the blend of *coro-* (from corona) and *hara-* (from harassment). It was used in coronavirus texts to refer to the act of discriminating people who contracted the disease or returned home after isolation or treatment in hospitals. It was also used in the said texts to refer to the act of bullying people who demonstrated COVID-19 related symptoms such as coughing even if such symptoms did not result from COVID-19 infection. *Coronomics* is the blend of *coro-* (from corona) and *-nomics* (from economics). It was used to signify the fact that some governments prioritized economic activities over the negative impacts of COVID-19. The word *covismart* is the blend of *covi-* (from COVID) and *smart*. It was used to refer to strict observance of COVID-19 health guidelines. The word *quarantime* is the blend of *quaran-* (from quarantine) and *time.* It was used to refer to the time spent in quarantine.

In Nigerian languages, Kupolati et al. (2021) found that the blending of COVID-19 related words was done between English and an indigenous language. For example, in the Yoruba language, there were several words resulting from blending English word parts such as *coro-* (from corona) and *-vid* (from COVID) and Yoruba words such as *ounjecoro, coroworo* and *erucovid*. According to these authors, *ounjecoro* was the kind of food that was eaten during lockdown to alleviate the symptoms of the disease. *Owocoro* was used to refer to the funds disbursed by the Nigerian government and other agencies to help people during the pandemic and *erucovid* was used to refer to the goods obtained during corona time.

Another morphological process used to introduce new words was acronymy. It is a process of combining letters of different words to create a new word (Mweri, 2021). The new word formed is called an acronym. The acronym may be pronounced as one word or as a sequence of letters. Mweri (2021) observes that during the pandemic, the acronym *BC* in English, which stands for *Before Corona*, was used to refer to the time before COVID-19 outbreak, *AC,* which stands for *After Corona,* was used to denote the post-COVID-19 time. In Kiswahili, the acronym *UVIKO,* which stands for *Ugonjwa wa Virusi vya Korona,* was introduced by the East African Kiswahili Commission (EAKC) in March 2020 while translating WHO and CDC-Africa documents for use in Partner States in the East African Community to refer to the Coronavirus disease.

Clipping is a word-building process through which a word or one of its segments is shortened (Ivanov et al., 2023). It involves trimming some parts of the word so that the remaining root word retains its original meaning. The clipping process in both English and African languages was mainly applied to the word *corona.* In English, the beginning of the word was clipped (trimming *co*-from corona), which resulted in the introduction of such words as *rona* and *rony,* which were used sarcastically to refer to coronavirus (Ivanov et al., 2023). Unlike in English, in some African

languages the end part of the word root *corona,* (*-na) was frequently clipped* resulting in such words as *coro* in Yoruba language (Kupolati et al., 2021) and *koro* in Igbo language (Onwukwe et al., 2023), both denoting the concept coronavirus. In many African languages, the name of the virus was borrowed from English and then either transferred as *corona* or naturalized to suit the lexical conventions of the target language. In Kiswahili, Lusekelo et al. (2021) observed the use of both the naturalized form *korona* and the transferred form *corona* in COVID-19 banners and newspapers in Tanzania. No clipped form of the word was in use in Kiswahili.

Compounding involves conjoining one or more words into one word (Ivanov et al. 2023). The resulting word is referred to as a compound. The meaning of the compound word is more or less related to the meaning of the conjoined words. In English, Ivanov et al. (2023) exemplify the process by compound words such as *coronatime, coronapanic* and *coronawarriors*. For illustration, attention may be directed to just one of these examples – the word *coronawarriors* is a combination of *corona* (COVID-19) and *warriors* (people who fought against COVID-19). It was metaphorically used to refer to individuals, both medical and non-medical personnel, who were fully involved in the fight against the disease (Ivanov et al. 2023). In addition, Mweri (2021) mentions the term *COVID-beards* as a word derived through compounding. This term was a compound coined of *COVID* and *beards*. It was used to refer to a situation when one pulls down their masks to their chin (Mweri, 2021). As wearing masks for a prolonged period of time was uncomfortable, some people pulled their masks down to their chin in order to inhale fresh air.

In Kiswahili, many compounds related to COVID-19 were introduced too. Asheli (2022) mentions compound words such as *majitiririka* 'flowing water', *kitakasamikono* 'hand sanitizer', and *kibuyuchirizi* 'water dispensing device for washing hands', to mention but a few. The word *majitiririka* is a combination of *maji* 'water' and *tiririka* 'flow'. It is the result of the COVID-19 guideline that required people to regularly wash hands with running water. The word *kitakasamikono* results from conjoining the words *kitakasa* 'cleanser' and *mikono* 'hands'. It was introduced to express COVID-19 health guideline that required people to use hand sanitizers in case water was not accessible. The word *kibuyuchirizi* is produced by conjoining the words *kibuyu* 'gourd' and *chirizi* 'flowing' – gourd that is capable of letting water flow. COVID health guidelines required people to avoid touching surfaces and objects by hand. To comply with this rule, locally made devices for washing hands in public places were invented. These devices were operated by foot to avoid touching them by hand. These devices were referred to as *vibuyuchirizi* (in plural).

There were also words introduced through derivation. In Nigerian English, Kupolati et al. (2021) report derivations from the root *corona* which result in derived words such as *coronise* and *coronate*. The word *coronise* is the denominal verb formed by adding a verbalizing suffix *-ise* to the root noun *corona.* The word *coronise* was used to mean infect with COVID-19. Likewise, the word *coronate* is a denominal verb formed by adding a verbalizing suffix *-ate* to the root noun *corona*. Just like *coronise,* it was used to denote the act of someone contracting the disease.

Apart from the neologization processes discussed, the other way of forming words was by already existing word acquiring new meanings or new domains of use (prominence). In English, Asif et al. (2021) mention the words *infodemic*, *working from home,* and *personal protective equipment*, to mention but a few, as words which gained new prominence. These words were rarely used by the lay public in everyday communication before coronatime. Though related to the field of medicine, the COVID-19 outbreak pushed them to common settings where their use was no longer limited to medical personnel only, but was extended to lay populations as well. According to the author, the word *infodemic* was introduced in 2003 during the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) pandemic. During the COVID-19 pandemic, this word was rejuvenated to indicate, just like during SARS, the spread of information, both factual and non-factual, to such extent that discriminating between essential and non-essential information would be impossible. The expression *work from home,* according to the authors, emerged in 1995 but was not widely used. It

became more frequently used during COVID-19 pandemic. The word *personal protective equipment* was restricted to healthcare service and emergency workers, whereas during COVID-19 its domains of use were extended to common contexts where it was used even by lay persons.

To discuss the words that gained prominence in Kiswahili, Ntalala (2022) provides the example of the word *barakoa* 'face mask'. The word *barakoa* was used to refer to all kinds of masks, but during COVID-19 pandemic its meaning was narrowed down to refer specifically to face masks worn to prevent corona virus infection. In addition, Asheli (2022) provides the example of the word *kipukusi* 'sanitizer'. The word *kipukusi* means chemicals that kill germs on floors of buildings. During coronatime, the meaning of this word was narrowed down to refer to hand sanitizer only.

4 Translation of COVID-19 Information from English

Since English is the lingua franca of medicine and science in general, many COVID-19 neologisms were coined in English (Alduhaim and Alkhaldy, 2023). Despite the fact that the COVID-19 outbreak was first reported in China, Chinese did not act as a source language from which COVID-19 information could be translated into other languages. English acted as a de-facto source language from which such information was translated into other languages, including Kiswahili.

The translation from English into other languages had to navigate through a wide range of neologisms coined in the target language to ensure effective communication. In this regard, Kitanovska-Kimovska and Neškovska (2022) say that in order to ensure effective communication of COVID-19 information, relevant terminology had to be translated effectively and consistently to avoid misconceptions that arise from infodemic and misinformation. The authors say that in the Macedonian language, there was no official COVID-19 terminology that could be used consistently to communicate COVID-19 information. As a result, the translation of such information from English into Macedonian adopted strategies such as borrowing, calquing, description, reduction, particularization, and transposition, to mention but a few.

Similar findings were reported by Alduhaim and Alkhaldy (2023) who observed lack of consistency in the use of such medical terminology and its translation from English into Arabic. A descriptive method or Arabicization was used to render such terminology and ensure effective communication. Arabicization is the act of adopting a non-Arabic word into Arabic, then altering its sound and morphology to align with Arabic linguistic rules. In a similar study, Olimat et al. (2022) found that literal translation, equivalence, reduction, paraphrase, synonymy, transposition, omission and couplet were used as translation strategies in translating COVID-19 information from English into Arabic. Similar strategies were adopted to translate COVID-19 information from English into Indonesian as a means of overcoming the lack of equivalence between the two languages posed by the numerous neologisms coined in the source language (Restiana and Nugroho, 2021).

In the same vein, Aggrey et al. (2023) reiterate how important accurate information in other languages was to combat the pandemic as many people relied on the information available in their languages to take precautionary measures. The authors observed that in rendering such information from English into Asante Twi language, explicitation, expansion, transposition and borrowing strategies were adopted to ensure the accuracy of information despite the structural, lexical, cultural and stylistic differences between the two languages.

In Zambia, Machinyise et al. (2022) report there was a lack of terminology for COVID-19 information in the Tonga language and that the available one was used inconsistently. As a result, such information was rendered from English into Tonga mainly with loan and contextual translations.

The studies previously discussed focused on COVID-19 neologisms, translation techniques and the challenges of general COVID-19 information which did not necessarily contain neologisms. This study focuses exclusively on the translation of COVID-19 neologisms from English into

Kiswahili, which are mainly medical and intended for the general public. The aim is to examine how such medical terminology was rendered to suit the needs of the lay public. The linguistic studies on COVID-19 in Kiswahili by Asheli (2022) and Ntalala (2022) focused more on how Kiswahili responded to the communicative needs of its speakers. The two studies discussed mainly intralingual neological processes that Kiswahili employed to express COVID-19 related concepts. These neological processes did not suffice to express every COVID-19 related concept and so translation from the donor language, English, was still important. Therefore, a study on the translation of such neologisms from English into Kiswahili fills this gap.

5 Methodology

This is a corpus-based study with data selected purposefully from two websites which host various translated health information. These websites are Medline Plus (https://medlineplus.gov/languages/swahili.html) and Doctors of the World (https://www.doctorsoftheworld.org.uk/tramslated-health-information/. From these websites, English-Kiswahili parallel texts containing COVID-19 health information were selected for analysis.

Two texts from Medline Plus and three from Doctors of the World websites were purposefully selected as they were the only texts available at the time of data collection. The texts selected from Medline Plus include *COVID-19 Vaccine 'Chanjo ya COVID-19'* and *10 Things You Can Do To Manage Your COVID-19 Symptoms at Home/COVID-19 'Mambo 10 unayoweza kufanya ili kudhibiti dalili za COVID-19 nyumbani/COVID-19'*. The texts collected from Doctors of the World include *Coronavirus 'virus vya korona', Coronavirus (COVID-19) Guidance 'mwongozo wa virusi vya korona (COVID-19)'* and *What is Coronavirus (COVID-19)?'-virusi vya korona ni nini'?*

From these five texts, a total of 18 COVID-19 English neologisms with their Kiswahili equivalents were extracted. The neologisms extracted are the ones that were treated as such in reviewed literature. The translations were analysed based on the framework of translation techniques proposed by Molina and Albir (2002). According to them, translation techniques are procedures to analyse and classify how equivalents work. Therefore, a technique is a tool for textual analysis in translation that illuminates the way target text equivalents reflect the source text and suit the target language situations. The dynamic approach to translation techniques allows for the evaluation of the translated texts to be grounded in context. The translation of COVID-19 texts necessitates the adoption of contextually relevant strategies to suit non-medical populations.

6 Discussion

The study revealed description, modulation, amplification, generalization, literal translation, borrowing, established equivalent and reduction as translation techniques that were used to translate and tailor the COVID-19 neologisms to the communicative needs of the lay public.

6.1 Description

Description replaces the source language terms with a target language detailed account of its form or function (Molina and Albir, 2002). That is to say, the source language term is not equated to an equivalent term in the target language, but to its meaning, form or function which, in that case, requires the use of detailed information as in the following extracts.

(1) If the test result is *positive*, you must complete the remainder of your self isolation.
'*Ukipatikana na virusi,* sharti ukamilishe siku zilizosalia katika siku zako za kujitenga'

(2) If the test result is *negative,* you can stop self-isolating.
'Ikiwa *vipimo havitapatikana kuwa na virusi*, waweza kuacha kujitenga'.

In (1), the term *positive* is used in medicine to mean that infection is detected and the term *negative* in (2) is used to mean that there is no infection. Instead of being translated using their literal equivalents, *chanya* for 'positive' and *hasi* for 'negative', they were translated using their medical meanings. The translation of *positive result* as *matokeo chanya* and *negative result* as *matokeo hasi* would be misleading. The term *Chanya* 'positive' in the Kiswahili dictionary means 'a thing or a situation that is good and promising' (Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (BAKITA), 2015). In the context of COVID-19, if the term *positive* had been translated as such, it would have erroneously suggested that the COVID-19 test results were good and promising, which would imply that there was no virus infection.

The term *hasi* 'negative' in Kiswahili means 'a thing or a situation that is bad or unpromising' (Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (BAKITA), 2015). If it had been translated using the equivalent available, it would have erroneously suggested that the COVID-19 test results were bad or unpromising, implying that there was virus infection. Thus, if word for word translation had been adopted, the COVID-19 positive test results would have been translated in Kiswahili as negative and the negative ones as positive. To avoid those misleading translations, *positive* was translated descriptively as *ukipatikana na virusi* 'when you are found with the virus' and *negative* as *vipimo havitapatikana kuwa na virusi* 'the test results show no virus infection'. During COVID-19, the terms *positive* and *negative* were considered as neologisms since they were semantically narrowed down to specifically refer to 'coronavirus infection' and 'no coronavirus infection', respectively. Their domains of use extended from medical to common domains of use for lay persons. It is in this sense that their translations were descriptive to suit the new domains of use and knowledge shared by the participants in the communication events.

6.2 Modulation

Modulation is the shift from one point of view to another (Molina and Albir, 2002). The cases of modulation include translating positive for negative or vice versa, abstract for concrete or vice versa, cause for effect or vice versa, and means for result (Molina and Albir, 2002). The goal of modulation is to keep the attention or meet the expectations of the readership even if it deviates from the expectations of the original text. Modulation of COVID-19 neologisms was meant to communicate accurate information and avoid misinterpretation that would lead to improper compliance with COVID-19 health rules. Consider the following text extracts.

(3) Check with your local authority for local *lockdown* rules that may apply to you.
'Wasiliana na serikali ya mtaa upate kujua sheria zozote za *kusitishwa shughuli za kawaida* ambazo unapaswa kufuata'.

(4) *Stay home* except to get medical care.
'*Usitoke nyumbani* isipokuwa unaenda kutafuta matibabu'.

(5) If you live with someone who has *long term condition ....*
'Ikiwa unaishi na mtu aliye na *matatizo ya kudumu ya kiafya*'.

The English term *lockdown* is considered a neologism because it acquired a new meaning during coronatime. It was used specifically to mean mass quarantine, while in its old sense, it means 'a prison protocol used to block people, information, or cargo from leaving an area'. The term *stay home,* which generally means 'to remain in one's house', was used specifically to mean 'remain at home to avoid the risk of COVID-19 infection' (Ivanov et al., 2023; Mweri, 2021). The term *long term condition* is euphemistically used in medicine to refer to a persistent illness. During COVID-19 pandemic, it was popularized to explain that people with those diseases were more vulnerable to COVID-19 infection and that their survival rate was lower if they contracted the disease compared to the people without such an illness.

The term *lockdown* in (3) is translated into Kiswahili as *kusitishwa shughuli za kawaida* 'to suspend normal activities' instead of *kufungiwa ndani* 'to be locked in homes' as the source language term literally suggests. The translation *kusitishwa shuguli za kawaida* is a very good choice since it is a common practice in Tanzania for some activities to be temporarily suspended to allow for some other activities to take place. For example, business activities are suspended up to 10:00 a.m. in some cities in Tanzania, such as Dar es Salaam, every last Saturday of the month - as it was even during coronatime – to allow people to participate in cleaning activities (Abdallah, 2021). Therefore, the expression *kusitishwa shuguli za kawaida* 'to suspend normal activities' is very common such that even if it was used to refer to lockdown, it did not sound threatening and people could easily comply because they had already been used to such situations of suspending normal activities.

On the other hand, the term *stay home* in (4) is translated with its antonym *usitoke nyumbani* 'do not go out of your home' instead of *kaa nyumbani* 'stay home' as it is in the source language. Since humans have permanent homes where they live, telling them to *stay home* – something that they are already doing - would not invite changes in their life that would comply with COVID-19 health guidelines. In order to attract attention and ultimately encourage changes that comply with COVID-19 safety guidelines, it was necessary to tell them the uncommon, that is, to tell them *not to go out of their homes* in order for them to *stay home*. Therefore, the translation '*usitoke nyumbani'* - do not go out of home - alerted them about the potential COVID-19 infection in places beyond their homes where they would interact with other people.

The term *long term condition* in (5) is translated dysphemistically as *matatizo ya kudumu ya kiafya* 'permanent health problems' instead of the available euphemistic expressions *magonjwa ya muda mrefu* 'long term diseases' or *magonjwa yasiyo ya kuambukiza* 'non-communicable diseases' that are used to refer to the same diseases. The situation occasioned by COVID-19 was appallingly calling for any available defence mechanisms to fend the community against infection. The use of coarser words in translation was, therefore, meant not to offend people with long term conditions but to reiterate the fact that they had to be more careful with coronavirus as the disease potentially was more fatal to them than it was to people without any underlying condition.

6.3 Amplification

Amplification is the act of using more signifiers in the target language to solve syntactic or lexical gaps (Molina and Albir, 2002). It introduces details that are not present in the source language in order to clarify a concept or issue that would otherwise not be understood in the target language. It is used to bridge lexical or syntactic gaps between the source and target language (Molina and Albir, 2002). In translating COVID-19 neologisms that are meant to be used by the public beyond health practitioners, amplification is more useful because it adds helpful details so that people can understand COVID-19 health guidelines and minimize the risk of infection.

(6) Maintain *physical distance of 2 meters.*
'Dumisha *umbali wa mita 2 kati yako na watu wengine*'.

(7) *The tracing service* will contact you.
'*Wahudumu wa kufuatilia watu walioambukizwa* watawasiliana nawe'.

(8) *Self-isolate*
'*Jitenge na watu wengine*'

(9) Get *tested* within the first five days of having symptoms.
'Pata *kupimwa virusi vya korona* ndani ya siku tano za kwanza za kuonesha dalili'.

In (6), *physical distance* is a medical term which means keeping certain distance from other persons to protect oneself from infection. This term was more popularized during coronatime such that its use was no longer limited to health practitioners only, but was also used among lay persons (Asif et al., 2021). *Contact tracing* in (7), *self-isolate* in (8), *test* in (9) are medical terms which were also popularized during coronatime. *Contact tracing* was used to mean 'tracing people who had been in close interaction with infected persons and as such were susceptible to virus infection too'. *Self-isolation* was used to refer to the practice of someone separating themselves from others if they suspected that they might have been infected with coronavirus (Mweri, 2021). *Test* gained predominance during the COVID-19 pandemic following the introduction of safety measures such as testing at airports, borders and public places. In Tanzania, body temperature was checked even by non-medical personnel such as guards at public building entrances. This practice normalized the term *test* such that it was no longer restricted to medical domains and professionals only but was extended to the general domains and was used by non-medical populations.

The term *physical distance* in (6) is translated as *umbali kati yako na watu wengine* 'distance between you and other people' instead of simply *umbali* 'physical distance' as it is in the source language. The addition of *kati yako na watu wengine* 'between you and other people' illustrates amplification since this information is not explicit in the source language. If the translation remained *umbali* 'physical distance', as it is in the source language, without the modifiers *kati yako na watu wengine* 'between you and other people', the meaning would be blurred. The lay readership would possibly not understand the fact that the distance to be maintained was between a person and a person, not between a person and other things such as objects or pets.

