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## On the translation of English forms of address into Russian

PER AMBROSIANI

### 1. Introduction

Since the appearance of the influential article by Brown and Gilman "The pronouns of power and solidarity" (Brown & Gilman 1960), a growing number of investigations of forms of address in different languages have appeared, several of which—directly or indirectly—concern Slavic languages.<sup>1</sup> In the present article some aspects of pronominal usage and forms of address in Russian will be compared with the situation in English: after an introduction on the inventory and distribution of pronominal and nominal forms of address in Russian and English, I will present a short investigation of a Russian translation of an English text and its relation to the original.<sup>2</sup>

The text that will be discussed is Raymond Chandler's 1958 novel *Playback*. The last crime novel completed by Chandler,<sup>3</sup> *Playback* has been translated into several languages. The object of the present study is the translation into Russian made by Israel' Šamir, which was published in Moscow in 1992 (Čendler 1992). In the novel the private investigator Philip Marlowe is hired by a lawyer, Clyde Umney, to investigate a mysterious woman. Marlowe follows her to the small town of Esmeralda on the California coast where, as expected, the narrative plot develops into a hard-boiled story with its familiar ingredients: murder, money, and mystery.

### 2. Forms of address in Russian

#### 2.1. Pronominal address

Similarly to many European languages, Russian possesses two second-person personal pronouns, the singular *ty*, which is used in addressing one person, and the plural *vy*, which can be used either with one or several addressees.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, in

<sup>1</sup> Here only a few relevant studies can be mentioned, for example, Sifianou 1992, Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992, Lubecka 1993. A useful bibliography can be found in Berger 1998.

<sup>2</sup> The terms "Russian" and "English" here and in the following sections refer primarily to Contemporary Standard Russian of the late Soviet period and Standard English as spoken in the United States (American English).

<sup>3</sup> The story "Poodle springs" was left unfinished at the time of Chandler's death in 1959.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the personal pronouns *ty* and *vy*, the same distinction between the singular and plural is present in the possessive pronouns *voj* (*svoj*) and *vaš* 'your' as well as in the use of the second

a dyad consisting of two persons there are three usage possibilities: reciprocal *ty*, reciprocal *vy*, or non-reciprocal use of the second-person pronouns: one participant in the dialogue uses *ty* and the other *vy*. The different usage patterns occur primarily in the following situations:<sup>5</sup>

a) Reciprocal *vy* is the neutral usage between adult strangers, regardless of social position. It is also the main option between adults who know each other without being close relatives or close friends.

b) Reciprocal *ty* is the neutral usage between close friends or family members (also between parents and children), and between children regardless of the degree of acquaintance. It may also occur without any indication of closeness between young adults, for example, among students.

c) Non-reciprocal usage (*vy/ty*) is the neutral usage between adults and children (except between family members, see above) regardless of the degree of acquaintance, for example, between teacher and pupil as well as between an adult and a child who are unacquainted. As an alternative to reciprocal *vy*, non-reciprocal *vy/ty* is also possible between adults with either a substantial difference in age or of a different social or occupational status, particularly when the members of the dyad are well-known to each other, for example, between employer and employee. In all these cases, the superior in age or status will normally use *ty* and the inferior will use *vy*. It is important to note, however, that the superior has a choice of which form of address to use (*ty* or *vy*), and thus between reciprocal and non-reciprocal usage, while the inferior does not have this choice.<sup>6</sup>

Permanent or temporary shifts between the different types of pronominal usage are normally motivated either by changes in the relation between the members of a dyad or by the context of the speech event.<sup>7</sup>

a) A shift from reciprocal *vy* to reciprocal *ty* is the natural result when two adults become closer friends or colleagues. The change can occur both after an invitation, usually by the person of higher status or age, or without any invitation, particularly among young adults. Temporary shifts to reciprocal *ty* between persons who normally use reciprocal *vy* can also occur in situations characterized by heightened emotional expression: love, anger, fear, etc.

b) Conversely, a shift from reciprocal *ty* to reciprocal *vy* usually expresses a loss of closeness, for example, after a serious conflict between the members of the dyad. Temporary shifts to reciprocal *vy* between persons who normally use reciprocal *ty* can also occur in situations that are characterized by a certain degree of formality, for example, at official receptions, public discussions, etc.

c) A shift from non-reciprocal *vy/ty* to reciprocal *vy* also occurs in certain situations as one way of expressing the transition of a young woman or man to adulthood.

person singular or plural verb forms in the present tense, the imperative etc., (for example, *znaeš'* 2 sg. vs. *znaete* 2 pl. 'you know') or the singular or the plural form in the preterite (for example, *znal/znala* masc./fem. sg. vs. *znali* pl. 'you knew').

<sup>5</sup> For data on modern usage see Mayer 1975, Nakhimovsky 1976, and Comrie et al. 1996:249–55.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Nakhimovsky 1976:84, who calls this "true asymmetry".

<sup>7</sup> For an interesting discussion of shifts between different forms of address in nineteenth-century Russian literature see Friedrich 1971:239–51.

