Cleft sentences. A translation perspective on Italian and French

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Abstract
This paper provides a corpus-based contrastive analysis on the use of Cleft sentences in French and Italian, based on a corpus of translated newspaper articles. The analysis of data extracted from parallel or translation corpora and comparable corpora allows the highlighting of cases of interference due to translation. For example, the number of Implicit Clefts, which are the most frequent forms of Cleft sentences in Italian (Sono stati gli oligarchi a fare da mediatori) is much lower in translated texts because that construction does not exist in French. Therefore, it is necessary to make a combined analysis of translation corpora and comparable corpora to distinguish between the possibilities offered by each language’s structural conventions and the stylistic options chosen by the translator.

Reference

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Frequency, Forms and Functions of Cleft Constructions in Romance and Germanic

Contrastive, Corpus-based studies

Edited by
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1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide a contrastive analysis on the use of Cleft sentences in French and Italian, based on a corpus of translated newspaper articles. I will analyse in particular the so-called explicit clefts of the type C'est moi qui l'ai dit / Sono io che l'ho detto 'It is me who said it' and the Italian implicit cleft (Sono stato io a dirlo). As we know (Roggia 2008, 2009), French and Italian show significant differences in the way they express focalization. In that regard, French provides an ideal ground to investigate the "compensation mechanism", stated in the following terms by Lambrecht (2001: 488): "The occurrence of cleft constructions in a language correlates with the degree of positional freedom of prosodic accents and syntactic constituents in that language". In French, word order and the position of prosodic accents are determined in a rigid way, which means that the frequency of Cleft sentences is predictably higher than in other languages, like Italian, offering a much greater flexibility in the ordering of constituents as well as prosodic accents. Corpus-based studies, like the introductory essay by De Cesare et al. (in this volume), surprisingly show a high incidence of Cleft sentences not only in French but also in Italian, which seems to indicate that the use of clefts cannot be explained in structural terms alone. From a textual point of view, Cleft sentences fulfil other functions, such as marking transitions, especially when they open a new paragraph, enhancing cohesion (Dufter 2009: 115) or achieving a disambiguating purpose (Carter-Thomas 2009: 148). This is particularly true for press articles that belong to an argumentative genre.

The focus on translation provides a favourable standpoint in order to assess not only the frequency of Cleft sentences in French and Italian, but also to grasp better the reasons underlying the choice of a Cleft sentence among other focalizing devices. It is important, however, to be aware of the possible weight of interference that may affect a translated text in order to avoid a biased interpretation.

* I would like to thank Anna-Maria De Cesare for her insightful comments and constructive suggestions throughout the elaboration of this chapter, as well as Jörn Albrecht for his careful reading of a previous version of this text.
of the data extracted from translated corpora. In other words, it is not possible to bring together the contribution of contrastive linguistics and translation studies in the realm of Cleft sentences without being aware of the methodological issues related to the compilation of corpora, on one hand, and the specific features of translated documents as opposed to original texts, on the other.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I will highlight the major differences between a text originally written in a given language and a translated text in terms of the “translation universals” and I will introduce the concept of “translationese” that is used to analyse the phenomenon of interference between the original and the translation. I will also define translation (or parallel) corpora and comparable corpora with their advantages and drawbacks for a contrastive analysis. In section 3, I will describe the translation corpora compiled for this study: Le Monde Diplomatique and its Italian translation published by Il Manifesto, as well as Press Europ, a multilingual electronic collection of press articles on European Union affairs, out of which I compiled two small subcorpora made of articles translated from French into Italian and from Italian into French. Section 4 will be devoted to the quantitative and qualitative analysis of data extracted from these corpora. I will focus on the distribution of explicit and implicit clefts and I will examine more carefully the alternatives to clefts in translation, which are more frequent in the Press Europ corpus as the translation is less literal than in the Monde Diplomatique-Manifesto corpus. In Section 5, I will carry out a general comparison between the data extracted from my translation corpora and the ICOCP-corpus, which is a comparable corpus (see De Cesare et al. in this volume). The results show that there are some significant differences in the use of Cleft sentences in texts written in the original language and translated texts. This means that translation corpora and comparable corpora will not provide the same results and therefore are not interchangeable in the realm of contrastive linguistics and translation studies.

2 Contrastive linguistics and translation

With the development of corpus-based approaches, contrastive linguistics, on the one hand, has shown a growing interest in translation (e.g. Laviosa 2002; Granger 2003; Olohan 2004). Indeed, corpora made of translated texts ideally provide large amounts of empirical data allowing the comparison of two or more languages from the lexical, syntactic, semantic or pragmatic point of view. On the

1 ICOCP-corpus: Italian Constituent Order in a Contrastive Perspective-corpus.
other hand, translation studies make use of these corpora in order to highlight the specific features of translated texts. Whereas this rapprochement between contrastive linguistics and translation studies is certainly promising, we have to be aware of two possible risks of deviation.

First of all, studies in contrastive linguistics do not necessarily take into account the fact that translation is often the result of a choice among several options. Moreover, as Toury's (1995) "law of interference" shows, the translator tends to resort to an equivalent structure in the target language when it is available (see Section 4). The risk is then to draw biased conclusions from the analysis of translation corpora. As Olohan (2004: 27–28) indicates, studies in contrastive linguistics may implicitly "assume that choices in translation are determined to a large extent by the language system", thus "fail[ing] to recognize that translators' choices may be motivated by something other than language systemic conventions".

Secondly, translation studies tend to exacerbate the alteration in the translation process to the point of considering the language of translation as a separate linguistic subsystem. In what follows, I will first explore the issue of interference in translation before turning to methodological issues concerning translation corpora and comparable corpora.

2.1 Differences between an original text and a translated text: Translation universals and "translationese"

As Garzone (2004: 35) points out, since the 1980s translation studies have undergone a "paradigm shift" by moving from comparing the original and the translated text in terms of equivalence to focusing on the translated text and its specific functions in the target linguistic and cultural setting.

With the extension of corpus-based studies that allow for a more precise analysis of the translation effects on the target language it has been possible to explore the various phenomena of interference with the source language (on lexical, morpho-syntactic and pragmatic levels), which will eventually contribute to the evolution of the target language.

Some recent studies (Garzone and Cardinaletti 2004; Cardinaletti and Garzone 2005) assume that the translated text is a means of spreading syntactic innovations as a result of interference with the source language. This phenomenon becomes even more relevant given the increasing amount of "covert transla-
tions" (House 1997)\(^2\) that are circulated in all fields (medical, journalistic, scientific, etc.) and received as original texts given the fact that they are not specifically identified as a translation.