The term *tracing service* in (7) is translated as *wahudumu wa kufuatilia watu walioambukizwa* 'service personnels who are responsible for tracing people who are infected' instead of simply *wahudumu wa kufuatilia* 'the tracing service' as it is in the source language. The information *watu walioambukizwa* 'infected persons' was added to specify the kinds of people that the tracing service was seeking for. The expression *wahudumu wa kufuatilia* 'the tracing service' needed modifiers for the lay persons to understand which people that the tracing service was seeking. Adding this information was significant for the lay persons to understand and avoid confusion regarding the objects of the tracing service.

The term *self-isolate* in (8) is translated as *jitenge na watu wengine* 'isolate yourself from other people' instead of *jitenge* 'self-isolate' as it is in the source language. The information *na watu wengine* 'from other people' is not explicit in the source language. This addition was meant to clarify the fact that people were required to isolate themselves from other humans, not from non-humans. Adding this information entailed further that the risk of someone contracting coronavirus was posed by their interactions with humans, not with non-humans.

The term *test* in (9) is translated as *pimwa virusi vya korona* 'get tested for coronavirus' with *virusi vya korona* 'coronavirus' added as a modifier even though the term *pimwa* is an adequate equivalent for *test*. In my opinion, this addition is useful in Tanzanian context for the general public to make a distinction between Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and coronavirus testing. The term *test* is not always used with the modifier human immunodeficiency virus in HIV banners and

popular songs (such as unaringa umepima? - by Khadija Kopa). It is used without such a modifier and it still means 'get tested for HIV'.

6.4 Generalization

Generalization involves translating a specific term with a more general one (Molina and Albir, 2002). It is used when the source language term or expression is replaced by a more general or neutral term or expression in the target language. This occurs when the source term lacks an equivalent in the target language (Molina and Albir, 2002). Specific terms always denote distinctive concepts that can be understood by persons with expert or experiential knowledge of the subject only. These specific concepts need to be translated with a general term when they are intended for use in general contexts. The specific COVID-19 terms, which are medical in most cases, need to be translated with general terms in order for them to be understood by lay persons.

(10) Reduce your *physical contact* with people you do not live with
'Punguza idadi ya watu *unaotangamana nao*'.

(11) Check for the availability of *personal protective equipment* in your work place.
'Fahamu upatikanaji wa *vifaa vya kujikinga binafsi* kazini'.

The term *physical contact* was popularized during coronatime to refer to person-to-person touch such as shaking hands, kissing, and hugging. To enforce this health guideline, physical contacts that were frequent before COVID-19 pandemic were now banned. For example, sharing the peace of the Lord through handshake in Roman Catholic churches was banned (Boswell, 2021).

The term *physical contact* in (10) is translated as *kutangamana.* According to Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (BAKITA) (2015), *kutangamana* means 'to mingle with each other' as opposed to the specific equivalent already available *kugusana* which, according to the same author, means 'to physically contact each other'. The Kiswahili term *kutangamana* refers to the general situation where people interact in close proximity to each other, which does not necessarily mean to physically contact or touch each other. During the COVID-19 pandemic, both *kugusana* 'physical contact' and *kutangamana* 'close interactions' were forbidden to minimize the possibility of virus transmission from one person to another.

The choice of *punguza kutangamana* 'reduce close interactions or mingling with other people' as a translation of *reduce physical contact,* rather than *punguza kugusana* 'reduce physical contact', as it is in the source language, serves a dual purpose for the lay persons: it warns them against both physical contact and intermingling in close proximity to one another. The use of the specific term *kugusana* 'to physically contact each other' would imply that only physical contacts such as handshakes, hugging and kissing were prohibited while intermingling without physically contacting or touching each other was allowed.

The term *personal protective equipment* in (11) is a medical term whose use is restricted to healthcare and emergency workers (Asif et al., 2021). In Kiswahili, it is translated with the general term *vifaa vya kujikinga binafsi* 'personal protective equipment'. In Kiswahili, this term is not restricted to medical domains only. It is used even in non-medical domains to refer to all types of protective equipment in all work settings that require the use of such equipment. The use of general terms instead of specific ones extends the medical terms from medical domains, where they are understood by medical professionals only, to general domains, where they are understood by lay persons. The general understanding of medical specific terms allows for the lay persons to fend themselves against all dangers of coronavirus infection in their surroundings. The term *personal protective equipment* dates back to 1934 and was recognized by the WHO in 1977 and its use was

restricted to emergency and health professionals only, but during the COVID-19 pandemic it was very popular among lay persons and was widely used in social media forums (Asif et al., 2021). In other words, its use was extended from medical to general domains.

6.5 Literal Translation

Literal translation is the word for word translation (Molina and Albir, 2002). Each word in the source language has a corresponding equivalent in the target language. Literal translation allows for modifications such as omission of articles when they are non-existent in the target language. These modifications adjust the text to the acceptable norms of the target language in terms of grammar or word order (Mayyas et al., 2020).

(12) You should continue to *work from home.*
'Unapaswa kuendelea *kufanyia kazi nyumbani*'.

The term *working from home* in (12) emerged in 1995 and was less familiar (Asif et al., 2021). During the COVID-19 pandemic, this term resurfaced and was popularized in COVID-19 media briefings such that it became normal for the general public. This term is translated into Kiswahili word for word, *work* (verb) – *fanyia kazi* (verb) – *from home* (adverb) – *nyumbani* (adverb). Literal translation provides a layman definition of concepts that suits the diverse characteristics of the readership.

The term *personal protective equipment* in (11) is also literally translated as *vifaa* (equipment) *vya kujikinga* (protective) *binafsi* (personal). As opposed to its specific sense in the source language, the target language rendition is too general with its literal sense making it general. To understand that it refers specifically to medical facilities requires knowledge beyond the words used and determined by context, experience or professional knowledge. Its literal translation makes it easier for the lay persons to understand it.

6.6 Borrowing

Borrowing involves taking a word or expression directly from another language (Molina and Albir, 2002). In the context of translation, it involves taking a word or expression from a source language and using it with or without modification in the target language. Borrowing without modification transfers the source language term fully into the target language like in the following cases:

(13) *COVID-19* vaccine can prevent *COVID-19* disease.
'Chanjo ya *COVID-19* inaweza kuzuia ugonjwa wa *COVID-19*'.

In (13), the English term COVID-19 is borrowed and used as it is in Kiswahili. This English term has been transferred without any modification into Kiswahili to denote the same source language concept. In the context of COVID-19 outbreak, this kind of borrowing can be described by the fact that initially, until 20th February 2020, when the WHO officially announced the English term 'COVID-19' as a name for the disease, many languages didn't have a name to refer to the disease. Following this announcement, many languages, including Chinese adopted it (Zhihao, 2020). In Tanzania, Lusekelo (2023) and Lusekelo et al. (2021) observed the use of the term COVID-19 in Swahili newspapers, which serves as evidence that Kiswahili borrowed the same word from English. The English term COVID-19 was adopted to comply with the WHO reference to the disease. Since it was frequently used, it became popular among both medical and non-medical people.

Borrowing with modifications adapts the source language terms to the spelling norms of the target language. The modifications are done to avoid introducing uncommon features in the target language that may confuse the readership or blur their understanding of the concept. The following examples show the terms borrowed and modified in Kiswahili.

(14) *corona* virus
'virusi vya *korona*'

(15) You must wear face *mask* in public places.
'Lazima uvae *maski* kwenye maeneo yenye watu wengi'.

In (14), the term *corona* is translated as *korona* where the English letter *[c]* is changed to [k] in Kiswahili to suit its spelling conventions. The combination of the letter [c] and a vowel is not allowed in Kiswahili. It only appears with a combination of the letter *[h]* to form */ch/* sound which is equivalent to */tʃ/* in English. In (15), the term *mask* is translated as *maski* in Kiswahili, where a vowel */i/* is added at the end of the word *mask* to denote the fact that words in Bantu languages end in a vowel, technically known as Basic Vowel Suffix (BVS). The domestication of borrowed terms in the target language adapts not only the language but also the whole text to the communicative needs of the readership. Thus, lay persons could easily pronounce and understand terms that were adapted to their language.

6.7 Established Equivalent

Established equivalence uses in the target language the term or expression that is found in dictionaries as an equivalent of the source language term (Molina and Albir, 2002). That is, the source language term is rendered using the already available equivalent in the target language as in the following examples.

(16) COVID-19 can cause severe illness requiring hospitalization, intense care or a *ventilator* to help with breathing.
'COVID-19 inaweza kusabisha ugonjwa mbaya unaohitaji kulazwa, wagonjwa mahtuti au *kipumuaji* cha kusaidia kupumua'.

(17) Maintain frequent hand washing or *sanitizing.*
'Nawa mikono au *tumia kieuzi* mara kwa mara'.

(18) Follow the advice on *face covering.*
'Zingatia ushauri wa kuvaa *barakoa'.*

The medical terms *ventilator, sanitizer* and *face covering* or *face mask* were considered to be neologisms during the COVID-19 pandemic since they were used more frequently than before and extended their domains of use from medical to common domains with lay persons using them in their daily communication (Asif et al., 2021; Mweri, 2021). The terms *kipumuaji* 'ventilator', *kieuzi* 'sanitizer' and *barakoa* 'face mask' were found in Kiswahili even before corona time but were treated as neologisms because they were more frequency used and their meanings were limited to COVID-19 (Asheli, 2022; Ntalala, 2022).

The terms *ventilator* in (16), *sanitizer* in (17) and *face covering* in (18) were translated using their already established equivalents *kipumuaji, kieuzi,* and *barakoa,* respectively, which existed in

the Kiswahili dictionary. According to Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (BAKITA) (2015), the term *kipumuaji* is a noun derivative from the verb *pumua* 'breathe'. Thus, *kipumuaji* denotes something that helps breathing. The term *kieuzi* is a noun derivative from the verb *eua* 'cleanse'. Thus, *kieuzi* denotes something that is used to cleanse. The term *barakoa* is defined as 'a piece of cloth worn on one's face to protect them against wind, bad smell, and mirco-organisms'. During coronatime, this term was semantically narrowed down to mean 'a piece of cloth protecting one against coronavirus (micro-organism)'. Since these established equivalents are a result of derivation or coinage and are technical, they are not very familiar to the lay persons. Their usage is confined to educated persons in formal domains. During coronatime, the terms *kieuzi* and *kipumuaji* were not commonly used in casual conversations. Despite their existence in Kiswahili dictionaries, some of the Kiswahili speakers still preferred the naturalized terms, *sanitaiza* 'sanitizer' and *ventileta* 'ventilator'.

6.8 Reduction

Reduction is the suppression of source text information in the target text (Molina and Albir, 2002). It is the result of omitting some information in the source text. Even though reduction is viewed as a means of loss or distortion of information, in medical context it enhances the understanding of information due to its context sensitivity (Wohlmann and Michl, 2020).

The term *contact tracing,* according to Mweri (2021), means 'to trace people who have been in contact with infected persons and therefore are themselves suspected of having contracted the disease and are likely to infect others'. It is the medical term that gained predominance during the COVID-19 pandemic and referred to tracing both those infected and those suspected to be infected with coronavirus.

In (7), the term *tracing service* is translated as *wahudumu wa kufuatilia watu walioambukizwa* 'service personnel who trace infected people'. This translation implies that the *tracing service* traces only infected persons and therefore does not trace those who are suspected to be infected with the virus. Therefore, the information that the tracing service traces even the suspected persons is not implied in the target text even though it is in the source language. Despite the reduction, the key information – tracing of infected persons – is captured in the target text. Therefore, the information on suspected ones is redundant and is implicitly included.

7 Conclusion

The COVID-19 outbreak threatened normal human interactions. This threat was very beneficial to language development as it poured numerous medical neologisms in languages. Many of these neologisms were invented in English because it is the language used by the WHO to share health information to the general world population. The use of English as a means of sharing COVID-19 health information necessitated translation of such information into other languages for the benefit of non-English speaking populations. Since the neologisms were restricted to medical domains, the translation had to take into account the fact that the readership of these translations was not restricted to the medical domain. It had to move from medical to general domains where the readership included non-medical populations. To achieve this, different translation techniques were used. In the English-Kiswahili translation of COVID-19 neologisms, the techniques used were borrowing with modifications to suit the Kiswahili spelling norms, description of technical terms, established equivalent, modulation to avoid misinterpretation, amplification to clarify medical terms, generalization when the specific equivalent was unavailable or too technical, literal translation for laymen and reduction to omit unnecessary information. These translation techniques Click or tap here to enter text. were found to be a relevant tool in translating COVID-19 terms to suit the general situation and knowledge of the lay persons.

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AL-HIJRAH. ARABIC, ITALIAN, AND ENGLISH MIGRATION TERMINOLOGY IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE[1]

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This paper discusses, from a qualitative and quantitative corpus-based perspective, the features and challenges in comparable terminology in the field of migration in Arabic, Italian, and English. More specifically, it examines terminology related to the migration process, migration agents and socially related issues such as marriage and adoption, taking into account linguistic, social, and cultural obstacles in identifying suitable translation candidates when applying European law to languages that do not share similar juridical frameworks and social practices. The aim of the paper is to identify common linguistic issues and their root causes and to present best practices for adequately covering of this terminological area.

Keywords: migration, lexicon, translation, Italian, English, Arabic.

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АЛ-ХИЏРА. АРАПСКА, ИТАЛИЈАНСКА И АНГЛИСКА ТЕРМИНОЛОГИЈА ОД ОБЛАСТА НА МИГРАЦИЈАТА ВО СПОРЕДБЕНА ПЕРСПЕКТИВА[2]

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Овој труд ги разгледува, од квалитативна и од квантитативна перспектива, заснована врз корпус, карактеристиките и предизвиците на споредбената терминологија од областа на миграцијата, на арапски, на италијански и на англиски јазик. Посебен акцент се става на терминологијата што се однесува на миграцискиот процес, на субјектите вклучени во миграцијата, како и на општествено релевантните области, како што се бракот и посвојувањето, земајќи ги предвид лингвистичките, општествените и културните пречки што се појавуваат при утврдувањето соодветни преводни еквиваленти, во контекст на примената на европското законодавство на јазици коишто не поседуваат слични правни системи и општествени практики. Целта на студијата е да ги идентификува заедничките лингвистички потешкотии и нивните изворни причини, и да предложи најдобри практики за сеопфатно покривање на оваа терминолошка област.

Клучни зборови: миграција, лексикон, превод, италијански јазик, англиски јазик, арапски јазик.

[2] Овој труд е замислен и развиен преку колективната соработка на сите автори, вклучени во проектот Language on the Fly, под раководство на Изабела Кјари. Авторите заеднички придонесоа за дизајнот и за имплементацијата на истражувањето, како и при анализата на неговите резултати. Поглавјата §1, §2.2, §2.4, §3.2 и §4 се напишани од Изабела Кјари; поглавјата §2.1 и §2.3 од Алма Салем; поглавјето §3.1 од Маха Бадер.

1 Migration terminology in a translation perspective

Migration is a phenomenon that has always characterized human communities. Terminology associated with migration can vary deeply depending on the specificities of the phenomenon in different areas and of the administrative and legislative framework they are inserted into. The need for a closer examination of the interlinguistic aspects conveyed by migration terminology emerges particularly at the international level, where analyses often concentrate exclusively on European languages and rarely include a thorough comparison between the terminology of countries that are *targets* of migration and those that are *sources* of migration (Chiari 2021; Chiari, Bader, Salem and Squillante 2021). The present article is part of a broader research project aimed at building a comprehensive glossary of migration terminology within the European Union, both at institutional and country level. The project begins with European cases, and its first prototype focuses on the Italian management of migration. Its objective is to provide explanations and glosses for the key terms used in Italian migration management, encompassing the EU administrative and legal framework, the Italian national framework, and the concrete practices implemented at regional and local level. As part of this study, particular attention has been given to identifying core migration-related terms in Arabic, one of the most significant languages of migration to Europe over the past fifteen years. To this end, we examined Arabic corpus data alongside Italian and EU-level terminology, evaluating possible translation equivalents and semantic correspondences. Since parallel multilingual EU materials including Arabic are not available, the comparative analysis has been conducted using Italian as the primary reference language, with English serving exclusively as a glossing tool.

This paper therefore concentrates on issues related to the interpretation and translation of migration terminology, highlighting structural, cultural, and social differences between the Italian–EU context and Arabic-speaking contexts. It does not aim to provide a full lexicographical or etymological account of Arabic terms; rather, it focuses on present-day usage and the challenges that arise in contemporary migration management and multilingual communication within the European Union.

Central aspects in this respect are: polysemy of the migration lexicon that is also connected with common language usages that are not shared in technical-scientific contexts; divergences in social practices and their relative legislative background in countries that are distant from a social, religious, cultural and administrative point of view. Thus, the migration lexicon is particularly stratified and far from technical terminological fields that tend toward greater monosemy. In the following paragraphs we will examine some significant examples among keywords in the field of migration that pose challenges in translation and that show how languages are confronted with the complexity of the underlying systems that need to be connected. Translating from Arabic into English or Italian can be a challenging task, especially in the context of migration. As the translator must be fully aware and fully informed about the cultural or religious differences among the speakers of these languages and what these differences may be reflected on the legal position regarding the topic of migration (Lounes Cherif 2012; Tex 2016; Mahmoudi 2019).

2 Al-Hijrah and other words directly connected to the migration process

2.1 Al-Hijrah and its family

Migration has always been of great importance to the people of the Middle East. It is not by mere chance that the Islamic calendar is based on the date of the Hijra, the migration of the Prophet

Mohammed from Mecca to Madinah in the year 622. The Hijri year is a lunar year that starts with the month called Muharram and ends with the month called Dhu al-Hijja.

According to *Lisān al-'Arab* dictionary, the word هجرة comes from the word هَجَرَ [h-ğ-r] *hağar,* and *al-hağr* is the opposite of 'staying in contact with someone'. [*Al-hiğra*] الهجرة means 'leaving one's land to reside in another', while المُهاجِرُونَ [*al-muhāğirūn*] refers to those who migrated with the prophet Mohammed. *Al-muhāğirūn* were called "immigrants" because they left the homes in which they lived and were raised, heading to a new land that was not theirs and where they had no relatives nor business; basically, anyone who leaves his home to reside in another country is an immigrant *muhāğir*. *Lisan Al-Arab* quotes Al-Azhari (an Arab lexicographer and grammarian of Arabic): the origin of the word المهاجرة [*al-muhāğara*] is related to the Bedouin migration from the desert to the city.

In *Tāğ al-luġa wa ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabiyya* dictionary, the meaning of the word هَجَرَ [h-ğ-r] *hağara* is the same as in *Lisān al-'Arab*, while the word تهجير [*Tahğir*] refers to forcibly displacing people and obligating them to leave their land, home, and country.

It is worth noting that there's a difference between the meanings of the words هَجَّرَ [*hağğra*] and تهجير [*Tahğir*] in classic dictionaries and their contemporary meanings. [*Hağğra*] هَجَّرَ in the classic dictionaries such as *Lisān al-'Arab* and *Tāğ al-luġa wa ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabiyya* means 'walking under the burning sun'. In contemporary usage, however, the term – as mentioned above – refers to the forcible displacement of people and the obligation imposed on them to leave their homes, land, and country.

We can draw another example of how the meaning can change over time, such as the word اغْتَرَبَ [*iġtaraba*]. In classic dictionaries the word means 'to marry a foreign woman', that is, a woman not related to you. In contemporary usage, however, it means "to live in a foreign country", one that is not your native country.

The base word for migration is هِجرَةً[*hiğra*], but before concentrating on its derivations, it is worth mentioning the word المَهجَر[*al-mahğar*], which refers to the place to which a person leaves their home. It is usually used for the Syrian and Lebanese immigrants who left their countries at the beginning of the last century to settle in North and South American countries and in Canada, where they established Arab communities and subsequently developed their own culture and literary production. This is called أَدَب المَهجَر[*adab al-mahğar*] – the literature of al-Mahjar – a literary movement that expresses feelings of solitude and nostalgia for the homeland and contributed to the creation of an Arab literary school of thought, one of whose most famous pioneers was Gibran Khalil Gibran. Migration is therefore not only the movement of people from one country to another, but also a movement of language and culture.