Following Brown and Gilman, most analyses of forms of address in different languages make use of their well-known framework of "power" and "solidarity". A slightly modified variant of this model is used in a recent article by Berger (1996), who analyzes the pronominal forms of address in Russian in terms of *status* ("Status") and *distance* ("vertraut/distanziert") (Berger 1996:13). According to Berger, the use of reciprocal *ty* occurs in situations characterized by a high degree of familiarity, whereas in situations characterized by a higher degree of distance the normal usage is reciprocal *vy*. Non-reciprocal use of the second-person pronouns occurs, according to Berger, in dyads characterized simultaneously by distance and a substantial difference in status.

However, the assumption that it is possible to explain the use of second-person pronouns in terms of universal, language-independent features of the type proposed by Brown and Gilman and others has been challenged by a number of scholars, including Wierzbicka (1992:320) and Mühlhäusler & Harré (1990:139–41). The latter, following Friedrich 1971, reject the two-dimensional scheme of power and solidarity as being too simplistic and instead propose a system of four sets of discriminations that condition the use of second-person pronouns in Russian: *content* (topic of conversation, social context), *"biosocial" considerations* (age, sex, etc.), *group membership* (relative authority, etc.), and *emotional expression*.

## 2.2. Nominal address

Unlike the pronominal forms of address discussed above, nominal forms of address—names,<sup>8</sup> titles, kinship terms etc.—are used both in direct address and when referring to a person not participating in the dyad under investigation.<sup>9</sup> A number of different types can be distinguished, most of which consist of either one or two terms. Single term nominal forms of address in Russian comprise the following:

1) First name (FN) alone. For many Russian first names there is a distinction between a marked full form (FF) and an unmarked short form (SF). Some first names, however, only possess the full form (FF), which in this case is unmarked.<sup>10</sup> In addition, all first names have diminutive forms (DF), which normally are used to convey various expressive meanings. Such first name forms that possess the nominative ending *-a* or *-ja* (mainly SF and DF, referring to both men and women) have special vocative forms with no ending that may be used in direct address only (in variation with the nominative), whereas forms ending in a consonant or in a vowel other than *-a* or *-ja* in the nominative have no vocative form and thus occur in direct address only in the nominative. Examples: FF (marked): *Jurij*, *Tat'jana*,

<sup>8</sup> For an instructive overview of the Russian system of personal names see, for example, Comrie et al. 1996:259–60, 267.

<sup>9</sup> Nominal forms of address used with reference to a third person are as a rule identical to either the form normally used in direct address by any of the members of the dyad, or a form indicated by the situation of the discourse (topic or social context), cf. Nakhimovsky 1976:103, Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990:139–41. In direct address most nominal forms of address can be preceded by an adjectival modifier: *dorogoj* 'dear', *uvažamyj* 'respected', etc.

<sup>10</sup> For marking conventions for Russian first names, see Wierzbicka 1992:240.

(unmarked) *Igor', Vera*; SF: *Jura, Jur* (voc.), *Tanja, Tan'* (voc.); DF: *Juročka, Tanečka, Igorka, Veročka*, etc.

2) Patronymic alone (P): *Ivanovič, Ivanovna*.

3) Last name alone (LN): *Petrov, Petrova*.

4) Kinship term (K) alone. Similarly to first names, kinship terms possess full forms (FF: *otec* 'Father', *mat'* 'Mother'), short forms (SF: *papa* 'Dad', *mama* 'Mom'), and diminutive forms (DF: *papočka, mamočka* etc.) which are used to convey various expressive meanings. Forms ending in *-a* or *-ja* can be used either in the nominative or—in direct address only—in the vocative: *pap, mam*. Some kinship terms, such as *papa* or *mama*, are used to address persons who are well known to the speaker, whereas terms such as *djadja, djaden ka* (DF) 'uncle' or *tetja, teten ka* (DF) 'aunt, auntie' without a name following are used primarily by children when addressing adult strangers (cf. below).

5) Title (T) alone. Among titles we will make a distinction between non-professional or "social" titles (ST), such as *tovarišč* 'Comrade', *gospodin/gospoža* 'Mr./Mrs.',<sup>11</sup> or *graždanin/graždanka* (DF: *graždanočka*) 'Citizen', and professional or "positional" titles (PT), which comprise, for example, military (*lejtenant* 'Lieutenant', *kapitan* 'Captain', etc.) and ecclesiastical titles (*otec* 'Father'). Usually only social titles occur alone, whereas positional titles normally are used together with names (in most cases LN) or social titles (cf. below).

6) Other nominal constructions, with varying stylistic and expressive additional meanings (NC): *ženščina* 'woman', *mužčina* 'man', *devuška* 'girl, woman', *molodoj čelovek* 'young man', *starik* 'old man', *paren'* 'boy', *drug* 'friend', *krasavica* 'beauty', *milij* 'dear', etc. (cf. Formanovskaja 1989:100).

Among nominal forms of address consisting of a combination of two terms, the following are the most important:

7) First name (full form) and patronymic (FF+P): *Jurij Ivanovič, Tat'jana Ivanovna*. FF+P is the standard polite form showing respect used between adults who are acquainted but not so close as to use FN alone.