Interference as such can be seen from two perspectives: a prescriptive one and a descriptive one. In the first case, the translator has to be aware of the negative effects of interference from the source language, also called "translationese", that is "deviance in translated texts induced by the source language" (Johansson and Holand 1994: 26). According to Toury (1980: 75), "theoretical considerations [...] lead to hypothesising that the language used in translation tends to be interlanguage (sometimes designated 'translationese'), or that a translation is, as it were, an 'inter-text' by definition". In a more positive light, the language of translation has been defined by Frawley (1984) as a "third code". In other words, the translation language is the result of a compromise between the structures of the source language and the target language and, in that sense, unique (Baker 1998: 482). In the same direction, Toury (1995) identifies laws of translational behaviour, among which he includes the "law of interference".\(^3\)

Corpus-based studies have been instrumental in defining the characteristics of translation as a "third code". This descriptive approach allows to differentiate the language of translated texts from the one employed in the documents drafted in the original language. These differences have been first formalised by Mona Baker (1993: 243–245) under the name of "universals of translation". The universals of translation have been variably listed in terms of: Explicitation, Simplification, Disambiguation, Conventionalisation, Standardisation, etc.

The translation universals have been repeatedly questioned, mainly because the categories they include are too general and not always representative of the translation process.\(^4\) In the same mind-set, I would question the very existence of a "third code" as a different form of language born out of translation. As we know, especially syntactic structures are rather resistant to the influence of other languages, with the exception of some limited sequences, such as multiple interrogations (Who bought what? / Chi ha comprato che cosa?).\(^5\) From a linguistic point

\(^2\) "A covert translation [as opposed to an overt translation] is a translation which enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture. The translation is covert because it is not marked pragmatically as a translation text of a source text but may, conceivably, have been created in its own right" (House 1997: 69).

\(^3\) "In translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text" (Toury 1995: 275).

\(^4\) For a deeper discussion on this matter, see House (2008) and Chesterman (2010).

\(^5\) According to Benincà (1993: 288), "the cultural contact does not transfer complex and productive structures, but at most it 'excites' pre-existing structures and rules: otherwise, it can only transfer rigid and limited schemes" (author's translation).
of view, it is however interesting to explore the language contact phenomena in order to identify possible sources of syntactic influence due to translation.  

The awareness of possible cases of interference in translated texts has important methodological consequences for choosing a reliable corpus adapted to a contrastive analysis. In the following section, I will define and compare two main types of corpora: translation corpora (made of translated texts) and comparable corpora (made of texts written in the original language).

2.2 Translation corpora and comparable corpora

As has been repeatedly noted (e.g. Laviosa 2002: 36–37; Granger 2003: 19; Olohan 2004: 24), we are still lacking a unified terminology for the different types of corpora used in contrastive linguistics as well as translation studies. For the purpose of this study – and adopting the most common terminology – I will distinguish between “translation” or “parallel corpora” and “comparable corpora.”

“A parallel corpus consists of original, source language-texts in language A and their translated versions in language B” (Baker 1995: 230). “Parallel corpora can be used to provide information on language-pair specific translational behaviour, to posit certain equivalence relationships between lexical items or structures in source and target languages [...] or to study the phenomenon of translationese [...]” (Kenny 1998: 51). A comparable corpus is made of original texts in two or more languages that have been selected on the basis of their similarity and comparability, in terms of their genre, content, form, date of appearance etc. (Laviosa 2002: 36–37).

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6 McLaughlin (2011: 23) makes an interesting distinction between syntactic influence and borrowing applied to the translation of press articles from English into French: “It is appropriate to refer to the impact that the presence of the original has on the syntax of the translations as influence rather than borrowing [...] An important consequence of the distinction between influence and borrowing is that any evidence of influence in the corpus will not necessarily indicate that borrowing has taken place”.

7 In the field of contrastive linguistics, the most common term is “translation corpora”, whereas the translation studies tend to prefer “parallel corpora” (Granger 2003: 20). In this study, I will use the term “translation corpora”.

8 Depending on the authors, comparable corpora can either refer to a collection of comparable original texts in two or more languages or to a collection of texts originally written in a language, alongside a collection of texts translated (from one or more languages) into that language (Baker 1995: 234). For clarity sake and for the purpose of this research, we will only retain the first definition of comparable corpora.

9 See Johansson (2007: ch. 1) for a more thorough discussion on comparable and parallel corpora.
Both types of corpora present advantages and drawbacks for contrastive analyses.\textsuperscript{10} In our case, data drawn from translation corpora may lead to very interesting observations on language specific behaviours regarding the frequency, position, form and function of Cleft sentences in press articles. It might be misleading, however, to draw definitive conclusions on the use of Cleft sentences in French and Italian from a translation corpus, given the inevitable weight of interference due to the translation process. Depending on the scope of analysis, both contrastive linguistics and translation studies will rely upon translation corpora and/or comparable corpora. In translation studies, parallel corpora are often used to highlight the typical traces left by the translation process on the target text, the so-called "translationese", or to illustrate the "translation universals". Comparable corpora are preferred in broader analyses aiming at emphasizing the specific features of each of the compared languages.

In contrastive linguistics, scholars rely more typically upon separate monolingual corpora which have the advantage of characterizing more precisely the spontaneous uses of a specific structure in a given language and of being more readily available in most languages. However, a growing number of studies in contrastive linguistics make use of translation corpora in order to highlight similarities and/or contrasts between two or more language systems.

In the realm of Cleft sentences, we can quote the comprehensive multilingual study by Andreas Dufter (2009) based on EUROPARL, a multilingual translation corpus of European Parliament Proceedings.\textsuperscript{11} The purpose of that study is to compare the "translationat counterparts of English if-Clefs in German, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese" (Dufter 2009: 83). The same corpus has been used by Gast and Wiechmann (2012) for their study on wh-clefs in German and English. Indeed, EUROPARL offers a user-friendly platform allowing for immediate cross-linguistic comparisons.

As Olohan (2004: 25) points out, however, there are two problems concerning these types of translation corpora:

First of all, "it can be difficult to assign the status of 'source text' to one of the language versions; documents may be written in more than one language and, once translations exist, there is nothing to distinguish a source text from the other language versions".

\textsuperscript{10} See Wecksteens (2007: 261–266) on the use of translation corpora in contrastive linguistics and translation studies.

\textsuperscript{11} The latest version of the EUROPARL parallel corpus (v7) contains documents issued in 21 languages by the European Parliament from 1996 until 2011 (http://statmt.org/europarl/ [accessed 29 July 2014]).
Secondly, in order to cover the 552 language combinations offered by the 24 official languages of the European Union in a cost-effective way, the translation department resorts to a complex system of “relay or pivot languages” (mainly English, French or German).\(^\text{12}\) In the European Parliament, however, “all parliamentoary documents are published in all the official languages of the European Union and all the Members of the European Parliament have the right to speak in the official language of their choice”. With the enlargement of the European Union, the European Parliament developed the concept of ‘controlled full multilingualism’ by resorting to ‘relay languages’ in translation (Wagner, Bech & Martínez 2012).\(^\text{13}\)

In sum, even though the most recent version of EUROPARI mentions the original language of around 80% of the speeches, we cannot exclude that some translations have been made through a ‘relay language’, especially if the source language is not one of the main European Union languages (Korzen & Gylling 2012: 29–30). If translation corpora are used mainly to provide “a reflection of the possibilities offered by the target language system” (Olohan 2004: 24), we can understand that the translation process is not taken into account.