The root for the Arabic verb هَجَرَ[*hajara*] means both 'to migrate' and 'to abandon'. In order to express the verb 'to migrate' or 'to immigrate' in Arabic, we need the derived form هَاجَرَ[*hāğara*], which expresses an extended act of leaving, thus migration. While in Italian we can use three verbs to express the idea of leaving one's country (*migrare*, *emigrare*, *immigrare*), in Arabic we use only the nominal form to express the three cases, followed by an adjective: هجرة وافدة[*hiğra wāfida*] 'immigration', هجرة مغادرة[*hiğra muġādira*] 'emigration'.

2.2 Terms for 'migration': connotations in a large corpus of Arabic

Before presenting the corpus-based observations, it is useful to clarify that the analytical approach adopted in the following section concerns only the Arabic language. The aim is not to offer a comparative or translation-oriented analysis, but rather to identify the most recurrent connotations and semantic tendencies of the migration-related terms within Arabic itself. This focus is nevertheless framed within the broader lexicographic work developed by (Chiari 2021, Chiari, Bader, Salem and Squillante 2021), where Arabic terminology is aligned with the Italian terminology used in migration management practices in Italy. For this reason, the study uses three

languages with different functions: Arabic for the lexical items under analysis; Italian for the first translation in line with the migration-management prototype; and English, which is provided solely as a gloss for non-Italian readers. When the discussion concerns only Arabic terms and their lexical properties, Arabic is accompanied by English glosses; when the perspective becomes comparable, it refers specifically to the Arabic–Italian axis, with English remaining a descriptive aid.

Connotations of the Arabic terms of migration vary significantly as can be observed in corpora[3]. The corpus is a general huge web corpus of Arabic composed of more than 7 and a half billion words. The data represented are only the raw frequencies, but the extraction primarily considers the association score in the Word Sketch (Arts, Belinkov, Habash, Kilgarriff and Suchomel 2014; Belinkov, Habash, Kilgarriff, Ordan, Roth and Suchomel 2013). Thus, even in cases where we observe low frequency, the association score can be very high, indicating a strong preference and connection between the two related forms. The association score used is logDice wich determines how typical (or how strong) the collocation is: "A high score means that the collocate is often found together with the node and at the same time there are not very many other nodes that the collocate combines with or it does not combine with them too frequently. A low score means that the collocate likes to combine with very many other words" (Sketch Engine 2021). For reasons of synthesis, we have chosen to observe only the relationship between the noun and its modifiers.

If we view the use of the word هِجرَة [*hiğra*] in ArTenTen (87,748 occurrences) we can find as modifiers nouns, participles, and adjectives. Of course, the most common use of the word is connected to Mohammad هِجرَة الرَّسُول [*hiğrat al-Rasūl*] 'migration of the prophet' (2,231 occurrences, score 2.8)[4], which, although with a high frequency, has a medium-high score of association. Further uses are connected to the general meaning of population movement. The stronger collocate is هِجرَة مُعاكِسَة [*hiğra mu'ākisa*] (511, 5.6), 'reverse migration' (in some cases 'return migration') with also a variant هِجرَة عَكسِيَّة [*hiğra 'aksiyya*] (419, 5.1). This kind of migration can involve migrants of the previous generation returning to the country of origin to create businesses in their field of acquired expertise or for migration from urban to rural areas. Also a common modifier is هِجرَة الرِّيف, [*hiğrat al-rīf*] 'rural migration' (643, 4.0) or هِجرَة الأرياف [*hiğrat al-aryāf*] (110, 3.0), literally the 'migration of the countryside/countrysides' هِجرَة رِيفِيَّة [*hiğra rīfiyya*] (36, 0.8), connected to هِجرَة الفَلَّاحِين, [*hiğrat al-fallāḥīn*] 'peasants' migration' (320, 3.3). More generally there is a reference of the 'migration of population' هِجرَة سُكَّانِيَّة, [*hiğra sukkāniyya*] (79, 3.0). Also, as previously stated, the term is used to portray endemic 'migration of Arab tribes' as in هِجرَة القَبَائِل العَرَبِيَّة, [*hiğrat al-qabā'il al-'arabiyya*] (444, 2.5) also to refer to nomadism.

At very high collocational score we find the terms previously mentioned: هِجرَة قَسرِيَّة, [*hiğra qasriyya*] 'forced migration' (289, 6.8), هِجرَة جَماعِيَّة, [*hiğra ğama'iyya*], 'mass migration' (1,157, 5.3), and هِجرَة طَوعِيَّة[*hiğra ṭaw'iyya*] 'voluntary migration' (83, 5.1). Migration is also connected to its reasons and the features of its agents as in هِجرَة العَمَالَة المَاهِرَة [*hiğrat al-'amāla al-māhira*] 'skilled migration' (74, 5.0) or هجرة العمالة المُدَرَّبة [*hiğrat al-'amāla al-mudarraba*] 'migration of skilled labour' (35, 2.6) and هِجرَة اليَد العَامِلَة [*hiğrat al-yad al-'āmila*] 'labour migration, migration of labour' (525, 2.5) in Arabic literally 'migration of the working hand'.

Migration is also qualified by quantity as in هِجرَة كَثِيفَة [*hiğra kaṯīfa*] 'intense, heavy migration, mass migration' (181, 4.3) or هِجرَة مُكَثَّفَة [*hiğra mukaṯṯafa*] (134, 2.6) or هِجرَة كَثِيفَة [*hiğra kaṯīfa*] (29, 2.2); and by timing as in هِجرَة مَوسِمِيَّة [*hiğra mawsimiyya*] 'seasonal migration', هِجرَة مُؤَقَّتَة [*hiğra mu'aqqata*] 'temporary migration' (182, 3.0), هِجرَة دَائِمَة [*hiğra dā'ima*] 'permanent migration' (254,

[3] For Arabic, the corpus and quantitative data provided in this paper are extracted from the Arabic Web 2012 (arTenTen12) corpus, composed of about 7,475,624,779 words. It is a large general web corpus, dating up to 2012. Arts, T., Belinkov, Y., Habash, N., Kilgarriff, A. and Suchomel, V. (2014). arTenTen: Arabic corpus and word sketches. In *Journal of King Saud University-Computer and Information Sciences*, 26(4), pp. 357-371. Belinkov, Y., Habash, N., Kilgarriff, A., Ordan, N., Roth, R. and Suchomel, V. (2013). arTenTen: a new, vast corpus for Arabic. In *Proceedings of WACL*, 20 .

[4] From this point on, in parenthesis, the first number indicates occurrences, and after a comma, the LogDice score is provided.

2.7), هِجرَة تَدرِيجِيَّة [*hiǧra tadrīǧiyya*] ‘gradual migration, progressive migration’ (13, 1.8), هِجرَة مُستَمِرَّة [*hiǧra mustamirra*] ‘constant migration’ (135, 1.0); and also qualified by space as in هِجرَة دَاخِلِيَّة [*hiǧra dāḫiliyya*] ‘internal migration’ (387, 2.9).

Migration is further defined by the modality and legality of the phenomenon as in هِجرَة شَرعِيَّة [*hiǧra šarʿiyya*] ‘legal migration, regular migration’ and هِجرَة غير شَرعِيَّة [*hiǧra ġayr šarʿiyya*] *migrazione illegale, immigrazione illegale, immigrazione clandestina* ‘illegal migration, illegal immigration’ (together 720, 2.7). As it can be observed both in Italian and English, depending on the use and connotations, there is a variation in usage mainly between *immigrazione* ‘immigration’ and *migrazione* ‘migration’, whereas in Arabic, the term is primarily associated with another perspective – that of those leaving the country (thus corresponding to *emigrazione* ‘emigration’). This ambiguity, already mentioned in the previous paragraph, also concerns the terms of agency, which will be discussed in the next section.

Table 1. Terms and occurrences in ArTenTen 2012

Terms	***Occurrences in ArTenTen***
هِجرَة hiǧra	87,748
هِجرَة الرَّسُول hiǧrat al-rasūl	2,231
هِجرَة مُعاكِسَة hiǧra muʿākisa	511
هِجرَة عَكسِيَّة hiǧra ʿaksiyya	419
هِجرَة الرِّيف hiǧrat al-rīf	643
هِجرَة الأرياف hiǧrat al-aryāf	110
هِجرَة رِيفِيَّة hiǧra rīfiyya	36
هِجرَة الفَلّاحِين hiǧrat al-fallāḥīn	320
هِجرَة سُكّانِيَّة hiǧra sukkāniyya	79
هِجرَة القَبَائِل العَرَبِيَّة hiǧrat al-qabāʾil al-ʿarabiyya	444
هِجرَة قَسْرِيَّة hiǧra qasriyya	289
هِجرَة جَماعِيَّة hiǧra ǧamāʿiyya	1,157
هِجرَة طَوْعِيَّة hiǧra ṭawʿiyya	83
هِجرَة العَمَالَة المَاهِرَة hiǧrat al-ʿamāla al-māhira	74
هِجرَة العَمَالَة المُدَرَّبَة hiǧrat al-ʿamāla al-mudarraba	35
هِجرَة اليَد العَامِلَة hiǧrat al-yad al-ʿāmila	525
هِجرَة كَثِيفَة hiǧra kaṯīfa	181
هِجرَة مُكَثَّفَة hiǧra mukaṯṯafa	134
هِجرَة مُؤَقَّتَة hiǧra muʾaqqata	182
هِجرَة دَائِمَة hiǧra dāʾima	254
هِجرَة تَدْرِيجِيَّة hiǧra tadrīǧiyya	13
هِجرَة مُستَمِرَّة hiǧra mustamirra	135
هِجرَة دَاخِلِيَّة hiǧra dāḫiliyya	387
هِجرَة شَرْعِيَّة / هِجرَة غَيْر شَرْعِيَّة hiǧra šarʿiyya / hiǧra ġayr šarʿiyya	720

2.3 Agentive terms: مُهاجِر, مُهَجَّر, مُغادِر مُهاجِر, وَافِد مُهاجِر, مُغتَرِب, نازِح, مَنفِيّ, لاجِئ

In what follows, we discuss a selection of Arabic terms relating to migration and the corresponding terminology as attested in Italian corpora collected for the *Language on the Flight* project. The aim is to highlight the challenges posed by current migration management practices in Europe, particularly in Italy, when attempting to identify Arabic equivalents, whose semantic connotations often differ significantly. This section therefore begins by outlining the relevant Arabic terminology

and its lexical properties, before considering comparable Italian notions used in migration management. English is employed solely as a glossing language to facilitate comprehension.

The previous distinction between **هِجرَة وَافِدَة**[*hiğra wāfida*] 'immigration' and **هِجرَة مُغادِرَة**[*hiğra muġādira*] 'emigration' is also reflected in the agent nouns in Italian, such as *migrante* 'migrant', *immigrato* 'immigrant', and *emigrante* 'emigrant'. It is worth noting that in Italian the second term is predominantly used in the past participle form, to underline that the process has been completed, while in English it is used in the present participle as the other two forms. For the agent noun in Arabic, it is necessary to add a modifier to specify the direction, as in مُهاجِر مُغادِر [*muhāğir muġādir*] to express the equivalent of *emigrante* 'emigrant' (someone who leaves their own country), and مُهاجِر وافِد [*muhāğir wāfid*] to express *immigrato* 'immigrant' (someone who arrives in another country), thus reversing the perspective of the previous term. According to Abdel Malek Sayad (Sayad 2002), the migrant is an emigrant before becoming an immigrant; considering only one aspect of the migratory experience means looking at only half of the experience.

Another word used for the concept "migrant" is مُغتَرِب [*muġtarib*]. It has a different root from the form mentioned before and comes from the verb غَرَبَ [*ġaraba*], which means 'to go far' but also 'to become absent' or 'sunset'. Since the sun sets in the west, it also refers to 'the West'. Another vocalization of the same verb, غَرُبَ [*ġaruba*], means 'to be a foreigner' or 'to be strange'. A third morphological form of the same verb, اِغتَرَبَ [*iġtaraba*], means 'to go abroad' or 'to be far from one's own country', and from this verb we obtain the noun مُغتَرِب [*muġtarib*], a citizen from a different country who lives abroad.

The act of migrating is seen as voluntary if expressed in Arabic by the agent noun مُهاجِر [*muhāğir*], the active participle of the verb هاجَرَ [*hāğara*]. While in Italian we can distinguish between *migrazione volontaria* 'spontaneous migration' هِجرَة تِلقائِيَّة [*hiğra tilqā'iyya*]) and *migrazione economica* 'economic migration' هِجرَة اِقتِصادِيَّة [*hiğra iqtiṣādiyya*]); migration can also be *migrazione forzata* 'forced migration' (هِجرَة قَسرِيَّة [*hiğra qasriyya*]). In Arabic, this can be expressed by different verbal forms derived from هَجَرَ [*haǧara*] / هَجَّرَ [*haǧǧara*] 'to make somebody migrate'. Forced migration can also be referred to as تَهجِير [*tahǧīr*] (*tahjīr*). When referring to a systematic policy to displace inhabitants of a place, we can use the term تَهجِير [*tahǧīr*] or 'displacement policy', سِياسَة تَهجِير [*siyāsat tahǧīr*]. Besides مُهاجِر [*muhāğir*], which refers to a voluntary migrant, there is also the passive participle مُهَجَّر [*muhaǧǧar*], based on the verb هَجَّرَ [*haǧǧara*], meaning 'someone who has been forced to migrate'.

The term مُهَجَّر [*muhaǧǧar*] can be distinguished from the Italian *sfollato* 'displaced', نازِح [*nāziḥ*], which in Arabic is the active participle of the verb نَزَحَ [*nazaḥa*] 'to leave a place, emigrate'. نازِح [*nāziḥ*] refers to a person forced to leave their place because of war, natural calamities, or a state of emergency, but without implying a systematic displacement. The deverbal noun نُزُوح [*nuzūḥ*] corresponds to the Italian *sfollamento* (rarely used in this sense) 'displacement'.

Another term in the series of agent nouns is مَنفِيّ [*manfiyy*], 'exiled', from the verb نَفَى [*nafā*] 'to exclude, expel, exile, deport'. مَنفِيّ [*manfiyy*] is a passive participle and refers to a person who is exiled or expelled from a country.

To the previous terms describing the movement from one country to another, we must add another set: لاجِئ [*lāǧi'*] "refugee" (not completely corresponding to the formal Italian *richiedente asilo* 'asylum seeker', who has submitted an asylum request but has not yet been granted refugee status). The term *asylum seeker* in Arabic is another active participle of the verb لَجَأَ [*laǧa'a*], 'to seek refuge, shelter, or support'. The refugee لاجِئ [*lāǧi'*] is someone who seeks refuge in a country other then their homeland, escaping persecution, war, or calamities; although this choice is almost always compelled, it is still considered a choice.

The deverbal noun لُجُوء [*luǧū'*] means 'asylum' and appears in expressions such as 'right of asylum', حَقّ اللُّجُوء [*ḥaqq al-luǧū'*]. The term مَلجَأ [*malǧa'*] means 'a place granting protection', a

shelter, but it is not used for countries. For countries, the expression بَلَد اللُّجُوء [*balad al-luğū'*] 'country of asylum' is used.

2.4 Agentive terms: connotations in a large corpus of Arabic

In order to identify the connotations associated with the previously mentioned Arabic terms, the following analysis relies exclusively on an Arabic corpus, focusing on the lexical and semantic elements linked to this domain. This approach makes it possible to determine which features are most relevant for establishing corresponding translation equivalents within European Union terminology, using Italian as the primary reference language and English solely as a gloss.

The Arabic term مُهَاجِر [*muhāğir*] (27,125 occurrences) is used with modifiers such as شَرعِيّ [*šar'iyy*] *immigrato regolare* 'legal immigrant, legal migrant' (54 occurrences) or مُهَاجِر غَير شَرعِيّ [*muhāğir ġayr šar'iyy*] *immigrato clandestino* 'illegal immigrant, illegal migrant' (803 occurrences). With the modifier قَانُونِيّ [*qānūniyy*] 'legal', we observe مُهَاجِر قَانُونِيّ [*muhāğir qānūniyy*] (6 occurrences) and مُهَاجِر غَير قَانُونِيّ [*muhāğir ġayr qānūniyy*] (55 occurrences) 'illegal immigrant'. In 22 occurrences, migrants are described as "blocked" (in a region, city, or country) مُهَاجِرين عَالِقين [*muhāğirīn 'āliqīn*]. As can be observed: (a) when not determined, مُهَاجِر [*muhāğir*] is used in the sense of *immigrato* 'immigrant', even though the form is neutral; (b) most occurrences appear with negative modifiers rather than positive ones.

The case of مُغتَرِب [*muġtarib*] (26,540 occurrences), on the contrary, is not associated with evaluative modifiers but only factual and neutral ones, such as specifications of country of origin (Syrian, Jordanian, Somali, etc.).

The term مُهَجَّر [*muhağğar*] (4,900 occurrences) is often associated with the modifier دَاخِلِيًّا [*dāḫiliyyan*], thus corresponding to the Italian *sfollato interno* 'internally displaced' (29 occurrences). Other modifiers include مَسجُون [*masğūn*] 'detained, imprisoned' (7 occurrences) and مُهَجَّر قَسريّ [*muhağğar qasri*yy] 'forced migrant' (6 occurrences). The general use of مُهَجَّر [*muhağğar*] is therefore more factual and descriptive and less evaluative.

The term نَازِح [*nāziḥ*] 'displaced person' (6,484 occurrences) is associated with the idea of being stuck, trapped, or blocked, as in نَازِحين عالقين [*nāziḥīn 'āliqīn*] (10 occurrences, score 3.3), or dead, as in نَازِحين مُوَزَّعين [*nāziḥīn muwazza'īn*] (37 occurrences, score 2.9), or internally displaced, as in نَازِح دَاخِلِيًّا [*nāziḥ dāḫiliyyan*] (53 occurrences, score 1.2). Thus, نَازِح [*nāziḥ*] resembles مُهَاجِر [*muhāğir*] only in the meaning of being blocked, and otherwise resembles مُهَجَّر [*muhağğar*] in that it is used in a more factual and non-evaluative way.

The word مَنفِيّ [*manfiyy*] 'exiled' (6,272 occurrences) is often مَنفِيّ اِختِيارِيّ [*manfiyy iḫtiyāriyy*] (7 occurrences, score 1.5) 'self-imposed exile', corresponding to Italian *esilio volontario*. The term is also frequent in the Islamic tradition, as in مَنفِيّ شَرعًا [*manfiyy šar'an*] 'religiously banned/excluded', referring to things, actions, concepts, or people (125 occurrences, score 1.5). The word is used in a neutral way, not associated with force but with self-determination, while in the Islamic sense it refers to being banned or excluded from the umma.

The last term in the series is لَاجِئ [*lāği'*] (24,975 occurrences), meaning 'refugee'. It is used with adjectives specifying place of origin (Somali, Afghan, Iraqi, Sudanese) and with determinations such as 'registered refugees' لَاجِئين مُسَجَّلِين [*lāği'īn musağğalīn*] (157 occurrences, score 5.8), 'blocked' لَاجِئين عَالِقِين [*lāği'īn 'ālī*qīn] (28 occurrences, score 4.5), or 'dead' / 'distributed' لَاجِئين مُوَزَّعين [*lāği'īn muwazza'īn*] (60 occurrences, score 3.6). It is also often accompanied by the participle مُشَرَّدِين [*mušarradīn*], which can also be used as a noun meaning 'displaced people', as in لَاجِئين وَمُشَرَّدِين [*lāği'īn wa mušarradīn*] 'refugees and displaced persons'. Among common modifiers are لَاجِئ سِيَاسِيّ [*lāği' siyāsiyy*] 'political refugee' (682 occurrences, score 2.1), لَاجِئ بِيئِيّ [*lāği' bī'iyy*] 'environmental refugee' (11 occurrences, score 1.6), and لَاجِئ مُعترَف بِهِ [*lāği' mu'taraf bihi*] 'recognized refugee' (35 occurrences, score 1.6). A refugee granted humanitarian status is لَاجِئ إنسَانِيّ

[*lāği' insāniyy*] (29 occurrences, score 0.1). The literal equivalent of 'asylum seeker' *richiedente asilo* in Arabic is مُلتَمِس لُجُوء [*multamis luğū'*], while لَاجِئ [*lāği'*] is used as the general term 'refugee'.