8) First name (full or short form) and last name (FN+LN): *Jurij (Jura) Petrov, Tat'jana (Tanja) Petrova*. The use of FN+LN is restricted in direct address,<sup>12</sup> but seems to be increasingly common in reference to a third person, replacing the use of FN+P+LN at least in written discourse (cf. Comrie et al. 1996:260–61).

9) Kinship term (K) (*djadja* 'uncle', *tetja* 'aunt', etc.) and first name (short form) (K+SF). This form of address is mainly used by children addressing adults who are neither strangers nor close family members.<sup>13</sup> Both the kinship term and the first name will be either in the nominative or in the vocative (only in direct address): *djadja Jura, tetja Tanja, tet' Tan'* (voc.), etc.

10) Social title and last name (ST+LN): *tovarišč Petrov, tovarišč Petrova, gospodin Ivanov, gospoža Ivanova*. The use of ST+LN is usually restricted to certain

formal or official situations, such as formal meetings or public discussions. In Soviet usage, *tovarišč*+LN could also be used by university students to address their professor instead of the less formal but equally respectful FN+P.

11) Positional title (ecclesiastical title) and first name (full form) (PT+FF): *otec Sergij* 'Father Sergij'.

12) Positional title and last name (PT+LN): *lejtenant Petrov*. In military usage PT+LN can be used towards inferiors, whereas in addressing superiors the use of social title and positional title (ST+PT: *tovarišč kapitan*, see below) is normally required.

13) Social title and positional title (ST+PT): *tovarišč lejtenant* 'Comrade Lieutenant', *gospodin direktor* 'Mr. Manager', *graždanin milicioner* 'Citizen policeman', etc. In this case the title *graždanin* is used in addressing both men and women, whereas in combinations with last name *graždanin* and *graždanka* are used towards both men and women, respectively (Nakhimovsky 1976:83, 115, Formanovskaja 1989:91–93).

Nominal forms of address regularly consisting of more than two terms are less common, particularly in direct address:

14) First name (full form), patronymic, and last name (FF+P+LN): *Jurij Ivanovič Petrov, Tat'jana Ivanovna Petrova*. This use of the full name is very restricted in direct address, and even in indirect address it seems to be losing ground, at least in some situations, to the less formal FN+LN (cf. above).

### 2.3. Combinations of pronominal and nominal forms of address

In modern Russian usage the second person singular *ty*<sup>14</sup> is usually coordinated with the first name alone, often the short or diminutive form, or with the first name and a kinship term. The pronoun *vy*, on the other hand, mainly appears together either with the first name and patronymic or with a title and last name. However, as the following examples from the Uppsala Russian Text Corpus<sup>15</sup> show, with both *ty* and *vy* a number of different combinations are possible:<sup>16</sup>

1) *ty*+FN (FF): "– *Ty otdochni, Valerij* [...]"

2) *ty*+FN (SF): "– *Čto s toboj, Tanja?*"; "– *Da čto ty, Saša, neuželi ne pomniš* [...]"

3) *ty*+FN (DF): "– *Fed'ka, tebe, čto li, delat' nečego v tvoem vozraste?*"

4) *ty*+P: "– *Tak čto ty, Stepanyč, ne uvertyvajsja.*"

5) *ty*+FN (FF)+P: "– *Znaju, ty, Grigorij Danilovič, na čužoe ne pozariš'sja* [...]"

6) *ty*+LN: "– *Čto s toboj, Monachov?*"

7) *ty*+FN (SF)+LN: "– *Ne ty, Saša Korotkov* [...]. *Ne ty, Galja Smokovnikova.*"

<sup>11</sup> In Soviet usage *gospodin/gospoža* was restricted to such cases when one of the members of the dyad was a foreigner, in particular from a non-Socialist country, cf. Formanovskaja 1989:93.

<sup>12</sup> According to some of my Russian colleagues, FN+LN may be used in school by a teacher addressing a student.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Nakhimovsky 1976:86.

<sup>14</sup> The words *ty* and *vy* refer here both to the actual personal pronouns and to certain other word forms, which exhibit a similar distinction between the singular and the plural, cf. footnote 4, above.

<sup>15</sup> For a detailed description of the Uppsala Russian Text Corpus, see Lönngren 1993:45–69.

<sup>16</sup> The use of second-person pronouns *without* any accompanying nominal form of address requires a separate analysis. For an interesting observation on this type of usage see, for example, Formanovskaja 1989:78.

