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**Normalization in Translations from English: The
Case of the Slovak Transgressive**

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Normalization in Translations from English: The Case of the Slovak Transgressive.
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V Olomouci dňa 09.05.2024

Bc. Aneta Vršanská

Rada by som poďakovala vedúcej mojej diplomovej práce, Mgr. Michaele Martinkovej, Ph.D. za jej neoceniteľné rady, veľkú ochotu, láskavosť, trpezlivosť a podporu počas písania práce. Veľké ďakujem tiež patrí mojej rodine a priateľom, ktorí ma podporovali počas celého štúdia a vďaka ktorým sa toto obdobie života stalo naozaj nezabudnuteľným.

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to test the normalization hypothesis as a T-universal using subcorpora of Slovak translations of English fiction and Slovak original fiction. The linguistic feature under investigation is the Slovak transgressive form. The thesis initially investigates the frequency of all transgressive forms (i.e. regular and absolute ones) and then zooms in on frequency of regular transgressive forms only. Special attention is paid to absolute transgressives, their token frequencies and specific types found in translations and non-translations. The thesis also studies the types of verbs in regular transgressives, their aspect and semantic interpretation, the use of transgressives in specific positions within text (narrative passages, reporting clause, direct speech) and the use of the Slovak transgressive in time. The theoretical part of this thesis introduces morphological, syntactic, semantic and stylistic features of the Slovak transgressive as well as its frequency in Slovak literature and use in translation. The thesis then defines the concept of corpus-based translation studies and its main area of research – translation universals, paying special attention to normalization and a research paper targeted on the Czech transgressive form, which inspired the topic of this thesis. The methodological part presents the compilation of the two subcorpora in InterCorp, corpus and statistical tools which were used and the annotation of the data. The analytical part provides the results and their discussion.

Key words

normalization, translation universals, Slovak transgressive, fiction, corpus-based study

Anotácia

Cieľom tejto práce je preskúmať jednu z prekladových univerzálií – normalizáciu – v korpuse slovenských prekladoch anglickej beletrie vo vzťahu ku textom v korpuse pôvodnej slovenskej beletrie. Predmetom skúmania je slovenský prechodník. Práca najskôr skúma počet všetkých slovenských prechodníkov (t.j. bežných aj absolútnych), a potom sa zameriava iba na počet bežných prechodníkov. Osobitne vyčleňuje absolútne prechodníky, ich počet v jednotlivých korpusoch ako aj konkrétne typy, ktoré sa v nich nachádzajú. Pozornosť je taktiež venovaná slovesám použitých v bežných prechodníkoch, ich vidu a významu, ďalej výskytu prechodníku na rôznych pozíciách v rámci textu (časť rozprávača, uvádzacia veta, priama reč) a v neposlednom rade aj zmene využívania prechodníku v určitom časovom rozmedzí. V teoretickej časti sú uvedené morfológické, syntaktické, sémantické a štylistické znaky slovenského prechodníka, jeho výskyt v Slovenskej literatúre a úloha v preklade. Práca ďalej definuje pojem korpusová translológia a hlavný predmet jej skúmania – prekladové univerzálie. Osobitná pozornosť je venovaná normalizácii a štúdiu zameranej na český prechodník, ktorá bola inšpiráciou pre tému tejto práce. Metodologická časť opisuje tvorbu korpusov, použitie jednotlivých korpusových a štatistických nástrojov a anotáciu textu. Praktická časť predstavuje výsledky výskumu a ich diskusiu.

Kľúčové slová

normalizácia, prekladové univerzálie, slovenský prechodník, beletria, korpusový výskum

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1 Introduction

With the rise of the corpus-based translation studies, the interest in studying the language of translation has increased as well, providing many general claims about translated texts. These general claims were given the name ‘universals’, or in Chesterman’s terms ‘translation universals’, and they are defined as universal features common to all translated texts, differentiating them from their source texts and original texts written in the target language (Chesterman 2004, 3). Chesterman (2003, 218) divides them into S- and T-universals, with S-universals being the differences between translated and source texts and T-universals the differences between translated and non-translated texts of the same language. These universal features have to be studied in order to ascertain whether they are truly universal, i.e. whether they apply to all translated texts, irrespective of the language of the source and target text.

One of the pioneers of this approach is Mona Baker (1993), who stressed the importance of incorporating corpora into translation studies and who, among the first, proposed that translations have several characteristic features, one of them being normalization. Toury (2012, 303) also discusses this translation universal naming it ‘law of standardization’. He claims that some textual relations in the source text are often modified or even ignored in favour of more conventional relationships of the target language (Toury 2012, 304). It implies that translators are more cautious about using linguistic patterns from a periphery of the target language and incline to translating the source text by more typical and mainstream target language features (Mauranen 2007, 12). This translation universal can be studied both as an S- and T-universal.

Normalization as a T-universal, among other translation universals, was studied by Olga Nádvořníková (2021), whose research has inspired this thesis greatly. Nádvořníková (2021) has examined the differences in the frequency of the Czech transgressive in Czech translated and non-translated texts of fiction and non-fiction and found out that the normalization is indeed present in Czech fiction, while for non-fiction it was not confirmed.

This thesis targets the Slovak transgressive; more specifically, I ask whether the same difference can be found between its frequency in Slovak translations of English fiction and its frequency in Slovak original fiction, i.e. whether normalization can be observed in Slovak as well. The main reason why this should not be the case is that the Slovak transgressive is morphologically simpler than the Czech transgressive in that it has lost its agreement features; however, other features are the same: the controller is coreferential with the subject of the

main clause, its semantic interpretation is given by the context, Slovak linguists agree (Brtková 2004, 25; Dvonč et al. 1966, 490; Kačala 2017, 138–139) that the form occurs only rarely in contemporary language and seems to be limited to a written form. Therefore, I expect that the Slovak transgressive might show a similar pattern of behaviour in translated texts like the Czech transgressive.

To address this question, I methodologically depart from Nádvořníková (2021, 66) by including – in the first step – absolute (grammaticalized) transgressives, because in Slovak they do not formally differ from what will be called regular transgressives: token frequencies of all transgressives will be compared in translated and non-translated Slovak. If the normalization hypothesis holds, then the token frequencies should be higher in original than in translated Slovak texts.

In the second step, I will identify absolute transgressives and compare their token frequencies in translated and non-translated texts – I will ask in which subcorpus they are more frequent in terms of tokens, and whether there is a difference between the two subcorpora as to their types.

Next, I will zoom in on the regular (non-absolute) transgressives only (as does Nádvořníková 2021) and investigate whether there is a difference between their token frequencies in translated and non-translated Slovak texts after excluding the absolute forms as well. Furthermore, I will analyse the types of verbs in the regular transgressive forms; more specifically, I will be interested to see whether the verbs are perfective or imperfective and whether they express simultaneity, anteriority or posteriority with respect to the event described by the predicate. I will also investigate whether transgressives have a tendency to appear in the narrative passages, in reporting clauses or in direct speech.

Finally, I will address the question raised in the linguistic literature, namely whether a diachronic trend – a decrease in token frequencies – can be observed over time (Brtková 2004, 25; Kačala 2017, 138). I will do this for each subcorpus separately.

The thesis is organized into six parts. In chapter 2, I introduce the Slovak transgressive form, define its characteristics in terms of morphology, syntax and stylistic features, and present several studies focused on the frequency and use of the Slovak transgressive and its translation. Chapter 3 describes translation universals as one of the research areas of the corpus-based translation studies and defines the concept of normalization; the methodology and findings of Nádvořníková's (2021) study are introduced in more detail. In chapter 4, I discuss the compilation of the two monolingual subcorpora, which were created for the

purpose of this thesis in InterCorp (Čermák & Rosen 2012). Chapter 5 provides an analysis of data and a discussion, conclusions and some avenues for further research are outlined in chapter 6.

2 The Slovak transgressive

Linguistic literature about the Slovak transgressive (*prechodník*) is quite scarce, and not always available (e.g. Žigo 1940; Letz 1950; Isačenko 1951–52). I follow Ružička (1956), Dvonč et al. (1966) and Kačala (2017) in their delimitation of the transgressive in terms of its morphology. The transgressive is thus discussed as a head of one type of what Slovak scholars call semi-predicative constructions (*polopredikatívne konštrukcie*) (Kačala 2017, Moško 1978, Ivanová 2016). To fully understand the transgressive in the Slovak language, it is important to look at some characteristics of these constructions which are relevant to the Slovak transgressive as well. Afterwards, I focus on the morphological characteristics, semantic interpretation and subjecthood of the transgressive and a special category of ‘absolute transgressive’. Finally, I describe its stylistic features, its frequency in the Slovak language and its role in translation.

2.1 Semi-predicative constructions

According to Moško (1978, 54), a semi-predicative construction (SPC) is a syntactic category which stands between a sentence and a sentence constituent. SPC cannot form a sentence of its own because it is fully dependent on the main clause (Kačala 2017, 32). According to Kačala (2017, 31), the head of the SPC is typically a non-finite verb form which most commonly includes the transgressive, infinitive, active present and past participle, and passive participle. Therefore, Kačala (2017, 31) classifies the SPCs into infinitival, participial and transgressive semi-predicative constructions. In addition, Kozár (2022, 152) argues that, apart from the non-finite verb forms mentioned above, the head of the SPC can be occupied also by verbal nouns, substantives, adjectives, pronouns and numerals.

The head of the SPC is in a semi-predicative relationship (semi-predication) to the superordinate constituent in the main clause, i.e. there is no adequate predication between the head of the SPC and the subject of the main clause (Ivanová 2016, 115). Example (1) below shows the semi-predicative relationship between the transgressive (*zakrývajúc si* [cover.TRG.REFL]), as the head of the SPC, and the subject (Katka) of the superordinate clause.

- (1) *Katka vstala, zakrývajúc si oči pred slnkom.*
Katka_{3.SG.F} get up_{PT.3.SG.F} COVER_{TRG.REFL} eyes in front of sun
‘Katka got up, **covering her eyes from the sun.**’

In this example, the subject of the main clause is the same as the implicit subject in the SPC, i.e. Katka is the one who performs both actions: getting up and covering her eyes. However, it can be seen that the finite verb in the main clause is marked by an agreement with the female subject (the ending *-a*) and also expresses verbal grammatical categories (e.g. the suffix *-la* for a past tense), whereas the transgressive lacks all these features, and, therefore, we talk here about the semi-predication.

Furthermore, Kačala (2017, 33) notes that the head of the SPC is generally modified by other constituents, as it is in example (1) above, where the transgressive is modified by an object NP (*oči* (eyes)) and a prepositional phrase (*pred slnkom* (from the sun)).

The function of the SPC is to make an utterance more condensed leading to an economy of the text (Kačala 2017, 24). Moreover, the SPC's role is also to create a hierarchy: the SPC holds a secondary position and thus creates a background for the action/event expressed in the hierarchically superordinate main clause (Ivanová 2016, 116).

2.2 Morphology of the Slovak transgressive

Considering the morphology of the Slovak transgressive, Dvonč et al. (1966, 489) claims that, in the past, there was one set of suffixes used for the transgressive of the perfective verbs and a different set for the transgressive of the imperfective verbs. More specifically, the suffixes *-vši/-v^l* were attached to the perfective verbs, for example in *živši* [live.TRG.PF] or *skúsiv* [try.TRG.PF], whereas for the imperfective ones there was the suffix *-a*, like in *ida* [go.TRG.IMPF]². Example (2) below demonstrates both forms as used by Slovak authors Hviezdoslav and Hečko (n.d., as cited in Dvonč et al. 1966, 489):

- (2) a. *To skúsi-v, v hanbe pod chvoj šupol.* (Hviezdoslav)
 it **try**_{TRG.PF} in shame under fir branches sneak
 ‘**Trying** it, he sneaked under the fir branches in shame.’
- b. *Lucka, id-a cestou, pritúli sa k mužovmu boku.* (Hečko)
 Lucka **go**_{TRG.IMPF} road cuddle up_{RRFL} to husband side
 ‘Lucka, **walking down** the road, cuddles up to her husband’s side.’

¹ Dvonč et al. (1966), unfortunately, does not state the difference in the use of these two suffixes.

² In this thesis I will use [PF] to mark perfective aspect and [IMPF] to mark the imperfective one.

Both Dvonč et al. (1966, 489) and Kačala (2017, 143) explain that these forms are now considered archaic and their occurrence in the Slovak language is very rare (they occur only in fiction), if any at all. According to Kačala (2017, 143), the Slovak transgressive underwent the process of simplification and, therefore, there is now only one form of the Slovak transgressive (Kačala 2017, 157). Other Slovak scholars (Ružička 1956, 293; Dvonč et al. 1966, 487) also present the same opinion.

In *Morfológia slovenského jazyka* (Morphology of the Slovak Language), Dvonč et al. (1966, 487–89), states that the Slovak transgressive is now formed by adding the suffixes *-úc/uc* or *-iac/ac* to verbs irrespective of their aspect. The use of these morphemes varies only according to the type of a verb stem (Dvonč et al., 1966, 487). Example (3) demonstrates the transgressive of the imperfective verb *pozerat'* [look.IMPF] and (4) shows the transgressive of the perfective verb *pozriet'* [look.PF], both formed by attaching the suffix *-úc*.

(3) *Pozeraj-úc na neho, povedala: ...*
look_{TRG.IMPF} at him say_{PT.3.SG.F}
 'Looking at him, she said: ...'

(4) *Pozr-úc na ňu, povedal: ...*
look_{TRG.PF} at her say_{PT.3.SG.M}
 'He looked at her and said: ...'

Examples (3) and (4) also demonstrate Kačala's (2017, 157–58) claim that the morphology of the Slovak transgressive does not show an agreement in gender, number, or case, which, on the other hand, can be seen on the suffixes in the participle form³. To see the difference in agreement markers between the transgressive and the participle, consider examples (5) and (6) below:

(5) a. *Prišla Katka usmievaj-úc sa.*
 arrive_{PT.3.SG.F} Katka_{3.SG.F} **smiling**_{TRG.IMPF.REFL}
 'Katka arrived **smiling**.'

b. *Prišla usmievaj-úca sa Katka.*
 arrive_{PT.3.SG.F} **smiling**_{PTCP.REFL.3.SG.F} Katka_{3.SG.F}
 'Smiling Katka arrived.'

³ Unlike the transgressive, the participle has a function of an attribute, not a secondary predication.

- (6) a. *Prišiel* *Peter* *usmievaj-úc sa.*
arrive_{PT.3.SG.M} Peter_{3.SG.M} **smiling**_{TRG.IMP.F.REFL}
‘Peter arrived **smiling**.’
- b. *Prišiel* *usmievaj-úci sa* *Peter.*
arrive_{PT.3.SG.M} **smiling**_{PTCP.REFL.3.SG.M} Peter_{3.SG.M}
‘Smiling Peter arrived.’

In (5a) and (6a) it can be seen that the transgressive forms stay the same (ending in suffix *-úc*) even when the subjects differ in sex (female in (5a), male in (6a)). On the other hand, examples (5b) and (6b) show how the participle maintains the agreement with the subject in feminine (thus participle ending in *-úca*) and masculine gender (participle ending in *-úci*) respectively.

2.3 Semantic interpretation of the Slovak transgressive

Žigo (1940, 195, as cited in Ružička 1956, 282) and Isačenko (1951–52, 4–14, as cited in Ružička 1956, 293) state that there are two forms of the transgressive in the Slovak language – the transgressive of simultaneity (formed with imperfective verbs) and the transgressive of anteriority (formed with perfective verbs). However, Ružička (1956, 293) argues that there is no compelling evidence to talk about these two forms of the transgressive in Slovak.

Based on his analysis of examples of the transgressive excerpted from works by Slovak writers (the specific authors, works or years of publication are not always stated), Ružička (1956, 292–93) concludes that the aspect of the verb in the transgressive construction is used mainly “as a tool for expressing relative tense” but points out that it is not that straightforward as Žigo and Isačenko suggest. Based on his analysis, Ružička (1956, 293) claims that the transgressive of the imperfective verbs indeed expresses a simultaneous action with the one indicated in the main clause, but goes on to say (Ružička 1956, 293) that the transgressive of the perfective verbs does not convey only the meaning of anteriority (as stated by Žigo and Isačenko), but also the meaning of subsequence or even simultaneity (for specific examples see sections 2.3.1–2.3.2). Therefore, because of these findings and because of the unified morphology for the transgressive of both aspects, Ružička (1956, 293) concludes that the Slovak transgressive should not be classified as the transgressive of simultaneity and the transgressive of anteriority.

Nonetheless, the aspect of the verb of the transgressive still plays an important role in indicating the temporal meaning of the transgressive. As Ružička (1956, 292) states, and Kačala (2017, 159) confirms, the aspect of the verb expresses the ‘relative tense’ of the transgressive, i.e. relative to the event expressed by a finite verb in the main clause. The differences between the imperfective and perfective verbs, with regard to this relative tense, are described in the following paragraphs.

2.3.1 *The transgressive of imperfective verbs*

Kačala (2017, 49–53) and Ružička (1956, 294) claim that the transgressive of the imperfective verbs is used to express simultaneity with the action in the main clause. Kačala (2017, 49) states that this semantic relationship can be seen more clearly when the transgressive construction is substituted for a finite clause (mainly with the use of the conjunction *a* (and) and the adverb *pritom* (at the same time)). The example of the construction with the transgressive of imperfective verb *pozerat' sa* [look.IMPF.REFL] and its equivalent finite clause transformation can be seen in (7). This example shows that the action expressed by the transgressive is taking place at the same time as the action expressed in the main clause.

- (7) a. *Přišla do izby, pozerajúc sa do mobilu.*
 come_{PT} into room **looking**_{TRG.IMPF.REFL} into mobile
 ‘She came into the room, **looking** into her mobile phone.’
- b. *Přišla do izby a (pritom) sa pozerala do mobilu.*
 come_{PT} into room and (at the same time) **look**_{PT.REFL3.SG.F} into mobile
 ‘She came into the room while **looking** into her mobile phone.’

2.3.2 *The transgressive of perfective verbs*

According to Kačala (2017, 53), the transgressive of the perfective verbs expresses an action which is either anterior (used more frequently) or subsequent (less frequent) to the one in the main clause. Again, both meanings are seen more clearly after the transformation of the transgressive construction into the finite clause.

The anterior function is demonstrated in the example (8) with the transgressive of perfective verb *pozriet' sa* [look.PF.REFL]. The equivalent finite clause in (5b) joined to the main clause with the conjunction *a* (and) and the adverb *potom* (then) shows that the first action in the transgressive construction precedes the action in the main clause.

- (8) a. *Pozrúc sa na neho, vstúpila do domu.*
look_{TRG.PF.REFL} at him enter_{PT} into house
 ‘She **looked** at him and entered the house.’
- b. *Pozrela sa na neho a (potom) vstúpila do domu.*
look_{PT.REFL} at him and (then) enter_{PT} into house
 ‘She **looked** at him and (then) entered the house.’