Comparable corpora, on the other hand, allow exploring the use of a given construction in two or more languages without the deforming perspective of translation. According to Sinclair (1996), “the possibilities of a comparable corpus are to compare different languages or varieties in similar circumstances of communication, but avoiding the inevitable distortion introduced by the translations of a parallel corpus”.

\(^{12}\) As Dr. Valter Mavrič, from the DG TRAD (Direction de la Traduction), pointed out to me in an e-mail message on 18 October 2012, “according to our most recent statistics, the three relay languages account for 70% of the originals. An additional 10% would be covered if the original pivot was extended to three additional languages, Spanish, Italian and Polish. Thus the remaining 17 languages combined would contribute only about 10% of the originals”. The term “original language” clearly refers to the source language that serves as a basis for translation.

\(^{13}\) As the European Parliament’s website says about multilingualism: “the European Parliament has put in place a system of ‘relay’ languages: A text is first translated into one of the most widely used languages (English, French or German) and from there into the minor languages. Other major Community languages (Italian, Polish and Spanish) could also become relay languages in due course”. (http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/007e69770f/Multilingualism.html [accessed 29 July 2014]). “When the document contains several languages that are not covered in language units, a relay language is chosen (EN, FR, DE). The choice of a relay language depends on the capacity in these three language units, on the proportion of the relay language already contained in the source text (e.g. if a document is composed of 60% EN, 30% FR, 7% DE and 3% Latvian, English will be selected as the relay language) and on the current ability of the relay language to cover all the source languages contained in the document” (cf. the intranet page of the Demand Management Service-Planning).
All in all, the choice of a translation corpus or a comparable corpus will be defined according to the objectives of the study: if the goal is to identify specific translation features it will be preferable to compile a translation corpus; if it is more generally a contrastive analysis, two options are available, either a comparable corpus or the comparison between a translation and a comparable corpus,\textsuperscript{14} which is the option I chose in the present study.

Indeed, the combination of a translation corpus and a comparable corpus allows establishing a more solid basis for the contrastive hypotheses. This position is supported and applied by a number of scholars, like Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 6), who affirms: “When working across languages it is advisable to consider the evidence of both translation corpora and comparable corpora because they have different things to offer”, or Granger (2003: 19), who suggests that “the two types of corpus should be used concurrently as each has its advantages and disadvantages”.\textsuperscript{15} The main disadvantage of a comparable corpus “lies in the difficulty of establishing comparability of texts” (Granger 2003: 19), especially when there is a large cultural difference between the languages that are compared. In the case of journalistic prose, this type of difficulty is less likely to arise given the fact that the texts belong to the same genre and timeframe.

In the following sections, I will compare the data taken from two translation corpora of newspaper articles in French and Italian that I compiled manually with the data from the ICOCP-corpus (for Italian and French), which perfectly falls into the definition of a comparable corpus. This process will allow me to distinguish better the characteristic behaviour of Cleft sentences in French and Italian from the cases in which the use of Cleft sentences in the target language is clearly influenced by the source language from a quantitative and qualitative point of view.

\section*{2.3 Translation corpora of newspaper articles: Methodological issues}

Before comparing the use of Cleft sentences in original and translated texts, a few remarks will be necessary in order to highlight the methodological issues underlying the building of a translation corpus of journalistic texts.

\textsuperscript{14} “Translation corpora are insufficient as sources of contrastive studies, and need to be combined with comparable corpora, i.e. collections of original texts in the languages compared” (Johansson 2007: 5).

\textsuperscript{15} See also Laviosa (2002: 38–39); Olohan (2004: 37); Ondelli and Viale (2010: 576).
First of all, existing parallel multilingual corpora including French and Italian are—to my knowledge—exclusively related to the European Union institutions. A corpus of journalistic texts has then to be compiled manually.

Secondly, some parts of newspaper articles can be the result of a translation that has not been stated as such. For instance, most of the press releases contain translated quotations without indicating the source language; signed articles as well can contain fair portions of "covert translations", especially in the articles composed on the basis of press releases made out of portions of texts or quotes in several languages.

Thirdly, when talking about translation in the journalistic field, it is necessary to distinguish between a strictly speaking translation corpus, made of the unabridged translation of single newspaper articles, and a "free-translation corpus" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 7), composed of articles in the source language that have been freely translated and adapted in the target language. For obvious reasons, it is not possible to implement a contrastive linguistic analysis on the basis of a "free-translation corpus".

### 2.3.1 French and Italian newspaper corpora

Concerning translated press articles in French and Italian, we could distinguish three types of corpora:

- **unabridged translation** of a single source, such as the Italian translation of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, which offers a "faithful" translation of a large selection of articles taken from every monthly issue of the French journal;
- **"free-translation"** of a selection of articles such as *Le Courrier International* for French and *Internazionale* for Italian. In those weekly newspapers, the translations are rarely integral and most often provide a summary of the

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16 Cf. EUROPARL and the European Union Lingua project, started in 1993 at the University of Nancy, which includes original and translated texts in 10 languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Finnish, Swedish and Greek) (Laviosa 2002: 103–105).

17 See for example Ondelli and Viale's (2010) study based on a parallel corpus of translated newspaper articles from English into Italian.

18 As Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 57) point out, the task of translation in news agencies is intimately connected with selecting, editing, completing or reducing a press article.

19 *Le Courrier International* contains articles from various sources in several languages and is translated into French by a team of professional translators (Lavault-Olléon and Sauron 2009).
main information contained in the original version of a press article. Moreover they are very often adapted to the style of the target audience; 

c. mixed translation strategy: in some cases the translation is unabridged and in others the translator will resort to the “free-translation” style. This approach is used by Press Europ. This multilingual website offers a number of unabridged translations of original articles, as well as a summary of relevant news coming from different sources.

In addition to these sources that exclusively provide translated press articles, it is possible to find a number of translations in the main national daily papers (Corriere della Sera, Le Monde etc.).

In the next section, I will present the two corpora that I compiled manually from two sources: Le Monde Diplomatique and its Italian version published by Il Manifesto, and a set of articles drawn from Press Europ that are divided into two subcorpora: articles translated from French into Italian and articles translated from Italian into French.