Table 2. Agentive terms and occurrences in ArTenTen 2012

Terms of Agent and Modifiers	***Occurrences in ArTenTen***
مُهَاجِر muhāğir	27,125
مُهَاجِر شَرعِيّ modifier of muhājir) [šarʿiyy	54
مُهَاجِر غَير شَرعِيّ muhāğir ġayr šarʿiyy	803
مُهَاجِر قَانُونِيّ muhāğir qānūniyy[	6
مُهَاجِر غَير قَانُونِيّ muhāğir ġayr qānūniyy	55
مُهَاجِرين عَالِقِين muhāğirīn ʿāliqīn	22
مُغتَرِب muġtarib	26,54
مُهَجَّر muhağğar	4,9
مُهَجَّر دَاخِلِيًّا muhağğar dāḫiliyyan	29
مُهَجَّر مَسجُون muhağğar masğūn	7
مُهَجَّر قَسرِيّ muhağğar qasriyy	6
نَازِح nāziḥ	6,484
نَازِحين عالقين nāziḥīn ʿāliqīn	10
نَازِحين مُوَزَّعين nāziḥīn muwazzaʿīn	37
نَازِح دَاخِلِيًّا nāziḥ dāḫiliyyan	53
مَنفِيّ manfiy[	6,272
مَنفِيّ اِختِيارِيّ manfiyy iḫtiyāriyy	7
مَنفِيّ شَرعًا manfiyy šarʿa[	125
لَاجِئ lāǰiʾ	24,975
مُسَجَّلِين لَاجِئين musağğalīn lāǰiʾīn	157
عَالِقِين لَاجِئين lāǰiʾīn ʿāliqin	28
مُوَزَّعين لَاجِئين lāǰiʾīn muwazzaʿīn	60
سِيَاسِيّ لَاجِئ siyāsiyy lāǰiʾ	682
بِيئِيّ لَاجِئ bīʾiyy lāǰiʾ	11
مُعتَرَف بِهِ لَاجِئ muʿtaraf bihi lāǰiʾ	35
إنسَانِيّ لَاجِئ insāniyy lāǰiʾ	29

3 Marriage and adoption in the migration context

3.1 Marriage and adoption in a translation perspective

When dealing with migration from Arabic-speaking countries to the European Union, the translation of terms related to family law, particularly those concerning marriage and adoption, must also take into account the legal, administrative, and cultural adaptations that migrants are required to navigate upon arrival. These domains differ substantially across legal systems, and such divergences generate concrete challenges both for translation and for the application of the rule of law. Concepts such as marriage, its legal validity, its religious meaning, and the admissibility or non-admissibility of adoption vary widely between countries of origin and EU member states. As a result, linguistic mediation must address not only lexical equivalence but also the underlying institutional and cultural frameworks, which shape the way these terms are understood and implemented.

It is of great importance, when speaking about migration, to discuss marriage in light of the migratory context and to consider how challenging it is to translate the various terms related to

marriage within this context. Furthermore, this issue poses another challenge – namely, the cultural one – which cannot be ignored; it requires solid knowledge of major social issues such as marriage and its related religious dimensions. The same applies to the case of adoption. Both topics are highly present and crucial in Arab social and migratory contexts.

As mentioned previously, in order to provide the best translation into Arabic, we must take into account the cultural and religious aspects of social issues such as marriage and adoption. Regarding marriage, Arab culture views it as a sacred relationship between a man and a woman. Such a relationship should be built on mutual understanding and a certain degree of equality from social, religious, and even financial points of view, between the two individuals. Both families are also expected to reflect this kind of equality and similarity from cultural, social, and financial perspectives. Thus, terms such as "marriage of convenience" represent a real challenge for the translator, as the foundation of marriage in Arab culture is fundamentally opposed to what this term means. In addition, it is necessary to analyse the new shades of Arab culture that have developed in migratory societies.

There is also a set of terms which, when translated from Italian into Arabic, pose problems related to cultural and social issues. Translating social terminology and concepts is particularly challenging, as it often involves differences in the cultural and religious contexts between Italian or English and Arabic.

One of these terms is *matrimonio fittizio* 'marriage of convenience, paper marriage, fake marriage, sham marriage, fictitious marriage'. In Arabic, we can choose between two different forms: زَوَاج صُورِيّ [*zawāğ ṣūriyy*], literally 'false marriage'; صُورِيّ [*ṣūriyy*] comes from صُورَة [*ṣūra*] 'image/picture'. This means that the couple is married only on paper. The second translation is زَوَاج الْمَصْلَحَة [*zawāğ al-maṣlaḥa*], literally 'marriage of interest'. Culturally, this phenomenon was unfamiliar in Arab societies; however, it is spreading among Arab communities in Europe and the USA as a means of obtaining residence permits. The second translation is more common, especially in spoken Arabic in many Arab countries, because one may marry someone for the benefit of wealth or money, or for interests such as obtaining European or American citizenship through marriage.

Regarding marriage, we observe another case*: matrimonio forzato* 'forced marriage', which in Arabic has two possible translations: زَوَاج بِالإِكْرَاه [*zawāğ bil-ikrāh*] and زَوَاج قَسْرِيّ [*zawāğ qasriyy*]. The first translation comes from the verb كَرِهَ [*kariha*], meaning 'to detest' or 'to hate'. The common English equivalent is 'forced marriage', while in Italian we also find expressions such as *matrimonio contro la propria volontà* 'marriage against one's will' and *matrimonio riparatore* 'shotgun marriage'.

The issue of adoption التبني [*al-tabannī*] is important from legal, social, and cultural points of view in Arab communities. The term *adozione fittizia* 'adoption of convenience' can be translated as التبني الصوري *[al-tabannī al-ṣūriyy*] or التبني لأغراض الحصول على الإقامة [*al-tabannī li-aġrāḍ al-ḥuṣūl ʻalā al-iqāma*]. This translation results in an explanation rather than a short equivalent, since it is necessary to provide context: it means 'adoption for the sake of obtaining a residence permit'. The word التبني [*al-tabannī*] is also translated as احتضان [*iḥtiḍān*], which literally means 'to embrace', and is used to refer to taking in a child for the purpose of obtaining a residence permit.

However, the most common and culturally/religiously accepted translation is كفالة [*kafāla*] 'legal fostering of a child' or 'sponsorship'. The word originates from كَفَلَ [*kafala*], which means 'to provide basic needs such as food and care for a child'. The cultural and Islamic context makes adoption التبني [*al-tabannī*] less common among Muslim Arabs, because the implications of the terms 'adoption' التبني [*al-tabannī*] and 'legal fostering' كفالة [*kafāla*] are significantly and legally different.

Adoption التبني [*al-tabannī*] involves giving the child the adoptive father's name and family name, and the child may fully inherit from the adoptive father. Under كفالة [*kafāla*], the caregiver fully takes care of the child as if he or she were biological; however, the child cannot inherit from the caregiver and cannot take caregiver's full name (first and family name). The child may be given either the first name or the family name, but not both together. Christian Arab families, however,

may fully adopt children and grant them their full names, allowing them to inherit. It is worth noting that even under كفالة [*kafāla*], an adopted child can still inherit if a will is written.

The closest translation of "adoption" in the European legal context is التبني [*al-tabannī*], in which a child can be given the father's full name and can inherit. In some Arab countries, an adopted child may be given the father's name and family name to protect the child's basic rights when the biological parents are unknown, especially in societies that place great value on family lineage and biological descent.

3.2 Socially related issues in corpora

In the corpus used, the difference between زَوَاج صُورِيّ [*zawāğ ṣūriyy*] and زَوَاج الْمَصْلَحَة [*zawāğ al-maṣlaḥa*] is connected to the circumstances and contexts in which they occur. Moreover, the first expression focuses on the document itself, while the second focuses on the motivation behind the registration of the document. زَوَاج صُورِيّ [*zawāğ ṣūriyy*] occurs in 106 cases, most of which are related to the acquisition of a residence permit. زَوَاج الْمَصْلَحَة [*zawāğ al-maṣlaḥa*] has 342 occurrences in the corpus, and its meaning is broader than the migration context. The multiword expression is used in a general sense, as opposed to *love marriage* (هل هو زواج عن حب أم زواج مصلحة؟ [*hal huwa zawāğ 'an ḥubb am zawāğ maṣlaḥa?*] 'Is it a matter of love or interest?'). The "interest" can be of different kinds and can also be used metaphorically, as in زواج المصلحة بين القوى الدولية والقوى السياسية [*zawāğ al-maṣlaḥa bayna al-quwā al-duwaliyya wa al-quwā al-siyāsiyya*] 'marriage of convenience between international powers and political forces', or in زواج المصلحة الأميركي – الإيراني [*zawāğ al-maṣlaḥa al-amrīkiyy – al-īrāniyy*] 'the marriage of convenience between the United States and Iran'. Thus, the general meaning is connected to any kind of interest, mainly financial.

The case of marriage to obtain residence or citizenship is attested in the corpus in a few examples, such as إنه زواج مصلحة لأن الزواج من متطلبات منح الجنسية للأبناء [*innahu zawāğ maṣlaḥa li'anna al-zawāğ min mutaṭallabāt manḥ al-ğinsiyya li-l-abnā'*] 'marriage of convenience because marriage is a requirement for granting citizenship to children'. In this case, the Italian term *matrimonio fittizio* ('fake marriage') is closer to the first form in Arabic than to the second, since, although it focuses on the procedure of marriage being based on false premises, it is more consistently used to represent cases in which the reason for the document stipulation is to obtain the right to stay in another country.

For the expressions of 'forced marriage', the corpus is less exhaustive: زواج بالإكراه [*zawāğ bil-ikrāh*] does not produce any results.

Regarding *adozione*, 'adoption', التبني [*al-tabannī*], the corpus yields 19,266 results. There is a close connection with the Islamic concept of كفالة [*kafāla*] as a procedure to protect children, but not as a form of legal adoption. Thus, corpora confirm the lack of correspondence between *adozione* and التبني [*al-tabannī*]. Probably stemming from this difference, corpora do not attest the expression التبني الصوري [*al-tabannī al-ṣūriyy*] 'false adoption'. Since most legal consequences of adoption are not envisaged either in التبني [*al-tabannī*] or in كفالة [*kafāla*], there is no linguistic need to express the notion of an adoption implemented for reasons of obtaining residence, and the translation equivalent appears only in translation contexts and does not occur in authentic Arabic corpora.

4 Conclusions

The examples discussed in this paper provide an overview of the challenges involved in translating legal and migration terms as portrayed in official documents produced within the context of European Union documentation regarding migration issues. Migration terminology is deeply rooted in each country's practices and is often not comparable, particularly regarding the cultural and social implications that each term carries. Even though—in some cases—accepted translations do exist,

the use of these multiword terms does not take into account connotations that can differ significantly when a term is translated into another language. Thus, Arabic translations of Italian terms (or their English equivalents) may add meanings to the translation that are often incompatible with the original sense conveyed in the source language and may fail to transmit the intended institutional framework, potentially generating misunderstandings with dangerous consequences for the lives of migrants entering Europe. A deeper investigation is needed to make explicit the cultural differences that strongly affect migration terminology and to make this knowledge accessible to cultural mediators, legislators, and all those involved in protecting individual rights within the context of migration.

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LOOK BOTH WAYS! CARRYING LITERATURE AND POETRY FROM ONE LANGUAGE TO ANOTHER

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The work of the literary translator is a complex process of transporting ideas, sounds, and images back and forth across languages. In this short paper I explore problems for translators working from Macedonian into English, systemic impediments to translation, and the development of a translator’s methodology and ethics. Working from my own experiences as a linguist and translator, and the experience of other well-known translators, I discuss the expanding corpus of works translated from Macedonian, the intersections of literary and linguistic knowledge, with examples from my translations, and the political implications of translating from Macedonian into English.

Keywords: literary translation, translation theory, ethics of translation, resources for translators.

ПОГЛЕДНИ НА ДВЕТЕ СТРАНИ! ПРЕНЕСУВАЊЕ КНИЖЕВНОСТ И ПОЕЗИЈА ОД ЕДЕН НА ДРУГ ЈАЗИК

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Работата на книжевниот преведувач е сложен процес на пренесување идеи, звуци и слики меѓу двата јазика. Во оваа кратка статија се разгледуваат проблемите на преведувачите кои преведуваат од македонски на англиски јазик, системските пречки при преведувањето и развојот на методологијата и етиката на преведувачот. Поаѓајќи од своето лично искуство, како лингвист и преведувач, како и од искуствата на другите познати преведувачи, дискутирам за делата преведени на македонски јазик, коишто сочинуваат еден растечки корпус, за вкрстувањата помеѓу книжевното и лингвистичкото знаење, преку примери од моите преводи, како и за политичките импликации при преведувањето од македонски на англиски јазик.

Клучни зборови: книжевен превод, книжевна теорија, етика на преведувањето, ресурси за преведувачи.

1 Introduction to Macedonian translations

The work of the literary translator is a complex process of transporting ideas, sounds, and images back and forth across languages. I have always been a reader, always a lover of languages. My work as a linguist focused on contextually-derived meaning also prepared me for this work. In this short paper I discuss problems in translating from Macedonian to English, impediments to translation, and the development of a translator's ethics.

Macedonia has had a long oral tradition and has produced wonderful literary works of prose and poetry yet despite the proliferation of works in Macedonian literature during the twentieth century, few works were translated into English-language editions. Today there is literal explosion of creative works being produced in The Republic of North Macedonia and the beginnings of an international cadre of translators able to translate them. Still, it is difficult for translations to get published in English.

Some of the reasons why so few of these works were translated into English are clear: there have been structural limitations for language acquisition: first, there were few places for non-Macedonians to acquire the language fluency to translate, and second, for a long time there were limited technologies to make translation possible. My first translations from Macedonian required that I work from the three-volume Macedonian dictionary with glosses in what was termed Serbo-Croatian, and from there into English. I had to consult dialect works, dictionaries in other languages, small Macedonian-English dictionaries with many errors. New dictionaries appeared, including excellent Macedonian-Macedonian dictionaries and bilingual, Macedonian – English dictionaries. However, even when excellent dictionaries, like those by Zoze Murgoski, were compiled and published, the only way to get them involved purchasing them in Macedonia and lugging them home. Until recently, bringing Macedonian works into English involved challenges that took decades to overcome. Now, however, there has been a tremendous increase in digital technologies, and new dictionaries, both single language and dual language, let alone specialized glossaries of specific lexical domains. There has also been a rise in new digital technologies that open new avenues for the translator alongside new tools and new publications and online access to native speakers that make translation more possible.

There remains, however, the difficulty in finding publishers, despite a growing interest in global fiction. There are now many high-quality small presses, but they do not publish many works a year, and English is a desirable language in which to have works appear because of the size of potential readership, and as a gateway translation for other languages.

When Macedonia became independent, my desire to translate works of Macedonian fiction grew, in no small part driven by Macedonia's difficulties in achieving full recognition after proclaiming its independence. As a linguist I recognized the validity of Macedonia's and the Macedonian language's claim to independence. When Macedonia and the Balkans were spoken of in the west, it was always couched in terms of inherited violence and conflicting claims of territorial ownership. It was difficult to find ways to bring forward other views on Macedonia and Macedonian. I became interested in amplifying alternative voices to Balkan violence. For authors, writing in Macedonian became, then, a statement of linguistic and cultural independence and, in turn, to translate from Macedonian became a political act of recognising the independence of the Macedonian literary language. As a Canadian scholar working in the Canadian context this felt particularly salient. Annie Brisset (2004: 340) writes about the publication of books "translated into Quebecois" rather than French, as an act of reclaiming, recentering identity.

2 The Balkan Saga and the beginnings of my work as a literary translator

In 2000 I learned of the Balkan Saga, the growing collection of novel-memoirs written by Luan Starova. I was drawn to the border-crossing language and identities of Starova's work. Unlike other works written about the Balkans, Starova emphasized the features, e.g. linguistic, cultural, and historical, that bind people of the region together. My foundation in comparative Balkan linguistics and the belief that the Balkan sprachbund, or language area, grew out of intense contact, not conflict, was reflected in the ethos of Starova's work.

I created a first draft translation of the first in the series. In the beginning of Starova's *My Father's Books,* the narrator, as a little boy, enters his father's study and destroys his father's valuable papers, pulling the stamps off deeds, lifting photos off identity papers, tearing illustrations out of rare encyclopedias. My translator mentor, the award-winning translator of Polish literature, Prof. Madeline Levine, read my first draft and objected to my describing the library storage as a *cupboard*, a standard translation of the Turkish-derived word *dolap*. She opened her computer and began searching images, assuring me that the word I wanted was *cabinet,* a word that can be a study, something large, wooden, old, something you can step into. Her mentorship showed me the power of these new digital sources and brought to my mind Roman Jakobson's studies on translation. Jakobson wrote about three different kinds of translation (1959/2000:114):

1. Intralingual translation or *rewording* - i.e. the interpretation of verbal signs by others signs of the same language.
2. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* interpretation of signs by means of some other language
3. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* signs with nonverbal sign systems.

The translator's toolkit employs all these methods. When we look words up in a single language dictionary, e.g. Macedonian – Macedonian, we receive an intralingual translation, a rewording of a sign. Dual-language dictionaries – both paper versions and online – that translate words into English, are, in Jakobson's terms, interlingual, i.e. translation proper. But intersemiotic translation, transmutation, of signs is also a key tool for the translator – the gift of image-search software. Botanical items, clothing, architectural features, food. On-line image searches are a powerful tool for the translator. Working with Vlada Urošević on the translation *of Мајун/Grape Molasses*, we have been able to create together an image-bank recreating the material world of Skopje in the 1930s-1940s, tracing types of candies, the model of a German safe, flowering plants, a certain kind of insecticide, etc.

3 Translation of fiction as affirmation of Macedonian language and literature

Robert Alagjozovski noted the significance of Goce Smilevski winning the EU prize for literature. This was the first time that a Macedonian novel had been published by a major publishing house, Penguin Books, outside of Macedonia and was widely reviewed, including by Joyce Carol Oates in the prestigious *New York Review of Books*. There were reviews on Amazon and hundreds of people posted reviews on Goodreads. *La Republica* in Italy compared Smilevski to José Saramago. Macedonian literature was suddenly recognized on the world stage and was included in social networks. The benefit of the EU prize for Macedonian authors was repeated with other authors including, in my translations, Lidija Dimkovska's *A Spare Life* which won the EU prize in 2013 and a special award in 2018 for *When I left Karl Liebknecht*, as well as Petar Andonovski's EU prize winner *Fear of Barbarians.* 2020, and in 2016, Nenad Joldeski for *Each with Their Own Lake* (two stories translated by Will Firth).

It is extremely important for Macedonia to continue its support to publishers to offset the cost of translations. When I won two awards from the prestigious National Endowment for the Arts (USA) for Luan Starova's *Path of the Eels* and Lidija Dimkovska's *A Spare Life* , and an honourable mention from the Lois Roth Foundation for Goce Smilevski's *Freud's Sister*, and PEN UK supported the translation of Petar Andonovski's *The Summer Without You,* Macedonian culture and literature appeared in the discussion of world translation and these works are put into conversation with other works of contemporary global fiction. While translators don't work for prizes, each prize does increase the visibility of individual Macedonian writers, and Macedonian literature as a whole.

4 How literal can we translate, and how literal must we translate?

Translations are a cooperation between author and translator. Lawrence Venuti recognized that no translation is unmediated. Translations don't magically appear. Rather, translation is a series of interpretive choices, and the translator's inclination. Judson Rosengrant, in citing Schleiermacher, noted that the best translations "preserve the authenticity of the original in all its disquieting *difficulty,* and at the same time, find a way to render that difficulty comprehensible and *meaningful* to the culture that will eventually make use of it." (1994: 3).

My translations from Macedonian begin with my knowledge of Macedonian and its grammar and the ways in which that grammar differs from English. In some ways, Macedonian is similar to English: case has been preserved in pronominal system (but not the nominal system); it has complex set of verb tenses, including perfects and pluperfects; it makes an opposition between definite and indefinite forms. Macedonian has, of course many ways in which it is unlike English, for example, while Macedonian is not a case language, the clitics marking direct vs indirect objects, allow for freer word order; it has a complex system of verbs that express things that we don't express grammatically in English but which must be solved lexically, e.g. non-confirmative, and admiratives. Still, even where English and Macedonian have the same grammatical categories, e.g. definiteness vs possessiveness, they function differently. Macedonian tends to use definite forms where English uses possessive forms. The translator must be sensitive to such distinctions and make choices, to determine, for example, where a noun is definite, or possessive.