Example (9) then shows the less frequent situation, in which the action indicated by the transgressive of the perfective verb *usadiť sa* [down.sit.PF.REFL] follows the action expressed in the main clause; this is made explicit in its paraphrase in (9b).

- (9) a. *Povedal to, usadiac sa na stoličku.*
 say_{PT} it **sit**_{TRG.PF.REFL} on chair
 ‘He said it and **sat** on the chair.’
- b. *Povedal to a (potom) sa usadil na stoličku.*
 say_{PT} it and (then) **sit**_{PT.REFL} on chair
 ‘He said it and (then) **sat** on the chair.’

As I have already mentioned above, Ružička (1956, 291–93), argues that the transgressive of the perfective verbs can, in specific cases, convey the meaning of simultaneity as well. The author (Ružička 1956, 291) calls this a ‘deviation’ which takes place if the action expressed by the transgressive is short, when it cannot be formed with an imperfective verb and when the agent is able to perform the two actions (indicated in the transgressive construction/SPC and in the main clause) at the same time. This is what we see in example (10) where the very short action indicated by the transgressive of the perfective verb *ukázať* [point.PF] can take place at the same time as the main action: she said it and at the same time she pointed at the picture.

- (10) *Povedala to, ukážuc na obraz.*
 say_{PT} it **point**_{TRG.PF} on picture
 ‘She said it **pointing** at the picture.’

2.4 The subjecthood of transgressives and ‘absolute transgressive’

Dvonč et al. (1966, 489) and Kačala (2017, 44) claim that the agent of the transgressive is generally coreferential with the agent of the main clause. As can be seen in (11) below, the

agent of the main clause (*ona* (she)) is also the controller of the action expressed by the transgressive *pozerajúc* [look.TRG]:

- (11) *Pozerajúc do mobilu, (ona) vstúpila do miestnosti.*
 look_{TRG} into mobile (she_{3.SG.F}) enter_{PT.3.SG.F} into room
 ‘**Looking** into her mobile phone, she entered the room.’

Nevertheless, Dvonč et al. (1966, 489) recognizes also the existence of cases where the agent of the transgressive and that of the main clause are not coreferential. Ružička (1956, 283) and Kačala (2017, 48) consider it to be a ‘grammatical mistake’: in (12) the controller of the transgressive is the speaker (I), whereas the agent of the main clause is the mum (she):

- (12) *Premýšľajúc o tom, prekvapila ma mama.*
 think_{TRG} about it surprise_{PT.3.SG.F} me mum_{3.SG.F}
 ‘**Thinking** about it, my mum surprised me.’

Furthermore, Kačala (2017, 46) points out that there are also other cases when the agent of the transgressive is not coreferential with the agent in the main clause, namely when the transgressive has undergone the process of lexicalization and thus has no longer the function of a verb. Some Slovak scholars (Dvonč et al. 1966, 489; Ružička 1956, 284) then talk about ‘absolute transgressive’ (*absolútny prechodník*) or about ‘absolute transgressive construction’ (*absolútna prechodníková konštrukcia*) as referred to by Kačala (2017, 46).

The absolute transgressive still maintains its original transgressive form but functions as a particle (e.g. *takpovediac* (so to speak), *pravdupovediac* (to tell the truth)), preposition (e.g. *začínajúc* (starting from), *končiac* (ending with)), or adverb (e.g. *nechtiac* (accidentally), *chtiac-nechtiac* (reluctantly)) (Kačala 2017, 46). Some of these absolute transgressives are exemplified in (13) below:

- (13) a. *Pravdupovediac, nebol to veľmi čestný človek.*
 to tell the truth be_{PT.NEG.3.SG.M} it very honest person
 ‘**To tell the truth**, he was not a very honest person.’
- b. *Pozerá rôzne filmy počnúc komédiami a končiac horormi.*
 watch_{PS.3.SG.F} various movie starting from comedy and
 ending with horror
 ‘She watches various movies **starting from** comedies and **ending with** horrors.’

- c. *Nechtiac jej na šaty vylial víno.*
 accidentally she on dress spill_{PT.3.SG.M} wine
 ‘He **accidentally** spilled the wine on her dress.’

The particles *takpovediac* (so to speak) and *pravdupovediac* (to tell the truth) were until the last decades of the 20th century written separately as *tak povediac* and *pravdu povediac* but then they began to be used as one word (Kačala 2017, 168). In the practical part of this thesis, they might occur in both forms since my data contain recent as well as older texts.

2.5 Stylistic features and frequency of the Slovak transgressive

Brtková (2004, 25) claims that the Slovak transgressive is used most frequently in written language while in spoken speech it is almost absent, and she adds that even in written texts its occurrence depends on the style of a specific author. According to her, in the past, writers used this linguistic structure more often than contemporary authors, who try to write in a simplified way to make the written language more similar to the spoken one (Brtková 2004, 25).

As early as 1966, Dvonč et al. (1966, 490) stated that the transgressive in the Slovak language has a bookish character. Some scholars (Dvonč 1966, 490; Brtková 2004, 25; Kačala 2017, 43) agree that this linguistic form is used mainly in reporting clause in written language, as can be seen in (14). On the contrary, Dvonč et al. (1966, 490) notes that it can be found only rarely in direct speech.

- (14) „*Nie,*“ *povedala Katka, mračiac sa na neho.*
 no say_{PT} Katka frown_{TRG.REFL} at him
 ‘‘No,’’ **said Katka, frowning at him.**’

As for the frequency of the transgressive in the Slovak language, interesting findings are reported by Kozár (2022, 150–59), who examines the occurrence of different semi-predicative constructions (including transgressive SPCs) in various works by Slovak writers. In his sample, 40.3 % of all texts are represented by fiction and 59.7 % by academic literature (Kozár 2022, 150–59). The author (Kozár 2022, 150–59) collected his data by manually excerpting all occurrences of the SPCs from twenty publications by various Slovak writers, published in the time span of 1965–2018, with only four of them published before 2000. Kozár (2022, 152) differentiates between: transgressive SPCs, SPCs with a passive participle, SPCs with an

active present participle, infinitival SPCs, SPCs with a verbal noun, substantive SPCs, adjectival SPCs, and pronominal and numeral SPCs.

The findings relevant to my thesis are those regarding the transgressive SPCs, whose occurrence, in contrast to other types of the SPCs, is quite low, only 2.63 % of all types (Kozár 2022, 153). Moreover, the author found that all the examined semi-predicative constructions are in general represented more frequently in the academic texts, however, the transgressive SPCs are present only in fiction, with zero occurrence in the academic literature (Kozár 2022, 155–57). The author provides some examples taken from fiction, one of which is displayed in (15) below.

- (15) *Na tvoju počesť, myslíac na teba, nocoval som v ňom /v dome/.* (Tatarka)
on your honour **think**_{TRG} on you sleep_{PT} in it /in house/
'In honour of you, I spent the night in the house, **thinking** of you.'

The only cases of the transgressive forms in the academic publications were those of the absolute transgressive, but since they are no longer part of the verbal paradigm and function as other parts of speech, Kozár (2022, 155–56) does not consider them in his data.⁴

In different research, Kačala (2017, 127–39) investigates the frequency of the Slovak transgressive over time by examining twenty-six publications of prose and essays by twenty Slovak authors. The time span in which the texts were originally published is wider than that in Kozár's study (1864–2015). Similarly to Kozár, Kačala (2017, 129–31) gathers his data manually by excerpting texts in his corpus and, at the same time, he keeps the original division of the texts into pages as found in the publications.⁵ The number of pages analysed in particular works is crucial for determining the average number of the transgressive per page, which Kačala uses as the main figure for a comparison of different authors and individual works (Kačala 2017, 131). Moreover, he keeps separate the transgressives of perfective and imperfective verbs, providing numbers for each; separately counted are also absolute transgressives (Kačala 2017, 130).

⁴ Kozár (2022), unfortunately, does not provide any example of the absolute transgressive as used in academic publications.

⁵ Kačala (2017, 127) explains that he either excerpts the whole text of the publication, or just its representative part. He states the size of the studied texts in pages. These examined pages do not include blank pages or pages with illustrations.

Though Kačala (2017, 127–39) does provide concrete numbers, these are never visualized. I, therefore, wanted to bring my own visualisation of his quantitative findings, which can be found in Figure 1 below.

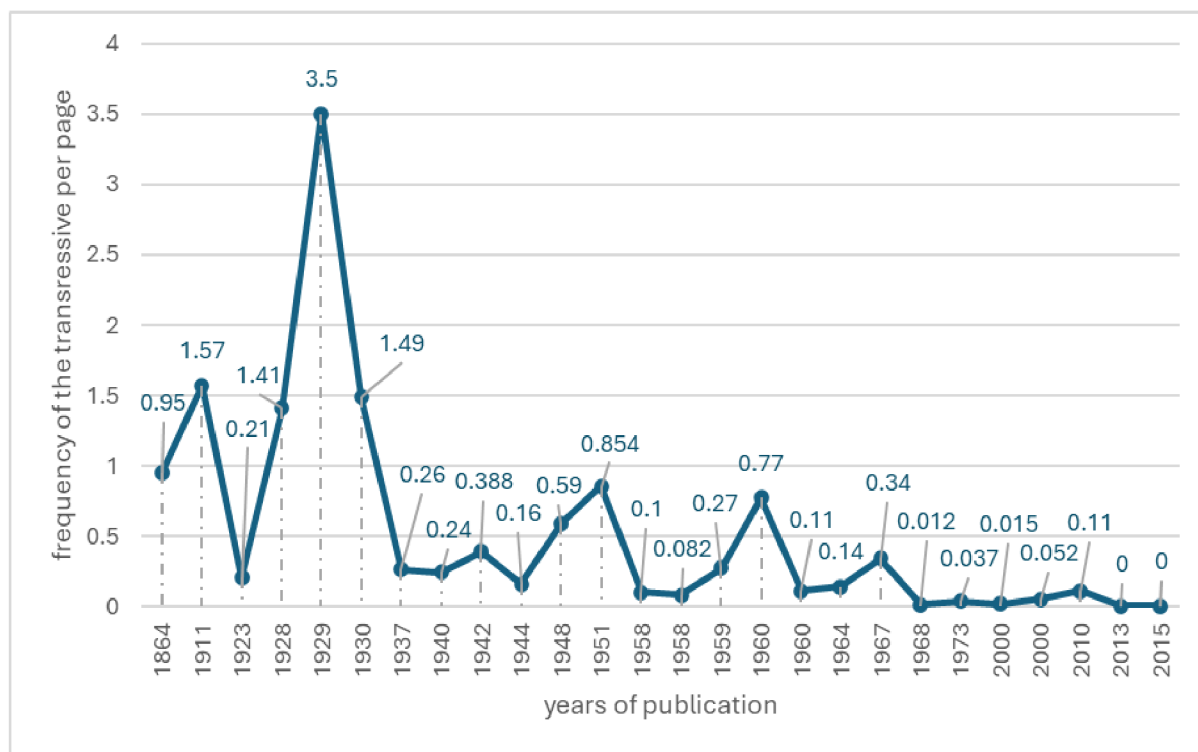


Figure 1: The average frequency of the transgressive per page in the original Slovak literature over time ((based on Kačala 2017, 127–39)

This figure shows a decreasing frequency of the Slovak transgressive in time. The peak, which is 3.5 of the transgressives forms per page, is represented by a collection of short works by Timrava published in 1929. According to Kačala (2017, 133), this high number might be caused by Timrava’s style of writing, which is characteristic of using more condensed and complex sentences and the transgressive construction is precisely one of the ways of condensing a text⁶. Many works had close to zero transgressives per page, but only two works actually contain zero transgressive forms: the two latest publications in the sample, written by Šebestová (2013) and Brat (2015) (Kačala 2017, 137).

Kačala (2017, 138–139) concludes that there is a decline in the frequency of the use of the Slovak transgressive in the Slovak literature during the 20th century and in the first decades of the 21st century. Furthermore, Kačala (2017, 134–35) reports that transgressive forms of

⁶ Other ways of condensation used by this author are not mentioned by Kačala.

imperfective verbs are more frequent than those of perfective verbs, which account for circa one fifth or sixth of all transgressives (Kačala 2017, 131). Finally, Kačala (2017, 138) claims that the Slovak transgressive has a bookish mark because its use has changed mainly with regard to its ‘stylistic value’. What he means by this ‘stylistic value’ is, however, not very clear since the author does not state any specific examples, nor provides an explanation on how the transgressive has changed stylistically.

Kačala’s study inspired me to investigate the diachronic trend of the use of the Slovak transgressive in my study as well. I will examine whether the frequency of the transgressive in translated and non-translated Slovak texts declines or shows a different tendency.

2.6 The Slovak transgressive in translations

Studies of the Slovak transgressive in translations are scarce. Brtková (2004) looks into the Russian *деепричастие* (transgressive) as used in several works by Mikhail Zoshchenko and Nikolai Vasiljevich Gogol, and its Slovak correspondences in the translations by Ján Ferenčík and Viera Marušiaková; however, only 162 sentences with the Russian transgressive in the Russian originals are analysed (Brtková 2004, 20). The author does not define any specific research questions or hypotheses but makes several general claims about the Russian transgressive and the way Slovak translators tend to use the Slovak transgressive in their translations. For example, she notes that the Russian transgressive is employed in all kinds of language use – in spoken language as well as various genres of written language – and it is considered a neutral linguistic form (Brtková 2004, 24). The Russian transgressive occurs more frequently in the written language than in the spoken one. On the other hand, as it has been already mentioned above, the Slovak transgressive is used only in the written language and even there it is applied quite rarely with a bookish stylistic mark (Brtková 2004, 25).

Furthermore, Brtková (2004, 23) sees two general strategies in the translations of the Russian transgressive into Slovak: either to avoid the use of the Slovak transgressive because of their assumption that it is too archaic or even dead, or to use it even in cases where another Slovak alternative form is usually more preferred⁷.

⁷ Brtková, however, does not support her claims by any specific data or examples.

Translations by other forms than the transgressive include: a coordinate clause, a subordinate clause, participle, and a prepositional phrase. The frequencies of the translation strategies can be found in Figure 2, which I created on the basis of a table provided in Brtková’s study.

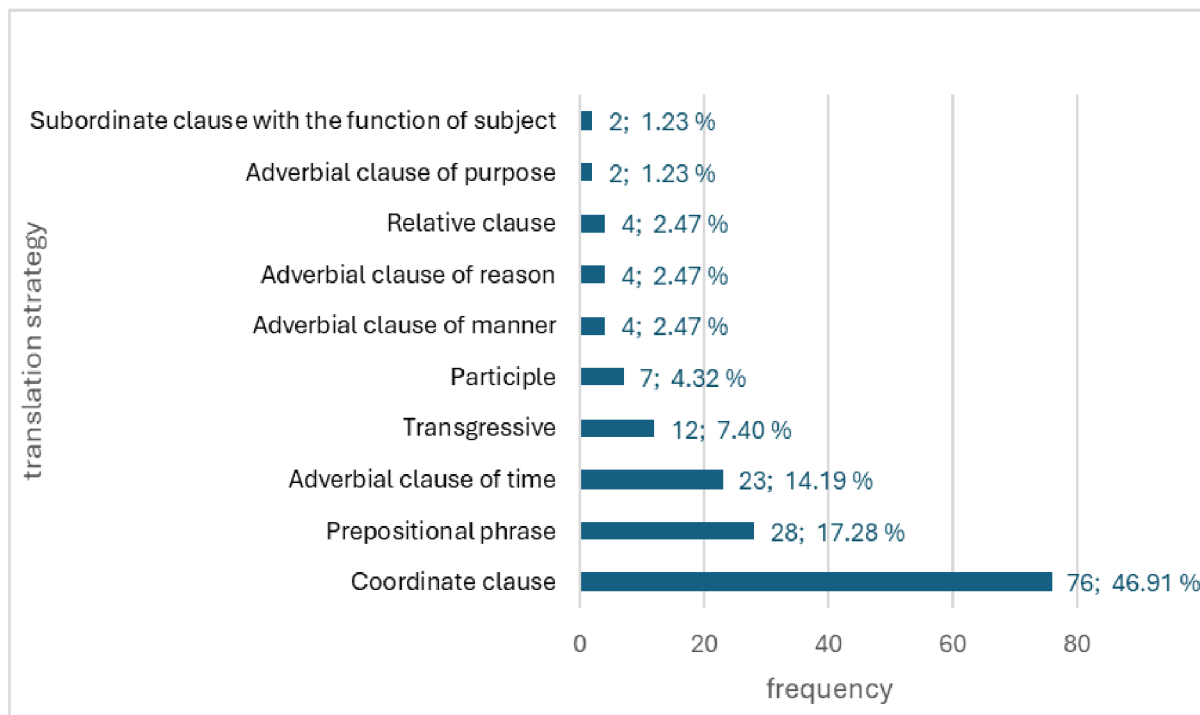


Figure 2: The translation alternatives of the Russian transgressive into Slovak (based on Brtková 2004, 30)

These data demonstrate that the Russian transgressive was translated most frequently (46.91 %) by main clauses and the Slovak transgressive form was used only twelve times (7.40 %). Therefore, in comparison to Russian, the frequency of the Slovak transgressive is very low. However, Brtková’s research does not say whether this number is low or high in comparison to authentic Slovak texts. This is what I plan to investigate in my thesis: I will use corpus tools to find out whether Slovak translations from English differ in the frequency of transgressive forms from texts written originally in Slovak. My research is thus translational in nature, and the translation universal I will be testing is normalization. In the next section, I will introduce the concept of translation universals and normalization in particular, along with research that inspired me, namely a study of the use of the Czech transgressive form in translated and non-translated Czech (Nádvorníková 2021).

3 Normalization as a translation universal

This chapter focuses on describing corpus-based translation studies and one of their main areas of research, the hypothesis of translation universals. Then, I move on to defining two types of translation universals – S-universals and T-universals – as proposed by Chesterman (2003). Finally, I zoom in on normalization and introduce Nádvorníková's (2021) findings about the Czech transgressive in Czech fiction and non-fiction.

3.1 Corpus-based translation studies

The idea of introducing corpus tools in translation studies is first proposed by Mona Baker (1993), who predicts that the access to large corpora of translated and original texts will have a great impact on the development of the translation studies (Baker 1993, 235). According to her (Baker 1993, 243), “the most important task that awaits the application of corpus techniques in translation studies [...] is the elucidation of the nature of translated text as a mediated communicative event”.

Thanks to the pivotal role that Baker played in emphasizing the employment of corpora into research on translation, strong links have been created between corpus linguistics and descriptive translation studies (DTS) in the 1990s (Laviosa 2004, 8). According to Laviosa (2004, 8), it is the set of shared concerns of these two fields that is “one of the keys, if not *the* key, to the success story of [computer-based translation studies]”. Both fields focus on investigating authentic uses of language rather than intuitive knowledge about them and they use comparative research model to test hypotheses on the “probabilistic generality of a given phenomenon” by analysing collections of various texts in corpora (Laviosa 2004, 8).