3 Presentation of the corpora compiled for the study of Cleft sentences in French and Italian

3.1 Le Monde Diplomatique-Il Manifesto

Le Monde Diplomatique, a monthly journal specialized in political analysis and commentary, has a worldwide audience thanks to its 47 international editions in 28 languages (including 39 printed and 8 electronic versions).

The Italian translation of Le Monde Diplomatique, published since 1994 as a monthly supplement of the left-wing daily newspaper Il Manifesto, offers a

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20 “It is obviously when translating press articles that the translator becomes most like a journalist. As the literary translator necessarily has in himself a latent writer, a general press or specialized translator takes pleasure in adopting the quality of a journalistic style to the public for whom he writes. It is up to him to recreate a captivating title and headline, to explain an acronym or an original cultural fact, in sum to adapt his text to his reader, as the journalist did it when he wrote the original text, in a properly target-oriented process” (Lavault-Olléon and Sauro 2009) (author’s translation).


23 For a thorough presentation of both journals, see Pedersoll (2006).
reliable and consistent basis for the constitution of a French-Italian translation corpus. Indeed, most of the articles of *Le Monde Diplomatique* are fully translated into Italian and available online without charge 45 days after the original French publication, which makes them easily accessible. Moreover, the translation is as faithful as possible to the source text. A personal communication with the staff of *Il Manifesto* allowed me to clarify that the translations are not necessarily made by professional translators, which could explain the word for word translation style. The revision of the articles (as well as the creation of titles, subtitles and abstracts) is then made by the editorial staff. As this monthly supplement of *Il Manifesto* is the only Italian journal mostly composed of translations from French, it is often used for contrastive linguistic analyses. The corpus that I assembled manually includes six issues of the journal from December 2011 until May 2012.

As we will see in the analysis of translated examples from *Le Monde Diplomatique*, the fidelity to the original often results in a word for word translation of the whole text in general and of the Cleft sentences in particular, which will require some caution in the interpretation of the quantitative results as they will not necessarily correspond to the frequency of clefts in a corpus of press articles originally written in Italian.

### 3.2 Press Europ

Born out of a more recent European initiative, *Press Europ*, which was launched by the European Commission and a consortium led by the *Courrier International* in May 2009, is the first multilingual website compiling press articles on European Union affairs. The free *Press Europ* website publishes articles from the main European daily newspapers translated into 10 languages. We can find two types of articles: the unabridged original version of articles selected from a number of national sources, fully translated into 10 languages and signed by the

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24 As stated by Pederzoli (2006), "On the basis of the agreement with the French editor, the Italian edition is bound to offer a translation that is as faithful as possible to the source text. The name of the translator is indicated for every article, which is a sign of a certain transparency and seriousness in terms of fidelity to the original" (author's translation).


26 For example, the study by Vecchiato (2005) includes a short section on Cleft sentences based on a corpus of articles drawn from *Le Monde Diplomatique* and *Il Manifesto* (see 4 for a more detailed presentation of that study).

translator; a compilation of several sources around a theme or news item made by the editorial staff of Press Europ and translated into 10 languages.

I excluded from my corpus the articles compiled from a collection of original texts as they correspond to the “free-translation” style, which is rather an adaptation than a translation. I included in my corpus articles originally written in French and published in French newspapers, mainly Le Monde,\textsuperscript{28} together with their Italian translation. The original version of the article is available on the site, which allows for an easy inter-lingual comparison. I also included a more limited number of Italian articles translated into French, which will allow me to check how clefts are translated from Italian into French.\textsuperscript{29}

As advertised on the website, the articles are translated by professional translators and then revised by journalists. I carefully selected the original sources as being written in French or Italian, in order to avoid the risk of examining translations of source texts that are already the result of translation into one of the European Union “relay language”, as is the practice in the European institutions.

The bidirectional Press Europ corpus that I have compiled manually spans over January to August 2012 and is composed of two subcorpora: articles originally written in French and translated into Italian; articles originally written in Italian and translated into French. The size of this corpus is much smaller than the Monde Diplomatique-Manifesto corpus inasmuch as the number of French original articles is very limited compared to Le Monde Diplomatique. In the direction Italian-French, the number of Italian original articles is even scarcer. Despite these quantitative restrictions, it will nevertheless be possible to observe some relevant differences between our two corpora in translation strategies concerning Cleft sentences. Table 1 and Table 2 present both corpora:

\begin{table}
\centering
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\caption{Monde Diplomatique-Manifesto corpus: Overview}
\begin{tabular}{l l l}
\hline
\textbf{Abbreviation} & \textbf{Dates} & \textbf{Total words} \\
\hline
Monde Diplomatique & MD & December 2011-May 2012 (6 issues) & 217,635 \\
Manifesto (Italian translation) & MAN & Idem & 213,999 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{28} Other sources are Libération, Le Figaro, La Tribune, Les Echos, Télérama, France Inter, as well as Le Temps (Geneva) and Les Coulisses de Bruxelles.

\textsuperscript{29} The Italian sources are La Stampa, La Repubblica, Il Corriere della Sera, Il Sole-24 Ore, Il fatto quotidiano and Linkiesta.
Table 2: Press Europ corpus: Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Total words</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Total words</th>
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<tr>
<td>(French original)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Press Europ</td>
<td>PE-IT idem</td>
<td>30,656</td>
<td>Press Europ</td>
<td>PE-FR 19,198</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Italian translation)</td>
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<td>(French translation)</td>
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4 Cleft sentences in translation

In this section, I will turn to the analysis of data. I will focus my comparative analysis on two types of clefts, namely explicit clefts and implicit clefts. Explicit clefts are found in French and Italian and correspond to the general definition of Cleft sentences (C'est Marie qui a téléphoné / È Maria che ha telefonato 'it is Mary who called'); the matrix clause is headed by a copula and the verb of the subordinate clause is conjugated. The implicit cleft, which is restricted to Italian, is formed with an implicit subordinate clause introduced by the preposition a followed by an infinitive and occurs exclusively with subjects (È stata Maria a telefonare 'it was Mary who called'; Frison 1988: 201–206; Berretta 1994: 85).

I have excluded from this study the following subtypes of Cleft sentences as they are not present in my corpora: pseudo-conditional Cleft sentences and Cleft sentences with verbs different than être / essere 'to be' (see De Cesare et al. in this volume). I included in the quantitative data a small number of Cleft sentences with gerundive subordinate clauses and found one occurrence of inferential cleft that I will quote in 4.2.3.

Within the rich contrastive bibliography on Cleft sentences (D'Achille, Proietti and Viviani 2005), there are a few recent studies devoted to the comparison between French and Italian (Schöpp 2005; Roggia 2008; De Stefani 2009), but,

30 “A cleft construction (CC) is a complex sentence structure consisting of a matrix clause headed by a copula and a relative or relative-like clause whose relativized argument is coinindexed with the predicative argument of the copula. Taken together, the matrix and the relative express a logically simple proposition, which can also be expressed in the form of a single clause without a change in truth conditions” (Lambrecht 2001: 467).