- 8) *ty*+K+FN (SF): "A *eto tebe, djadja Miša*"; "*Djad' Griša! Idi, idi skoree*."
- 9) *ty*+NC+FN (SF): "*Tebe, drug Vasja, eto nraivos', a mne net!*"
- 10) *ty*+PT: "*Pomog by mne, lejtenant?*"
- 11) *vy*+FN (FF)+P: "—Ja choču napomnit' *vam, Jurij Antonievič, odin épizod. Pomnite našu poezdku na Bajkal [...]*"
- 12) *vy*+ST+LN: "—*Est' u vas, tovarišč Gluškov, takie den'gi*"; "[...] *to, čto Vy i ja, gospodin Ševardnadze, možem vozobnovit' poleznyj dialog*."
- 13) *vy*+FN (SF): "*Eš' te, Nadja. U vas dolžny byt' sily*."
- 14) *vy*+LN: "*Badin, vy ne vozražajte...*"
- 15) *vy*+PT+FN (FF): "*Vidite li, otec Sergij, [...]*"
- 16) *vy*+K+FN (DF): "*Djadja Mit'aj, vam, naverno, tri rublja nado*"; "*Vy, tetja Šura, staren'ki, vy etogo ne ponimate...*"
- 17) *vy*+K: "A *vy, tetja, iz kino?*"
- 18) *vy*+ST: "*Projdemte, graždani*"; "A *vy tut oboždite, graždanočka*."
- 19) *vy*+ST+PT: "*Tovarišč kapitan, kuda vy?*"; "Ja *vspominaju, gospodin ministr. Vaši slova...*"

With the combination of pronominal and nominal forms of address, Russian possesses a powerful means for expressing various degrees of closeness, distance, politeness, respect, etc. For reasons of space I will refrain from a detailed analysis of the examples given above, but it seems clear that all combinations with *ty* (nos. 1–10) share a basic pragmatic meaning of closeness, familiarity or lack of distance, whereas the combinations with *vy* (nos. 11–19), on the contrary, share a meaning of distance. The nominal forms of address in turn are used to express modifications of the basic meanings, conveying either a greater or lesser degree of distance. Other data seem to indicate that the non-reciprocal use of nominal forms of address (when the members of a dyad address each other as, for example, *Tat'jana Ivanovna* and *Jura*, respectively), particularly in combination with reciprocal *ty* or *vy*, may also convey differences in status.

### 3. Forms of address in English

In twentieth-century standard English, which still possesses two different second-person pronouns, the singular *thou* and the (etymologically) plural *you*, the latter is used in almost all situations, with either singular or plural meaning, depending on the context.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, such meanings that in Russian are associated with the use of second-person pronouns combined with nominal forms of address are in modern English conveyed exclusively by nominal forms of address. According to Brown and Ford (1964:234), who describe American usage of the 1950's, the principal

<sup>17</sup> Cf., for example, the following usage definition of *thou* in *Webster's New World College Dictionary* (3rd ed. 1995): "Formerly used in familiar address, but now replaced by *you* except in poetic or religious use and in some British dialects". In addition, in some non-standard varieties of English there are distinctions between a second singular *you* and a second plural form of the same pronoun, for example, *yous(e)*, cf. Wales 1996:73–78, who also discusses the historical development of second-person pronominal usage in English.

opposition is between use of the first name alone (FN)<sup>18</sup> and use of a title<sup>19</sup> plus last name (T+LN). The authors distinguish between three possible patterns of usage, two reciprocal (FN/FN and T+LN/T+LN) and one non-reciprocal (FN/T+LN). The choice between reciprocal FN or reciprocal T+LN is said to be normally governed by the "degree of acquaintance" (Brown & Ford 1964:236), whereas the motivation for use of the non-reciprocal FN/T+LN is a difference in status. Such differences concern, for example, age (child/adult) or occupational status, either more or less permanent (master/servant, employer/employee) or temporary (waiter/customer). When different types of status conflict, as, for example, in a conversation between a young business executive and an elderly janitor, according to Brown and Ford occupational status will normally be more important than age difference: thus, a younger person with higher occupational status will be expected to receive T+LN while addressing the older person with lower occupational status with FN.

### 4. Towards a contrastive description of Russian and English forms of address

As we have seen, both the Russian and English systems of forms of address can be described in terms of *status* and *distance*. Figure 1, adapted from Berger (1996:13), gives a simplified picture of the Russian pronominal forms of address. According to this model, in Russian the main opposition is between reciprocal *ty* and reciprocal *vy*, which means that in Russian *distance* can be interpreted as being more important than *status* for the choice of second-person pronoun in direct address.

Figure 1. Pronominal forms of address in Russian

|                     | + Distance                   | – Distance   |
|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| + Status difference | <i>vy/vy</i> or <i>vy/ty</i> | <i>ty/ty</i> |
| – Status difference | <i>vy/vy</i>                 | <i>ty/ty</i> |

However, as suggested above, the choice between different nominal forms of address in Russian seems to be more sensitive to the *status* feature, particularly in combinations with reciprocal use of either *vy* or *ty*.

Figure 2 shows the nominal forms of address in English in the same terms of status and distance. In contrast to Russian, the main opposition here seems to be between reciprocal and non-reciprocal usage, which means that the most important factor in the English system is the *status* feature: the status relationship, not the degree of distance between the members of the dyad, is decisive for the choice

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed analysis of the meanings associated with various forms of FN in English, see Wierzbicka 1992:225–34.

<sup>19</sup> Among English titles we can distinguish, as in Russian, between social titles such as *Mr.*, *Miss*, *Madam*, *Sir*, *Mrs.*, *Ms.*, and positional titles such as *President*, *Captain*, *Doctor*, *Professor*, *Father* etc., cf. Hook 1984:184–85.

between, on the one hand, reciprocal T+LN or reciprocal FN, and, on the other, non-reciprocal T+LN vs. FN.