Corpus-based translation studies (CTS) is now “an established subfield of the descriptive branch of the discipline” with various areas of interest (Zanettin 2013, 21). One of the main research areas of CTS is the study of translation universals, which are described in the following chapter.

3.2 Translation universals

Translation universals can be defined as universal features which are typical to all translations, and which distinguish translated texts from source texts and original target texts (Chesterman 2004, 3). This idea is linked to the view expressed by Frawley (1984, 159–75), who claims

that the language used in translations constitutes a ‘third code’ which differentiates a translation from other non-translated texts. Likewise, Baker (1993, 234) argues that “translated texts record genuine communicative events and as such are neither inferior nor superior to other communicative events in any language”. Based on these assumptions, there is a need for exploring and recording these differences characteristic to translated texts (Baker 1993, 234).

However, one has to be cautious about the term ‘translation universals’ as different scholars may use the term differently. According to Chesterman (2003, 218), translation universals can be divided into two classes based on two textlinguistic relations. Hypotheses which “capture universal differences between translations and their source texts” are called S-universals (S for source), while those which “concern differences between translations and non-translated texts written in the target language” are called T-universals (T for target language) (Chesterman 2003, 218). It is in the sense of T-universals that Baker (1993) first used the terms ‘translation universals’ or ‘universal features of translation’. However, some scholars have used the term ‘translation universals’ to name both S- and T-universals (e.g. Chesterman 2003, Mauranen 2007, Xiao & Dai 2010). In this thesis, I will thus follow Chesterman’s terminology and use the term ‘translation universals’ as an umbrella term for both T- and S-universals.

According to Chesterman (2004, 7), translation universals are descriptive hypotheses only. They are general claims about translated texts which then have to be tested on various data in order to find out if they are really universal or not (Chesterman 2003, 220). In addition, since they are hypotheses only, Chesterman (2004, 7) notes that “some have been corroborated more than others, and some tests have produced contrary evidence, so in most cases the jury is still out”. The quest for universals is believed to be important due to its contribution to our knowledge of translation (Chesterman 2003, 226). It brought a significant methodological advancement into the field of translation studies and “encouraged researchers to adopt standard scientific methods of hypothesis testing” (Chesterman 2003, 226). Because of the research on universals, many hypotheses based on theoretical claims have been tested and many predictive hypotheses have been suggested for future studies (Laviosa 2010, 4).

3.3 Normalization

The focus of this thesis, normalization, is a translation universal defined as “a tendency of translated texts to conform to target language rather than source language patterns and norms, producing more conventional rather than unusual target strings” (Zanettin 2013, 23). It suggests that translators tend to be cautious and conservative in using peripheral parts of a target language and that they rather stay in the mainstream (Mauranen 2007, 12). Instead of unusual and unique features, in translations we might find more common and unmarked grammar and lexis, clichés, normalized punctuation or also the use of standard language for dialect (Mauranen 2007, 13). Toury (2012, 303) introduced this translation universal under the name ‘law of standardization’. He claims that “in translation, textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire” (Toury 2012, 304). The author (Toury 2012, 304) says that the reason why translations tend to exhibit greater standardization than their source texts is that unique textual relationships “are more difficult to reconstruct than institutionalized ones”.

This translation universal can be conceived both as an S- and T-universal. Normalization as a T-universal was studied by Olga Nádvorníková (2021), whose research inspired the topic of this thesis. Nádvorníková (2021) looked at differences in the frequency of the Czech transgressive in translated and original Czech fiction and non-fiction; the effect of normalization is observed when the frequency of the linguistic feature is lower in translations than in non-translations. Unlike my research, where I focus on translations from English only, Nádvorníková (2021) examined texts from different source languages.

Regarding the Czech transgressive, it has many similar features to the Slovak one: its controller is coreferential with the agent of the main clause, its semantic interpretation is given by the context, and it is rarely used in contemporary language and can be found only in written texts (Nádvorníková 2021, 56–57).

On the contrary, the morphology of the Czech transgressive is more complex than that of the Slovak transgressive. The Czech transgressive has two forms – present and past – and, as Table 1 presents, both forms have different set of morphemes, which vary according to the verb stem and the agreement with the controller in gender and number (Nádvorníková 2021, 58). This archaic morphology causes that the Czech transgressive has a strong stylistic mark; therefore, it is considered as bookish (present imperfective form) and even archaic (past

perfective form) by most Czech grammars (Komárek 1986, 154; Cvrček 2010, 249; and Karlík et al. 1995, 337 as cited in Nádvorníková 2021, 61).

Czech transgressive forms		Present	Form Past
M.SG		-a / -e / -ě	-Ø / -v
F.SG + N.SG		-ouc / -íc	-ši / -vši
PL (M+F+N)		-ouce / -íce	-še / -vše
Aspect	Imperfective	Present (Simultaneity) CONV.PS.IMPF	Simultaneity/Anteriority CONV.PT.IMPF
	Perfective	Futurate CONV.PS.PF	Past (Anteriority) CONV.PT.PF

Table 1: Morphology of the Czech transgressive (Nádvorníková 2021, 58)

It also follows from Table 1 that both forms can be formed with imperfective and perfective verbs (Nádvorníková 2021, 58). However, Czech grammars (Komárek 1986, 154; Cvrček 2010, 148–249; and Karlík et al. 1995, 335–337 as cited in Nádvorníková 2021, 58) state that the present imperfective transgressive form, which expresses simultaneity, and past perfective form, expressing anteriority, are the dominant ones. This indicates an analogy to the Slovak transgressive in terms of the temporal meaning conveyed by it: the transgressive of imperfective verbs is used to express the meaning of simultaneity and the one with perfective verbs *usually* the meaning of anteriority (Kačala 2017, 53; Ružička 1956, 291–93).

Just like in the case of Slovak, Czech language has absolute transgressive forms, also referred to as grammaticalized transgressives, which may be part of other categories, e.g. adverbs and prepositions (Nádvorníková 2021, 59). These forms dropped the agreement with the controller and, similarly to Slovak, are non-coreferential, i.e. the controller of the transgressive is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause (Nádvorníková 2021, 59). In the corpus queries, Nádvorníková (2021, 66) excluded the most frequent grammaticalized forms from her analysis; however, she does not state the reason for this decision.

As far as the results are concerned, the normalization effect was confirmed in translated fiction as compared with original Czech fiction, but the difference in non-fiction was not proved to be statistically significant (Nádvorníková 2021, 74). The difference between these two text registers was explained by various factors, such as translators' exploitation of the stylistic mark of the Czech transgressive in fiction, mainly in historical novels and fantasy

stories, or by using the transgressive for a humoristic effect (Nádvorníková 2021, 74). These and other factors, however, indicate that the frequency of the transgressive might have been influenced by the style of specific texts and authors (Nádvorníková 2021, 76).

Furthermore, Nádvorníková (2021, 76–78) states that the normalization effect in fiction was caused by a high number of translated texts with zero transgressive (31 % of all translated texts) as compared to a lower number of texts with zero transgressive in non-translations (20 % of all non-translated texts).

Finally, the effect of normalization was stronger in the past transgressive forms (formed with perfective verbs in contemporary Czech) than in the present forms (formed with imperfective verbs) due to the archaic stylistic mark of the past transgressive (Nádvorníková 2021, 78). The frequency of the past transgressive accounted for 6 % of all transgressives in translated texts and 14 % in non-translated ones (Nádvorníková 2021, 78).

Due to the several similarities between the Czech and Slovak transgressive, it is expected that the Slovak transgressive may show a similar behaviour in translated and non-translated Slovak fiction like the Czech transgressive.

4 Methodology

In this chapter, I will present a compilation of two subcorpora which will be used in my research. Subsequently, I will describe the corpus and statistical tools used for the analysis of the data as well as the process of annotation of the data.

The data for the practical part of this thesis come from two subcorpora created in InterCorp (Čermák & Rosen 2012), a large multilingual corpus, which is a part of the Czech National Corpus (CNC) project. InterCorp can be accessed via KonText interface in a standard web browser.

The two subcorpora were created in the Slovak part of the InterCorp version 16 released in 2023 (Nábělková, Vavřín & Zasina 2023). For the purpose of testing the normalization hypothesis, I created a subcorpus of Slovak translations of English fiction and one of fiction originally written in Slovak. Both of them are comparable in structure, since they contain only fiction, and are also roughly comparable in the time period. However, they are not comparable in terms of size: I decided to keep as many texts as possible in both subcorpora to obtain more data, which resulted in difference in their sizes.

Firstly, I created the subcorpus of Slovak translated texts, which I have named “Slovak translations of EN fiction”. In Figure 3 you can see the selected features during the compilation of the subcorpus.

The screenshot shows the KonText interface for feature selection. At the top, there are buttons for 'Refine selection', 'Undo', 'Reset selection', and 'Custom text type proportions', along with a link to 'Minimize all the lists'. Two feature lists are displayed: list 1 includes 'text.group ∈ {Core}', 'text.tdtype ∈ {fiction}', 'text.srclang ∈ {en}', and 'text.original ∈ {No}' with 1,509,642 positions; list 2 includes '... & text.id ∈ {sk:Orwell-1984:0, sk:carroll-alenka_v_kraji:0, ..., sk:Cook-Nakaza:0, sk:adams-stoparuv_pruvodc:0}' with 1,265,689 positions. Below these are several panels for feature selection: 'Aligned corpora', 'text.srclang' (en, 1,265,689), 'text.original' (No, 1,265,689), 'text.translator', 'text.author', and 'text.title' (checked).

Figure 3: The selection of features for the “Slovak translations of EN fiction” subcorpus in KonText

Initially, I selected the “core” part of the “InterCorp v16 – Slovak” corpus with fiction as the text type. To keep there only those works which were originally written in English, I selected English as a source language. After this selection, I got a subcorpus of 1,509,642

words. I examined the specific texts in the subcorpus to see whether all of them are suitable for my research. My main criterion was to include each author only once to avoid the influence of one's idiolect. There were two authors – J. R. R. Tolkien and A. A. Milne – who were represented in the subcorpus twice, so I decided to keep there only one work by each author.

As far as the Slovak translators are concerned, I selected texts which were translated by different translators, except for two works – *Alica v krajine zázrakov* and *1984* – which were both translated by Juraj Vojtek, but in the case of *Alica v krajine zázrakov*, Vojtek collaborated with Viera Vojtková. Because of this collaboration and because of the total number of words of these two texts, which does not exceed the maximum word count of one text in this subcorpus, I decided to keep both titles in my research.

Moreover, I found out that there were two versions of Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* translated by the same translator; thus, I decided to include only one of them. In the end, I was left with thirteen works with the total of 1,265,689 words, which I did not restrict further. They are displayed in Table 2 and Table 3 below, arranged according to the publication date of the source texts and the publication date of the translated Slovak texts respectively.

Author	Text	Year ST	Translator	Year TT	Word count
Lewis Carroll	<i>Alica v krajine zázrakov</i> (<i>Alice's Adventures in Wonderland</i>)	1865	Juraj Vojtek, Viera Vojtková	1981	26,288
Rudyard Kipling	<i>Knihá džunglí</i> (<i>The Jungle Book</i>)	1894	Jarmila Samcová	2006	23,178
Bram Stoker	<i>Drakula</i> (<i>Dracula</i>)	1897	Helena Sumbalová	1997	98,570
Alan Alexander Milne	<i>Medvedík Pú</i> (<i>Winnie the Pooh</i>)	1926	Stanislav Dančiak	2002	25,827
J. R. R. Tolkien	<i>Hobit</i> (<i>The Hobbit</i>)	1937	Otakar Kořínek	2002	94,240
Ernest Hemingway	<i>Komu zvoní do hrobu</i> (<i>For Whom the Bell Tolls</i>)	1940	Alfonz Bednár	1959	187,575
George Orwell	<i>1984</i>	1949	Juraj Vojtek	2000	102,841
Joseph Heller	<i>Hlava XXII</i> (<i>Catch-22</i>)	1961	Dušan Janák	1975	186,195
Douglas Adams	<i>Stopárov sprievodca galaxiou</i> (<i>The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy</i>)	1979	Patrick Frank	2004	53,778
Virginia C. Andrews	<i>Kvety v podkroví</i> (<i>Flowers in the Attic</i>)	1979	Marta Kastlová	1993	140,292

Robin Cook	<i>Nákaza (Outbreak)</i>	1987	Veronika Redererová	1992	92,086
J.K. Rowling	<i>Harry Potter a kameň mudrcov (HP and the Philosopher's Stone)</i>	1997	Jana Petrikovičová	2000	89,452
Dan Brown	<i>Da Vinciho kód (The Da Vinci Code)</i>	2003	Oto Havrila	2004	145,367
					1,265,689

Table 2: Works in the “Slovak translations of EN fiction” subcorpus (according to the ST publication date).

Author	Text	Year ST	Translator	Year TT	Word count
Ernest Hemingway	<i>Komu zvoní do hrobu (For Whom the Bell Tolls)</i>	1940	Alfonz Bednár	1959	187,575
Joseph Heller	<i>Hlava XXII (Catch-22)</i>	1961	Dušan Janák	1975	186,195
Lewis Carroll	<i>Alica v krajine zázrakov (Alice's Adventures in Wonderland)</i>	1865	Juraj Vojtek, Viera Vojtková	1981	26,288
Robin Cook	<i>Nákaza</i>	1987	Veronika Redererová	1992	92,086
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J.K. Rowling	<i>Harry Potter a kameň mudrcov (HP and the Philosopher's Stone)</i>	1997	Jana Petrikovičová	2000	89,452
Alan Alexander Milne	<i>Medvedík Pú (Winnie the Pooh)</i>	1926	Stanislav Dančiak	2002	25,827
J. R. R. Tolkien	<i>Hobit</i>	1937	Otakar Kořínek	2002	94,240
Douglas Adams	<i>Stopárov sprievodca galaxiou (The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy)</i>	1979	Patrick Frank	2004	53,778
Dan Brown	<i>Da Vinciho kód (The Da Vinci Code)</i>	2003	Oto Havrila	2004	145,367
Rudyard Kipling	<i>Kniha džunglí</i>	1894	Jarmila Samcová	2006	23,178
					1,265,689

Table 3: Works in the “Slovak translations of EN fiction” subcorpus (according to the TT publication date).

A similar procedure was followed for the creation of the subcorpus of non-translated Slovak texts, which I named “Slovak original fiction”. Features which I selected are displayed in Figure 4.

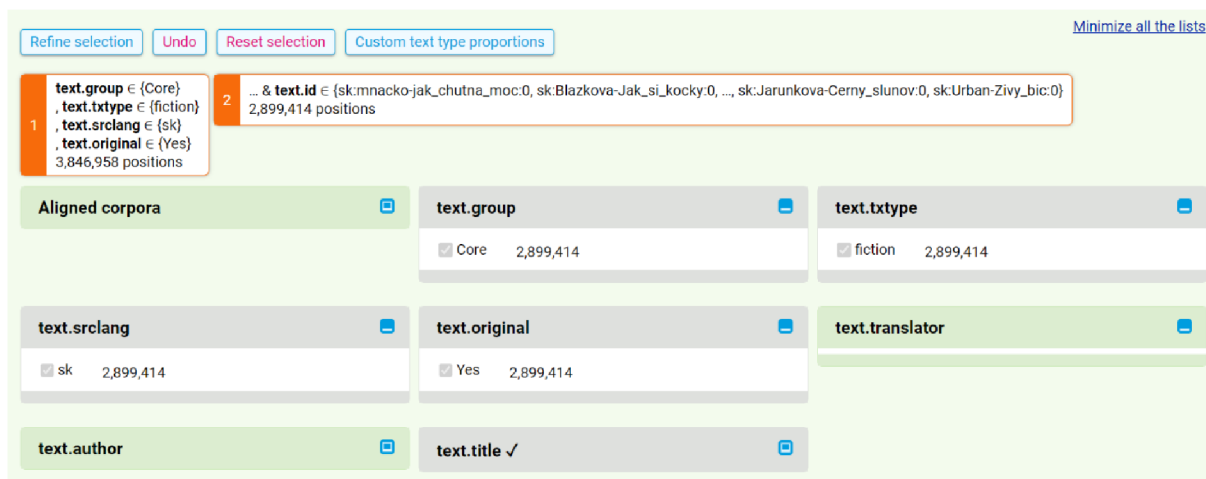


Figure 4: The selection of first features for the “Slovak original fiction” subcorpus in KonText

Similarly to the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction, I initially selected the “core” of the corpus and fiction as the text type. Then, I selected Slovak language as the source language of the texts. This selection produced a subcorpus of 3,846,958 words. Afterwards, I applied my main criterion – including each author only once; I chose the texts randomly. Finally, I left out one title – *O novembrovom snehu* by Svetlana Žuchová – whose publication date I was not able to find, and it would not be possible to compare it to other works in terms of the trend in time. In the end, I was left with 35 works with the total of 2,899,414 words. The titles are displayed in Table 4.

Author	Text	Year	Word count
Pavol Dobšinský	<i>Zakliata hora</i>	18?? ⁸	104,049
Milo Urban	<i>Živý bič</i>	1927	111,287
Jožo Nižnánsky	<i>Čachtická pani</i>	1932	210,472
František Švantner	<i>Malka</i>	1942	58,532
František Hečko	<i>Červené víno</i>	1948	288,097
Ľudo Ondrejov	<i>Slnko vystúpilo nad hory</i>	1956	136,282
Peter Karvaš	<i>Polnočná omša</i>	1959	24,867

⁸ I was not able to find the original year of publication for this title. However, the author lived between 1828–1885, so the work had to be written in that period, i.e. in the 19th century.