A translator must have more than grammatical knowledge however, and more than cultural and historical knowledge. A translator must also develop an ethics of translation, a point of view about the relationship not only between languages, but also the relationship of the primary text to the translated text. To understand the grammatical, lexical, syntactic, and stylistic choices I make, I have had to consider the act of translation itself.

Antoine Berman, who lived in the second half of the 20th century (1942-1991) is known for introducing a cautionary list of so-called deforming tendencies, that a translator should try to avoid: for example: shortening sentences, rearranging syntax; clarification—the tendency to impose definite over indefinite; expansion—the tendency to be longer than original; unfolding what in original is folded; ennoblement—a rewriting, prettifying; qualitative impoverishment —lexical loss. (see, Berman, in Venuti 2000: 288) The translator must try to ameliorate the gap between original and copy, but in so doing, the translator must ask how far away is too far, and how far is not far enough.

These questions seem particularly important in translating from small languages, and unknown literatures. There is competition in the marketplace to find readers. While a new translation of Dostoevsky or Tolstoy is an event, a Macedonian author is handicapped at the outset by being from a small, unknown country with an unknown literary history. If the book appears too foreign, in language or structure, it becomes even harder to convince readers to read these works. Further, each work will likely only be translated once, and the English translation will often serve as a gateway

work for indirect translations into other languages so there is a responsibility to the author and to the text to give a considered reading of it.

When I translate, I imagine the translator as a scrim that stands between the original and the translation. A *scrim* is a theatre drop, i.e. a fabric screen, that appears opaque when a scene in front is lighted, and transparent or translucent when a scene in back is lighted. The translator is the scrim standing between the two texts. When the translation is really working, we don't see the scrim, the light shines through, and we see the work of art uninterrupted. But sometimes, the translator wants there to be a little texture, so the viewer of this new work of art realises that they are looking through something. The question for me, then, is how transparent, how seamless do I want this scrim to be between the reader and the experience of reading? Do I want it to sound foreign – to remind my readers that what they are reading was written in a different language, or do I want to domestic it, make it feel comfortable and familiar. How do I best render foreign words or sentence patterns, archaic words, colourful idioms to remind readers that that this work was not written in English but domesticating the language enough to make the reader's experience both seamless and contemporary.

I am, like all translators, guilty of some types of Berman deformation. Moving from Macedonian to English there is no way not to change syntax, or to make other interventions. Dimkovska has, for example, long paragraphs that can be eleven pages. Even though I added a few additional paragraph breaks, nowhere near as many as there would have been with a North American editor, readers have complained about the lengthy paragraphs. As a translator I work to be faithful to the author, but to bring the work into English, to be read by an English speaker in the context of English literature. Each decision feels the tension between author intent and reader understanding.

The translator, or editors, may stray too far. Work on ethics in translation pushes translators to keep textual authenticity and ambiguity, to avoid domesticating a text too much. The translator is always open to criticism for going too far, or not far enough. Deborah Smith's translation of South Korean author Han Kang's novel *The Vegetarian* reached the pages of every major news and literary journal in the United States after Charse Yun, a Korean-American translation scholar charged that Smith had altered Han's spare, quiet style by embellishing it with adverbs, superlatives and other emphatic words that were not in the original. Yun (2017) writes. "This doesn't just happen once or twice, but on virtually every other page." So, what do we do when this mistranslation helps Kang win the international Man Booker prize and the Nobel Prize for Literature and brings millions of readers to her work? Yun argues, somewhat justifiably, if Kang's success depended on mistranslation, how much had really got through? Venuti (2018: xiv) while arguing that every translation involves domesticating a foreign text, still asks the translator to challenge the dominant linguistic and literary modes, by "drawing on marginal resources and ideologies" to respect different traditions, social hierarchies, and cultural norms between the source text and the translated text and, in so doing, "respect the differences of the source text."

5 How do we translate cultural knowledge?

The translator is faced with the task of either bringing the text to the reader, by domesticating, or bringing the reader to the text by foreignizing. Translators introduce the foreign, in part, through loan words that remind the readers where they are. Umberto Eco (2001:17) noted that a translator must take into account rules that are not strictly linguistic but, broadly speaking, cultural. As an example, he describes a man entering a café and ordering a coffee. It matters what that coffee looks like to imagine what time of day it is, what the man is thinking, his intentionality, and what will happen for the next minutes – is it a long cup or a short? A Turkish coffee, a cappuccino, a long drip coffee? Starova's novels are filled with trays of Turkish coffee and sweet preserves brought by his mother into the father's study. The small cup of coffee and the sweet is a localised Balkan ritual – it

is not coffee and a doughnut. *Rakija* and *meze*, cannot become brandy and hors d'oevres. Turkish words carry with them an entire history. Macedonian, of all the Balkan languages, has best preserved this layer of Turko-Persian-Arabic vocabulary, unlike, say, in Turkey where it is considered controversial and politically motivated to draw on this historic layer of Ottoman layer vocabulary (Freely 2013: 119). Today, English has become the new Turkish of the Balkans. All languages share new inroads of English to express multivalent aspects of the contemporary world, from technology, to politics, and culture broadly understood. The shift from the 19th to 20th to the 21st century Balkans is captured in the layers of Macedonian vocabulary which is at times explicitly about Balkan cultural and linguistic contact, and other times filled with anglicisms and internationalisms when talking about contemporary life. Both Turkisms and Anglicisms can be marked as distinctive stylistic registers, but they are also part of the everyday vocabulary of all Macedonian speakers. In Lidija Dimkovska's *A Spare Life* I was confronted with a number of Turkisms. In one scene (2012: 53), I had to choose between the word *qeleshe,* as in the original, or white felt caps, in the segment that reads: writes: "Outside, I saw the red city transport buses raising dust, and on the grass by the side of the road sat Albanian men wearing with white felt caps on their heads." I wanted to keep *qeleshe*, but the author preferred to avoid the term, seeing it as foreignizing and exoticizing something that to her was every-day. This same issue of Turkisms came up with Freely (2013: 121) in translating Orhan Pamuk, who considered her use of words of Turkish origin such as *boerek,* rather than cheese pie, ethnic and folkloric. But to the North American reader boerek is already sold on the streets of large cities and to translate boerek as cheese pie gives the completely the wrong image. Boerek is what people eat, its name brings to mind not only scenes of meals in a village, but also of young people in urban centres going out for boerek in the early morning hours as they make their tired and drunken ways home. They are not lining up for cheese pie. While the word *qeleshe* isn't yet in English-language dictionaries, you can buy one on Amazon, or eBay, or Etsy. The introduction of these words into an English translation is a way to bring the reader to the foreign, not the foreign to the reader.

Editors may also stand in the way of translator decisions. An editor argued with me over the term "entryway." He wanted me to domesticate a simple Macedonian everyday practice, by changing "entryway" to "lobby". However, in Macedonia apartments are designed vertically with an entryway leading to a staircase with two to four apartments stacked on each landing. In North America, apartment buildings are typically horizontal, with a common lobby and apartments ranged along hallways. But changing *entryway* to *lobby* turns Macedonia into Manhattan.

At least since the 16th century people have cited the Italian *'Traduttore, traditore'* 'translator, traitor' And yet, translation is all around us. The humanities, the sciences, mathematics, governments, everything is, in fact, impossible without translation. Translators as individuals may have historically been invisible, their names off the cover, so to speak, but everywhere we depend on translation. In carrying meaning from one language to another there are thousands of ways to be wrong, and, by this saying, no way to be right. I strive to follow Edith Grossman's goal. Edith Grossman, renowned Spanish to English translator, wrote in 2010: "The reader of the second language – of the translation – will perceive the text, emotionally and artistically, in a manner that parallels and corresponds to the aesthetic experience of its first readers. This is the translator's grand ambition. Good translations approach that purpose. Bad translations never leave the starting line" (2010, see link to Words without Borders).

This, as she notes, is achieved through a keen sense of style in both languages. A critical awareness of the emotional impact of words, the social aura that surrounds them, the setting and mood that informs them, and the atmosphere they create. Significantly, the original work becomes the translator's through a series of creative decisions and imaginative acts of criticism.

Nabokov wrote that "the person wishing to turn a literary masterpiece into another language, has only one duty to perform, and this is to reproduce with absolute exactitude the whole text, and

nothing but the text." (Nabokov 2012: 119) But what exactly is the text? If it were that easy machine translation would have been an easier thing to accomplish. Grossman adds that "Fidelity is our noble purpose, but it does not have much, if anything, to do with what is called literal meaning. A translation can be faithful to tone and intention, to meaning. It can rarely be faithful to words or syntax, for these are peculiar to specific languages and are not transferable."[1]

6 Untying knots, Solving the tricky bits

Lydia Davis, in her work on the pleasures of translating spoke about the pleasure of undoing a particularly difficult knot. "In translating" she says, "you pose yourself a question – or it is posed to you by the text; you have no satisfactory answer, though you put something down on paper, and then years later the answer may turn up. Certainly, you never forget the question" (2012: 5). One of these knots was for me the word *zemjak* in Dimkovska's *A Spare Life*. A zemjak is translated as "countryman, someone from your same hometown or country, close friend." The passage reads:

> "Here you go, *zemjak*"
> "That was the first time in my life that I heard the word *zemjak* and it has remained in my memory, stitched in embroidered letters. I was thrilled with the word; it filled me with hope."

My first attempt was 'homeboy' which began circulating in the 1980's, an appropriate timeframe for this novel. The Oxford dictionary glosses it:

1. a boy or man from one's neighborhood, hometown, or region, often used as a familiar form of address especially among inner-city youths *broadly*, an inner-city youth
2. a fellow member of a youth gang

While its primary meaning works, its reference to inner-city youth and gangs shows its origins in African-American vernacular English. The term simply won't work for an older man in Skopje. I finally came up with *pal.* The word *pal* is widely known, but old-fashioned. The girls might not yet have heard the word, and the word implies familiarity, but it has the added advantage that the word is from Romany < Angloromani (English Romani) *phal* brother, mate < Common Romani *phral* < Sanskrit *bhrātṛ* 'brother.' In Skopje the Romany language would have been a regular part of the linguistic landscape of the characters. Perhaps they could have heard the word used around them.

Another untying of a knot from this same novel was the translation of the title of a crossword book, that appears here as *Brain Twisters* (2012:14). The Macedonian title was *kotelec* a mesh, a stitch, or run in a stocking. Taking the idea of *stitch* and thinking about the twist of thread or yarn, Brain Twisters seemed a reasonable solution, one my clever brother came up with.

These knots pass by the reader of the translation in the blink of an eye, but the translator may have spent days or weeks trying to find a solution, and when that solution is found, it is exciting.

7 Challenges in translating poetry, examples from Aco Šopov

Translating novels provides a sweeping canvas for the translator. If there is a play on words in one place, and it doesn't work there in English, there may be an option a paragraph later. Translating poetry is challenging because you are working in a small space. While there might be several ways to resolve

[1] Given in remarks by Grossman in 2003 in a speech for the PEN translation awards ceremony. See ALTA https://altalang.com/beyond-words/edith-grossman-on-the-art-of-translation/

a dilemma when translating prose, with poetry the choices are narrowed by the constraints of the form – line length, the shape of the stanza, rhythm, rhyme, and other effects. In translating the poems of Aco Šopov, there was also a new constraint: I was working with a co-translator, Rawley Grau, an award-winning translator of Russian and Slovenian poetry.

While I always have native speakers review my translations for errors, in translating Šopov we turned to native speakers to help with some of his syntactic ambiguities. Translating Šopov is complex because, as Rawley and I have noted elsewhere[2] his poetry is elliptical and open to different readings, his syntax often ambiguous, and his coined words not always easily rendered in English. In our translations, every decision had to satisfy Rawley's poetic sense, and my linguistic understanding. Two examples of our work will show the balance between the two.

Nabokov[3] discussed for two pages the accuracy of his translation of the "lingonberry". Compare his concern for the correct plant, to our concern for poetic veracity. Rawley and I were not sure of the correct translation of *zmijogrozd* in the poem *Horrordeath*. It is not clear what plant he is referring to by the word *zmijogrozd*, a compound from *zmij* ("snake") and *grozd* ("grape") Some translators have interpreted this as *arum* or *veronica*. Our translation uses snakeberry – *snakeberry in the mouth* – seeking to convey the ominous connotations of the Macedonian word, even if it is not botanically accurate. Coincidentally, "snakeberry" is a common English name used for the plant *Solanum dulcamara*, a member of the deadly nightshade, adding to the horror.

In the poem, *Lov na ezeroto,* we discussed at length the second verse. The fish in the bill of the bird is *raskinat* which could be torn, shredded, broken, or pierced. After trying to work with shredded (sounds too much like paper), torn apart (too many words), we settled on slashed. A cormorant, we note, has a hooked bill that pierces its prey, rather than shredding it. The word creates alliteration with fish and flash, and the motion of the bill slashing the fish, mirrors the beat of the wings that cleave the lake. The word order, however, was changed, to keep the lines short, and haiku-like.

Лов на езеро	**Hunt on the Lake**
Птица устремена. Стрвнина.	A bird, eyes fixed. A raptor.
Исправен нор со закана.	A cormorant erect with threat.
Глуне езерска поврвнина,	Utterly still the lake's surface,
модра од тага исплакана.	blue from sorrow wept.
Темниот удар на крилото	The dark beat of the wings
темно ја сече модрината.	darkly cleaves the blue.
Блеснува на студенилото	In the bill the slashed fish
рибата в клунот раскината.	flashes in the cold.
Денот е сив од умирање.	The day is gray with dying.
Сами сме. Ништо не велиме.	We're alone. We don't say a word.
Некое немо разбирање	A certain mute understanding
нè гони да се разделиме.	is driving us apart.
Слеј се со тишината, 1955	*Merge with the silence*, 1955

[2] More examples are discussed in Grau and Kramer, 2023a and 2023b.
[3] See Beam 2016 for a discussion of the translation controversies between Nabokov and Edmund Wilson.

8 Conclusion

As I translate, I enjoy the process of translation when I work with others. It forces me to defend my choices and to rethink, to reimagine my first translation impulses. Discussing particularly difficult passages with others leaves the door open for multiple solutions. Consulting with multiple references, discussing with native speakers, and sometimes pushing back against editorial suggestions, forces the translator to think carefully about each word while considering tone and balance. Discussions like these keep translation stimulating and collaborative, while also deepening my knowledge of Macedonian and the styles of individual authors.

The translator must be a reader, and like Janus, always look both ways. The translator must seek a way to bring two points of view into focus without hiding the other from view, to bring the sound and the sense of the original from one language, one community of readers, into another language, and another community of readers, shining some light through the scrim to see what lies behind.

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SALMAN RUSHDIE'S MIGRANCY AS A LITERARY FORM OF GIORGIO AGAMBEN'S PROFANATION

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This paper addresses Salman Rushdie's idea of migrancy as a literary version of Giorgio Agamben's notion of profanation. Contrary to Agamben, who refers to profanation based on the sacred man (*homo sacer*), Rushdie's work shows that profanation or impurity is at hand through migrancy. It displays, surveys, and discusses migrancy as an ambivalent reality which does not only embody the potential of uplifting human condition, but also reinforces and nourishes ostracisms. This paper argues for continuous cultural negotiation and renewal required by migratory rationality to uplift life quality in human condition. Theoretically, an intersectional approach that looks at "relationships among seemingly different phenomena" is convoked to examine the intellectual affiliations between Rushdie and Agamben. Rushdie being a writer and Agamben a philosopher, the paper implicitly pleas for the necessary reinforcement of connections between all subjects, like literature and philosophy, in the field of humanities in academia. The study itself consists of three sections. The first section deals with the significance of migrancy in Rushdie's work. The second section deals with Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses*. It addresses the relationship existing between migrancy and impurity in the novel. It also displays consequences of common perceptions about impurity in today's cultural or ideological constellations. The last section deals with the scholarly affiliation of Rushdie's impurity with Agamben's profanation. It ends with discussion of impurity/profanation's prospects in the 'community to come.'

Keywords: Agamben, impurity, migrancy, profanation, Rushdie.

МИГРАНТСТВОТО КАЈ САЛМАН РУЖДИ КАКО КНИЖЕВНА ФОРМА НА КОНЦЕПТОТ ПРОФАНАЦИЈА НА ЏОРЏО АГАМБЕН

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Оваа статија ја истражува идејата на Салман Ружди за мигрантството (migrancy), како книжевна верзија на поимот профанација на Џорџо Агамбен. За разлика од Агамбен, кој ја заснова профанацијата врз фигурата на *homo sacer*, делото на Ружди покажува дека профанацијата или нечистотијата се појавуваат преку мигрантството. Трудот го прикажува, го разгледува и дискутира за мигрантството како амбивалентна реалност, којашто не само што го отелотворува потенцијалот за подобрување на човековата состојба (*conditio humana*), туку истовремено ги зајакнува и ги храни формите на исклучување. Во статијата се тврди дека континуираното културно преговарање и обновување, кое што го бара миграциската рационалност, е неопходно за унапредување на квалитетот на животот на човекот. Од теориски аспект, во статијата се применува пристапот на интерсекционалност, кој ги проучува „односите меѓу наизглед различните феномени“, со цел да се испитаат интелектуалните врски меѓу Ружди и Агамбен. Земајќи го Ружди, како книжевен автор и Агамбен, како филозоф, статијата имплицитно го поттикнува неопходното зајакнување на поврзаноста меѓу сите области – како што се книжевноста и филозофијата – во рамките на хуманистичките науки. Самата статија се состои од три дела. Првиот ја разгледува важноста на мигрантството во делото на Ружди. Вториот дел се фокусира на романот *Сатански стихови*, при што се анализира односот меѓу мигрантството и нечистотијата во романот, како и последиците од вообичаените сфаќања за нечистотијата во современите културни и идеолошки констелации. Последниот дел се занимава со научната поврзаност меѓу нечистотијата кај Ружди и профанацијата кај Агамбен. Статијата завршува со промислување на потенцијалот на тие поими, во заедницата што допрва треба да дојде.

Клучни зборови: Агамбен, нечистотија, мигрантство, профанација, Ружди.

1 Introduction

Relating Salman Rushdie to Giorgio Agamben seems to lead to more dissimilarities than similarities. The reasons for this seem to be many. While for instance Salman Rushdie is known as a worldwide established fiction writer who went into hiding under the protection of the Scotland Yard with the release of *The Satanic Verses* in 1988 and the fatwa placed on him by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, Giorgio Agamben is acclaimed as a significant Italian philosopher influenced by Walter Benjamin, Aby Warburg, Hannah Arendt, Emile Benveniste, Carl Schmitt, Guy Debord, and Michel Foucault among others. Also, as Catherine Mills points out, Giorgio Agamben's philosophy is an elaborate and multifaceted reclusive engagement with problems of Western philosophy as varied as metaphysics, *ethos* of humanity, violence, liberty, political, aesthetic or linguistic theory (Mills 2008).

Salman Rushdie writes from the intersection of Islam and Western culture, reflecting his dual heritage. Born in Mumbai in 1947, he was raised in a Muslim family with a successful businessman father and a teacher mother. After living briefly in Pakistan, he moved to the UK in 1961, where he was educated at Rugby School and later at Cambridge University. He became a British citizen in 1964 and studied history, earning an MA in 1968. Rushdie worked as an advertising copywriter in London during the 1970s before settling in New York, where he later became an American citizen (Rushdie 2019).

Despite the apparent differences between Agamben and Rushdie, this paper seeks to show how Salman Rushdie's idea of migrancy as a *factory of impurity* is close to Agamben's concept of profanation. My paper is justified by a controversy which Agamben aired in the wake of the September 11th, 2001, attacks. In fact, he did refuse to submit to the *biopolitical tattooing* requested by the United States Immigration Department for entry to the USA. As a matter of consequence, Agamben had to cancel the course he was scheduled to teach at New York University because of his refusal to "have his fingerprints and photograph filed by [US] immigration authorities" (Agamben 2008: 201). Agamben's resistance against the US biopolitical tattooing was undeniably informed by his contention of the profane, the bare life as he puts it (Agamben 1998), which the idea of sovereignty aims at curbing. Agamben certainly did perceive the biopolitical tattooing as a legal disposition that aimed at validating the violation of his profane status. That is probably the reason why he had to "oppose it" (Agamben 2008: 202).