Figure 2. Forms of address in English

|                     | + Distance | – Distance |
|---------------------|------------|------------|
| + Status difference | T+LN/FN    | T+LN/FN    |
| – Status difference | T+LN/T+LN  | FN/FN      |

Thus, in both languages the use of nominal forms of address is mainly governed by the relative status of the participants of the dialogue, whereas the usage patterns for the pronominal forms of address in Russian seem to be more dependent on the *distance* feature. For English, which lacks a generally used system of pronominal forms of address, the concept of *status* therefore can be assumed to be more decisive for the choice of forms of address than in Russian, where the status-based nominal system in almost every utterance is combined with a distance-based system of pronominal forms of address.

### 5. Forms of address in Playback

In the Russian translation of Raymond Chandler's novel *Playback*, we find both reciprocal and non-reciprocal usage of the second-person pronouns, as well as different types of nominal forms of address.<sup>20</sup> As the size of the present article does not permit an analysis of all instances of pronominal and nominal forms of address in the text of the novel, in the following section I will limit the discussion to six dialogues, chosen to illustrate the most important types of forms of address that are attested. In order to facilitate the discussion, the Russian and English examples will be tagged with information on 1) the speakers' utterances (A1, B1, A2, B2, etc.), and 2) the pronominal (only for the Russian translation) and nominal form(s) of address used in the respective utterance. In addition, the actual forms of address in the example texts will be underlined.

#### 5.1. Reciprocal *vy*

Reciprocal *vy* occurs, for example, in a conversation between Captain Alessandro of the Esmeralda police (A) and Philip Marlowe (B):

- (1a) — Usaživajtes', mister Marlou. <A1: *vy*, T+LN>  
[...]

<sup>20</sup> As non-Russians, the characters in the novel do not carry the complete Russian set of FN+P+LN which, naturally, diminishes the number of possible nominal forms of address attested in the translation.

— No éto ne ob"jasnjaet, počemu vy v Èsméral'de i čto u vas obščego s Seferino Čangom. A tak kak vy ne rabotaete na mistera Amni, esli vy ne rabotaete na drugogo advokata, to u vas net i sootvetstvjuščich polnomočij.

<A2: *vy*>

— Ne toropite menja, kapitan, esli možete. [...]  
[pp. 94–95]

<B2: *vy*, T, *vy*>

- (1b) “Have a seat, Mr. Marlowe.” <A1: T+LN>  
[...]  
“That doesn't explain why you are here and what you have to do with Ceferino Chang. And since you are not now working for Mr. Umney, unless you are working for another attorney you have no privilege.” <A2>  
“Give me a break, if you can, Captain. [...]” <B2: T>  
[pp. 131–33]

Both the translation and the original use the same nominal forms of address—T+LN (A1) and T alone (B2)—which indicates distance and no or little difference in status. In the Russian version reciprocal *vy*, which is the neutral usage between adult strangers regardless of social position, is therefore an adequate choice of pronominal address, conforming to the polite setting of the interview.

Somewhat earlier in the same chapter, Marlowe (B) arrives at the police station and is addressed by the officer on duty, Griddell (A):

- (2a) — Čem možem pomoč' vam, sér? [...] <A1: *vy*, T>  
— Ja choču soobščit' o smerti. [...] <B1>  
— Vaše imja, sér? [...] <A2: *vy*, T>  
— Filipp Marlou. Ja častnyj detektiv iz Los-Andželesa. <B2>  
— Kakoj nomer doma, vy zametili? <A3: *vy*>  
— Tam ne bylo nomera, naskol'ko ja mog zametit'. [...] <B3>  
[...]  
— Kapitan Alessandro chočet pogovorit' s vami, mister Marlou. <A4: *vy*, T+LN>  
Prjamo po koridoru, poslednjaja dver' napravo.  
[pp. 93–94]
- (2b) “What can we do for you, sir?” [...] <A1: T>  
“I have to report a death.” [...] <B1>  
“Your name, please?” <A2>  
He was already pressing buttons.  
“Philip Marlowe. I'm a Los Angeles private detective.” <B2>  
“Did you notice the number of this place?” <A3>  
“It didn't have one that I could see. [...]” <B3>  
[...]  
“Captain Alessandro would like to speak to you, Mr. Marlowe. Down the hall, last door to the right, please.” <A4: T+LN>  
[pp. 130–31]

Here the setting is equally polite as in the first example, but the temporary asymmetrical status relationship, conditioned by the situation, is expressed in the original by the use of the social title *sir* (A1) and T+LN (A4) by the police officer, whereas Marlowe's utterances completely lack nominal forms of address. In the Russian version the nominal forms of address are simply repeated, with the exception of the second occurrence of the title *sér* 'sir', which is the translation of the polite *please* accompanying Griddell's request (A2). As expected, Griddell addresses Marlowe with *vy*, but Marlowe does not have any opportunity to use a pronominal form of address. However, in the situation described we can suppose that he too would have used *vy* in accordance with the expected usage between adult strangers regardless of status.