Zuzka Zguriška	<i>Husitská nevesta</i>	1962	80,455
Jaroslava Blažková	<i>Ako si mačky kúpili televízor</i>	1967	1,334
Ladislav Mňačko	<i>Ako chutí moc</i>	1968	74,660
Elena Chmelová	<i>Robin Hood</i>	1973	60,629
Jozef Žarnay	<i>Tajomstvo Dračej steny</i>	1973	79,014
Ján Lenčo	<i>Hviezdne okamihy</i>	1974	67,992
Štefan Paulov	<i>Mikrobiont</i>	1974	26,708
Janko Jesenský	<i>Maškarný ples</i>	1975	29,495
Peter Jaroš	<i>Tisícročná včela</i>	1979	159,445
Klára Jarunková	<i>Čierny slnovrat</i>	1979	117,418
Vincent Šikula	<i>Liesky</i>	1980	34,934
Rudolf Sloboda	<i>Druhý človek</i>	1981	42,372
Dušan Mitana	<i>Koniec hry</i>	1984	100,351
Bohuš Chňoupek	<i>Lámanie pečatí</i>	1984	205,181
Andrej Ferko	<i>Proso</i>	1984	36,393
Dušan Dušek	<i>Náprstok</i>	1985	17,110
Ladislav Ballek	<i>Lesné divadlo</i>	1987	141,763
Ján Johanides	<i>Najsmutnejšia oravská balada</i>	1988	69,065
Július Satinský	<i>Moji milí Slováci</i>	1991	24,290
Anton Baláž	<i>Tábor padlých žien</i>	1993	103,591
Michal Hvorecký	<i>Lovci & Zberači</i>	2001	84,363
Pavel Vilikovský	<i>Posledný kôň Pompejí</i>	2001	94,351
Juraj Kuniak	<i>Nadmorská výška 23 rokov</i>	2002	21,661
Nataša Tanská	<i>Ja to vidím inakšie, miláčik</i>	2004	8,045
Daniela Kapitáňová	<i>Nech to zostane v rodine!</i>	2005	48,892
Dušan D. Fabian	<i>Invocatio Elementalium</i>	2006	126,760
Stanislav Rakús	<i>Pieseň o studničnej vode</i>	2006	32,657
Juraj Červenák	<i>Sekera z bronzu, rúno zo zlata</i>	2008	76,899
			2,899,414

Table 4: List of works in the “Slovak original fiction” subcorpus

In order to search for all instances of the Slovak transgressive in both subcorpora, I had to find a specific CQL tag. However, a tagset for the Slovak language is not available directly in the KonText interface. It has to be taken from the Slovak National Corpus (SNC)⁹ where the CQL tag for the transgressive form is [tag="VH.*"]. I did not exclude absolute

⁹ Available at <https://korpus.sk>.

transgressives in the corpus query as did Nádvořníková (2021, 66), because the Slovak absolute transgressive has the same form as the regular one and differs only in terms of its function and subjecthood (see 2.4).

Therefore, at the beginning, I compared the normalized frequencies of all Slovak transgressives found in both subcorpora to see whether the normalization effect takes place, i.e. whether the normalized frequency is lower in translations than in non-translations. I also used the Calc tool on the CNC website¹⁰ which offers a visualisation of the confidence intervals as well as statistical significance tests (I chose the chi-square test). Then I used the Frequency tool in KonText and sorted the data according to the text title to obtain the normalized frequencies of transgressives for each text in the two subcorpora. The Graph Tool on Lancaster Stats Tools website¹¹ was then used to analyse the internal variance of these data and see their error plots.

Then, I exported all the concordances into an Excel spreadsheet and annotated the absolute transgressive forms. Since they do not differ formally from the regular transgressive, I looked for those types mentioned in linguistic literature (Kačala 2017, Dvonč 1966, Ružička 1956), e.g. *pravdupovediac* (to tell the truth), *začínajúc* (starting from), *končiac* (ending with), *nechtiac* (accidentally), *nehovoriac* (*o tom*) (not to speak of), *vynímajúc* (except for) etc. However, their identification was not entirely trivial. In the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction, I came across four ambiguous types which can be classified as absolute or regular transgressives only according to the context, i.e. whether their controller is coreferential (regular) or not (absolute) with the controller in the main clause and/or whether they function as verbs (regular) or as other parts of speech (absolute).

For example, the form *začínajúc* (starting from / start.TRG) can be an absolute transgressive with the function of a preposition, as in (16a), but also as a regular transgressive, as in (16b).

- (16) a. *[D]ali merať telesné výšky a hrúbky frekventantov, začínajúc po krajčírsky od krkov nadol a končiac po ševcovsky od šliap nahor [...].* (František Hečko, *Červené víno*)
‘[T]hey had the heights and widths of the attendants measured, **starting**, in tailor’s terms, **from** the neck down and ending, in cobbler’s terms, from the feet up [...].’

¹⁰ Available at <https://www.korpus.cz/calc/>.

¹¹ Available at <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/stats/toolbox.php>.

- b. *Každú z terás obišla v úhľadnom zástupe s vysoko pozdvihnutými fakľami, sedemkrát zopakujúc verše rituálnej piesne, vždy začínajúc vo vyššej tónine [...].* (Dušan D. Fabian, *Invocatio Elementalium*)
 ‘She walked around every terrace in a well-arranged line with torches held up high, seven times repeating the verses of the ritual song, always **beginning** in a higher key [...].’

Another such case is the form *nehovoriac* (not to speak of / speak.TRG.NEG), which is an absolute transgressive in example (17a), and a regular transgressive in example (17b):

- (17) a. *Porozprávala som to Helle a ona na to povedala, že ani ona by svojej mame celkom neverila, o ocovi ani **nehovoriac**.* (Pavel Vilikovský, *Posledný kôň Pompejí*)
 ‘I told Hella about it and she said that she wouldn’t fully trust her mum either, **not to** even **speak of** her dad.’
- b. *Bola mu prasto oddaná, pritom mlčala o budúcnosti, nič **nehovoriac** o nijakých záväzkoch – nič od neho nechcela, nežiadala, ani mu nič nepripomínala.* (Ladislav Ballek, *Lesné divadlo*)
 ‘She was simply loyal to him, said nothing about the future, **not speaking** anything about any commitment – she did not want or ask anything from him, nor did she remind him of anything.’

Finally, the form *nehľadiac* (regardless / at.look.TRG.NEG) can be used as an absolute transgressive with the function of a preposition, as in (18a), or as a regular transgressive. I have found two examples of this regular transgressive form; they are demonstrated in examples (18b) and (18c).

- (18) a. *Odchoval piatich synov a jednu dcéru, všetkých dal vyštudovať, **nehľadiac** na zadlžovanie majetku.* (Ľudo Ondrejov, *Slnko vystúpilo nad hory*)
 ‘He raised five sons and one daughter, sent them all to school, **regardless of** getting their property into debt.’
- b. *Ale Kramár, ani **nehľadiac** naňho, odsekol: „Zavri papuľu a choď včerty.”* (Milo Urban, *Živý bič*)
 ‘But **not even looking at** him, Kramár said: “Shut up and go to hell.”
- c. ***Nehľadiac** pred seba – sprosták – podrazil kolená malému Rudkovi, Rudko spadol, žalostne zajajkal.* (Ľudo Ondrejov, *Slnko vystúpilo nad hory*)
 ‘**Not looking** in front of himself – idiot – he tripped little Rudko up, Rudko fell down and groaned.’

After identifying all absolute transgressives and analysing their token frequencies and types, i.e. lexical diversity of verbs in this transgressive form, I zoomed in on regular transgressives only and compared their normalized token frequencies in the same way as I did with all transgressive forms in the first step. To find out whether the effect of normalization takes place, I used the same statistical tools as I did previously.

Then, I used the Node Form tool in KonText to see the types of transgressives sorted by their frequencies. I had to manually exclude all absolute transgressive types from this list to get only the regular ones and see what types are used the most in the two subcorpora.

Subsequently, to classify the verbs of the regular transgressives into perfective and imperfective ones, I used the Frequency tool in KonText and made a frequency list according to tags. This tool sorted the verbs of all transgressives into imperfective, perfective and bi-aspectual verbs. Bi-aspectual verbs are verbs which carry the meaning of both perfective and imperfective aspects and always only one of these two aspects is used in a specific context (Dvonč et al., 1966, 425). Therefore, I examined all bi-aspectual verbs and classified them either as perfective or imperfective according to their use in the context. Moreover, I also had to identify and exclude the absolute transgressives from these categories.

After this step I annotated the regular transgressives for their temporal meaning. All imperfective transgressive forms were found to convey the meaning of simultaneity. However, the annotation was far more difficult when it came to the perfective transgressive verbs, whose temporal meaning can be anterior, posterior, or simultaneous. It was often quite unclear which meaning they express, but in the end, I managed to find several patterns present in both subcorpora which helped me determine their meaning.

I began with annotating the perfective transgressives for the meaning of simultaneity. First, the event expressed by the transgressive is simultaneous with the event denoted by the predicate whenever the transgressive is a verb denoting a manner of speaking. In (19a), taken from the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction, the action expressed by the transgressive describes that Milo said something in a quiet way. In (19b) you can then see an example from the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction, where the action of the transgressive also specifies the way in which the utterance was uttered.

- (19) a. „*Ach áno, zabudol som, „ prisvedčil Milo, **stíši**ac_{PF} ohľaduplne hlas.* (Joseph Heller, *Hlava XXII*, transl. Dušan Janák)
“Oh, yes, I forgot,” **in a voice lowered** deferentially. (Joseph Heller, *Catch-22*)

- b. — *Myslím!* — *povedal, **zmrviac**_{PF} to slovo medzi zubami.* (Milo Urban, *Živý bič*)
 “‘I do think!’ he said, **crunching** the phrase between his teeth.’

Furthermore, the event is simultaneous with that expressed by the predicate also with negative forms of the perfective transgressive verbs. However, it applies only in cases when the transgressive construction can be substituted for a finite clause connected to the other clause with the conjunction *a* (and) and the adverb *prítom* (at the same time). This is demonstrated in (20).

- (20) a. *Major Major dôstojne prešiel cez kanceláriu letky, ani len **nepozrúc**_{PF} na úradníkov a pisárov, ktorí pracovali za stolmi a pri registračkách.* (Joseph Heller, *Hlava XXII*, transl. Dušan Janák)
 ‘Major Major strode with dignity to the rear of the orderly room **without glancing** at any of the clerks and typists working at the desks and filing cabinets.’ (Joseph Heller, *Catch-22*)
- b. *Major Major dôstojne prešiel cez kanceláriu letky **a prítom** ani len **nepozrel**_{PF} na úradníkov a pisárov, ktorí pracovali za stolmi a pri registračkách.*
 ‘Major Major strode with dignity to the rear of the orderly room **while not** even **glancing** at any of the clerks and typists working at the desks and filing cabinets.’

Moreover, there were certain cases when the action of the perfective transgressive simply has to happen at the same time as the action in the main clause. Example (21a) shows that Karkov showed his teeth when smiling. I have identified the transgressive in (21b) as simultaneous as well, because Oliver gets several clips round the ear during the action in the main clause (fighting), which takes a longer time.

- (21) a. *„Tovaryšč Massart,“ povedal Karkov svojim zdvorilo pohrdavým, šušlavým hlasom a usmial sa, **odkryjúc**_{PF} skazené zuby.* (Ernest Hemingway, *Komu zvoní do hrobu*, transl. Alfonz Bednár)
 “‘Tovarich Marty,’ said Karkov in his politely disdainful lispng voice and smiled, **showing** his bad teeth.’ (Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*)
- b. *Oliver zápasí s Pančuchovým hebedom, **obsiahnuc**_{PF} od neho niekoľko zaúch, ale zatlačil ho do šentíša, zamkne ho v ňom a vyberie kľúč z dveri.* (František Hečko, *Červené víno*)
 ‘Oliver fights with fat Pančucha, **getting** several clips round the ear, but he pushes him into a tap room, locks him inside and takes out the key.’

The remaining examples of the perfective transgressives expressed anteriority or posteriority, and anterior and subsequent actions correlated with the position of the transgressive within a sentence. That means that when the transgressive stood on the left periphery of the main clause, the action/event of the transgressive also preceded the action/event described by the predicate and was classified as anterior. On the other hand, when the transgressive followed the predicate, the action of the transgressive also followed after the action described by the main clause and was identified as subsequent. The former case is given in (22), the latter in (23).

- (22) a. *Mních, **vycítiac**_{PF} Rémyho prítomnosť, precitol z akéhosi tranzu podobného modlitbe a jeho červené oči vyzerali skôr zvedavé než vystrašené.* (Dan Brown, *Da Vinciho kód*, transl. Oto Havrila)
 ‘Sensing Rémy’s presence, the monk in the back emerged from a prayer-like trance, his red eyes looking more curious than fearful.’ (Dan Brown, *The Da Vinci Code*)
- b. *Pohotovo vybehla medzi stromy a **vydajúc**_{PF} zhrozené zhíknutie si klakla pred svoju sestru.* (Dušan D. Fabian, *Invocatio Elementalium*)
 ‘She promptly ran among the trees and **crying out** with dread, she kneeled in front of her sister.’
- (23) a. *„Je to pentameter!“ zvolal Teabing, **obrátiac** *sa*_{PF} k Langdonovi.* (Dan Brown, *Da Vinciho kód*, transl. Oto Havrila)
 ‘“It’s pentameter!” Teabing blurted, **turning** to Langdon.’ (Dan Brown, *The Da Vinci Code*)
- b. — *A... to je kto? — opýtal sa zrazu, ostro **pozrúc**_{PF} na mníchov.* (Elena Chmelová, *Robin Hood*)
 ‘“And... who is that?” he asked suddenly, **glancing** severely at the monks.’

Nevertheless, there were some exceptions to this iconic order, like in example (24), where Yossarian sighed because he previously remembered his mission.

- (24) a. *„Dobre,“ súhlasil Yossarian a vzdychol, **spomenúc** *si*_{PF} na svoje poslanie.* (Joseph Heller, *Hlava XXII*, transl. Dušan Janák)
 ‘“All right,” Yossarian yielded with a sigh, **remembering** his mission.’ (Joseph Heller, *Catch-22*)

After the annotation of transgressives for their temporal meaning and analysis of the results, I wanted to see whether the claims of the Slovak scholars (Dvonč 1966, 490; Brtková

2004, 25; Kačala 2017, 43), that the Slovak transgressive appears quite often in reporting clause and only rarely in direct speech, can be observed in my data as well. Therefore, I annotated the transgressives for their position within a text, i.e. whether they occur in narration, reporting clause or direct speech. As direct speech I regarded an utterance of one of the characters, usually marked by quotation marks, as it is demonstrated in (25). Reporting clause introduces or follows direct speech, as in (26) below, and narration then represents all cases other than reporting clause and direct speech, as in (27).

(25) „*No odhliadnuc od toho, od pondelka sa so mnou dejú dost' čudné veci.*“ (Dušan D. Fabian, *Invocatio Elementarium*)

““**Regardless** of that, there is something going on with me since Monday.””

(26) „*Spravíme ‚čistku‘, to si chcel povedať,“ ozval sa dôstojník, ešte stále **hľadiac** do novín.* (Ernest Hemingway, *Komu zvoní do hrobu*, transl. Alfonz Bednár)

““‘Purge’ is the word you want,” the officer said, still **not looking up.**’

(Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*)

(27) *Stál tu sám, pekne **sa vyhrievajúc** na trocha už slabnúcom slnku.* (Ladislav Ballek, *Lesné divadlo*)

‘He stood here alone **basking** in the fading sun.’

Most of the cases were easy to classify, however, there were two situations which were quite ambiguous and for these I had to set some rules to remain consistent. First, when the transgressive appeared in a clause which reported what a character was thinking, this clause was classified as reporting clause, even though it was not a spoken speech that was reported. This case is demonstrated in example (28) bellow.

(28) *DVADSAŤ MILIÓNOV EUR, pomyslel si biskup, **hľadiac** z okna lietadla.* (Dan Brown, *Da Vinciho kód*, transl. Oto Havrila)

‘TWENTY MILLION EURO, the bishop thought, now **gazing** out the plane’s window.’ (Dan Brown, *The Da Vinci Code*)

Subsequently, when the transgressive was a part of a letter or a note, I was deciding between annotating it for a narration or for a direct speech since a letter can be also perceived as a speech of one character towards the addressee. However, since it is essentially a written text, I have decided to classify such examples as a narration. One of them is displayed in (29).

- (29) *Spoliehajúc sa na tvoju presnosť, máme česť ostat' Ti hlboko zaviazani, Thorin a spol.*
(J. R. R. Tolkien, *Hobit*, transl. Otakar Kořínek)
'**Trusting** that you will be punctual. We have the honour to remain Yours deeply
Thorin & Co.' (J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Hobit*)

Finally, I used the Frequency tool in KonText again to sort the data according to the frequency of the transgressives in texts. I examined both regular and absolute forms since Kačala (2017), from whom I took the inspiration, investigated all transgressives as well. Afterwards, I created graphs in Excel sheet displaying the frequency of the transgressive over time.

5 Analysis

In this chapter, I will introduce the quantitative and qualitative analyses of my subcorpora data. Firstly, to answer the question whether there are indeed fewer transgressive forms in Slovak translations than in Slovak originals (the normalization hypothesis), I will compare the normalized token frequencies of the transgressive forms in the two subcorpora. Secondly, I will introduce the token frequencies and types of the absolute transgressive in both subcorpora. Next, I will analyse only the regular transgressive and compare its token frequencies in translations and non-translations with regard to the normalization hypothesis. Furthermore, I will zoom in on the types of the regular transgressives and investigate the aspect of the verbs and what temporal meaning (simultaneity, anteriority, posteriority) they express in relation to the event described by the finite verb in the main clause. Finally, to answer the question whether Slovak transgressives decrease in time, I will investigate diachronic changes in the token frequencies of the Slovak transgressives forms in both subcorpora.

5.1 Token frequencies of Slovak transgressives

The first step in the analysis of the data obtained from the two subcorpora was to test the normalization hypothesis regarding all transgressive forms. Table 5 displays the absolute (AF) and normalized frequencies in instances per million words (ipm) of all transgressive forms in both subcorpora. The results show that the normalized frequency of the Slovak transgressive is indeed lower in the Slovak translations than in the Slovak original works. After looking at the confidence intervals (displayed in Figure 5) and running the statistical significance test (chi-square test), it is proven that these differences are statistically significant at $p < .05$ ($X^2 = 79.6289$). The frequential analysis, therefore, confirms the normalization hypothesis.

Corpus	Texts	Tokens	AF	ipm
Slovak translations of EN fiction	13	1,521,605	611	401.55
Slovak original fiction	35	3,400,614	2,054	604.01

Table 5: Frequencies of the Slovak transgressive in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction and Slovak original fiction

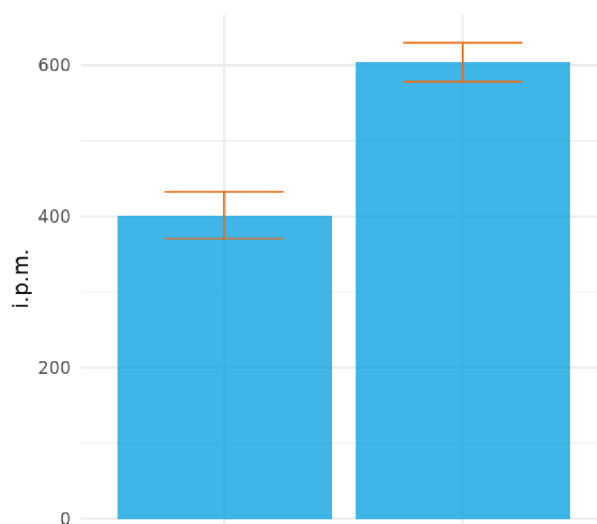


Figure 5: Transgressives in Slovak translations of EN fiction vs. Slovak original fiction

To rule out that the difference in the frequencies is not due to several outlier texts only, or to the number of texts with zero transgressive forms (Nádvořníková 2021, 76–78), it was necessary to check the internal variance of the data. Table 6 and Table 7 introduce the absolute (AF) as well as relative frequencies (ipm) of the transgressive form in every text in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction and Slovak original fiction, respectively.