31 My statistics on implicit clefts include a very small number of the so-called Implicit Reverse clefts of the type (A dirlo sono stato io, lit. ‘To say it was I’) (1 occurrence in the MD-MAN-corpus and 3 occurrences in the PE-IT/PE-FR corpus).
to my knowledge, only one briefly addressing the issue of translation between these two languages based on a corpus of translated texts. In the volume entitled *L'italiano delle traduzioni*, edited by Anna Cardinaletti and Giuliana Garzone (2005), the essay by Sara Vecchiato analyzes, among other phenomena of syntactic interference between French and Italian, the translation of Cleft sentences from French into Italian. Her comparison of a few translated articles from *Le Monde Diplomatique* and a recent mystery novel allows her to highlight the fact that the translators of *Il Manifesto* typically reproduce the French Cleft sentence (or replace it sometimes with an implicit cleft), whereas the translator of the novel tends to avoid the use of Cleft sentences in Italian.

This study interestingly reveals that the ratio of clefts in translation can vary according to the translator. The comparison between my two translation corpora will also allow me to stress some interesting quantitative differences in both translations.

### 4.1 *Monde Diplomatique-Manifesto* corpus: Quantitative and qualitative results

In this section I will first examine the distribution of explicit and implicit Cleft sentences (4.1.1); I will then analyse the distribution of Cleft sentences according to the grammatical category of the cleft constituent (4.1.2) and I will finally consider the cases where a French cleft is not translated with a cleft in Italian (4.1.3).

#### 4.1.1 Distribution of explicit and implicit Cleft sentences

Table 3 shows the total amount of clefts in French and Italian.

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33 Vecchiato's study is limited to 24 articles of *Le Monde Diplomatique* (year 2003) and their Italian translation.
Table 3: Monde Diplomatique-Manifesto (MD-MAN-corpus): Quantitative results (total number of examples and % of total clefts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
<th>Explicit clefts</th>
<th>Implicit clefts*</th>
<th>French clefts translated with other constructions</th>
<th>Per 100,000 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monde Diplomatique</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manifesto</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(67.3%) (16.35%) (16.35%)

In this table we notice that the French Cleft sentences are mainly translated with clefts in Italian (83.7% of total number of examples), which shows that the translators mainly chose the closest available structure in Italian.

A more striking difference is given by the small percentage of implicit clefts in the Italian translation of Le Monde Diplomatique (16.35% of total number of examples). The implicit Cleft sentence is possible only when the focalized element is the subject and is preferred to the explicit cleft in order to avoid the duplication of the conjugated verb in the sentence (Frison 1988: 202). According to Berretta (1994) and Roggia (2009), it is the most frequent form of Cleft sentences in written Italian, whereas oral Italian tends to prefer the explicit cleft. In their study on journalistic language, Bonomi et al. (2002: 328) observe that implicit clefts are more common than explicit clefts, because that type of construction is more adapted to a formal style.

As the data I extracted from the MD-MAN-corpus contradict the results of a number of studies on the use of clefts in written Italian in general and journalistic language in particular (see De Cesare et al. in this volume), in this case we see a clear effect of interference between the source language, which does not have an implicit cleft, on the target language. It is interesting to notice that in most cases the implicit cleft is chosen in the translation when in the French text the copula

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34 This column includes one example of implicit Reverse cleft (c'est un sentiment de gâchis qui prédomine / a predominare è un sentimento di confusione 'it is a sentiment of waste that prevails' [MD-MAN 12.11]).
35 Gil (2004: 379-380) explains the higher frequency of implicit clefts by their higher degree of grammaticalization.
36 Berretta (1994: 92) found 84.3% of implicit clefts in her corpus made of newspaper articles and oral conversations, whereas Roggia's data (2009: 71) on written and oral Italian confirm that when the subject is focalized, written Italian prefers the implicit cleft (57%), whereas spoken Italian chooses the explicit cleft (79%).
37 See also Garassino's study on Italian and English Cleft sentences based on the ICOCP-corpus (this volume).
is plural and the verb of the subordinate clause is in a past tense (c'étaient 'it was'). It seems that the translator tends to prefer the implicit cleft in those cases where an agreement is needed between the copula and the verb of the subordinate clause, namely in the cases where the standard present form c'est ... que is not to be found, as in examples (1) and (2): 38

1 a. "Carolis n'était pas conscient du fait que, certes, le CSA l'avait nommé, mais que c'étaient les différentes tutelles [notamment le ministère des finances et le ministère de la culture] qui comptaient," juge aujourd'hui M. Philippe Baudillon, ex-patron de France 2, ancien diplomate proche de M. de Villepin. (MD 04.12) 39

b. "Carolis non era cosciente del fatto che, certo, il Csa lo aveva nominato, ma che a contare erano le varie tutele [in particolare il ministero delle finanze e il ministero della cultura]," analizza oggi Philippe Baudillon, ex direttore generale di France 2 ed ex diplomatico vicino a de Villepin. (MAN 04.12)

"Carolis was not conscious of the fact, of course, that the CSA had named him, but that it was the different regulating bodies [notably the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Culture] that counted," affirms Philippe Baudillon today, ex director of France 2, former diplomat close to de Villepin.

c'étaient | les différentes tutelles | qui comptaient
'it was | the different regulating bodies | that counted'

a contare | erano | le varie tutele
'to count | were | the different regulating bodies'

2 a. Ce sont les oligarques qui ont servi d'entremetteurs, négociant la composition d'un gouvernement "proeuropéen" autour des bonnes tables du Club des entrepreneurs de Belgrade. (MD 03.12)

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38 "It is worth noting that in the explicit form, essere 'to be' remains preferably in the present tense even when the other verb is in the past or future [...], whereas in the implicit form essere has to match the tense of the other verb" (Berretta 1994: 92) (author's translation).