## 5.2. Reciprocal *ty*

Considerably earlier in the story two men, Clark Brandon (A) and Larry Mitchell (B), are having an argument in a restaurant. Brandon tries to calm down Mitchell:

- (3a) — Uspokojsja, Larri, ty uže nalizalsja, — [...] <A1: *ty*, FN, *ty*>  
 — Ne sujsja ne v svoi dela, Brandon. <B1: *ty*, LN>  
 — Ochotno, staričok. [...] <A2: NC (DF)>  
 [...] <B2: *ty*>  
 — Idi popluj sebe v šljapu, ponjal?  
 [...] <A3: *ty*, FN>  
 — Uspokojsja, Larri, ja skazal. [...] <B3>  
 — Ladno, do svidanija, — [...] <B3>  
 [p. 35]
- (3b) "Take it easy, Larry. You've got a skiful." [...] <A1: FN>  
 "Stay out of this, Brandon." <B1: LN>  
 "Delighted, old man [...]" <A2: NC>  
 [...] <B2: T>  
 "Why don't you go spit in your hat, mister?" <B2: T>  
 [...] <A3: FN>  
 "Take it easy, Larry, I said," [...] <B3>  
 "Okay, see you later," [...] <B3>  
 [p. 47]

As in the earlier examples, the Russian translation repeats the nominal forms of address used in the original, with the exception of the occurrence of *mister* in Mitchell's second utterance (B2). This colloquial form of address may be interpreted as marker of the speaker's (comparably low) social status, but can also be viewed by the addressee as patronizing or rude.<sup>21</sup> The reciprocal use of names without titles (*Larry, Brandon*) indicates that the two men are no strangers, and that their status,

permanent or temporary, is approximately equal.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the use of reciprocal *ty* in the Russian version adequately emphasises the lack of distance between the participants of the dyad, leaving open to various interpretations of the status relationship between the two men.

## 5.3. Non-reciprocal *vy/ty*

In chapter two Marlowe (A) questions a baggage porter (B) at the railroad station:

- (4a) — Obsluživaeš' "Super Čif"? — sprosil ja ego. <A1: *ty*>  
 — I étot tože. <B1>  
 On gljanul bez osobogo interesa na dollar, kotoryj ja krutil v ruke.  
 — Ja vstrečaju tranzitnogo passažira iz vagona <A2>  
 Vašington — San-Diego. Možet, on uže sošel? <B2>  
 — V smysle sovsem, s bagažom?  
 [...] <B3: *vy*>  
 — Tol'ko odin passažir i sošel, — skazal on nakonec.  
 — Kak vygljadit vaš drug? <B4: T, *vy*>  
 [...] <A5>  
 — Ničem ne mogu pomoč', mister. Kotoryj sošel — sovsem ne pochož. Vaš drug, navernoe, ostalsja v besperesadočnom vagone. [...] <A5>  
 — Spasibo, — skazal ja i dal emu dollar.  
 [pp. 7–8]
- (4b) "You work the Super Chief?" I asked him. <A1>  
 "Yeah. Part of it." <B1>  
 He glanced without too deep interest at the buck I was teasing with my fingers.  
 "I was expecting someone on the Washington-San Diego through car. Anybody get off?" <A2>  
 "You mean get off permanent, baggage and all?" <B2>  
 [...] <B3>  
 "One passenger get off," he said at last. "What your friend look like?" <B3>  
 [...] <B4: T>  
 "Can't help you, mister. What got off don't look like that at all. Your friend probably still on the train. [...]" <A5>  
 "Thanks," I said, and gave him the dollar.  
 [p. 8]

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Lubecka 1993:74, Hook 1984:188.

<sup>22</sup> LN alone either substitutes for FN alone, or indicates a degree of intimacy less than FN alone but greater than T+LN, cf. Brown & Ford 1964:237.

In this example both the English original and the translation contain only one nominal form of address, the title *mister* (B4), which in this case, clearly without any intention of rudeness (cf. above), is used as a colloquial substitute for the standard polite *sir*. The absence of other politeness formulas indicates, at least in the English original, a certain lack of distance between the two interlocutors. In the Russian translation, however, the choice of non-reciprocal *vy/ty* can be interpreted as an indication of a certain difference in status between the private detective and the nameless porter. Alternatively, the non-reciprocal use of pronouns may be interpreted in terms of a conflict between different systems. In this case Marlowe addresses the porter with *ty* not to stress his superior status but rather in an attempt to appear as a speaker of non-standard language, *prostorečie*, in order to get on good terms with his interlocutor by trying to express solidarity and equality in status. When the porter in his third utterance eventually answers with *vy*, this can be interpreted as a rejection of the proposal of comradeship. Unfortunately, soon after that the conversation ends, and we do not know which second-person pronoun Marlowe would have used had the dialogue continued. Therefore we can draw no definite conclusion as to which of the two interpretations is the more plausible. In both cases, however, the Russian translation adds something that is not present in the original.