Author	Text	Year ¹²	AF	ipm
Lewis Carroll (LC)	<i>Alica v krajine zázrakov</i>	1865	0	0
Rudyard Kipling (RK)	<i>Knihá džunglí</i>	1894	9	322.79
Bram Stoker (BS)	<i>Drakula</i>	1897	2	17.26
Alan A. Milne (AAM)	<i>Medvedík Pú</i>	1926	23	705.13
J. R. R. Tolkien (JRRT)	<i>Hobit</i>	1937	109	998.74
Ernest Hemingway (EH)	<i>Komu zvoní do hrobu</i>	1940	20	86
George Orwell (GO)	<i>1984</i>	1949	3	24.81
Joseph Heller (JH)	<i>Hlava XXII</i>	1961	248	1,103.85
Douglas Adams (DA)	<i>Stopárov sprievodca galaxiou</i>	1979	50	761.17
Virginia C. Andrews (VCA)	<i>Kvety v podkroví</i>	1979	18	108.27
Robin Cook (RC)	<i>Nákaza</i>	1987	23	208.62
J. K. Rowling (JKR)	<i>Harry Potter a kameň mudrcov</i>	1997	39	359.57
Dan Brown (DB)	<i>Da Vinciho kód</i>	2003	67	383.43

Table 6: The frequency of the Slovak transgressive in Slovak translations of EN fiction

¹² The year of publication of the source text.

Author	Text	Year	AF	ipm
Pavol Dobšínský (PD)	<i>Zakliata hora</i>	18??	19	152.85
Milo Urban (MU)	<i>Živý bič</i>	1927	516	3,923.51
Jožo Nižnánsky (JN)	<i>Čachtická pani</i>	1932	128	523.65
František Švantner (FŠ)	<i>Malka</i>	1942	37	543.26
František Hečko (FH)	<i>Červené víno</i>	1948	419	1,247.36
Ľudo Ondrejov (ĽO)	<i>Slnko vystúpilo nad hory</i>	1956	105	655.67
Peter Karvaš (PK)	<i>Polnočná omša</i>	1959	3	97.56
Zuzka Zguriška (ZZ)	<i>Husitská nevesta</i>	1962	31	322.05
Jaroslava Blažková (JB)	<i>Ako si mačky kúpili televízor</i>	1967	0	0
Ladislav Mňačko (LM)	<i>Ako chutí moc</i>	1968	4	44.21
Elena Chmelová (EC)	<i>Robin Hood</i>	1973	5	71.91
Jozef Žarnay (JŽ)	<i>Tajomstvo Dračej steny</i>	1973	51	543.01
Ján Lenčo (JL)	<i>Hviezdne okamihy</i>	1974	18	225.33
Štefan Paulov (ŠP)	<i>Mikrobiont</i>	1974	5	161.15
Janko Jesenský (JJe)	<i>Maškarný ples</i>	1975	62	1,701.75
Peter Jaroš (PJ)	<i>Tisícročná včela</i>	1979	15	80.39
Klára Jarunková (KJ)	<i>Čierny snovrat</i>	1979	7	50.42
Vincent Šikula (VŠ)	<i>Liesky</i>	1980	3	72.86
Rudolf Sloboda (RS)	<i>Druhý človek</i>	1981	48	962.12
Dušan Mitana (DM)	<i>Koniec hry</i>	1984	108	898.63
Bohuš Chňoupek (BC)	<i>Lámanie pečatí</i>	1984	57	230.86
Andrej Ferko (AF)	<i>Proso</i>	1984	2	46.88
Dušan Dušek (DD)	<i>Náprstok</i>	1985	0	0
Ladislav Ballek (LB)	<i>Lesné divadlo</i>	1987	128	769.4
Ján Johanides (JJo)	<i>Najsmutnejšia oravská balada</i>	1988	5	61.79
Július Satinský (JS)	<i>Moji milí Slováci</i>	1991	8	282.7
Anton Baláž (AB)	<i>Tábor padlých žien</i>	1993	12	100.6
Michal Hvorecký (MH)	<i>Lovci & Zberači</i>	2001	8	94.83
Pavel Vilikovský (PV)	<i>Posledný kôň Pompejí</i>	2001	41	368.57
Juraj Kuniak (JK)	<i>Nadmorská výška 23 rokov</i>	2002	8	369.33
Nataša Tanská (NT)	<i>Ja to vidím inakšie, miláčik</i>	2004	1	103.01
Daniela Kapitáňová (DK)	<i>Nech to zostane v rodine!</i>	2005	3	50.75
Dušan D. Fabian (DDF)	<i>Invocatio Elementalium</i>	2006	164	1,106.77
Stanislav Rakús (SR)	<i>Pieseň o studničnej vode</i>	2006	1	25.56
Juraj Červenák (JČ)	<i>Sekera z bronzu, rúno zo zlata</i>	2008	32	349.76

Table 7: The frequency of the Slovak transgressive in Slovak original fiction

It follows from Table 6 that there is only one text with zero transgressive in the translations – Lewis Carroll’s *Alica v krajine zázrakov* – which accounts for 7.69 % of the whole subcorpus. Regarding the Slovak original texts (Table 7), there are two such texts: Jaroslava Blažková’s *Ako si mačky kúpili televízor* and Dušan Dušek’s *Náprstok*. These two texts account for 5.71 % of the subcorpus of Slovak originals. Since there is not such a profound difference between these two figures, the occurrence of the titles with zero transgressive might have had only a subtle impact on the normalization effect, if any at all.

Furthermore, we should take into consideration the maximum frequencies in each subcorpus. The highest normalized frequency of the transgressive in the Slovak translations is 1,103.85 ipm in Joseph Heller’s *Hlava XXII*. On the other hand, the Slovak non-translated texts offer a substantially higher maximum value – 3,923.51 ipm –, which is found in Milo Urban’s *Živý Bič*. To better visualise these observations, I created a boxplot graph, using the Graph tool on Lancaster Stats Tools website¹³. The graph is given in Figure 6.

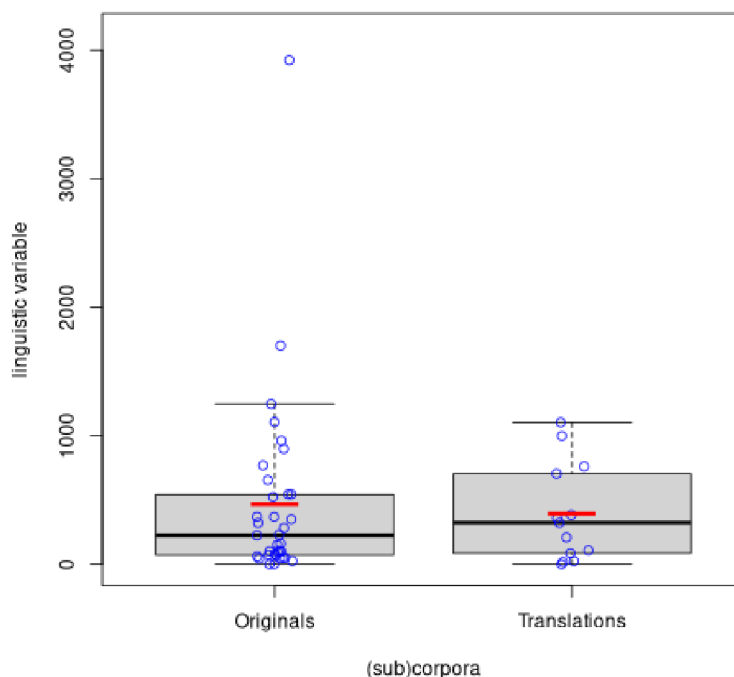


Figure 6: The distribution of the transgressive according to the texts in Slovak original fiction and Slovak translations of EN fiction

¹³ Available at <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/stats/toolbox.php>.

This figure shows that Urban’s work is not the only text with the unusual frequency of the transgressive in the Slovak originals. The boxplot displays two outliers in the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction, i.e. two works which considerably differ from the norm. Apart from Urban’s *Živý bič* it is also *Maškarný ples* by Janko Jesenský. No such texts can be found in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction. Moreover, the mean (red line) is higher in the originals (463.957) than in the translations (390.742) and the originals also show a greater dispersion of the transgressive.

However, Figure 7 displays error plots of the dispersion of the transgressive and shows that the difference in frequency is not statistically significant. The normalized frequency of transgressive forms in the Slovak original fiction is indeed influenced by the outliers and, therefore, based on these findings the normalization hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

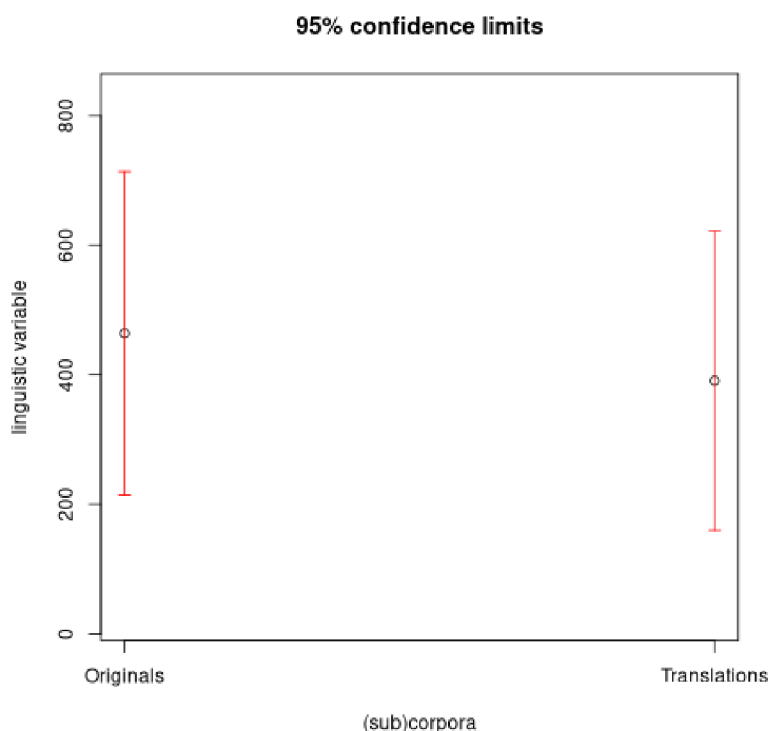


Figure 7: The dispersion of the transgressive in Slovak original fiction and Slovak translations of EN fiction

5.2 Token frequencies and types of absolute transgressives

As I have already mentioned before, the first section of the analysis initially included the occurrences of the absolute transgressive. I was, therefore, interested in how many absolute transgressives there are and which types, i.e. the lexical diversity of verbs in the transgressive forms, can be found in the translated and non-translated texts.

A close inspection of the concordance lines revealed altogether 148 absolute and 2,517 regular transgressive forms in both subcorpora. Figure 8 offers a visualization of the percentage of these figures.

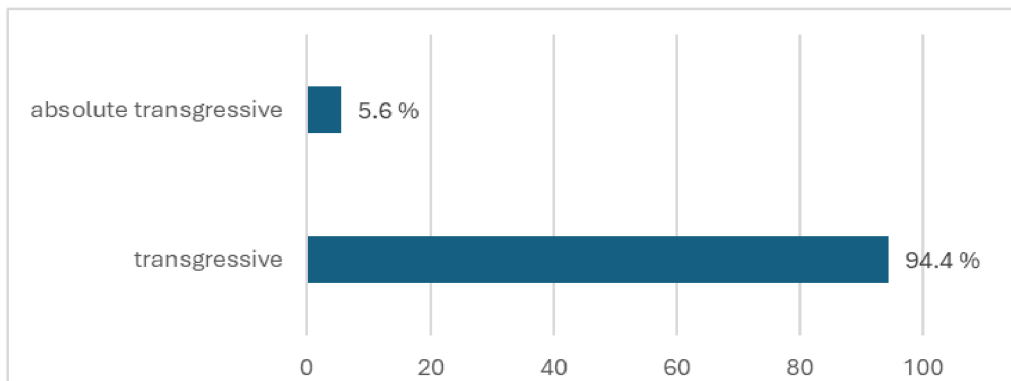


Figure 8: Absolute vs. regular transgressives in both subcorpora

More specifically, there are 62 tokens of absolute transgressives in the Slovak translations of EN fiction and 86 in the Slovak original fiction. Figure 9, which displays the percentage of these figures in the two subcorpora, shows that Slovak translators made use of the absolute transgressive slightly more often than Slovak writers.

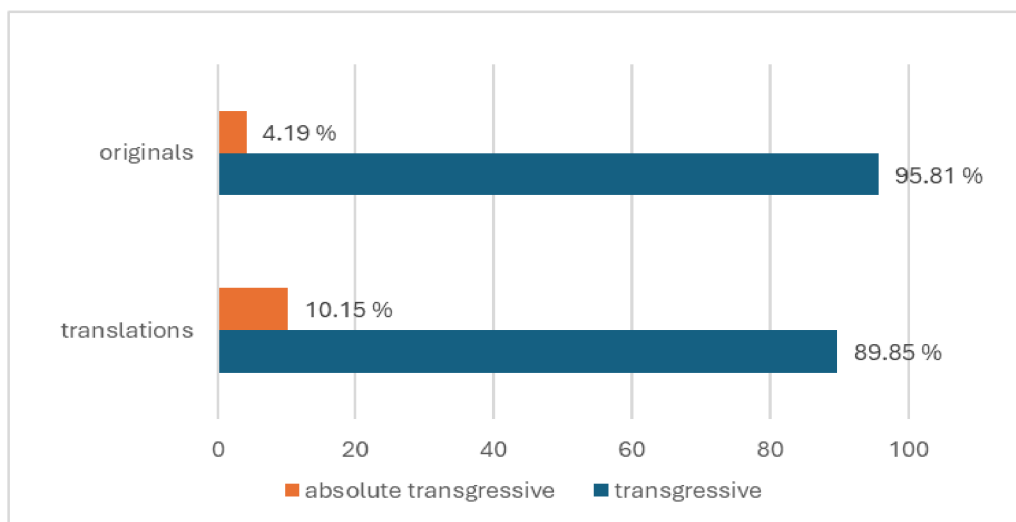


Figure 9: Regular and absolute transgressives in the subcorpora of Slovak translations of EN fiction vs. Slovak original fiction

When it comes to the number of types, translations have fewer types of the absolute transgressive than the Slovak original fiction. However, we have to keep in mind that the two subcorpora differ in size and thus these figures cannot be directly compared. For the specific types, consider Figure 10 and 11.

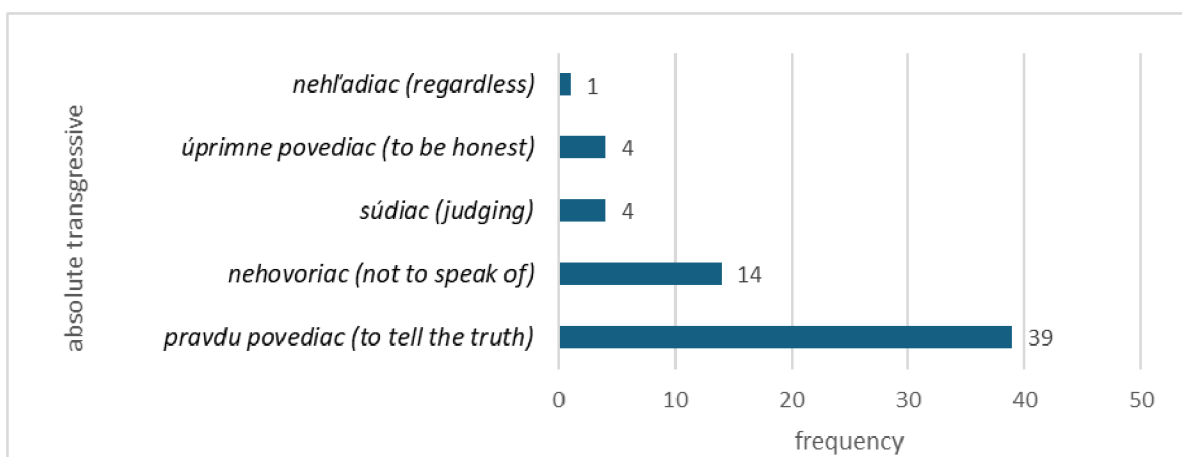


Figure 10: Types of the absolute transgressive in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction

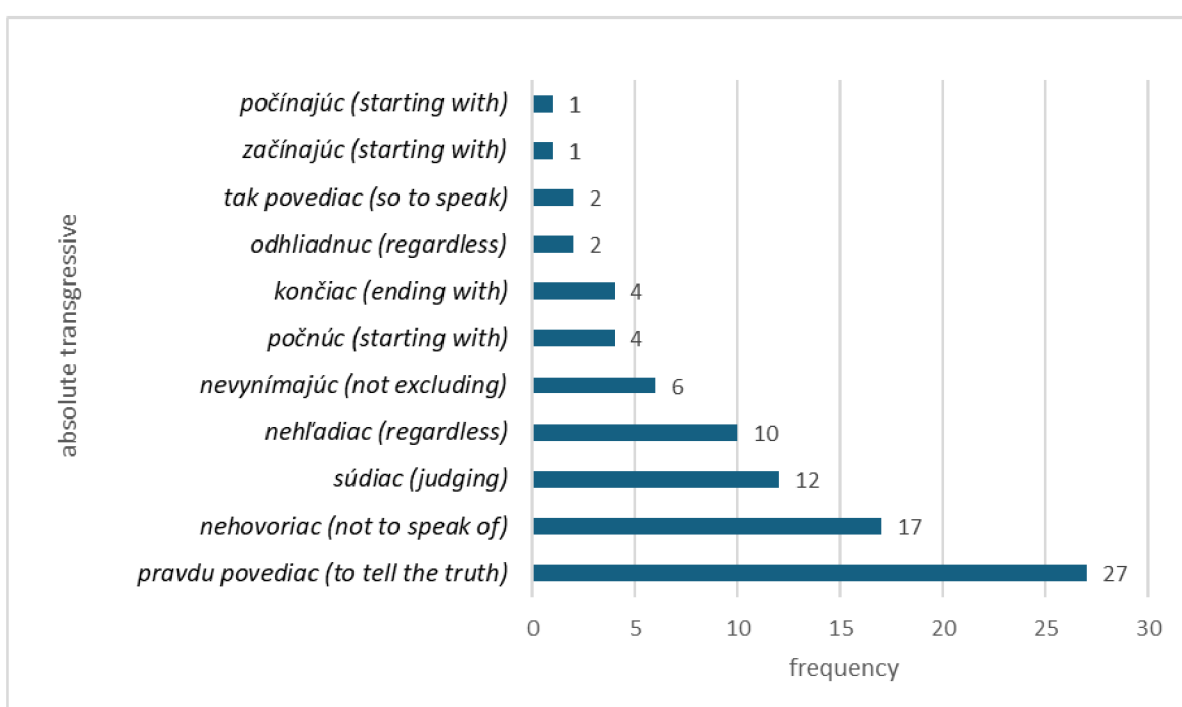


Figure 11: Types of the absolute transgressive in the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction

The most frequently used absolute transgressive in both subcorpora is *pravdu povediac* (to tell the truth). Examples (30) and (31) provide its use in the Slovak translated texts and in the Slovak original texts, respectively.