39 The source of the examples is abbreviated in the following way: MD (Monde Diplomatique, French edition); MAN (Monde Diplomatique-Manifesto, Italian edition), MDE (Monde Diplomatique, English edition). The examples will be followed by full translations in English and, in some cases, also by glosses.
b. **Sono stati gli oligarchi a fare da mediatori** contrattando la composizione di un governo “pro europeo” nei buoni ristoranti del Club degli imprenditori di Belgrado. (MAN 03.12)

“When no clear majority emerged in the spring 2008 Serbian elections, **the oligarchs acted as go-betweens** in negotiating the composition of a pro-European government over dinners in a Belgrade business club.” (MDE 03.12)

*Ce sont les oligarques qui ont servi d’entremetteurs*

“It is the oligarchs who served as go-betweens’

*Sono stati gli oligarchi a fare da mediatori*

“It was the oligarchs to do as go-betweens’

### 4.1.2 Distribution of grammatical categories in Cleft sentences

Table 4 presents the distribution of cleft constituents according to their grammatical category. The second column shows that the cleft constituents are mainly subjects and adverbials in French. In the Italian translation, the category of cleft subjects appears mainly in explicit clefts (3rd column), but also in implicit clefts (4th column). As in French, adverbials are well represented in Cleft sentences. The 5th column shows the relatively few cases in which a French cleft is translated with another syntactical construction in Italian.\(^{40}\)

This table makes evident the predictable fact that clefts tend to put a constituent presenting a given information in the focal position: a subject (very often a pronoun) or an adverbial. According to Berretta (2002:19), “the Cleft sentence has a linear structure that is more inclined to insert given focal elements represented by light constituents like pronouns or adverbials”.\(^{41}\) In example (3) we have a cleft subject (*ce type de discours / questo genere di discorsi* ‘this type of rhetoric’), in example (4) a cleft pronoun with the function of a subject (*elle ‘it’ / li ‘there’*):

\(^{40}\) The predominance of adverbials is also found in Korzen’s essay (in this volume) on Italian and Danish Cleft sentences based on the EUROPARL corpus.

\(^{41}\) Author’s translation.
Table 4: Cleft sentences (total number of examples and % of total clefts in MD-MAN-corpus)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FR-MD</th>
<th>IT-MAN explicit clefts</th>
<th>IT-MAN implicit clefts</th>
<th>IT-MAN French clefts translated with other constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>51 (49%)</td>
<td>26 (25%)</td>
<td>17 (16.3%)</td>
<td>8 (7.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objects</td>
<td>4 (3.8%)</td>
<td>3 (2.9%)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1 (0.95%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbials</td>
<td>46 (44.2%)</td>
<td>39 (37.5%)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7 (6.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerundsives</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>2 (1.9%)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1 (0.95%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>70 (67.3%)</td>
<td>17 (16.3%)</td>
<td>17 (16.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL:</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) a. C'est ce type de discours qui a permis à la droite d'échapper au "scénario des temps difficiles". (MD 01.12)

b. È questo genere di discorsi che ha permesso alla destra di sfuggire dallo "scenario dei tempi difficili". (MAN 01.12)

'It was a popular line, and the reason the right fastened on to it is because it allowed them to flip the script of the hard times scenario.' (MDE 01.12)

C'est ce type de discours qui a permis à la droite
'It is this type of rhetoric that allowed the political right'
d'échapper au scénario des temps difficiles
to escape from the crisis scenario'

(4) a. "Les élites politiques de tous les pays des Balkans tirent leur légitimité de la 'communauté internationale'. C'est elle qui attribue les brevets de compatibilité démocratique, de modernité, d'efficacité," explique M. Zaimi. (MD 03.12)

b. È questa comunità che concede attestati di compatibilità democratica, di modernità, di efficienza – spiega Zaimi. (MAN 03.12)

"The international community confers legitimacy on the political elite in all the Balkan countries. It gives a stamp of bureaucratic compatibility, modernity and efficiency," said Zaimi. (MDE 03.12)

C'est elle qui attribue les brevets de compatibilité démocratique...
'It is it that attributes certificates of democratic compatibility..."
(5) a. “Mon père est arrivé de Chine continentale à 18 ans (à la fin des années 1940), ma mère vient de Penghu [archipel des Pescadores, au large de la côte ouest de Taïwan]. C'est là que je suis né. Et maintenant, je suis à Kaohsiung. Je vis à Taïwan”. (MD 02.12)

b. “Mio padre è arrivato dalla Cina continentale a 18 anni [alla fine degli anni quaranta], mia madre viene da Penghu [le isole Pescadores, al largo della costa ovest di Taiwan]. È là che sono nato. E oggi sono a Kaohsiung. Vivo a Taiwan”. (MAN 02.12)

“My father came from mainland China when he was 18 [at the end of the 1940s], my mother is from the Penghu Islands [off the west coast of Taiwan], which is where I was born. And now I’m in Kaohsiung. I live in Taiwan.” (MDE 02.12)

C'est là que je suis né
‘It is there that I was born’

The high incidence of adverbials in the French version of Le Monde Diplomatique can be explained by the frequency of phrases of the type C'est ainsi que 'It is that way that', always translated with è cosi che, which has become a grammaticalized expression, as in example (6).42

(6) a. C'est ainsi que le 15-M s'est réinventé et a pu poursuivre ses actions en décidant d'arrêter le campement et l'occupation permanente de la Puerta del Sol. (MD 05.12)

b. È così che il 15-M si è reinventato e ha potuto proseguire la sua azione decidend di smantellare l'accampamento e di porre fine all'occupazione permanente di Puerta del Sol. (MAN 05.12)

‘After 15-M decided to end the permanent occupation of the square on 12 June 2011 it reinvented itself, and expanded to reach a broader, more working-class public by putting down local roots.’ (MDE 05.12)

C'est ainsi que le 15-M s'est réinventé
‘It is that way that the 15-M reinvented itself’

42 In the MD-MAN-corpus we found 4 examples of that kind, which amounts to 9% of cleft adverbials.
The category of objects is relatively infrequent in the cleft position. It can be expressed by a noun phrase as in example (7) (cet invisible / questo invisibile 'that invisible') or by a pronoun as in example (8) (elle / lei 'it'):

(7)  

a. La carte ordinaire (le dedans) n’offre aux yeux du lecteur qu’un tout petit morceau du monde, le reste est invisible (le dehors). Et c’est cet invisible que L’Atlas du Monde diplomatique 2012 essaie de rendre visible. (MD 03.12)

b. La mappa ordinaria (il dentro) offre al lettore solo un piccolo pezzo del mondo, il resto è invisibile (il fuori). È questo invisible che l’Atlas di Le Monde Diplomatique prova a rendere visibile. (MAN 03.12)

‘A normal map (the inside) only shows the reader a tiny part of the world; the rest (the outside) is invisible. And it is this invisible part that the 2012 Atlas tries to make us see.’ (MDE 03.12)

Et c’est cet invisible que L’Atlas du Monde diplomatique 2012 essaie de rendre visible

(8)  


b. “Eccola”, Arcenio Osorio indica l’immensa montagna che sovrasta il villaggio di Santiago Lachiguiri, nello stato messicano di Oaxaca, istmo di Tehuantepec. “Da da bere a tutte le città della regione e per noi zapoteci è sacra. È lei che avremmo voluto proteggere in modo ufficiale”, aggiunge il segretario dell’assemblea comunitaria, una struttura tradizionale eletta che organizza la popolazione del villaggio. (MAN 12.11)

“That’s the one,” said Arcenio Osorio, pointing at the huge mountain that towers over the village of Santiago Lachiguiri, in Oaxaca state, part of southwestern Mexico’s Isthmus of Tehuantepec. “It provides water to all the towns in the area, and to us, the Zapotec people, it’s
sacred. That's the mountain we wanted official protection for."
Osorio is secretary of the community assembly, a traditional elected body that represents the people of the village. (MDE 01.12)

*C'est elle que nous voulons protéger de manière officielle
'It is it [the mountain] that we wanted to protect officially.'