#### 5.4. Reciprocal *vy*, with shifts to non-reciprocal *vy/ty*

In the very beginning of the story, Marlowe (B) receives a telephone call from his future client, the lawyer Clyde Umney (A):

- (5a) — Allo, vy menja slyšite? Ja govorju, čto ja — Klajd Amni, advokat. <A1: *vy*>  
 — Ne znaju ja nikakich Amni, ni advokatov, ni pročich. <B1>  
 — Èto vy budete Marlou? <A2: *vy*>  
 — Kem že mne ešče byt' [...] <B2>  
 — Ne derzi mne, paren'. <A3: *ty*, NC>  
 — Prostitute, mister Amni, no ja ne paren', uvy. [...] Čem mogu služit'? <B3: *vy*, T+LN>  
 — Vy dolžny vstreťit' v vosem' utra skoryj poezd <A4: *vy*>  
 "Super Čif", [...] [p. 4]
- (5b) "Did you hear me? I said I was Clyde Umney, the lawyer." <A1>  
 "Clyde Umney, the lawyer. I thought we had several <B1>  
 of them." <A2>  
 "You're Marlowe, aren't you?" <B2>  
 "Yeah. I guess so." [...] <A3: NC>  
 "Don't get fresh with me, young man." <B3: T+LN, T>  
 "Sorry, Mr. Umney. But I'm not a young man. [...] <A4>  
 What can I do for you, sir?" <B4: LN, *ty*>  
 "I want you to meet the Super Chief at eight o'clock," [...] [p. 3]

In this dialogue a temporary conflict between the two interlocutors is expressed in part by their pronominal usage. In the English original Umney, who clearly sees himself as socially superior to Marlowe, tries to emphasize his status both by directly addressing Marlowe with the patronizing NC *young man* (A3) and by using LN alone when referring to him (A2), while reserving the more formal FN+LN and profession for himself: *I said I was Clyde Umney, the lawyer* (A1). Marlowe, on the other hand, after some initial attempts at getting the upper hand, eventually acknowledges his inferior status by using T+LN and the title *sir* (B3).

In the Russian translation the conflict between Umney and Marlowe is rendered mainly by the use of the pronouns *vy* and *ty*. Umney starts politely by addressing Marlowe with the neutral *vy*, but in A3 he switches to *ty* in order to emphasize his superior status. When Marlowe at last reacts more politely with *vy* and T+LN (B3), Umney switches back to *vy*, thus reestablishing the polite reciprocal *vy* used in the beginning of the conversation.

#### 5.5. Reciprocal *vy*, with shift to reciprocal *ty*

In the second chapter Marlowe (B) calls Umney's secretary, Miss Vermilyea (A). After Marlowe has reported what has happened so far in the case, Miss Vermilyea thanks him:

- (6a) — Spasibo, ja zapisala vaše soobščenie i peredam ego misteru Amni kak možno skoree. Itak, vy ne prišli k odnoznačnomu zaključeniju? <A1: *vy*>  
 — Odnosnačnoe zaključenje? Vy ot menja čto-to <B1: *vy*>  
skryvaete.  
 Ee golos rezko izmenilsja. Vidimo, kto-to vyšel iz kontory.  
 — Slušaj, paren'. Tebja nanjali sledit' — tak sledi kak sleduet. <A2: *ty*, NC, *ty*>  
Pomni — Klajd Amni zakazyvaet muzyku v ètom gorode.  
 — Komu nužna ego muzyka, krasavica? Ja obchožus' <B2: NC>  
 plastinkami. Ja by i sam emu sygral, esli b menja pooščrjali.  
 — Tebe zaplatjat, špik, esli vypolniš' zadanie. Ne inae. <A3: *ty*, NC, *ty*>  
Usek? <B3: *ty*, NC>  
 — Spasibo tebe na dobrom slove, radost' moja. Vsego.  
 — Postoj, Marlou, — skazala ona naprjažennym golosom, — <A4: *ty*, LN, *ty*>  
 ja ne chotela tebe chamit'. Èto delo očen' važno dlja Klajda Amni. Esli ono sorvetsja, on podvedet važnych ljudej. Ja  
 prosto nervničaju.  
 — Mne èto prišlo' po duše, Vermil'i. Prjamo čudesa <B4: LN, *ty*>  
sotvorila s moim podsoznaniem. Pozvonju, kogda predstavitsja  
 slučaj.  
 [p. 10]



- (6b) "I have all that, thank you. I'll get it to Mr. Umney as soon as possible. You have no firm opinion then?" <A1>  
 "I have one firm opinion. That you're holding out on me." <B1>  
 Her voice changed abruptly. Somebody must have left the office.  
 "Listen, chum, you were hired to do a job. Better do it and do it right. Clyde Umney draws a lot of water in this town." <A2: NC>  
 "Who wants water, beautiful? I take mine straight with a beer chaser. I might make sweeter music if I was encouraged." <B2: NC>  
 "You'll get paid, shamus—if you do a job. Not otherwise. Is that clear?" <A3: NC>  
 "That's the nicest thing you ever said to me, sweetheart. Goodbye now." <B3: NC>  
 "Listen, Marlowe," she said with sudden urgency. "I didn't mean to be rough with you. This is very important to Clyde Umney. If he doesn't come through, he might lose a very valuable connection. I was just sounding off." <A4: LN>  
 "I liked it, Vermilyea. It did things to my subconscious. I'll call in when I can." <B4: LN>  
 [pp. 11–12]

The conversation between Marlowe and Vermilyea can be divided into three sections, characterized by differences in emotional expression: A1–B1, A2–B3, and A4–B4. In the English version the first, emotionally more or less neutral, section of the conversation is characterized by the absence of nominal forms of address, whereas the Russian version employs reciprocal *vy*.