In this regard, Agamben's ethics aligns closely with Rushdie's vision of migrancy as a *factory of impurity* – what Agamben would have referred to as the restoration of human profane essence, as will be demonstrated in the current paper. It goes without saying that traditionally, profanation and impurity are associated with negative connotations which my paper aims to defuse by endowing them rather with positive connotations. Methodologically, the paper borrows from intersectionality theory which addresses the interconnected nature of social categorization such as gender, race, age, citizenship status, class, and other factors that shape individual's experiences and opportunities. My paper looks, as Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge would say, at "relationships among seemingly different phenomena" (Collins and Bilge 2016: 195). In this context, Salman Rushdie's concept of migrancy and Giorgio Agamben's concept of profanation are exanimated as interconnected phenomena. In some way, my paper urges readers away from insincere "diversity" and "cultural competence" claims (Collins and Bilge 2016: 174) which, in the case of Rushdie and Agamben for instance, part literature from philosophy. It suggests that taking intersectionality seriously means engaging in critical, collaborative, coalition-building work "with people […] [issues that] are really different" (Collins and Bilge 2016: 169).

2 Significance of migrancy in the work of Salman Rushdie

According to Iain Chambers migrancy means to live in another country. It "[…] involves a movement in which neither the points of departure nor those of arrival are immutable or certain. It calls for dwelling in language, in histories, in identities that are constantly subject to mutation. Always in transit, the promise of a home coming – completing the story, domesticating the detour – becomes an impossibility" (Chambers 2008: 5). Chambers depicts migrancy as a reality that constantly challenges the psychological comfort of migrants, forcing them never to feel certain or appeased as their condition keeps them in sort of constant maelstrom. Migrancy directs the migrant's psychology into permanent battle for survival, which keeps active the flames of their necessity to permanently try to make sense of their lives. Metaphorically, migrancy can be seen as a genuine medium that captures and encompasses the very essence of human existence. For, it elucidates and even teaches us, practical methodologies sometimes lacking in our ventures towards our individual, collective, moral, cultural, political or economic improvement. Paul Carter certainly senses this metaphorical prospect of migrancy so that, to him,

> It becomes more than ever urgent to develop a framework of thinking that makes the migrant central, not ancillary, to historical processes. We need to disarm the genealogical rhetoric of blood, properly and frontiers and to substitute for it a lateral account of social relation, one that stresses the contingency of all definitions of self and the other, and the necessity always to tread lightly (Carter 1992: 7–8).

Critics of Rushdie's literary work[1] agree that migrancy is a common topic in his oeuvre. Rushdie addresses migration in an original way which enables him to suggest, as Ivana Kardum Goleš puts it, a cultural archetypal model of the 20th and 21st century. Goleš sees the insight of Rushdie's vision about migrancy in the writer's own existence, which his work basically replicates, because Rushdie himself "has experienced a lifetime of migrancy across three continents and his 'archive of displacement' [is] represented in his essays and novels whose characters are uprooted migrants in search for identity in a new postcolonial reality" (Kardum Goleš 2017: 77). In "Salman Rushdie: The Ambivalence of Migrancy", Shailja Sharma points out what she refers to "one of the problems that attends any investigation of migrancy in Rushdie's work" which, according to her is "the almost limitless applicability of the concept", so far as Rushdie's individual itinerary "from India to Pakistan to England, and now to New York" grants him the ability to refer to migrancy in a both complex and elusive way (Sharma 2001: 596).

Rushdie himself seems to be aware of this "limitless applicability" of migrancy in his literary production as emphasized by Sharma. He, who refers to migrancy in his essay entitled *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* as one of the richest metaphors of the present days. Rushdie is so driven by migrancy that he tends to idealize it, as his intention not to avoid it in his literary works clearly shows. He even conceives of it as an unescapable reality in human lives. Rushdie suggests that migrancy "offers us one of the richest metaphors of our age" (Rushdie 1991: 278). He explains that the word "metaphor," originating from the Greek for "bearing across," actually describes a kind of migration – specifically, the migration of ideas into images. In this sense, migrants themselves, "borne across humans," are metaphorical beings at their core. As Rushdie argues, migration as metaphor is something we can find all around us.

Rufus Cook stresses how migrancy is insightfully discussed in Rushdie's novels. Cook whose study focuses specifically on *Shame* (1983) and *The Satanic Verses* (1988) ascertains that Rushdie's discussion of migrants displays them as prophetic human beings in contemporary experience where

[1] In this regard, cf. for instance the whole volume 47, No. 4 of *Twentieth Century Literature* published by Duke University Press in 2001.

colonialism has consolidated cultural blends and hybridizations. In this context, migrants are more prepared or more trained to appreciate and acknowledge that, what is considered today as "meaning" is nothing but a starting point because meaning spares no one from continuous struggle for more meaning, as the existence itself remains in constant mutation. Rufus Cook thus argues that:

> Because he has been forced "to find new ways of describing himself, new ways of being human", Rushdie argues, the immigrant or expatriate is in a better position than the rest of us to appreciate the pluralistic, contradictory nature of contemporary experience: to accept the fact that "reality is an artefact", for example, or that "meaning is shaky edifice we build out of scraps, dogmas, childhood injuries, newspaper article, chance remarks, old films, small victories, people hated, people loved" […]. Indeed, in Rushdie's view, the immigrant has become "the central or defining figure of the twentieth century […], dramatizing "in an intensified form" the sense of alienation, of cultural discontinuity, to which, as "immigrants from the past", we are all increasingly prone […] (Cook 1994: 23).

It is clear from this preliminary section that migrancy is a significant topic in the work of Salman Rushdie. The same applies not only to Rushdie but also to Cook, who in his work focuses on cultural potentials for reducing conflicts and confrontations in human existence, which the figure of migrant both outlines and incorporates. In relating Rushdie's migrancy with the concept of profanation by Agamben, this study is indebted to Rufus Cook's insight about the figure of the migrant in Rushdie's work. In fact, the study seeks to advocate for the relevance of the migrant as someone that is more prepared than others to take less conflictual and inhumane paths than those being taken by nations in today's human experience. Before showing how Rushdie's migrancy meets or renders the idea of profanation by Giorgio Agamben and vice versa, a short clarification of the concept of impurity as applied to Rushdie's migrancy is necessary.

3 The Satanic Verses and Rushdie's advocacy for impurity

The Satanic Verses opens with the mysterious and unexpected survival of Gibreel Farishta and Saladin Chamcha from the aircraft Al-420 accidentally bombed by Sikh terrorists. The misfortunate aircraft together with its occupants falls into the Atlantic Ocean. Farishta is a successful film actor and Chamcha, a voice actor. The opening of *The Satanic Verses*' plot seems to recast the mystery that brought Rushdie into an irreversible migrant destiny, which the ocean stream that saves Farishta and Chamcha symbolizes.

As they descend before falling into the water stream, Farishta and Chamcha experience transformations. Farishta is transformed into the angel Gabriel while Chamcha is transmuted into the devil. At a rhetoric level, all the transformations which the narrative allows the main characters to undergo operate as aesthetic devices that signal the necessary transformations which border crossing requires from the migrant. Rushdie makes those transformations visual and hyperbolic or incredible so that critics classify his writing style as a combination of historical fiction and magical realism (Collazo 2021).

But Rushdie also does so to endorse his coherence to his own idea of literature which he displays in his collection of essays *Step Across this Line* (2003). In fact, literature aims at drawing attention to the close bond between the line and its transgression. To Rushdie's reader, literature is a sort of journey that assures discovery by challenging the reader's ordinary perception of the world. Rushdie's reader is thus invited to perform transgression. George Lamming provides a useful analogy for Rushdie's reader in his account of a Trinidadian civil servant who comes to Britain "to

take some kind of course in the ways of bureaucracy" (Lamming 2003: 13). In his ordinary perception of the world, he had never imagined the existence of English workers, so he is astonished to see "white hands and faces on the tug" and exclaims, "They do that kind of work, too?". This moment disrupts his previous worldview, allowing him to develop a less biased understanding and, in this sense, to become an *impure being*.

In relation to what the main characters in *The Satanic Verses* become as they descend, the line could be considered the good (angel Gabriel) and its transgression, the devil. Disconnecting this contradictory condition by letting them be acted by two different characters is one of the merits of the novel insofar as it allows for reflection on the strengths and flaws of both the good and the bad, assuring thus, reader's being prevented from an essentialist interpretation, - or, more simply , assuring its skilled reader's transformation into an impure being.

Farishta and Chamcha wake up on a beach in England. They stayed with an elderly English woman named Rosa Diamond. Chamcha begins to grow horns, while Farishta emits a strange radiance. They are reported to the police by someone who considered them as undocumented immigrants. The police arrests Chamcha. As he increasingly begins to resemble a goat, the police beat him and sends him to a hospital that treats other patients who are turning into animals. He helps the other patients break out and goes to London. There, he finds out that his wife was having an affair with a friend named Jumpy Joshi. Farishta remains with Rosa Diamond until her death, after which he travels to London. Chamcha and Farishta meet again at a party there. Chamcha is furious with Farishta, who takes medication after being diagnosed with mental health issues. Under the effects of medication, Farishta tells Chamcha the secrets about Alleluia, and Chamcha uses this information to harass Alleluia until she breaks up with Farishta.

Farishta's trumpet, which he named Azreel, suddenly spouts flames on the café in which Chamcha brings his hosts. Farishta follows Chamcha into the burning building and, after initially thinking of kill him, decides to rescue Chamcha. Some months after Farishta saved him from the burning café, Chamcha returns to India. In London, Farishta runs out of money after his attempts to return to the movie industry. He becomes desperate and kills Alleluia along with a movie producer before fleeing to India. There, he tracks and finds Chamcha. He tells Chamcha what he did. Then, the police arrives to arrest Farishta. He takes the gun from the magic lamp Chamcha inherited from his father and kills himself with it.

One constancy from the plot of *The Satanic Verses* is the recurrent interplay between magic and the ordinary. The narrative shows itself as a *mise en abyme* of literature, in the sense that literature allows invented characters (magic) to engage with ordinary issues such as unpredictability, love, murder, reconciliation, or brutality. It is therefore not surprising when Rushdie confesses to the *New York Times* that *The Satanic Verses* speaks for itself (Rushdie 1989: 39). Rushdie thus, profanes the supposed elitism of literature by opening it to sacred issues and returning them to the free use of men as Giorgio Agamben would have said.

Rushdie's idea of impurity consists of a living condition that is permanently negotiated and renegotiated by ordinary people and to their interest. From a post-imperialist and post-modern angle, impurity pertains to a cultural condition where identities or belongings are ontologically mixed with each other. Impurity derives from the loss of one's single culture (identity) due to migrancy or imperialism, which activates its replacement by their varieties. One is impure in this regard for instance, when they belong to more than one culture, identity, gender, country, or when one speaks more than one language. Edward Said refers to this sense of impurity in *Culture and Imperialism* when he argues that: "No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting points, which followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale" (Said 1993: 336).

Said and many other postcolonial theoreticians like Édouard Glissant (2009) or Homi K. Bhabha dedicated their works to this sense of impurity, sometimes also referred to as cultural hybridity

(Bhabha 1994: 38). Contrary to Glissant, Said or Bhabha who all explore the concept from the perspective of power relationships, Rushdie's contribution to the field is to address impurity as artefact of transgression, which migrancy essentially is[2]. This original perspective which Rushdie has on migrancy gives him the ability to address societal issues in a way that complies with the actual condition of human beings, who are nothing but, passing beings. If put into practice, Rushdie's idea of impurity would enable individuals, groups, religions or nations to efficiently resist dilution into essentialisms, polarities or binary divisions. It is a sense of impurity well captured by the astonishment of the Trinidadian civil servant who acquires new understanding of things by discovering British worker for the first time in his life as seen above with George Lamming (Lamming 2003: 13). Impurity derives its ability to resist from the fact that it leads its agent to constant re-interrogation or re-definition of territories and identities. Despite the fact that impurity is traditionally negatively connoted, in the literary work by Rushdie impurity rather grants its agent the caution which permanently keeps the agent aware that "de-finition" has to do with "the question of limits" as Vanessa Guignery following Robert Eaglestone (Guignery 2009: 306) argues.

It would not look hyperbolic to hypothesize that one universal aim of education is to maintain people in that condition of impurity which assures them perpetual openness, change, movement, or willingness to improve. Consequences of such psychological dispositions and its tangible materialization in the society are obvious enough in terms of innovation, quality of life and sustainable peace. Quality of life and sustainable peace go hand in hand in society through this condition of impurity, as it activates tolerance and sincere humility in its agents. Impurity in this relation defuses or resists inducements of its agents to fixed identities – as they for instance romanticize territory, origin, religion, self, or gender – that generally inform "formalized organization of the society and the nation based on divisions, grids and binary oppositions in terms of class, caste, gender, territory or religion" as Vanessa Guignery would say (Guignery 2009: 306). By no longer viewing the self as an exceptional being but, as an ordinary one whose ordinary nature is revealed by its contact to others, impurity coherently relate along with true educational goals, contents or curricula so far as they require permanent alteration because the society also undergoes permanent change.

Migrancy also involves geography as the definition by International Organisation for Migration (ION)[3] suggests. From a geographical perspective, migrancy produces impurity insofar as it materializes the interconnectedness between communities in such a way that one freely claims to belong to more than one community. Rushdie himself is an interesting illustration of such condition. Migrancy accelerates the sense of belonging to a common world for which any human being irrespective of gender, race, class, or religion is accountable. It challenges and diffuses authoritarianism, fundamentalism, nationalism, regression or isolation of all sorts by letting the rediscovery of the ordinary (Ndebele 2006) come true. Ordinary people who emerge from this rediscovery process are freed from the inducements of sovereignty or its spectacle in a given context. As Du Bois would say, they are people with "intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world and of the relation of men to it" (Du Bois 1903: 33–34). Although migration should be seen as a metaphorical source of cultural impurity, it is often treated as a violation of state sovereignty and used as a pretext for human rights abuses. Rushdie's concept of impurity, as created through migration, is typically overlooked and impurity is quickly dismissed as incredible or morally wrong, perceived as an offense to established norms due to the ethical challenges it raises.

In "Human Insecurity: Understanding International Migration from a Human Security Perspective", Francesca Vietti and Todd Scribner highlight how Western states, preoccupied with the concept of sovereignty, respond to irregular migration with intense border enforcement. They

[2] If migration is not interchangeable with transgression, it at least triggers transgression and vice versa.
[3] https://www.iom.int/fundamentals-migration

argue that irregular migration is seen as a direct challenge to state sovereignty, questioning a nation's control over its territorial domain. This anxiety drives massive investments in border security, including immigration officers, fences, and large-scale migrant interdiction (Vietti and Scribner 2013). Vietti and Scribner's argument finds support in numerous instances, such as the Spanish government's construction of border fences in Ceuta and Melilla to block migration from Sub-Saharan Africa. However, as Jaume Castan Pinos notes, these fences often backfire. In October 2005, nearly a thousand migrants breached the fence in a coordinated effort, resulting in the deaths of fourteen people and hundreds of injuries. Despite the reinforced fences, which were raised from 3.5 to 6 meters and equipped with concertina wire, similar incidents, dubbed "collective storms" or "avalanches" by the press, continued from 2012 to 2019 (Castan Pinos 2022). This tragic cycle highlights the futility and brutality of such measures, demonstrating that heavy investment in border security often exacerbates the very issue it seeks to control. In suggesting a "human security perspective" to tackle illegal migration, Vietti and Scribner come close to Rushdie's idea of impurity, for they believe, like Rushdie, that "people are the real wealth of a nation, and the goal of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives" (Vietti and Scribner 2013: 21). Vietti and Scribner's approach is rooted in human rights, as reflected in the concept of human security, which aims to protect fundamental freedoms and safeguard people from severe and widespread threats. It emphasizes the need for systems that support survival, livelihood, and dignity across political, social, environmental, economic, military, and cultural domains (Commission on Human Security 2003). In light of the challenges discussed regarding migration and impurity, the next section explores the stakes of impurity as the alter ego of profanation for the human community.

4 Rushdie's impurity or the alter ego of Agamben's profanation

Intersectionality "being [… not only] a political and an intellectual project [but, also] an ongoing struggle to overcome naturalized categories that seem to hold fixed social positions [whereby] naturalization and essentialism, not particular privileged or powerful groups, are treated as the enemies of agency and transformation" (Ferree 2018: 127), the question at stake in this section is how does Rushdie's impurity politically and intellectually relate to the Agambian profanation?

Agamben refers to profanation as a political operation that aims at neutralizing the exercise of power in social interactions. In the actual context where power has intricated its modes of operations, it became very difficult to avoid assimilating profanation to secularization. Thus, the pertinence of quoting Agamben when he clarifies the difference between both terms as follows:

> We must distinguish between secularization and profanation. Secularization is a form of repression. It leaves intact the forces it deals with by simply moving them from one place to another. Thus, the political secularization of theological concepts (the transcendence of God as a paradigm of sovereign power) does nothing but displace the heavenly monarchy onto an earthly monarchy, leaving its power intact. Profanation, however, neutralizes what it profanes. Once profaned, that which was unavailable and separate loses its aura and is returned to use. Both are political operations: the first guarantees the exercise of power by carrying it back to a sacred model; the second deactivates the apparatuses of power and returns to common use the spaces that power had seized (Agamben 2007: 77).

Agamben mentions play as a good example of profanation's operation. He points out the example of children playing with "whatever old thing falls into their hands, [and who] make toys out of things that also belong to the spheres of economics, war, law, and other activities that we are used to

thinking of as serious. All of sudden, a car, a firearm, or a legal contract becomes a toy" (Agamben 2007: 76). Playing thus transforms "activities [or objects] that we are used to thinking of as serious" into toys, resisting any single imposed meaning. In this sense, play subverts the singularity of imposed significations, much as impurity resists the fixation of identity and destabilizes the authority of its agents. Both play and impurity subtly reveal objects or activities as being produced by romance for territory, origin, religion, self, or gender which, in the suitable terminology by Guignery, generally informs "formalized organization of the society and the nation based on divisions, grids and binary oppositions in terms of class, caste, gender, territory or religion" (Guignery 2009: 306). Phenomenological prospects of profanation through play and impurity by the means of migrancy in this regard can be compared to those of stranger by Edmond Jabès in self-perception. The stranger enables you to be yourself, Jabès writes, precisely by turning you into a stranger (Jabès 1989: 9)[4].

How Agamben's profanation relates to Rushdie's impurity as produced by migrancy is evident at this stage of the study. An appropriate hint toward linking Rushdie and Agamben was perhaps already provided by Jeffrey Somers, who in his biography of Rushdie enables us to witness how Rushdie, by turning for instance Chamcha to a humanoid that grows horns profanes all "supposedly 'sacred' topics" (Somers 2020). One of those supposedly sacred topics in this relation being the attempt to detach human beings from their animal lineage. From this perspective, Rushdie metaphorically highlights the necessity to bring back to humankind its amputated or skillfully silenced portion. He sets against cultural consensus through which this skillful silencing of the animal portion of humankind is achieved. He pleads for the restoration of its entire, and ordinary nature to humans. Consequently, it is not a hyperbole to contend that Rushdie's work is marked by his willingness "to profane" those "consecrated" topics like religion, morals, or sovereignty by "returning them to the free use of men" (Agamben 2007: 73). Not considering premises in Rushdie's approach keeps hidden how consecration (*sacrare*) outcasts its object (purity) from common utilization and fossilizes it as sacred, that is, cut off from their free use by men. Rushdie's approach to migrancy enables the visualization of the idea of purity as a manipulative essence because it is "no longer allotted to the gods of the dead [but is] now neither sacred, nor holy, nor religious, freed from all names of this sort" (Agamben 2007: 73). The idea of impurity as envisioned by Rushdie challenges and resists such manipulative disposition which the idea of purity protects or validates.