Another reason for clefting is more typically textual, where the cleft constituent (mainly subject or adverbial) often occurs at the beginning of a new paragraph and marks a transition between what was said before and the new information that follows. According to Dufter (2009: 115), "clefting is but one of several means for fulfilling a variety of functions, which include [...] discursive goals such as enhancing cohesion, marking transitions, or differentiating between propositional content that is under discussion and information that is not".

In our corpus we found 30 occurrences of Cleft sentences in paragraph opening position (29% of total examples, marked with #), among which 14 cleft subjects and 16 cleft adverbials. In most cases, the cleft constituent summarizes what was said in the previous paragraph and introduces the new information that follows. In example (9a) the prepositional phrase dans ce contexte 'in this context' summarizes the political situation in Syria stated in the first part of the article, whereas the clause les révoltes arabes 'Arab uprisings' introduces a new concept:

(9) a. #C'est dans ce contexte qu'ont éclaté les révoltes arabes. Elles revendiquent la liberté, la dignité (karama), la démocratie et la justice sociale. (MD 04.12)

b. #E' in questo contesto che sono scoppiate le rivolte arabe. Esse rivendicano la libertà, la dignità (karama), la democrazia e la giustizia sociale. (MAN 04.12)

'*It was in the context of this instability that the Arab uprisings broke out, with demands for freedom, dignity (karama), democracy and social justice.' (MDE 04.12)

*C'est dans ce contexte qu'ont éclaté les révoltes arabes
'It is in this context that broke out Arab uprisings'

The connecting role of the Cleft sentence is often reinforced by the presence of pragmatic or textual connectives. Berretta (1994: 100) calls this type of clefts "textual clefts" and underlines the fact that they are often associated with textual
connectives like ma ‘but’ or e ‘and’.

By “textual connectives” we refer to a rather wide category of pragmatic connectives that are used to signal the transition between the various parts of the text. In some cases, these connectives may also indicate the semantic relationship between the propositional content of the events referred to in the text (Andorno 2003: 182). Our corpus is particularly rich of these connectives associated with cleft subjects (8 occurrences out of 14) or cleft adverbials (2 occurrences out of 16). The most frequent type of connective is mais ‘but’ that occurs 5 times with cleft subjects (out of 8 examples) and once with an adverbial cleft (out of 2 examples). In example (10a), the value of Mais at the beginning of a new paragraph is not adversative but it reinforces the emphasis put on Jean-Claude Michéa that Mr Le Pen quotes after a number of other philosophers and politicians who are against globalization. The same interpretation can be given to mais in example (11a) as the journalists are introduced as a new category of people who manifest against Putin in Russia:

(10) a. #Mais c’est encore le philosophe Jean-Claude Michéa qui semble l’avoir le plus impressionnée, à la suite, précise-t-elle, “de conversations, de débats passionnés qui m’ont opposée à certains de mes amis sur des sujets aussi importants que la laïcité, la république, le libre-échange ou la fin de l’euro.” (MD 04.12)

b. #Ma è soprattutto il filosofo Jean-Claude Michéa che sembra averla particolarmente impressionata, a seguito, precisa, “di conversazioni e dibattiti appassionati che mi hanno contrapposto ad alcuni amici su temi importanti come la laicità, la Repubblica, il libero scambio o la fine dell’Euro.” (MAN 04.12)

However, it is mainly the philosopher Jean-Claude Michéa who seemed to have impressed her most, because, she specifies, “of conversations and heated debates that pitted me against some of my friends on subjects as important as secularism, the Republic, free market, or the end of the Euro.”

43 “Finally, the type that I would call merely textual is the one in which the cleft constituent recalls and/or summarizes the previous portion of text [...], and the Cleft sentence begins or prepares a further development of the text. In this way the Cleft sentence simply becomes a structure that marks the transition between two parts of a text, and represents a sort of signal enhancing discourse articulation [...]. Examples of this kind typically appear at the beginning of new textual units [...] and are frequently underlined by the textual connectives e and ma” (author’s translation).
Mais c’est encore le philosophe Jean-Claude Michéa
‘However, it is mainly the philosopher Jean-Claude Michéa
qui semble l’avoir le plus impressionnée
who seemed to have impressed her most’

(11)

a. #Mai ce sont surtout les journalistes mobilisés qui trouvent dans les manifestations la confirmation d’une réalité qu’ils ont pré-fabriquée, ignorant la diversité des conditions sociales des individus prenant part aux cortèges. (MD 05.12)

b. #Ma sono soprattutto i giornalisti mobilitati, a trovare nelle manifestazioni la conferma di una realtà che loro stessi hanno prefabbricato, ignorando la diversità di condizione sociale di coloro che prendono parte ai cortei. (MAN 05.12)

‘And the media has had the reality that it constructed confirmed by the protests’ (provided it ignored the actual diversity in any crowd of demonstrators).’ (MDE 05.12)

Mais ce sont surtout les journalistes mobilisés qui trouvent dans les manifestations
‘However, it is mainly the journalists involved who found in the demonstrations
la confirmation d’une réalité qu’ils ont préfabriquée
the confirmation of a reality that they have prefabricated’

Ma sono soprattutto i giornalisti mobilitati, a trovare nelle manifestazioni...
‘However, are mainly the journalists involved to find in the demonstrations...’

In the example (12), mais ‘but’ cannot be interpreted as adversative since the previous part of the article states other reasons for the success of berlusconisme. The introduction of Mais at the beginning of a new paragraph, followed by the keyword berlusconisme in a cleft position, gives emphasis to the fact that the success of that trend is cultural or anthropological. It is interesting to note that the Italian translator wrongly interprets this connective as an adversative by translating it with the adversative conjunction però ‘however’ that he/she postpones after the adverbial (È sul piano culturale però ‘it is on the cultural level however’). In that case Ma ‘But’, placed at the beginning of the sentence would have translated more effectively the emphatic meaning of Mais:
4.1.3 Alternatives to clefts in translation

In the MD-MAN-corpus the number of cases in which a Cleft sentence is not translated with a cleft in Italian is rather low (17 examples out of 104, about 16%). It would be imprudent to draw definitive conclusions from such a limited number of occurrences, therefore the following observations will merely suggest possible avenues for further exploration. In this section, I will first explore the ways in which the Italian translation renders the information structure without a cleft constituent at the syntactic and discourse level. I will then examine the cases in which there is no interpretative equivalence between the original sentence and its translation.