In the middle section, A2–B3, the nominal forms of address in the English original are repeated in the Russian translation: the NC's *paren'*, *krasavica*, *špik*, *radost' moja* more or less adequately translate *chum*, *beautiful*, *shamus*, and *sweetheart*, respectively. In this section, however, the tone changes abruptly when Vermilyea tries to scare Marlowe into completing the work he has been hired to do. In the Russian version Vermilyea's switch to *ty* here constitutes a somewhat rude assertion of Marlowe's inferior status, but Marlowe's reply with *ty* helps to mark the section as more colloquial than the beginning of the dialogue.

In the final section the character of the conversation changes again, and the continuing use of reciprocal *ty* in the Russian version now turns into an expression of friendly closeness. The use of LN alone by both Marlowe and Vermilyea in this section, however, which is completely parallel in the English and the Russian versions, still seems to indicate a certain reservation between the interlocutors: there is still the possibility of a shift to reciprocal FN.

## 6. Conclusions

As the examples above have shown, in most cases the nominal forms of address are translated literally from English into Russian—in addition to names, this includes

NC's such as *chum* and *sweetheart*, but also certain titles, which are simultaneously employed as markers of "foreignness": *mister* 'mister', *sér* 'sir', etc. With the pronominal forms of address, on the other hand, literal translation is of course impossible, and here the translator has tried to interpret the situations in order to choose the appropriate pronominal forms of address, including in some cases, as we have seen in examples 5 and 6, shifts between different types of pronominal forms of address.

In the Russian examples, only a very limited number of combinations of pronominal and nominal address is attested in comparison with what is attested in original Russian texts: *vy* is combined only with ST+LN or PT alone, whereas *ty* occurs together with FN alone, LN alone, or NC alone. This is hardly surprising, as a reduced use of linguistic expressions within a certain semantic field seems to be a universal characteristic of translated texts as compared with original texts.

Despite criticism by scholars such as Mühlhäusler & Harré of the bipolar model of power and solidarity or, in this case, status and distance, as an adequate tool for the analysis of pronominal (and nominal) forms of address, my investigation has tried to show the applicability of this model on a limited corpus of data from the text of the novel *Playback*. Naturally, therefore, the investigation can have no claims to be exhaustive, but it is my hope that it will constitute an additional contribution to the ongoing discussion of contrastive and cross-cultural aspects of linguistic forms of address and their description.

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## Abstract

Studier i modern språkvetenskap 12 is volume 31 in the collections of articles published by NYFILOLOGISKA SÄLLSKAPET, Stockholm, with a view to presenting current linguistic research to a Swedish as well as an international audience. The volume contains 8 articles on the theme of "Contrasts in languages".

Three of these contributions consider questions involving syntactic contrastivity. The first concerns the development of a Chinese learner as regards the use of the Swedish pronoun "det", the second similarities and differences in the Russian and Swedish systems for subordinate clauses, and the third, verb systems in three Germanic languages.

Another contribution deals with certain systematically determined differences in the use of the Russian and Swedish words for *human being*, *man* and *woman* in various types of reference.

One article takes up the forms of address in English and Russian, and the problem this gives rise to when translating between these two languages. Another area considered is discourse contrastivity, exemplified by conversational styles of Spanish and Swedish young people.

Finally, two additional articles deal with contrastivity in a historic and diachronic perspective: observations on the use of capitals in German and Swedish verse of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the question of the phenomenon of gender in older German and Swedish linguistic research.

Studier i modern språkvetenskap 12 ingår som nr 31 i NYFILOLOGISKA SÄLLSKAPETs i Stockholm serie av samlingsvolym, som presenterar svensk språkvetenskaplig forskning, inte minst för en internationell publik. Volymen omfattar 8 bidrag kring temat "Kontraster i språk". I tre av dessa utreds frågor rörande syntaktisk kontrastivitet. De behandlar i tur och ordning en kinesisk inlärares utveckling i fråga om användningen av pronomenet "det", likheter resp. olikheter i ryskans och svenskans system för underordnade satser samt verbssystemet i tre germanska språk. I ett bidrag om lexikologisk kontrastivitet undersöks systematiska skillnader i användningen av de ryska resp. svenska orden för *människa*, *man* och *kvinn*. Ett annat ämne är tilltalssystemet i engelska och ryska och de problem som uppträder vid översättning. Diskurskontrastivitet avhandlas i en studie av samtalsstilar hos spanska och svenska ungdomar. Två bidrag rör kontrastivitet i ett historiskt-diakront perspektiv, det ena principer för stor bokstav i tysk resp. svensk 1600-talslyrik, det andra synen på genus i äldre tysk och svensk språkforskning.

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