Somers is thus correct to point out that suggesting impurity as an ideal provides Rushdie's work with "a unique ability to cut through the cultural noise" and "also [to bring] danger and controversy" (Somers 2020). Rushdie embraces this disruption, positioning ordinary people as true heroes—those who act selflessly, like firefighters or healthcare workers, rather than the fantasy figures of superheroes. He critiques the notion of superheroes as a mistake of modern times, arguing that such idealized figures foster authoritarian tendencies. In contrast, he values the everyday heroism that engages in the "returning of consecrated issues to the free use of men" (Agamben, 2007), promoting a culture of honesty, inclusivity, and sustainable peace. As Rushdie states, "I'd rather have an honest fireman than Batman any day of the week" (Rushdie, 2019). This recognition of ordinary people as the true agents of change aligns with his broader vision of impurity as a necessary force for cultural transformation.

Profanation or impurity include numerous prospects towards upheaving today's human condition. One of the prospects on which I wish to conclude this study is the lucid acceptance of our unescapable blend nature.

In *Joseph Anton. A Memoir* Rushdie tells his reader tricks and stratagems he had to invent or adopt to survive a decade of hiding after the Ayatollah Khomeini's "fatwa"[5]. Joseph Anton thereby

[4] The original except in French reads as follows: "L'étranger te permet d'être toi-même, en faisant, de toi, un étranger".

[5] The call of February 14th, 1989, by the Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini on "the proud Muslim people of the world" to kill the author of *The Satanic Verses*, and all people involved in its publication. In the years after the Ayatollah's declaration,

represents Rushdie's *nomen falsum* which he carved based on a combination of his favorite writers' first names: Joseph Conrad and Anton Chekhov. In this autobiography, Rushdie refers to himself using the third person singular. Rushdie conceives of migration as the perfect laboratory to produce impurity. And impurity in that relation is praised and acknowledged as surest way for better futures. Rushdie has it as follows:

> He (Joseph Anton) was a migrant. He was one of those who had ended up in a place that was not the place where he began. Migration tore up all the traditional roots of the self. The rooted self-flourished in a place it knew well, among people who knew it well, following customs and traditions with which it and its community were familiar, and speaking its own language among others who did the same. Of these four roots, place, community, culture and language, he has lost three. (…) The root of language, at least remained, but he began to appreciate how deeply he felt the loss of the other roots, and how confused he felt about what he had become. In the age of migration, the world's millions of migrated selves faced colossal problems, problems of homeless, hunger, unemployment, disease, persecution, alienation, fear. He was one of the luckier ones, but one problem remained: that of authenticity. The migrated self-became, inevitably, heterogeneous instead of homogeneous, belonging to more than one place, multiple rather than singular, responding to more than one way of being, more than average mixed up (Rushdie 2012: 63 l–64).

Samba Diallo, the protagonist of *L'Aventure ambiguë*, a classic novel by Senegalese writer Cheikh Hamidou Kane (1961), struggles with the tension of hybridity. He views himself as a victim, caught between Western rationality and African religious empathy, unable to reconcile these conflicting identities. Unlike Diallo, who sees his hybridity as a crisis – trapped between African and European cultures and unable to find clarity in his identity (Kane 1961: 164) – Rushdie embraces hybridity as a positive force, representing the materiality of ordinary human identity both today and in the future. Rushdie's conception of impurity is linked to forgiveness, as it is unshackled from the rootedness that limits Diallo. Diallo's failure to navigate his identity stems from his cultural roots being bound by a closure: his rejection of European colonial culture, which itself is built on a pretension of superiority. While Rushdie acknowledges the consequences of such cultural closures, he rejects their perpetuation, advocating instead for a more open and dynamic understanding of identity. Impurity or profanation acknowledges the achievements of previous generations, even if these were often driven by pretenses. At the same time, it raises the question of today's generation's responsibility for the ongoing improvement of the human condition. Both concepts thus involve freedom – freedom from the tyranny of the past and freedom from future domination. Theoretically, profanation or impurity can be understood as a form of freedom, both in its negative and positive senses, as outlined by Finn Bowring. Bowring distinguishes between the two: "Negative freedom is freedom from being governed by others, while positive freedom is the 'freedom to' govern—a freedom that must define what it means to be self-governing, giving freedom content and character, and making it a determinate activity, not just the opportunity to act" (Bowring 2015: 157). Impurity would imply negative freedom, which is freedom from being governed by others (filial predecessors whose time is necessary different from now or foreign values), except that today's generation works for a radical rupture from their cultural ties, as informed by fixed homegrown roots by permanently trying to extend their roots to the world. Concretely, this means that today's generation boldly

bookstores were bombed, the book's Japanese translator was killed, its Italian translator survived a stabbing, and its Norwegian publisher survived a shooting. Rushdie himself spent about ten years in hiding, living in a bewildering succession of makeshift safe-houses all over the U.K. and the U.S.

opposes being governed by aliens and likewise by accomplishments, strengths or weaknesses of their own filial predecessors. Today's generation should comply with its unescapable condition and address the challenges attached to it as well as those of its time which may always never be the same with those of the previous generations. Today's generation must address its challenges using their own means. Impurity or profanation is also about positive freedom because it matches actual context in which distance no more builds an obstacle. Today's context is one in which, as Edward Said puts it: "no one is purely one thing" because "imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale" (Said 1993: 336).

It is that context as revealed by Said that turns migrancy, impurity, or profanation into a necessity. In fact, migrancy activates heterogeneity or a sense of belonging to more than one place, identity, or culture. Migrancy (impurity or profanation) is so to speak the fuel, which entirely diffuses fixed or reified identities, whose principles the Agambian idea of *homo sacer* captures very well. In fact, and as Agamben argues, it is not human destiny to be pure, reified or fixed as the idea of the sacred man tends to suggest. No human being is pure and should ever pretend to be either pure or called and be considered as such. Quoting Pompeius Festus, Giorgio Agamben highlights the vicious ambivalence at stake in the essence of the *homo sacer* as follows:

> The sacred man is the one whom the people have judged on account of a crime. It is not permitted to sacrifice this man, yet he who kills him will not be condemned for homicide; in the first tribunitian law, in fact, it is noted that "if someone kills the one who is sacred according to the plebiscite, it will not be considered homicide." This is why it is customary for a bad or impure man to be called sacred (Agamben 1998: 71).

The last sentence in the above quotation is very explicit about the unavoidable impure nature of human being. Impurity as aim of profanation thus assures positive change, which takes place from permanent negotiation and within mutual respect among entities. It also takes place from sincere recognition that all human beings, irrespective of their gender, race, social class, religion, belong to a same impure humankind. If all human beings could meet these principles, axiological, ethical, or pacifist prospects on quality life could undeniably have been at hand.

5 Conclusion

This study sought to illustrate to what extend Salman Rushdie's idea of migrancy captures that of profanation by Giorgio Agamben. To meet this goal, the study convened Rushdie's and Agamben's biographies in other to explore how they influence their respective intellectual works. This perspective has enabled the study to highlight Rushdie's concern about migrancy and to outline the affiliation of Rushdie's migrancy to impurity. Rushdie's migrancy deserves to be considered a factory of impurity. Impurity appeared as a relevant complex that structures or nurtures Rushdie's idea of migrancy. Migrancy particularly appeared as an existential necessity insofar as it triggers the renewal of human cultural taste by fueling human with ability to resist becoming simple spectators or guardians of cultural heritages. Impurity keeps alive humanity's sense of responsibility towards history. It reinforces human awareness of their mission on earth by permanently connecting them to the ethics of responsibility.

Impurity also appeared as a commonplace for the Agambian profanation. To profane is to detach the free use of things by men from their concealment into sacred areas as made possible through consecration or through habituation. It is a political act that disrupts the tranquility which the morbid essence of things tries to conceal living agents in. A key contribution of the study is maybe that it

suggests impurity or profanation as today's standard for any cultural production, unless the said culture despises consideration. To despise consideration here means for instance to endorse human rights abuses in the name of sovereignty of the state like the few repressive measures against mass migration exposed in the study have shown. Those battalions are also not different from the attack on Salman Rushdie by the 24-year-old Hadi Matar, during a literary event in Chautauqua, New York on August 12, 2022 (Saghieh 2022).

It should however not be forgotten that making profanation sounds synonymous to impurity reveals a theoretical dilemma. In fact, profanation assumes an act while impurity utters a state, so it becomes challenging to really say which of the two terms has precedency over the other? Also, nothing guarantees that, as its traditionally negative connotation appeals, impurity will never become the next sort of *homo sacer* whose hegemonic consequences profanation deactivates and resists. Despite this theoretical existing aporia, it is important to look at profanation (act) alongside impurity (state) because this very interplay enables cultural transactions and negotiations to endlessly continue.

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CENTRAL EUROPEAN ENTANGLEMENTS AND WOMEN'S HISTORY: A CASE STUDY

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This paper examines the intellectual and political entanglements of Alžbeta Göllnerová-Gwerková (1905–1944), a Slovak scholar, translator, and activist whose work exemplifies the intersections of gender, culture, and politics in interwar Czechoslovakia. Positioned as both a supporter of Czechoslovakism and a mediator of Hungarian culture, Göllnerová-Gwerková consciously inserted herself into academic discourse as a political actor. Her writings reveal a dual commitment: on the one hand, to democratic and liberal ideals that sought to transform estate society into civic society; on the other, to the promotion of Czechoslovak unity as a cultural and political project. The paper highlights how her feminist awareness, which started to take shape in the mid-1930s, intersected with her scholarly endeavors and with her marginal position in academia. By revisiting her intellectual biography, the study foregrounds the political dimension of her scholarship and argues for her reintegration into the history of Central European humanities. The paper also seeks to demonstrate that Slovak feminine identities are deeply entangled in the cultural dynamics of a small, non-dominant nation – an entanglement that shapes women's biographies and influences their intellectual work.

Keywords: Alžbeta Göllnerová-Gwerková, Czechoslovakism, interwar culture, humanities, women's studies.

ЦЕНТРАЛНОЕВРОПСКИТЕ ПРЕПЛЕТУВАЊА И ЖЕНСКАТА ИСТОРИЈА: СТУДИЈА НА СЛУЧАЈ

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Оваа студија ја истражува интелектуалната и политичката вклученост на Алжбета Гелнерова-Гверкова (1905–1944), словачка научничка, преведувачка и активистка, чиешто дело го прикажува преплетувањето на родот, културата и политиката во Чехословачка, во периодот помеѓу двете светски војни. Позиционирана и како поддржувач на чехословакизмот и како медијатор на унгарската култура, Гелнерова-Гверкова свесно се впуштила во академскиот дискурс како политичка фигура. Нејзините дела откриваат двојна посветеност: на демократските и либералните идеали, кои се стремеле да го трансформираат општеството поделено на сталежи, во граѓанско општество, како и на промоцијата на чехословачкото единство, како културен и политички проект. Во трудот се истражува како нејзината феминистичка позиција, која се развивала во средината на 30-тите години на 20 век, се вкрстува со нејзините научни напори и со нејзината маргинална позиција во академската средина. Со повторно исчитување на нејзината интелектуална биографија, студијата ја става во преден план политичката димензија на нејзините академски достигнувања и се залага за нејзино реинтегрирање во историјата на централноевропските хуманистички идеи. Целта на овој труд е, исто така, да покаже дека словачките женски идентитети се длабоко испреплетени со културата на една мала, недоминантна нација – една испреплетеност која ги обликувала биографиите на жените и влијаела врз нивната интелектуална работа.

Клучни зборови: Алжбета Гелнерова-Гверкова, чехословакизам, меѓувоена култура, хуманистички науки, женски студии.

In contemporary Slovak culture, the protagonist of this paper, Alžbeta Göllnerová-Gwerková (1905–1944), functions as a convenient social artefact - an emblem of an urban middle class committed to democratic and liberal values (Grusková 2022; Žena novej doby 2022). The key terms that dominate current discourse about her include *democracy*, *the struggle for women's rights, progress, modernity, citizenship* and *anti-fascism*. In 2022, she was posthumously awarded the *Order of Ľudovít Štúr*, *First Class* by the head of state for her contributions to democracy and its development, as well as for her work in defending human rights and freedoms. There are also other descriptors – those that carry less emotional weight in the collective imagination-linger in the background: translator, Hungarian studies scholar, researcher, historian, and literary scholar. Her status as a woman occupying these roles is certainly relevant to contemporary discussions of Slovak women's history.

In this paper, I will attempt to unravel a certain entanglement, one that by its diffuseness seems to some extent typical of our part of Europe. I will discuss Göllnerová-Gwerková's entanglement in various contexts – as a Czechoslovakist, a Slovak woman, and at the same time a researcher and popularizer of Hungarian culture. I will look at the category of *politicity,* which in itself is relational and can be defined by reference to phenomena that do not formally belong to politics (Kuziak 2017). Writing about the politicity of the humanities, the Polish scholar Michał Kuziak mentions "the desire to influence the reader – his or her beliefs and attitudes related to community life in the broad sense" (Kuziak 2017: 255). In this way, he stresses the importance of how academics write and compose their statements, what topics they address, and what research goals they pursue. Using selected texts by Göllnerová-Gwerková, I will reflect on the relationship between the (female) researcher and the object and thus return to the history of this strand of the humanities that had the ambition to create collective action and identity. I will situate Göllnerová-Gwerková in the context of academia, not to construct another image of her, but to refer to the values she clearly identified with in the 1930s and early 1940s. At the end of the war, as a member of the Banská Štiavnica Revolutionary National Committee, she took part in the anti-fascist Slovak National Uprising. In November 1944, she was arrested and imprisoned in Banská Bystrica, and in December 1944, at the age of 39, she was executed in Kremnička[1].

The main argument of my paper is that Göllnerová-Gwerková consciously took a political position in the academic discourse as a supporter of Czechoslovakism, and that this aspect deserves more attention in her engagement with democracy and women's issues. I argue that this was precisely the aspect that made the memory of Göllnerová-Gwerková fade significantly after 1948, during the communist regime. The political element of her intellectual biography is absent from today's narrative.[2] However, it is precisely this hitherto undescribed entanglement that places Göllnerová-Gwerková on the map of interwar culture and science in Central Europe. The purpose of the above text, moreover, is to draw attention to the impossibility of treating Central European culture and writing about its members in essentialist terms, while simultaneously focusing on its diffuse and mosaic-like, kaleidoscopic internal structure. Slovak culture, from a historical perspective, comprises many diverse elements that dynamically change its configurations. Highlighting individual biographies at specific points in history, therefore, is one of the possible ways to describe and define it.

[1] "Kremnička" refers to a site near the town of Banská Bystrica in Slovakia, which during World War II was the location of mass executions. It is most known as a site where members of the anti-fascist resistance, political prisoners, and other perceived opponents of the regime were executed by the Slovak State in collaboration with Nazi authorities.

[2] The recent gesture of "bringing her out of silence," though serving a good cause, has introduced Göllnerová-Gwerková into the realm of interpretive shortcuts, which have a popularizing value.

1 Interwar Czechoslovakism and the idea of social change

In her endeavors, Göllnerová-Gwerková not only demonstrated the zeal of a social activist, but she also acted with an attitude typical of modernity: "enthusiasm, optimism, the need to engage with the present, and be responsible for one's own epoch" (Leśniak 2018: 92). This outlook intertwined in her intellectual biography with Czechoslovakism, a political concept that never fully materialized in social reality. After 1918, Czechoslovakism was deliberately promoted in the new republic across diverse areas of human activity, not only in politics but also in culture and science: linguistics, sociology, ethnography, anthropology and philology (Hudek, A., Kopeček, M. and Mervart, J. 2022). In Göllnerová-Gwerková's work, it went hand in hand with democratic ideals and a desire to bring about a profound mental change within the social structure - to transform estate Czech and Slovak society into civic society and introduce ideals of equality; in other words, to reconstruct the reality.

Milan Ducháček was correct in stating that, after 1918, science was tasked with specific functions: "scientific arguments were regarded as a premise for taking those political steps that led to the stabilization of social relations in the new state. In the spirit of Masaryk's and especially Beneš's concepts, politics was understood as 'true science', i.e., a practical application of sociology, that draws on rational, scientific analysis to help manage the society" (Ducháček 2019: 151). Integrating Czechs and Slovaks into one political nation required rewriting history and finding the beginning of a new narrative. The discourse of the supporters of Czechoslovakism therefore had its own poetics, using anti-Hungarian or anti-German tropes during the interwar period and positioning itself within an 'us and them' antagonism, not least with the intention to 'mentally separate Slovaks from the Magyarorszag'[3] (ibid). Its adherents wanted to control the past to project the future and to correct, referring to the diagnosis of the 'state builders' – the deformations in the social fabric, especially those caused by Magyarization[4].

However, the Czechoslovak identity project, a subject of intense discussion and polemics, needed to convince both Slovaks and Czechs to establish footholds for a collective existential practice and evoke positive emotions in those social strata that did not identify with a project imposed "from on high". Czechoslovakism, which in the 1920s often exploited Slovakophile rhetoric in the spirit of the schemes proposed by figures such as the Czech educator and writer Karel Kálal (1860–1930; with his ideas of the Czech civilizing mission to the "East"), quickly encountered resistance and resentment, including from young graduates of democratic Czechoslovak schools. As early as 1932, this was poignantly expressed by the Slovak young left-wing critic Michal Chorváth (1910–1982), who highlighted the cognitive gap between what the Czechoslovak school offered and the reality in which young Slovaks were growing up: "In the beginning we were disappointed by science. We read our big new books, day and night. There was nothing new in them, we had already heard everything. Only the methods by which the conclusions were drawn were new (...). Browsing through the final pages, something broke inside us" (Chorváth 1932: 85).

Göllnerová-Gwerková was only five years senior to Chorváth and, like him, spent her student years in interwar Prague. They belonged to virtually the same generation, united by shared experiences and the opportunity to receive their education at a Czechoslovak, democratic school. In 1930, Göllnerová-Gwerková defended her doctoral thesis, *The Beginnings of the Reformation in Banská Bystrica*, at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University in Prague. She earned her doctorate in Czech and general history rather than in Hungarian studies, and immediately after graduating sought employment as an archivist, with a view to researching, writing and having access to sources [the archives in the Slovak part of the republic were virtually being built from scratch

[3] Kingdom of Hungary.

[4] The goal was to extend the influence of Hungarian language, culture and identity among ethnic minorities, such as Slovaks, Romanians, Serbs, Croats, and others.

after 1918, also thanks to the organizational efforts of Václav Chaloupecký (1882–1951), a historian with a Czechoslovak orientation, who had been a professor of history at Comenius University in Bratislava since 1922]. Göllnerová-Gwerková carried out her research as an independent scholar, without tenure at the university or a stable position in the academic milieu. From this perspective, her commitment to science was remarkable, a sign of the strength of her will. Yet she did not get a post in the archives; between 1930 and 1944, she worked as a teacher in state institutions: secondary schools in Spišská Nová Ves, Rimavská Sobota, Bratislava, and Banská Štiavnica.

While teaching, she sought to bridge cultural divides and promote mutual understanding between Czechs, Slovaks, and Hungarians: "I explain to Hungarian children," she wrote in one of her letters, referring to the youngest members of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia, "that they have a great life in the republic. Besides that, I read Ady[5] and work on an article for Bratislava[6]" (Göllnerová 1932). From her student days, Göllnerová-Gwerková was well acquainted with Slovak Ján Igor Hamaliar (1905–1931), literary critic and declared Czechoslovak, author of the then-famous book *Hlasy nášho východu* (*Voices of Our East*). Together, they were working on a publication dedicated to Slovak scholar Pavel Bujnák (1882–1933), who, especially as a professor of Hungarian studies, played a significant role in her intellectual life.[7] Alžbeta Göllnerová-Gwerková regarded herself as his disciple and wanted to continue his scholarly legacy by further developing Hungarian studies in Czechoslovakia. The collective volume *Pavlovi Bujnákovi: ctitelia, priatelia, žiaci* (To Pavel Bujnák: admirers, friends, students) was published by the Academia Publishing House in 1933 in Prague, shortly after the professor's death. Co-editor, Ján Igor Hamaliar, had also died two years earlier. The book was reviewed in the pages of Slovak journal *Elán* by the aforementioned Michal Chorváth holding different political views, and he reached a rather tart conclusion: "With all due respect to him [Bujnák], however, one cannot agree with the opinion of the editor [Göllnerová-Gwerková] that it was the level of his education that determined his Czechoslovak orientation" (Chorváth 1934: 5).