- (30) „A **pravdu povediac**, trochu ma prekvapuje, pane, že vzhľadom na vašu vernosť kráľovnej tento jazyk nepoznáte.“ (Dan Brown, *Da Vinciho kód*, transl. Oto Havrila)
 ““And **frankly**, sir, considering your allegiance to the Crown, I’m a little surprised you didn’t recognize it.”” (Dan Brown, *The Da Vinci Code*)

- (31) „**Pravdu povediac**, chcelo sa mi byť chvíľu sám.“ (Daniela Kapitáňová, *Nech to zostane v rodine!*)
“**To tell the truth**, I wanted to be alone for a while.”

Moreover, Figures 10 and 11 demonstrate one interesting thing: the form *povediac* [say.TRG] may be used to create four different types of transgressive according to words it collocates with. First, it may be used on its own as the regular transgressive with the function of a verb; for this use consider example (32), which was found in the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction.

- (32) *Chytil ho za ruku i potriasol ňou, povediac: — Dobre.* (Milo Urban, *Živý bič*)
‘He took his hand and shook it, **saying**: “All right.”’

Second, it can follow the word *pravda* (truth) and, thus, form the absolute transgressive *pravdu povediac* (to tell the truth), which has been already mentioned above in examples (30) and (31).

Third, it can collocate with the word *tak* (so) to form another type of the absolute transgressive – *tak povediac* (so to speak). An example from the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction is demonstrated in (33) below.

- (33) *Dostala sa sem sama, tak povediac, proti našej vôli [...].* (Rudolf Sloboda, *Druhý človek*)
‘She got here on her own, **so to speak**, against our own will [...].’

Finally, it can be also used with the word *úprimne* (honestly) and, thus, form another type of the absolute transgressive – *úprimne povediac* (to be honest) – which is displayed in example (34) obtained from the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction.

- (34) „**Úprimne povediac**, Scheisskopf, nie som s plukovníkom Cargillom príliš spokojný.“ (Joseph Heller, *Hlava XXII*, transl. Dušan Janák)
“**Confidentially**, Scheisskopf, I’m not too happy with Colonel Cargil.”
(Joseph Heller, *Catch-22*)

Not all these cases, however, occur in both translated and non-translated texts. For a better visualization, Table 8 provides a list of the usages of this word and their absolute frequency in both subcorpora.

Usage	Translations (AF)	Originals (AF)
<i>povediac</i> [say.TRG]	0	5
<i>pravdu povediac</i> (to tell the truth)	39	27
<i>tak povediac</i> (so to speak)	0	2
<i>úprimne povediac</i> (to be honest)	4	0
Total	43	34

Table 8: Different usages of the word *povediac*

5.3 Token frequencies of regular transgressives

In this part, I decided to study only the token frequencies of the regular transgressives as it was done by Nádovrníková (2021). In total, there are 549 regular transgressives in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction and 1,968 regular transgressives in the Slovak original fiction. Table 9 shows that there is again a higher normalized frequency of the transgressives in originals than in translations. Confidence intervals (in Figure 12) and the statistical significance test (chi-square test) prove that these differences are statistically significant at $p < .05$ ($X^2 = 97.6732$). The normalization hypothesis is, thus, confirmed in terms of the frequential analysis.

Corpus	Texts	Tokens	AF	ipm
Slovak translations of EN fiction	13	1,521,605	549	360.80
Slovak original fiction	35	3,400,614	1,968	578.72

Table 9: Frequencies of regular transgressives in the subcorpora of Slovak translations of EN fiction and Slovak original fiction

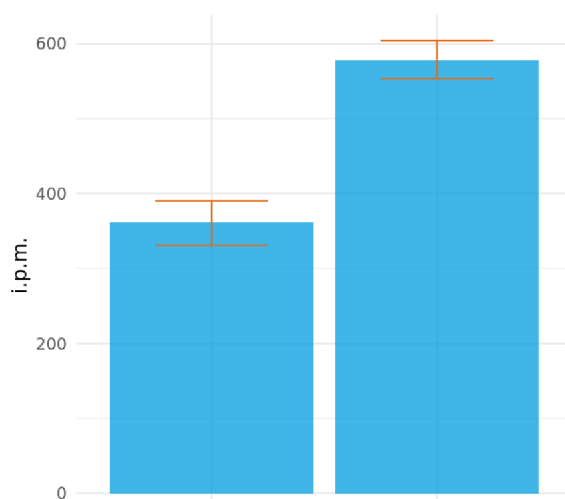


Figure 12: Regular transgressives in Slovak translations of EN fiction vs. Slovak original fiction

Again, the internal variance of the data has to be analysed in order to rule out the potential influence of outliers or texts with zero transgressives (Nádvořníková 2021, 76–78). The absolute (AF) and relative frequencies (ipm) of the regular transgressives in individual texts are displayed in Table 10 (for the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction) and in Table 11 (for the subcorpus Slovak original fiction).

Author	Text	Year ¹⁴	AF	ipm
Lewis Carroll (LC)	<i>Alica v krajine zázrakov</i>	1865	0	0
Rudyard Kipling (RK)	<i>Kniha džunglí</i>	1894	9	322.79
Bram Stoker (BS)	<i>Drakula</i>	1897	1	8.63
Alan A. Milne (AAM)	<i>Medvedík Pú</i>	1926	23	705.13
J. R. R. Tolkien (JRRT)	<i>Hobit</i>	1937	94	861.30
Ernest Hemingway (EH)	<i>Komu zvoní do hrobu</i>	1940	20	86
George Orwell (GO)	<i>1984</i>	1949	2	16.54
Joseph Heller (JH)	<i>Hlava XXII</i>	1961	230	1,023.73
Douglas Adams (DA)	<i>Stopárov sprievodca galaxiou</i>	1979	50	761.17
Virginia C. Andrews (VCA)	<i>Kvety v podkroví</i>	1979	9	54.14
Robin Cook (RC)	<i>Nákaza</i>	1987	18	163.27
J. K. Rowling (JKR)	<i>Harry Potter a kameň mudrcov</i>	1997	29	267.37
Dan Brown (DB)	<i>Da Vinciho kód</i>	2003	64	366.26

Table 10: The frequency of regular transgressives in Slovak translations of EN fiction

¹⁴ The year of publication of the source text.

Author	Text	Year	AF	ipm
Pavol Dobšínský (PD)	<i>Zakliata hora</i>	18??	19	152.85
Milo Urban (MU)	<i>Živý bič</i>	1927	514	3,908.30
Jožo Nižnánsky (JN)	<i>Čachtická pani</i>	1932	127	519.56
František Švantner (FŠ)	<i>Malka</i>	1942	37	543.26
František Hečko (FH)	<i>Červené víno</i>	1948	394	1,184.24
Ludo Ondrejov (LO)	<i>Slnko vystúpilo nad hory</i>	1956	104	649.43
Peter Karvaš (PK)	<i>Polnočná omša</i>	1959	3	97.56
Zuzka Zguriška (ZZ)	<i>Husitská nevesta</i>	1962	31	322.05
Jaroslava Blažková (JB)	<i>Ako si mačky kúpili televízor</i>	1967	0	0
Ladislav Mňačko (LM)	<i>Ako chutí moc</i>	1968	1	11.05
Elena Chmelová (EC)	<i>Robin Hood</i>	1973	5	71.91
Jozef Žarnay (JŽ)	<i>Tajomstvo Dračej steny</i>	1973	49	521.72
Ján Lenčo (JL)	<i>Hviezdne okamihy</i>	1974	18	225.33
Štefan Paulov (ŠP)	<i>Mikrobiont</i>	1974	5	161.15
Janko Jesenský (JJe)	<i>Maškarný ples</i>	1975	62	1,701.75
Peter Jaroš (PJ)	<i>Tisícročná včela</i>	1979	15	80.39
Klára Jarunková (KJ)	<i>Čierny slnovrat</i>	1979	6	43.22
Vincent Šikula (VŠ)	<i>Liesky</i>	1980	3	72.86
Rudolf Sloboda (RS)	<i>Druhý človek</i>	1981	47	942.08
Dušan Mitana (DM)	<i>Koniec hry</i>	1984	103	857.03
Bohuš Chňoupek (BC)	<i>Lámanie pečatí</i>	1984	51	206.56
Andrej Ferko (AF)	<i>Proso</i>	1984	2	46.88
Dušan Dušek (DD)	<i>Náprstok</i>	1985	0	0
Ladislav Ballek (LB)	<i>Lesné divadlo</i>	1987	126	757.38
Ján Johanides (JJo)	<i>Najsmutnejšia oravská balada</i>	1988	4	49.43
Július Satinský (JS)	<i>Moji milí Slováci</i>	1991	8	282.70
Anton Baláž (AB)	<i>Tábor padlých žien</i>	1993	11	92.22
Michal Hvorecký (MH)	<i>Lovci & Zberači</i>	2001	3	35.56
Pavel Vilikovský (PV)	<i>Posledný kôň Pompejí</i>	2001	21	188.78
Juraj Kuniak (JK)	<i>Nadmorská výška 23 rokov</i>	2002	8	369.33
Nataša Tanská (NT)	<i>Ja to vidím inakšie, miláčik</i>	2004	1	103.01
Daniela Kapitáňová (DK)	<i>Nech to zostane v rodine!</i>	2005	2	33.83
Dušan D. Fabian (DDF)	<i>Invocatio Elementalium</i>	2006	152	1,025.79
Stanislav Rakús (SR)	<i>Pieseň o studničnej vode</i>	2006	1	25.56
Juraj Červenák (JČ)	<i>Sekera z bronzu, rúno zo zlata</i>	2008	31	338.83

Table 11: The frequency of regular transgressives in Slovak original fiction

The number of texts with zero transgressive stayed the same as in the comparison of all transgressive forms (see 4.1): there is one text in Slovak translations of EN fiction (*Alica v krajine zázrakov*) accounting for 7.69 % and two texts in Slovak original fiction (*Ako si mačky kúpili televízor* and *Náprstok*) accounting for 5.71 % of the whole subcorpus.

The texts with the maximum frequencies are also identical: in Slovak translations of EN fiction it is *Hlava XXII* with 1,023.73 ipm and in Slovak original fiction it is *Živý bič* with 3,908.30 ipm. The boxplot in Figure 12 shows the same two outliers in the non-translated texts – *Živý bič* and *Maškarný ples* –, which again influence the difference between the normalized frequencies in the two subcorpora. Despite the exclusion of the absolute transgressives, Figure 13 demonstrates that the difference in frequency is not statistically significant and, thus, the normalization hypothesis cannot be confirmed even for the regular transgressives only.

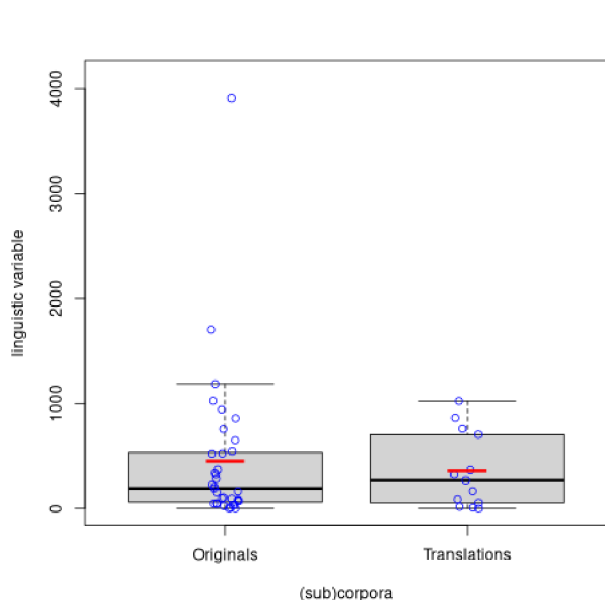


Figure 12: The distribution of the transgressive according to the titles in Slovak original fiction and Slovak translations of EN fiction

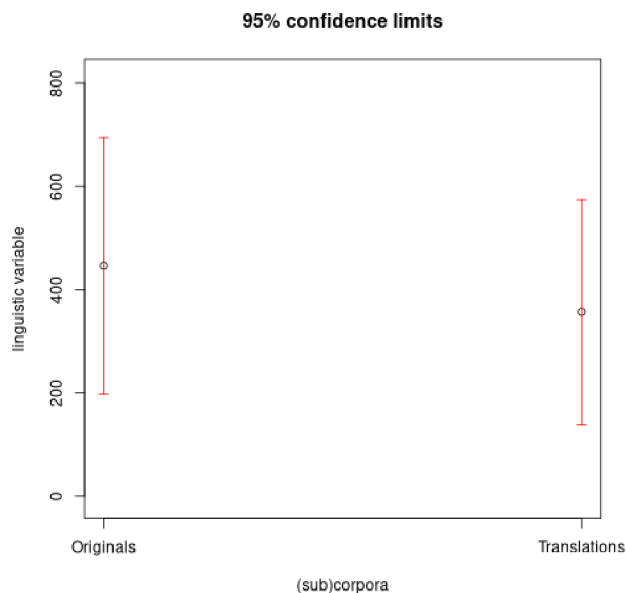


Figure 13: The dispersion of the transgressive in Slovak original fiction and Slovak translations of EN fiction

5.4 Types of verbs in regular transgressive forms, their aspect and temporal meaning

In the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction, there are 286 different types of regular transgressives, while the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction contains 886 of them. In Table 12

and 13, I decided to provide those types whose absolute threshold frequency in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction is higher than four (inclusive) and for the types in Slovak original fiction it is higher than nine (inclusive). Table 12 presents first 32 types from the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction (TR) and Table 13 demonstrates first 33 types from Slovak original fiction (OG).

TR	transgressive type	AF	ipm
1.	<i>držiac</i> [hold.TRG.IMPF]	23	15.12
2.	<i>hľadiac</i> [at.look.TRG.IMPF]	23	15.12
3.	<i>hľadajúc</i> [for.look.TRG.IMPF]	15	9.86
4.	<i>trasúc</i> [shake.TRG.IMPF]	11	7.23
5.	<i>nespúšťajúc</i> [down.let.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	10	6.57
6.	<i>obzerajúc</i> [examine.TRG.IMPF]	9	5.92
7.	<i>neveriac</i> [believe.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	7	4.60
8.	<i>zvierajúc</i> [clutch.TRG.IMPF]	7	4.60
9.	<i>lapajúc</i> [catch.TRG.IMPF]	7	4.60
10.	<i>opierajúc</i> [lean.TRG.IMPF]	6	3.94
11.	<i>premyšľajúc</i> [think.TRG.IMPF]	6	3.94
12.	<i>mávajúc</i> [wave.TRG.IMPF]	6	3.94
13.	<i>ignorujúc</i> [ignore.BIASP.TRG]	6	3.94
14.	<i>nevšímajúc</i> [attention.pay.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	5	3.29
15.	<i>snažiac</i> [try.TRG.IMPF]	5	3.29
16.	<i>dúfajúc</i> [hope.TRG.IMPF]	5	3.29
17.	<i>tahajúc</i> [pull.TRG.IMPF]	5	3.29
18.	<i>premáhajúc</i> [overcome.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
19.	<i>vykrikujúc</i> [shout.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
20.	<i>zadúšajúc</i> [suffocate.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
21.	<i>očakávajúc</i> [await.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
22.	<i>prechádzajúc</i> [through.go.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
23.	<i>sediac</i> [sit.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
24.	<i>tváriac</i> [look.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
25.	<i>potláčajúc</i> [suppress.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
26.	<i>pridržajúc</i> [hold.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
27.	<i>potriasajúc</i> [shake.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
28.	<i>vedúc</i> [lead.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
29.	<i>krútiac</i> [twist.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
30.	<i>pozorujúc</i> [watch.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
31.	<i>prekypujúc</i> [over.brim.TRG.IMPF]	4	2.63
32.	<i>netušiac</i> [suspect.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	4	2.63

Table 12: Most frequently used Slovak transgressive forms in Slovak translations of EN fiction

OG	transgressive type	AF	ipm
1.	<i>vidiac</i> [see.TRG.IMPF]	70	20.59
2.	<i>hľadiac</i> [at.look.TRG.IMPF]	56	16.47
3.	<i>nevediac</i> [know.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	37	10.88
4.	<i>idúc</i> [go.TRG.IMPF]	32	9.41
5.	<i>pozerajúc</i> [look.TRG.IMPF]	26	7.65
6.	<i>držiac</i> [hold.TRG.IMPF]	23	6.76
7.	<i>sediac</i> [sit.TRG.IMPF]	22	6.47
8.	<i>mysliac</i> [think.TRG.IMPF]	22	6.47
9.	<i>hľadajúc</i> [for.look.TRG.IMPF]	18	5.29
10.	<i>netušiac</i> [suspect.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	17	5.00
11.	<i>nedbajúc</i> [care.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	16	4.71
12.	<i>premáhajúc</i> [overcome.TRG.IMPF]	13	3.82
13.	<i>rátajúc</i> [count.TRG.IMPF]	13	3.82
14.	<i>podávajúc</i> [hand.TRG.IMPF]	12	3.53
15.	<i>dávajúc</i> [give.TRG.IMPF]	12	3.53
16.	<i>nevšímajúc</i> [attention.pay.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	12	3.53
17.	<i>usmievajúc</i> [smile.TRG.IMPF]	12	3.53
18.	<i>ukazujúc</i> [point.TRG.IMPF]	11	3.24
19.	<i>dívajúc</i> [look.TRG.IMPF]	11	3.24
20.	<i>hovoriac</i> [say.TRG.IMPF]	11	3.24
21.	<i>opierajúc</i> [lean.TRG.IMPF]	10	2.94
22.	<i>nečakajúc</i> [wait.TRG.IMPF.NEG]	10	2.94
23.	<i>cítiac</i> [feel.TRG.IMPF]	10	2.94
24.	<i>stojac</i> [stay.TRG.IMPF]	10	2.94
25.	<i>predstierajúc</i> [pretend.TRG.IMPF]	10	2.94
26.	<i>usilujúc</i> [try.TRG.IMPF]	10	2.94
27.	<i>majúc</i> [have.TRG.IMPF]	10	2.94
28.	<i>obrátia</i> [turn.TRG.PF]	10	2.94
29.	<i>pozorujúc</i> [watch.TRG.IMPF]	9	2.65
30.	<i>sledujúc</i> [follow.TRG.IMPF]	9	2.65
31.	<i>smejúc</i> [laugh.TRG.IMPF]	9	2.65
32.	<i>trasúc</i> [shake.TRG.IMPF]	9	2.65
33.	<i>chcejúc</i> [want.TRG.IMPF]	9	2.65

Table 13: Most frequently used Slovak transgressive forms in Slovak original fiction

As you can see, the most frequently used type in the Slovak translations is *držiac* [hold.TRG.IMPF], which is demonstrated in (35) bellow.