While the ideal of Czechoslovak unity was waning in the social space, Göllnerová-Gwerková steadily upheld it. As a member of the Štefániková československá spoločnost', she signed a letter addressed to Slovak politician Vavro Šrobár in 1937 which declared: "our organisation wants to show and prove that Czechoslovak national unity is neither an illusion, nor a past or a pipe dream, but an abundant source of inspiration for work for the benefit of our Czechoslovak nation and state" (Göllnerová 1937). However, this was the swan song of those who championed Czechoslovakism in its inter-war, already somewhat tattered, form, which by the end of the 1930s had turned from a potential tool of social change into idle rhetoric.

2 Hungarian culture and the Czechoslovak worldview

However, it is time now to return to entanglements, in particular to her works in the field of Hungarian studies. The question I ask myself at this point is: how did Göllnerová-Gwerková, a Slovak adherent of Czechoslovakism, react to the culture of a nation with which Slovaks once shared a common state and thus had, as Rudo Uhlár wrote in 1932, "common friends and enemies: Turks, Tatars, and sometimes Vienna and the imperial court"? (Uhlár 1932: 142). To a certain extent, Slovaks and Hungarians were also united by the older Hungarian literary tradition and its protagonists: Matúš Trenčiansky, Mikuláš Šubić Zrinsky, and Juraj Rákoci. But why did

[5] Endre Ady (1877–1919) was a Hungarian poet and journalist.
[6] Czechoslovak scientific revue.
[7] In 1929 he was appointed associate professor at Charles University, where he taught and developed research in Hungarian studies and comparative philology until his death in 1933.

Göllnerová-Gwerková attach so much importance to the, as it was called, "mental separation of Slovaks from the Magyarorszag"?

Aside from minor articles and literary translations (it is worth noting that she translated contemporary authors such as Dezső Szabó, Zsigmond Móricz, and Dezső Kosztolányi), Göllnerová-Gwerková authored a monograph on József Eötvös (originally her habilitation thesis), which was published in the 1937 issue of *Spisy Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave*, edited by, among others, Czech historian Václav Chaloupecký, with whom her academic paths crossed more than once. She had already made her debut as a scholar of Hungarian literature with the paper *Zemani a ľud v diele Kálmana Mikszátha*[8] (1933), which she included in the volume mentioned above dedicated to Professor Bujnák.

It is worth asking, however, what literature was to Göllnerova-Gwerkova? What methodological assumptions guided her writing? In this context, it is perhaps fair to mention the head of the Czechoslovak state, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937), who regarded the literary text as one of the possible sources of knowledge about people and the world. Literature, in line with the tenets of realism, documents reality and the complexity of human experience. For there was no single "truth"; the truth was always relational, contextual, dependent on the perspective of the speaking subject and his or her social position. In this sense, in line with Masaryk's view, Göllnerova-Gwerková's approach was not only humanistic but also sociological. In *Zemani a ľud v diele Kálmana Mikszátha* she aimed her criticism not so much at his writing as at the literary representation of the social class to which Mikszáth belonged: the Hungarian landed gentry. Göllnerová-Gwerková saw the customs and mentality of the gentry as being at the root of moral decay and social decadence in the monarchy. She regarded Mikszáth's texts as "one of the best sources for studying the social situation of the Kingdom of Hungary in the second half of the 19th century" (Göllnerová 1933: 61).

Below I present those most evocative, and at the same time political, passages from her paper on Mikszáth, in which she describes the landed gentry as a mental condition, a specific state of mind: "In the nineteenth-century Kingdom of Hungary, the development of social strata progressed at a snail's pace and along the beaten path. Deeply rooted feudalism, which could not be shaken even by the French Revolution, refused to give way to a new understanding of life that came from outside, from abroad" (Göllnerová 1933: 63); "The philosophy of life of the Hungarian landed gentry was: to live as quietly as possible, not to strain oneself either mentally or physically, and to make yourself as comfortable as you can" (Göllnerová 1933: 65); "[The landed gentry] argued about the glorious past, but did not understand the present" (Göllnerová 1933: 68); "They did not care about the offices; local administration was asleep. Something exceptional had to happen for them to become active, for otherwise, as Mikszáth says, they turned over onto the other side and slept on, caring for nothing" (Göllnerová 1933: 68); "They were all at least friends, if not relatives. They understood each other very well, especially on one point: they knew how to have a great time, often at someone else's expense and preferably with public money" (Göllnerová 1933: 68); and finally: "The Mikszáth era was so rotten and by its decline so clearly cried to heaven for vengeance that the decay of this unhealthy society accelerated as if spontaneously" (Göllnerová 1933: 71).

Göllnerová-Gwerková subjected the past to a generalizing criticism in order to portray it as an antithesis of the present (Kingdom of Hungary vs. interwar Czechoslovakia). Her commitment to "state-building" included efforts to nurture positive attitudes towards the republic, so her text relies heavily on drawing contrasts. She favored Masaryk's ideal of grassroots work, pitting it against the "lordly" mentality. She was not a revolutionary type, preferring to believe in progress by evolution. Like Albert Pražák, a Czechoslovak Czech scholar (to give at least one example), she supposed that the realization of the ideal of a Czech-Slovak community was hampered by deeply ingrained mental

[8] Mikszáth is considered one of Hungary's greatest 19th-century writers. His works often combined realism with humor and satire, focusing on the lives of peasants, small nobility, and provincial gentry.

patterns molded in the Kingdom of Hungary (Pražák wrote about "Slovak peculiarity", which he considered an amalgam of "alleged" differences that arose as a result of Magyarization; Pražák 1926). Göllnerová-Gwerková sought a break with what was "old", especially anything associated with the once-privileged classes, and to fill the gaps in social substance through upbringing and education. As she saw it, the experience of Magyarization not only resulted in a loss of national identity, but it also perpetuated divisions within society and disrupted the continuity of social development: "In times of political and cultural oppression", she wrote, "numerous capable and educated individuals drifted away from the nation, especially in the last pre-war generation. The nation did feel their absence" (Göllnerová 1939: 41). She associates the attempt to stabilize social relations in the new state with a black-and-white critique of social relations in the bygone era, the age of the feudal (not democratic) Kingdom of Hungary.

Her interpretations of Hungarian culture and literature were selective, dictated by the contemporary context. "The fact that there is a large Hungarian minority in our country," she wrote in the introduction to her monograph on Eötvös, "obliges us to properly understand and appreciate important elements of Hungarian culture" (Göllnerová 1937: 6). As a result of this specific intersection of ideological assumptions, in the early 1930s Göllnerová-Gwerková found these "important elements", among others, in the thinking of Dezső Szabó. Not only did she translate his texts [the novel *Pomoc!* (Help), together with Czech friend and tutor Jarmila Zigmundová (1893–?)], but she also commented on them in Czech and Slovak scholarly papers and journals (*Panorama*, *Prúdy*, and *Slovenské smery umelecké a kritické*). Göllnerová-Gwerková looked for positive models and modern solutions to social relations in Szabó's works, and especially in his political thought. Of particular interest to her was his criticism of feudalism and the acknowledgement of a special historical role of those at the lower end of the social ladder, the peasants and workers. She explained her interpretative and translational choices as follows: "Democracy is the only remedy to unify the Hungarian nation. Szabó's life story, which he incorporated into the story of the protagonist of his novel *Pomoc*, is extremely instructive in the Hungarian context..." (Göllnerová and Zikmundová 1930–1931: 14). And further: "His ideas are particularly close to those of President Masaryk" (ibid). What she probably had in mind was the idea of equal rights for all social classes, although it eluded her that for Szabó it was not a matter of inclusion but of the exclusion of those outside the national community.

3 Czechoslovakism as an existential project

One may speculate about the motivations behind Göllnerová-Gwerková's commitment to Czechoslovakism, an idea that was intrinsically political. How did it come about that the "building of the republic" became the driving force behind her activities, including those in academia? Can her enthusiasm be described more accurately as passion, and how did she fit into the "new times" as a Slovak woman? Göllnerová-Gwerková published her first scholarly text, *The Beginnings of the Reformation in Banská Bystrica*, in Czech in 1930, the same year she published a Czech translation of Szabó's novel *Pomoc!*. Her Czechoslovak path was not free of internal tensions, as so often happens with a commitment that turns into an "existential project" and thus becomes "a process, often spread out over years, a movement that can hardly be defined as uniform, rectilinear" (Mrozik 2019: 255). Göllnerová-Gwerková sought to incorporate democratism and egalitarianism into the ideal of a Czechoslovak community; she opposed the translation of Slovak books into Czech and vice versa, with the ideal of the Slovak and Czech languages holding identical status in a democratic Czechoslovakia. However, her enthusiasm and social activism entwined with her arduous daily duties; the idealism clashed with reality. In a letter to Jarmila Zigmundová in 1933, she wrote bitterly: "Chaloupecký told me that I must not lag behind, that I had to be more flexible, in order to

understand, I might add, his Catholic ideas" (Göllnerová-Gwerková was closer to Protestantism; in a burst of emotion, she alludes, in Chaloupecký's case not necessarily correctly, to the Protestant-Catholic tensions persistent in the culture of the time – M. B.). I realized that I actually had nothing to look for among these people. I would be making an effort, but I wouldn't be able to do anything anyway. I graduated from the University of Prague, and if I don't sing the way Chaloupecký wants me to, I won't get into that university at all (referring to a full-time position at Comenius University in Bratislava – M. B.). And what is the situation there? Vilíkovský [Jan] has always been interested in Latin, and now he has suddenly habilitated in Old Czech literature. He is a Czech, thus restricting young Slovaks from getting tenure" (Göllnerová 1938).

This bitterness is often echoed in her private correspondence. Göllnerová-Gwerková complains about quotas, academic and political clientelism. She is, however, somewhat torn, and makes attempts to avoid mixing the private with the political in her publications. It is not until 1938, in the article *Žena vedkyňa* (Woman researcher), that she blames (although still not explicitly) her difficulties in finding a stable place in academia not only on her nationality, but also on her gender. It is at that time, incidentally, in the late 1930s, that she first emerges as an author with a feminist consciousness.

4 Final remarks

Göllnerová-Gwerková's position was therefore not politically neutral. Her worldview aligned with the views of the Czechoslovak interwar state-forming intelligentsia, which accepted and developed a republican-liberal-rationalist ethos. This intellectual orientation placed a strong emphasis on democratic participation, secular education, and the primacy of reason over tradition or dogma. It was nourished by Enlightenment legacies and adapted to the specific historical experience of Czechoslovakia as a newly established state after 1918.

However, her individual biography and political engagement show how Central European intellectual history as well as women's history is marked by a complex web of political, cultural, and social entanglements, from shifting empires and borderlands to the intermingling of ethnic and religious groups. Göllnerová-Gwerková was ultimately vulnerable when the Czechoslovak democratic framework collapsed under external pressures. The values she defended – democracy, enlightened humanism and republican civic virtue – were precisely those undermined first by the regime of the Slovak Republic (1939–1945). In this sense, her intellectual and personal trajectory mirrored the fate of a generation of Central European intellectuals whose commitment to democracy was put to the severest of tests. Their involvement was also part of a broader modernization process, in which the multinational, interwar Czechoslovak Republic – with its Czechoslovakism as an official ideology – sought to present itself as a progressive and democratic state.

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ЗАЕДНИЧКО ДЕЛО ИСПОЛНЕТО СО ПОЛЕМИКИ

(Ангелина Бановиќ-Марковска, Златко Крамариќ, *И повторно политика, култура, идентитет: интеркултурен дијалог 2*, МИ-АН, Скопје, 2024, 396 стр.)

JOINT WORK FILLED WITH POLEMICS

(Angelina Banović-Markovska, Zlatko Kramarić, *Once Again Politics, Culture, Identity: Intercultural Dialogue 2*, MI-AN, Skopje, 2024, pp. 396)

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Книгата *И повторно политика, култура, идентитет: интеркултурен дијалог 2*, претставува продолжение, односно втор дел на изданието *Политика. Култура. Идентитет: интеркултурен дијалог* (Скопје: Магор, 2012; хрватско издание – 2013 година). Во првата книга, авторите на читателите им предочија дека заедничкото издание е реализирано со задоволството од неповторливото искуство, наречено заедничко пишување, проследено со моменти кога со прекумерна полемичка страст и без никакво чувство за толеранција, меѓусебно се убедувале во точноста на сопствените и во погрешноста на туѓите тези. Можеме да претпоставиме дека и вторава книга, во чија чест се одржува денешнава промоција, е настаната на истиот начин.

Резултатот од ваквите полемички страсти се сведува на еден сублимат којшто го наведуваат и самите автори, во воведните обраќања на двете книги, и тоа речиси идентично. Тоа е заклучокот дека тоталитарната свест не им е туѓа дури ни на оние што се гледаат себеси како либерали. Ова „либерали“ отвора низа прашања, па во зависност од историскиот период, се толкувало различно: Што се тоа либерали? Што е тоа либерализам? Дали либералите

истовремено се и анархисти, дали либерализмот се наоѓа во директен судир со конзерватизмот, или и двата поими можат да коегзистираат без поголеми проблеми во исто општество? итн.

Што се однесува на претходно споменатите меѓусебни натпревари на идеи, согласни сме дека „полемиката како начин на комуникација не им е својствена на тоталитарните општества. Тоа се општества во кои преовладува монолошкиот дискурс, општества во кои мислите на тие што владеат се и владејачки мисли, а сè што останува зад тој дискурс, што претставува 'разлика' во однос на допуштеното мислење, насилно се делегитимира. За разлика од тоталитарните општества, во плуралистичките може да се говори слободно, можно без страв да се оспоруваат туѓите мислење. Во плуралистичките општества 'правото на разлика' се промовира како пожелен модус на мислење и на дејствување".

Ангелина Бановиќ-Марковска совршено го затвора кругот, иако всушност така ја започнува книгата, со ставот дека „историјата којашто ни е позната изобилува со различни видови ропства. Тие може да попримат форма на верски фанатизам или на политички екстремизам, но во основа своето постоење ѝ го должат на една опсесивна и опресивна идеологија, чија крајна цел е да завладее со светот. Станува збор за тоталитаризмот, кој својата доминација ја темели на сугестивните способности на Водачот, чиишто стратегии, засновани на манипулација и насилство, создаваат специфична илузија и слепа лојалност кај толпите, консолидирајќи ја својата апсолутна моќ".

Содржински, книгата е сочинета од повеќе поглавја, кои наизменично ги пишуваат Бановиќ-Марковска и Крамариќ. Малку на македонски, малку на хрватски јазик, исчитуваме размисли кои, во прв ред, според нас, се однесуваат на идентитетот/идентитетите од книжевен, историски и книжевноисториски аспект, но и со антрополошки, односно хуманистички предлошки. На изданието „И повторно: Политика. Култура. Идентитет" може да се гледа и како на оригинален филозофско-политиколошки труд, којшто исцртува неколку различности: етнички, културни, полови и општествени, со оглед на профилите на авторите, нивните местоживеалишта и (не)припадностите на меѓународни економски и политички организации. И, сметаме дека токму во овие разлики можеме да ги пронајдеме најдобрите примери на дебата меѓу двајца врвни интелектуалци.

Кај сите „луѓе од Истокот", како што Дубравка Угрешиќ ги нарекува некогашните жители на социјалистичка Европа и на поранешна Југославија, се јавуваат особени чувства кога станува збор за две нешта: за нивното минато и за заедничкиот живот. Бановиќ-Марковска тоа го доведува во контекст на искуствата од минатото и на вредностите на сегашноста, односно, наједноставно кажано, на меморијата. Овој латински збор *memoria*, којшто е сроден со грчкото *мнеме*, се однесува на помнењето, нешто што е силно изразено кај балканските народи, понекогаш во позитивна смисла, но многу почесто во негативна смисла, којашто предизвикува стари романтичарски занеси за големи народи, за големи држави итн. Ова меморирање како да се случува со помош на потсвесна, а можеби и свесна вештина, наречена мномотехника, која озвозможува поврзување на зборови и слики, со цел знаењето да се запамети потсвесно. Една мала дигресија, токму благодарение на мнемотехниката, познати се повеќе талентирани македонски народни пејачки, како Митра Ристова, Парашкева Сирлешчова и Дафина од Просеник и зачувани се едни од најубавите македонски народни умотворби. Бановиќ-Марковска забележува дека со смената на генерациите, се менува и профилот на помнењето. Порано тоа било побавно, но сега, со целосната глобализација, Интернетот и вештачката интелигенција, многу побрзо исчезнуваат генерациите коишто изворно се сеќаваат на конкретен историски настан или на некој културен феномен, исчезнува и „спојната конструкција на сеќавањето" за заедничкото минато, без разлика дали тоа било трауматично или славно.

Ова нè доведува до едно прашање, особено важно за нас: „Можно ли е да изчезнат нациите", односно, во случајов, македонската нација? Од минатото е познато дека исчезнале

голем број народи. Сепак, социолошкиот и политиколошкиот поим дава на знаење дека поимот народ е малку поразличен од нација, бидејќи нациите не се само збир на луѓе со исто потекло, туку историски создадена општествено-економска, културна и политичка заедница, врз основа на заедничка територија, јазик, минато, традиција итн., силно проникната со свест за заедничка припадност. Значи, повторно, меморија, но и идентитет. Крамариќ наведува неколкумина автори кои се наклонети кон „националниот песимизам“, но не се согласува со тој „апокалиптичен дискурс“ дека македонската нација ќе изчезне набрзо, или толку брзо.

Историјата покажа колку Френсис Фукујама не беше во право кога со паѓањето на Берлинскиот ѕид, односно со завршувањето на Студената војна, во својата книга со звучен наслов, го предвидуваше „крајот на историјата“. Историјата, се чини, никогаш не може да има крај, односно нема да има крај сè додека човекот, како општествено битие, има разум и свест, односно умее да ги запишува настаните што се случувале пред него. Разумот и свеста, всушност, се однесуваат на егото, суперегото и идот. Притоа, при притаено внатрешно вриење, но и при ерупција на чувствата на протагонистите на настаните, основните нагони веќе не познаваат никакви вредности: нема морал, добро и зло. Постојат само инстинкти со потреба за празнење, што го означуваат почетокот на деструктивните сили.

Токму тука можеме да најдеме и еден од последните заклучоци, со кои Крамариќ го завршува својот текст „И после Тито – Тито“, со кој воедно завршува книгата. Крамариќ ги наведува оправдувањата кои на поединци, како Владимир Путин и Слободан Милошевиќ, им служеле и им служат за агресија врз своите соседи – дека „тоа го прават исклучиво поради заштита на припадниците на своите малцинства во тие држави“ (Украина и Хрватска). Меѓутоа, како што можеме да видиме и денес, историјата покажала и сè уште покажува дека, освен директните воени дејствија, постојат и поинакви начини за агресија врз своите помали и помалку вмрежени соседи во меѓународните заедници.

Ние не смееме да очајуваме, и покрај сите мали локални закачки и сите големи светски нереди. „Но, пред тоа, би морале да одговориме на уште едно прашање: што светот (сè) може да очекува по Путин/Трамп? Потоп или трулеж?“ Овој завршеток нам не ни создава многу оптимистична слика за светот во иднина. Дали „новиот светски поредок“, којшто последниве години се најавува постојано, ќе значи и ново читање на историјата, некоја нова книжевна теорија, дали ќе го уништи колективното сеќавање и ќе значи нов подем на индивидуализмот? Ова можно циклично движење на историјата, горе-долу, сега би било многу побрзо во однос на претходните децении, а да не зборуваме за претходните векови.

Всушност, размислите на Ангелина Бановиќ-Марковска и Златко Крамариќ, освен што даваат одговори, отвораат уште повеќе прашања. Сепак, едно е јасно, дури и при целосен потоп или трулеж, на овој или на оној начин, според нас, крајот на историјата нема да се случи, и таа ќе продолжи да се тркала по својот пат, без разлика колку и да ни изгледа нелогичен.