- (35) *Langdon ráznym krokom vykročil k nim, držiac*_{IMPF} *kryptex pred sebou.* (Dan Brown, *Da Vinciho kód*, transl. Oto Havrila)
‘Langton approached with a resolute stride, **holding** the cryptex before him.’ (Dan Brown, *The Da Vinci Code*)

On the other hand, in the Slovak non-translated texts, the most frequently used type is *vidiac* [see.IMPF.TRAN], which can be seen in example (36).

- (36) *Zapýrila sa, **vidiac**_{IMPF} okolo seba samých vojakov.* (Zuzka Zguriška, *Husitská nevesta*)
 ‘She blushed, **seeing** all the soldiers around her.’

The most frequent type altogether is *hl'adiac* [at.look.TRG.IMPF], which ranked second in both subcorpora. For this type, consider example in (37).

- (37) *„Asi dvanást’,“ povedal Medvedík Pú **hl'adiac**_{IMPF} na slnko.* (Alan A. Milne, *Medvedík Pú*, transl. Stanislav Dančiak)
 “‘About twelve,’ said Winnie-the-Pooh, **looking at** the sun. (Alan A. Milne, *Winnie the Pooh*)

As for the aspect of the verbs which form the regular Slovak transgressive, it can be already observed in Table 12 and 13 that the imperfective aspect prevails. In total, there are 305 tokens of perfective and 2,212 tokens of imperfective transgressive forms. The overall number and percentage of these tokens in both subcorpora can be seen in Table 14.

Aspect	Translations (AF)	%	Originals (AF)	%
perfective	37	6.74 %	268	13.62 %
imperfective	512	93.26 %	1,700	86.38 %

Table 14: Aspect of verbs forming transgressive in Slovak translations from EN fiction and Slovak original fiction

To compare these numbers, consider Figure 14, which displays the percentage of the two aspects with regard to the overall number of the regular transgressives in the two subcorpora. The figure shows that, in both subcorpora, imperfective transgressives outnumber perfective transgressives, which supports the findings in Kačala’s research (2017, 134–35; see 2.5).

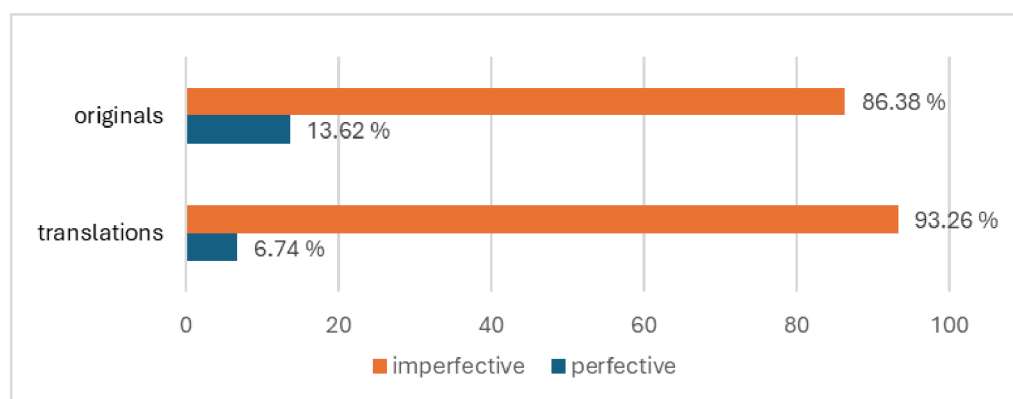


Figure 14: Percentage of the aspects of the transgressive in Slovak translations and Slovak originals

Furthermore, Figures 15 and 16 below demonstrate the comparison of the individual aspects in the two subcorpora. As follows from Figure 15, the normalization effect is present and also statistically significant for the perfective transgressive forms. This means that translators tend to use less verbs with perfective aspect when employing the transgressive in their translations. On the other hand, there is no normalization effect for the imperfective transgressive forms, which, interestingly, show an opposite tendency: their frequency is higher in the translations than in the originals (Figure 16). These observations are interesting because of the analogy between the Slovak and (dominant) Czech transgressive forms, as I have already mentioned in chapter 3.3. My findings strengthen this analogy even more because they correlate with Nádvořníková's (2021) findings about the Czech dominant transgressive forms that the present (imperfective) form is more prevalent than the past (perfective) form.

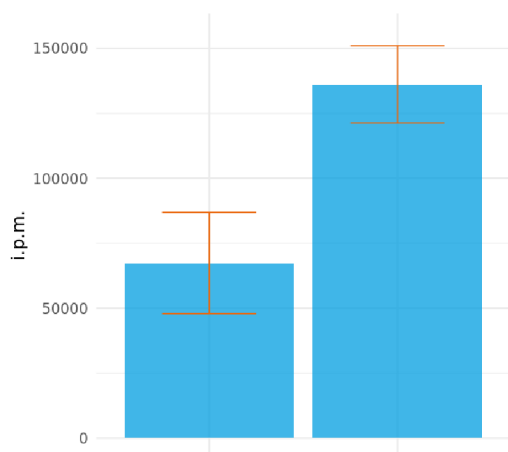


Figure 15: Normalized frequency of the perfective transgressive in translations vs. originals

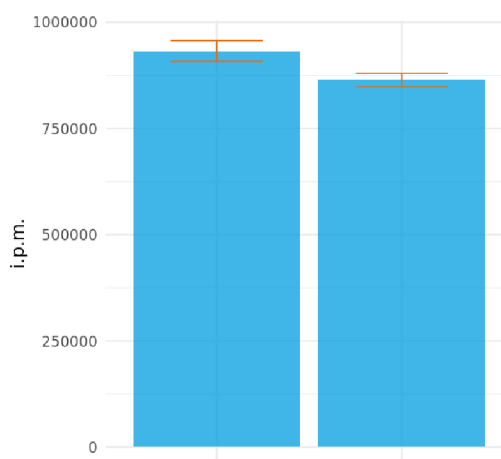


Figure 16: Normalized frequency of the imperfective transgressive in translations vs. originals

Following Kačala's and Ružička's claims mentioned in section 2.3, the imperfective transgressive always conveys the meaning of simultaneity, while the perfective transgressive can have, according to Kačala (2017, 53), two meanings with regard to the finite verb in the main clause: the meaning of anteriority, which, as Kačala (2017, 53) claims, is more frequent, and the meaning of posteriority. Ružička (1956, 291–93) adds the possibility of the perfective transgressive to also convey the meaning of simultaneity. I wanted to analyse my data in the same way and see if such findings can be also observed in my research.

As far as the overall temporal meaning is concerned, Table 15 and Figure 17 demonstrate that the meaning of simultaneity is, naturally, the most prevailing one since the imperfective transgressive forms constitute the majority of the transgressives in both subcorpora.

Temporal meaning	Translations (AF)	%	Originals (AF)	%
anterior	19	3.46 %	142	7.22 %
posterior	10	1.82 %	122	6.20 %
simultaneous	520	94.72 %	1703	86.58 %

Table 15: Temporal meaning of the transgressive verbs in Slovak translations of EN fiction and original fiction

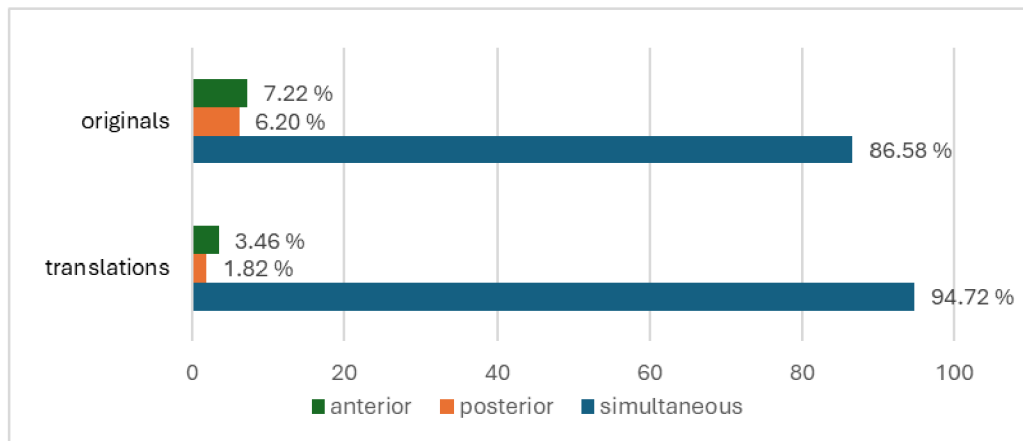


Figure 17: The frequency of the transgressive verbs according to their temporal meaning

The annotation of all perfective transgressive verbs in both subcorpora for their temporal meaning resulted in several figures which are presented in Table 16 and Figure 18.

Temporal meaning	Translations (AF)	%	Originals (AF)	%
anterior	19	51.35 %	142	52.40 %
posterior	10	27.03 %	122	45.02 %
simultaneous	8	21.62 %	7	2.58 %

Table 16: Temporal meaning of perfective transgressive verbs in Slovak translations of EN fiction and Slovak original fiction

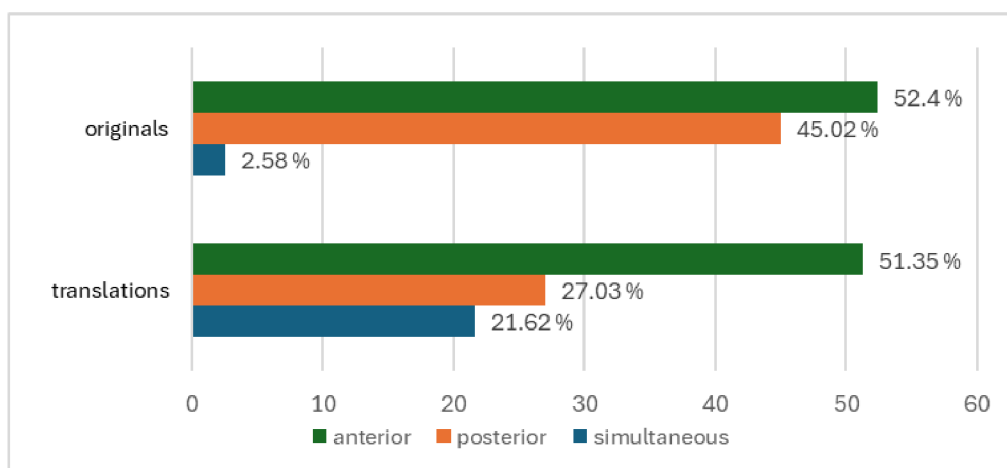


Figure 18: The percentage of the perfective transgressive verbs according to their temporal meaning

It follows from Figure 18 that the anterior meaning prevails in both subcorpora as expected. These results, however, provide other remarkable observations when compared to the claims of the Slovak linguists (Kačala 2017, Ružička 1956). Regarding the translated texts first, the proportion of the perfective transgressive conveying the meaning of simultaneity is relatively high. On the other hand, the original texts show very low frequency of this temporal meaning. Furthermore, considering the original texts, the difference between the anterior and posterior meaning is not as clear-cut as Kačala (2017, 53) claims it to be. This is, however, not the case in the translated texts where the anterior meaning is clearly more frequent.

5.5 The position of the transgressive: narration, reporting clause, direct speech

Proceeding from the claim of the Slovak scholars (Dvonč 1966, 490; Brtková 2004, 25; Kačala 2017, 43) that, in written texts, the Slovak transgressive can be found quite frequently in reporting clause but only rarely in direct speech, I have decided to examine these characteristics also in my data. I was interested whether the transgressive form appears in direct speech, reporting clause or narrative passages. In this subchapter, I will address both regular and absolute transgressives because I was interested in comparison of these two forms in the least frequent position – direct speech. The frequencies of all transgressive forms in each speech situation are given in Table 17 and for a comparison also in Figure 19.

Position	Translations (AF)	%	Originals (AF)	%
narration	376	65.30 %	1,547	75.32 %
reporting clause	200	28.97 %	496	24.15 %
direct speech	35	5.73 %	11	0.53 %

Table 17: The position of the transgressive in Slovak translations and Slovak originals.

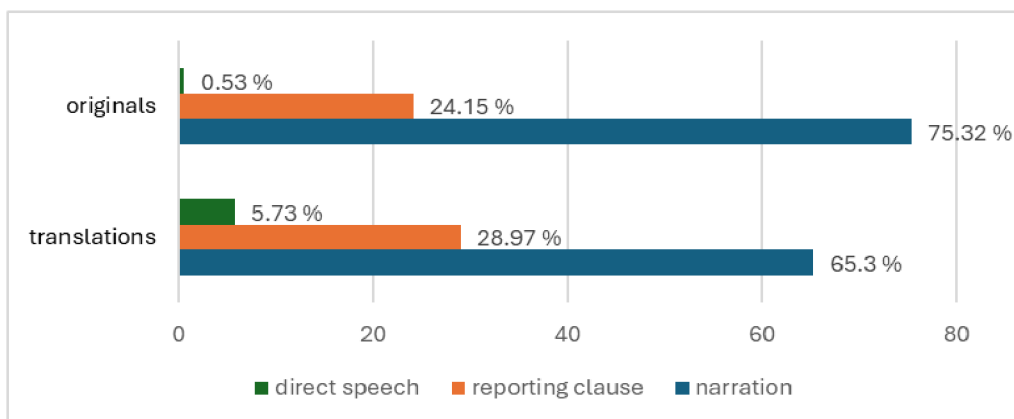


Figure 19: The position of the transgressive in Slovak translations and Slovak originals

These results show that in both subcorpora the transgressive has the highest frequency in narration, but there is also quite a high frequency of their occurrence in reporting clauses, which supports the claim of the three Slovak scholars mentioned above. Interestingly, in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction there are also quite a few examples of the transgressive occurring in direct speech (5.73 % of all tokens in this subcorpus), while in a much larger subcorpus of Slovak original fiction, there are only 11 of them (0.53 % of all tokens in this subcorpus).

Since using the Slovak transgressive in direct speech is rare, I was curious about which types of the transgressive even appear in such position, more specifically what is the ratio of the absolute transgressive and the regular transgressive. Table 18 shows the numbers of both forms in direct speech.

Token of transgressive in direct speech	Translations (AF)	Originals (AF)
regular transgressive	3	6
absolute transgressive	32	5

Table 18: Types of the transgressive in direct speech in Slovak translations and Slovak originals

The subcorpus of the Slovak original fiction shows an almost equal, and very low number of the two forms of the transgressive. The same cannot be stated in the case of the

translated texts where the absolute transgressive dominates. For the specific types of both the regular and absolute transgressive used in direct speech, consider Table 19 and 20 below; the absolute transgressives are listed in bold.

Transgressive in direct speech	Translations (AF)
<i>pravdu povediac</i> (to tell the truth)	26
<i>úprimne povediac</i> (to be honest)	3
<i>nehovoriac</i> (not to speak of)	3
<i>spomínajúc</i> [recall.TRG]	1
<i>vychádzajúc</i> [out.come.TRG]	1
<i>dúfajúc</i> [hope.TRG]	1

Table 19: Types of transgressives in direct speech in Slovak translations of EN fiction

Transgressive in direct speech	Originals (AF)
<i>pravdu povediac</i> (to tell the truth)	3
<i>odhliadnuc</i> (regardless)	2
<i>šeptajúc</i> [whisper.TRG]	1
<i>vediac</i> [know.TRG]	1
<i>neozvúc</i> [respond.TRG.NEG]	1
<i>neznajúc</i> [know.TRG.NEG]	1
<i>mysliac</i> [think.TRG]	1
<i>idúc</i> [go.TRG]	1

Table 20: Types of transgressives in direct speech in Slovak original fiction

In both subcorpora, the transgressive type with the highest frequency is the absolute transgressive *pravdu povediac* (to tell the truth), with 26 occurrences in the translated and 3 occurrences in the original texts. Next positions are also taken by the absolute transgressive (in bold). All of the regular transgressive types appeared in direct speech only once.

In conclusion, the results regarding the frequency of the transgressive in direct speech seem to copy its use in Slovak spoken language: the low frequency of this linguistic feature in direct speech may be influenced by the rare use of the transgressive in the spoken language.

5.6 Frequency over time

In his research into the Slovak transgressive (both regular and absolute) in Slovak non-translated texts (see 1.5), Kačala (2017, 138–139) concludes that the frequency of the transgressive is decreasing over time. Since his is the only study about the decline of the Slovak transgressive, I was interested to see whether the same tendency can be observed also in my subcorpus of Slovak original fiction, and then also in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of EN fiction. I investigated all transgressive forms, i.e. regular as well as absolute ones, since Kačala (2017) did the same.

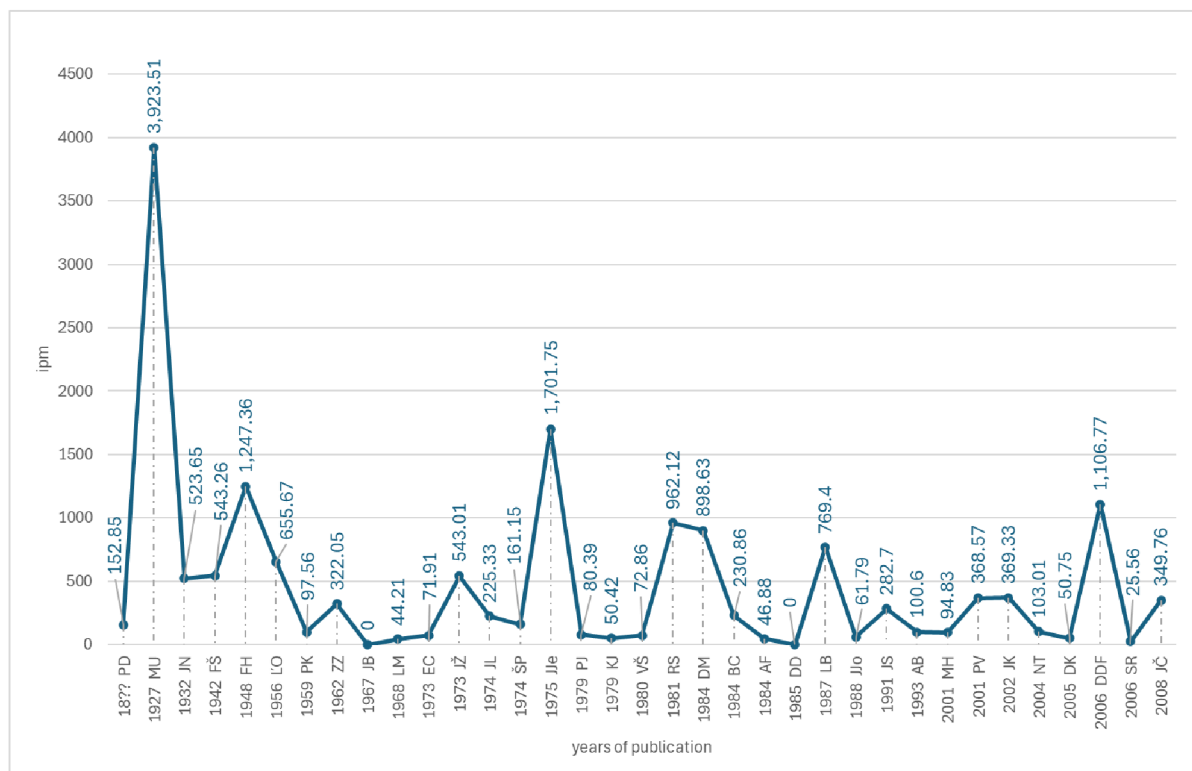


Figure 20: Frequency of the transgressive over time in Slovak original fiction

Figure 20, which demonstrates the normalized frequency of all transgressives for the non-translated texts, indicates that there might really be a decreasing tendency in the occurrence of the transgressive over time. However, when we take a closer look, this tendency might arise from the extreme values found in this subcorpus. More specifically, there is the high ipm of 3.923,51 in Milo Urban's *Živý bič* that skews the perception of the trend in the originals because the rest of the data do not show any increasing or decreasing progressive trend over time. Since there is no text around that time period which would be even close to this value, the excessively high number of the transgressive in Urban's work is

most likely to be the result of his unique writing style than the result of a linguistic convention of that period. Therefore, according to these data, it cannot be definitely concluded that the number of the transgressive in the Slovak original fiction is decreasing over time.

Regarding the translations subcorpus, I have prepared two figures for the frequency of the transgressive over time: Figure 21 sorted by the year of the publication of the English source texts, and Figure 22 sorted by the year of the publication of their Slovak translations. I decided to look at the data in both ways in order to observe whether the tendency differs or whether it is the same for the two sets of publication dates since the translation process is influenced by various factors. On one hand, the translators copy the language of the source texts and the style of the individual authors, in which case the year of the publication of the source text may play a major role in the use of linguistic features in translations, for instance the transgressive. On the other hand, translators are influenced by the conventions of the language they translate into, and which are present in a certain time period. Therefore, the publication date of the translated text might be decisive as well. In fact, these factors combine together and both of them should be ideally taken into consideration at the same time. However, in this case it is not possible to do so since the two set of years substantially differ and, thus, we have to observe the phenomenon separately.

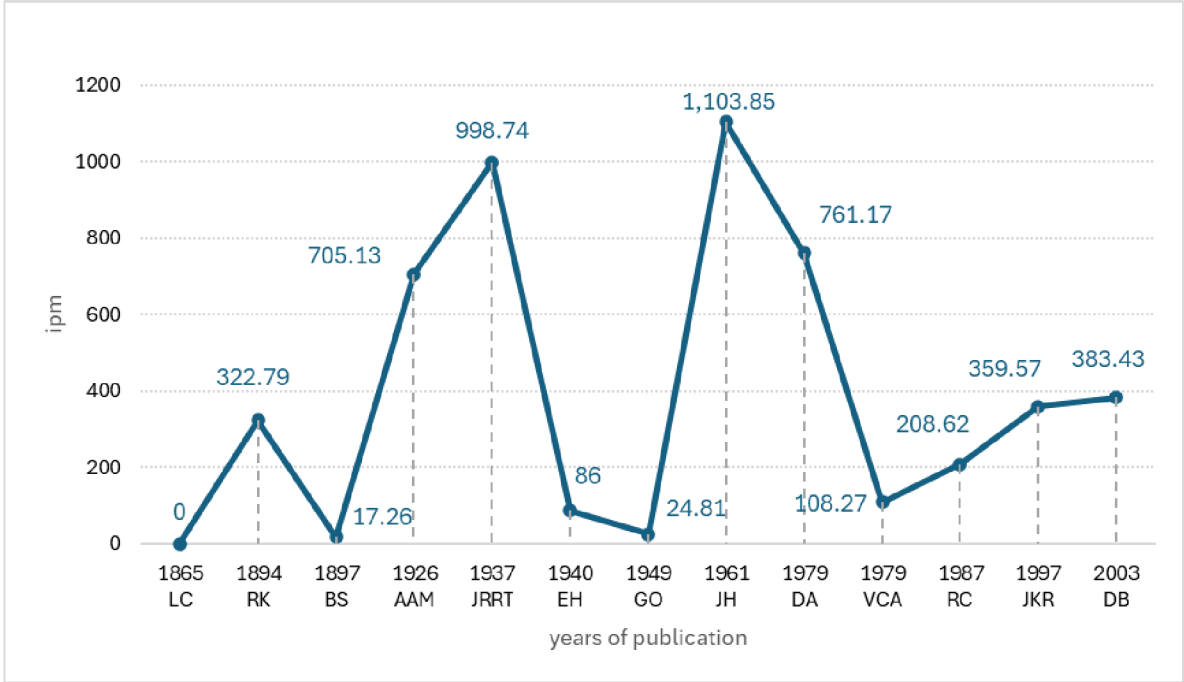


Figure 21: The frequency of the transgressive over time in Slovak translations of EN fiction (according to the publication date of the English source texts)

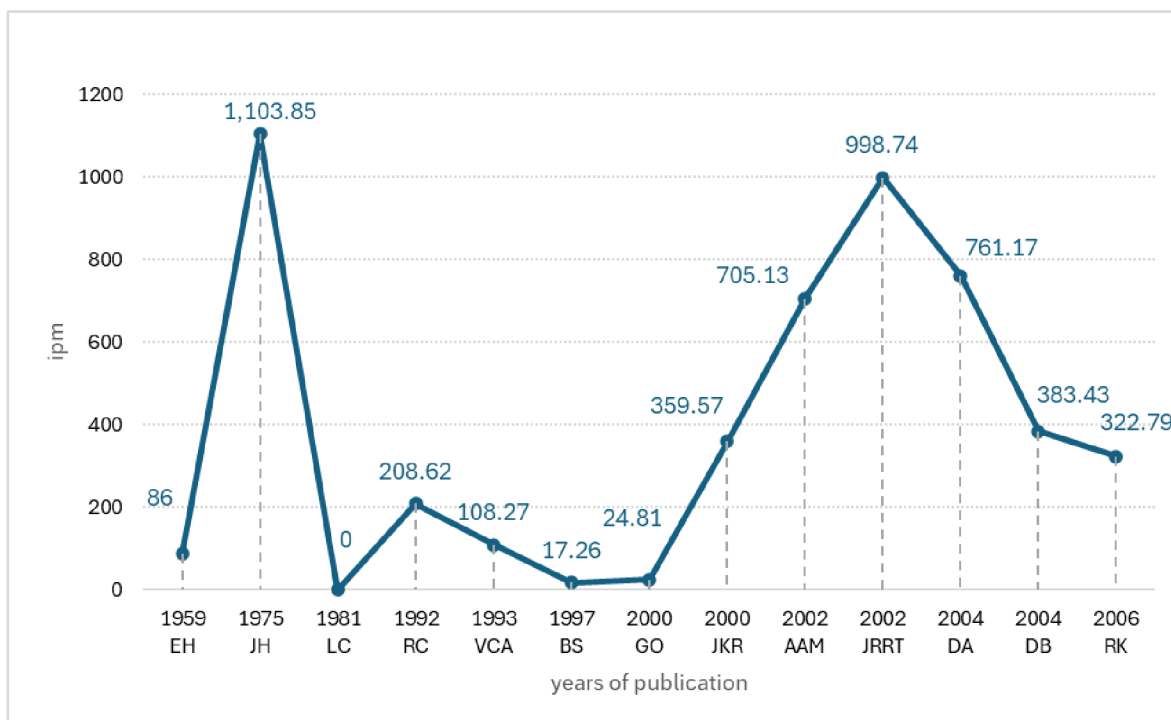


Figure 22: The frequency of the transgressive over time in Slovak translations of EN fiction (according to the publication date of the Slovak translated texts)

As you can see in Figure 21 and 22, there is no steady increasing or decreasing tendency regardless of which year of publication is taken into consideration since the frequencies are spread in an irregular pattern in both cases. Therefore, neither the originals nor translations show a decline in time regarding the Slovak transgressive form.

6 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to test normalization as a T-universal by comparing the frequency of the Slovak transgressive in Slovak translated fiction from English and Slovak original fiction. This research was inspired by a study conducted by Olga Nádvorníková (2021), who tested and confirmed the normalization hypothesis in Czech translated fiction for the Czech transgressive.

The Slovak transgressive has a simpler morphology than the Czech form and does not show such a strong stylistic mark either. However, these two forms are similar with regard to their syntactic and semantic features, their rare use in the contemporary language and their predominant occurrence in the written form. Thus, based on the reviewed literature and several studies by Slovak scholars, I expected that the Slovak transgressive may show similar results in terms of the normalization effect as the Czech form.

Firstly, I compared the token frequencies of all transgressive forms (including both regular and absolute ones) in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of English fiction and Slovak original fiction. The analyses confirmed the normalization hypothesis in that the normalized frequency of the transgressive was significantly lower in the Slovak translations (401.55 ipm) in comparison to the Slovak originals (604.01 ipm). However, after considering the internal variance of the data, I found out that there were two outliers in the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction, which greatly influenced the frequency of the transgressives in this subcorpus, and error plots pointed to no statistically significant difference.

In the next step, I looked solely at the absolute transgressive in terms of its token frequencies and types in each subcorpus. The analysis revealed that proportionally, there are more absolute transgressives in the translations (10.15 %) than in the non-translations (4.19 %). On the contrary, the translated texts showed a lower lexical diversity of the absolute transgressives than the non-translated texts: there are 5 types in the translations and 11 in the originals. However, a comparison of these two absolute frequencies is not useful since the two subcorpora differ in size.

Furthermore, I was interested to see whether the effect of normalization changes after excluding the absolute transgressive forms and, therefore, I compared normalized frequencies of regular transgressives only. Nevertheless, the conclusions mirrored those concerning all transgressives: the frequential analysis did confirm the effect of normalization since the normalized frequency of the regular transgressive was lower in the translations, but

the further analysis of the dispersion of the transgressives in individual texts showed that the difference between the two subcorpora was influenced by the same two outliers in the non-translations and, thus, error plots indicated no statistically significant difference. Hence the normalization hypothesis could not be confirmed even in this case.

As for the types of regular transgressives, there are 286 different types in the subcorpus of Slovak translations of English fiction and 886 types in Slovak original fiction. Regarding the aspect of the verbs, it was observed that the imperfective transgressive forms prevail both in the translations (93.26 %) and in non-translations (86.38 %). Interestingly, the comparison of the individual aspects in each subcorpus revealed a normalization effect in the case of the perfective transgressive verbs whose normalized frequency is lower in the translated than non-translated texts. However, the normalized frequencies of the imperfective transgressive forms show an opposite trend: the use of the imperfective transgressives is higher in the translations than in the non-translations. These findings also correlate with Nádvořníková's (2021) results, who observed that the Czech (dominant) present transgressive form, which is formed by imperfective verbs, is more frequent than the (dominant) past form formed with perfective verbs. This observation thus creates a greater analogy between the Slovak and Czech transgressive.

Moreover, the analysis of the temporal meaning of regular transgressives based on their aspect and their use in context revealed that the most frequent is the meaning of simultaneity. This is not surprising given that the majority of the transgressives were formed with the imperfective verbs, which convey this meaning only. More interesting were the findings for the perfective transgressive verbs, which can express three temporal meanings: anteriority (the most common one), posteriority or simultaneity (the least common). It was found out that the anterior meaning prevailed in translations as well as in non-translations. However, in the original texts, the difference between the anterior and posterior meaning was quite small, while in the translated texts, it was more profound. Considering the meaning of simultaneity with the perfective forms, the number of occurrences in the subcorpus of Slovak original fiction was, as expected, proportionally very low (2.58 % of all tokens in the non-translated texts). On the other hand, in the subcorpus of Slovak translations, its frequency was extraordinarily high (21.62 % of all tokens in the translated texts).

Regarding the position of Slovak transgressives, I analysed both regular and absolute transgressive forms because I wanted to see whether there is any difference between them in this respect. On the basis of literature (Dvořák 1966, 490; Brtková 2004, 25; Kačala 2017,

43), it was expected that most of the transgressive forms would be found in narrative passages, fewer of them in reported clauses and only few in direct speech. This tendency was indeed confirmed by my data. Interestingly, the frequency of all transgressives in direct speech was proportionally higher in the translations (5.73 % of all tokens in this subcorpus) than in the non-translations (0.53 % of all tokens in this subcorpus). A further analysis of the transgressives in direct speech showed that the most common transgressive form in this position is the absolute transgressive, the most frequent type being *pravdu povediac* (to tell the truth). Regular transgressives are used quite rarely in this position: three times in translations and six times in non-translations. These findings concerning the occasional use of the transgressives, mainly the regular form, in direct speech in fiction might illustrate their very limited use in the spoken Slovak language.

Finally, the frequency of the regular Slovak transgressive over time in the Slovak original fiction does not show any specific trend. The figure displaying the normalized frequencies over time in this subcorpora seems to indicate a declining tendency, but the shape of the graph is greatly influenced by the text with the maximum ipm, which stands at the beginning of the timeline. Moreover, none of the texts which stand close to this title show a similar frequency and the remaining frequencies on the timeline show a rather variable trend. For these reasons I do not consider the Slovak transgressive in Slovak original fiction to be decreasing in time. Similarly, in the subcorpus of the Slovak translations of EN fiction, the figures do not reveal any decreasing or increasing trend regardless of whether the titles were sorted according to the year of the publication of the source text, or the year of the publication of the translated text.

The research into translation universals is still ongoing: a feature of translation can only be considered universal, if it applies to translations into all languages, from all source languages. Furthermore, normalization as well as other translation universals can be influenced by a number of different factors, which need to be taken into consideration; it applies for this thesis as well. Further research concerning the Slovak transgressive should be made in terms of other translation universals which relate to normalization, namely interference from different languages and simplification. Moreover, it is worth studying the frequency of Slovak transgressives in various text types and also investigating the style of specific authors and the purpose for which they use the transgressive form. Finally, the role of a translator, their proficiency and education, which may greatly influence the effect of normalization, or any other translation universal, should be analysed as well.

7 Resumé

Táto diplomová práca bola zameraná na skúmanie normalizácie v textoch slovenských prekladov anglickej beletrie a slovenskej pôvodnej beletrie so zameraním na slovenský prechodník.

V teoretickej časti som vymedzila pojem slovenský prechodník z hľadiska jeho morfolologickej, syntaktickej, sémantickej a štylistickej stránky a uviedla som závery štúdií slovenských lingvistov zamerané na výskyt alebo preklad prechodníka v slovenskej literatúre. Následne som definovala koncept korpusovej translatológie a predmet jej skúmania – prekladové univerzálie. Na záver tejto časti som venovala osobitnú pozornosť normalizácii a štúdiu Olgy Nádvorníkovej (2021), ktorá skúmala normalizáciu v rámci výskytu českého prechodníka v textoch českej beletrie a literatúry faktu a ktorá do veľkej miery inšpirovala tému tejto práce.

Metodologická časť sa zaoberala tvorbou korpusu slovenských prekladov anglickej beletrie a slovenskej pôvodnej beletrie, uviedla konkrétne korpusové a štatistické nástroje, ktoré boli použité na analýzu dát a popísala proces anotácie skúmaných rysov slovenského prechodníka.

V praktickej časti som predstavila analýzu dát získaných z oboch korpusov. Ako prvú som skúmala hypotézu normalizácie, t.j. či je výskyt prechodníkov nižší v prekladoch ako v pôvodných textoch. Relatívny výskyt všetkých (bežných aj absolútnych) prechodníkov v oboch korpusoch túto hypotézu potvrdil, avšak detailná analýza ich výskytu v jednotlivých dielach ukázala, že vysoký počet prechodníkov v pôvodných textoch je ovplyvnený príliš vysokými hodnotami v dvoch dielach. Efekt normalizácie tak nebol potvrdený.

Následne som vymedzila absolútne prechodníky, ktorých bolo v porovnaní s bežnými oveľa menej. Ich skúmaním som zistila, že v prekladoch sa ich nachádza viac ako v pôvodných slovenských textoch, ktoré však disponujú vyšším počtom konkrétnych typov týchto prechodníkov. Po ich vyčlenení som sa zamerala len na bežné prechodníky, u ktorých som znova skúmala efekt normalizácie. Avšak, tak ako pri skúmaní všetkých prechodníkových tvarov ani v tomto prípade nebola táto hypotéza potvrdená. Dôvodom boli opäť príliš vysoké hodnoty výskytu prechodníka v dvoch textoch pôvodnej slovenskej beletrie.

Čo sa týka typov bežných prechodníkov, konkrétne sloviess, z ktorých sú utvorené, prevažná väčšina z nich je tvorená nedokonavými slovesami, ktoré sa používajú na

vyjadrenie súčasného deja (s ohľadom na dej vyslovený v hlavnej vete). Dokonavé prechodníkové tvary vyjadrovali najmä dej predčasný, potom dej následný a v poslednom rade dej súčasný. Zaujímavým zistením bolo, že súčasný dej, ktorý je u prechodníkoch dokonavých slovies veľmi ojedinelý, dosahoval v prekladoch relatívne vysoké čísla v porovnaní s pôvodnými textami, kde bolo jeho percentuálne zastúpenie veľmi nízke. V rámci textu sa prechodníky najčastejšie vyskytovali v časti rozprávača. Menší počet bol zaznamenaný v uvádzacích vetách a najmenej ich bolo v priamej reči. Tam celkovo prevyšovali absolútne prechodníky.

Napokon, ubúdanie prechodníkov v čase nebolo potvrdené ani v korpuse slovenských prekladov, ani v korpuse pôvodných slovenských textov. Grafy zobrazujúce počet prechodníkov v jednotlivých textoch zoradených na časovej osi poukazovali skôr na kolísavý trend výskytu prechodníka ako na jeho klesajúcu či stúpajúcu tendenciu.

Budúci výskum by mohol byť zameraný na štúdiu ďalších prekladových univerzálií, ako napríklad simplifikácie či interferencie. Zaujímavé by bolo taktiež zistiť, pre aký účel sa prechodníky používajú a v akých beletristických žánroch je ich výskyt najvyšší. V neposlednom rade by sa budúci výskum mohol zamerať aj na štýl jednotlivých autorov ako aj na samotných prekladateľov, ich odbornosť či vzdelanie.

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