From the quantitative point of view, the translator mainly resorts to an alternative structure when the cleft constituent is an adverbial (11 cases out of 17). In example (13b), the prepositional phrase \textit{Nella rete} ‘on the Web’ remains in the opening position of the sentence without being inserted into a cleft. In this case, the disambiguating effect of the French cleft is not expressed in the Italian translation.\footnote{The main discourse motivation behind a writer’s decision to employ a c’est-cleft is one of disambiguation. Use of the c’est-cleft enables the writer to confer a certain textual prominence on the clefted item, by imbuing it not only with thematicity but also with focal highlighting. The reader is given more precise processing instructions than in the case of a non-cleft equivalent with regard to the desired interpretation and ambiguity is reduced to a minimum” (Carter-Thomas 2009: 148).}
chaeus resume ainsi leur etat d'esprit actuel: “Ils sont en deuil”. C’est
sur la Toile qu’ils ont compris que le regime leur etait insupportable
et qu’ils pouvaient le critiquer publiquement. (MD 02.12)

b. I commenti che celebrano la “rivoluzione Facebook” in Tunisia non
sono di nessun aiuto per comprendere come i blogger tunisini siano
passati dall’entusiasmo al disincanto. Manichaeus riassume così il
loro attuale stato d’animo: “Sono in lutto”. Nella rete avevano com-
preso che il regime era loro insopportabile e che potevano criti-
carlo pubblicamente. (MAN 02.12)

‘The media celebration of Tunisia’s “Facebook revolution” does not
help us understand why the enthusiasm of the bloggers has turned to
disillusion. One blogger, Manichaeus, wrote: “They are in mourning.”
The internet had made them aware they hated the regime and
could publicly criticise it.’ (MDE 02.12)

C’est sur la Toile qu’ils ont compris que le régime leur était
insupportable...

‘It is on the web that they understood that the regime was
unbearable...’

Nella rete avevano compreso che il regime era loro insopportabile...

‘On the web they understood that the regime was unbearable...’

In the example (14b), the non-hypothetical se ‘if’ used with a causal
meaning allows to keep the causal interpretation of the French embedded clause:

(14) a. A en croire un récent sondage, 46% des électeurs républicains du
Mississippi estiment que les mariages inter-raciaux devraient être
interdits. “C’est pour une bonne raison que Dieu nous a créés de
couleurs différentes, et il convient d’honorer Sa volonté en n’allant
pas épouser quelqu’un d’une autre couleur que celle qu’Il a choisie
pour nous”, argumente une Mississippienne dans un courriel envoyé
t à l’institut qui a réalisé ce sondage. (MD 04.12)

b. A voler credere ad un recente sondaggio, il 46% degli elettori repub-
bllicani del Mississippi ritiene che i matrimoni misti dovrebbero essere
proibiti. “Se Dio ci ha creati di colori diversi è per un buon motivo,
ed è opportuno onorare la sua volontà evitando di andare a sposare
qualcuno di un colore differente rispetto a quello che Egli ha scelto
per noi", spiega una donna del Mississippi in una e-mail inviata all'istituto che ha realizzato il sondaggio. (MAN 04.12)

'A recent survey revealed that 46% of Mississippi’s Republican voters believe inter-racial marriage should be banned. "I believe God made us a different colour for a reason and should be honoured by not marrying outside of the race that God picked for me," wrote a woman in an email to the survey institute.' (MDE 06.12)

C’est pour une bonne raison que Dieu nous a créés de couleurs différentes

'It is for a good reason that God created us different colours'

Se Dio ci ha creati di colori diversi è per un buon motivo

‘If God created us different colours it is for a good reason’

The passive mode in the French original text seems to trigger decleting, either with adverbials or subjects (5 occurrences out of 17). In example (15), the passive mode is maintained in the Italian translation (il messaggio è destinato al mondo intero ‘the message is addressed to the whole world’), whereas the prepositional phrase al mondo intero ‘to the whole world’ is not inserted into a Cleft sentence:

(15)  

a. C’est effectivement au monde entier – la fameuse “communauté internationale” – qu’est destiné le message. Au Nicaragua même, il tombe à plat. (MD 05.12)

b. Infatti il messaggio è destinato al mondo intero – la famosa “comunità internazionale”. Perché proprio in Nicaragua, ha registrato un pesante fallimento. (MAN 05.12)

‘His message was for foreign consumption; it fell flat in Nicaragua.’ (MDE 06.12)

C’est effectivement au monde entier qu’est destiné le message

‘It is indeed to the whole world that the message is addressed’

Infatti il messaggio è destinato al mondo intero

‘Indeed the message is addressed to the whole world’

In example (16a), the cleft subject is translated with a passive form with an agent (da duemila persone ‘of 2,000 people’):

In example (16a), the cleft subject is translated with a passive form with an agent (da duemila persone ‘of 2,000 people’):
(16) a. *Ce sont finalement quelque deux mille personnes* parmi lesquelles des militants historiques des luttes minoritaires, comme M. Charles Barron, ancien membre des Black Panthers, aujourd'hui conseiller municipal de New York *qui marchent dans ce quartier.* (MD 05.12)

b. *Alla fine, il corteo che sfila per il quartiere sarà composto da circa duemila persone* – tra le quali militanti storici di gruppi minoritari, come Charles Barron, ex membro dei Black Panthers, oggi consigliere municipale di New York. (MAN 05.12)

‘*In all there were 2,000 marchers,* including the minority rights activist Charles Barron, a former Black Panther and now a NYC council member.’ (MDE 05.12)

*Ce sont finalement quelque deux mille personnes* qui marchent

*dans ce quartier*

‘It is finally around 2,000 people who march in this neighbourhood’

*Alla fine, il corteo che sfila per il quartiere sarà composto da circa duemila persone*

‘Finally, the procession that marches through the neighbourhood will be made of around 2,000 people’

On the level of discourse, it is worth noting that the translator tends to break a series of clefts by resorting to a different structure in order to avoid repetition. In example (17b) the translator did not insert *cosi* ‘thus’ in a Cleft sentence because of the proximity of another Cleft sentence:

(17) a. Un tel esprit de consensus n’a jamais été la marque de M. Sarkozy. Quand il s’est agi d’imprimer son style, au cours de son mandat, il ne s’est guère encombré de bienséance: *c’est ainsi en petit comité et sur les conseils de M. Alain Minc qu’il décida, en janvier 2008, la suppression totale de la publicité sur les chaînes de France Télévisions.* En novembre 2010, le Parlement s’opposa toutefois à cette décision, en permettant au groupe public, à travers deux amendements législatifs, de conserver de la publicité avant 20 heures. *C’est également sans débat que le chef de l’État s’arrogea la prérogative de nommer directement les futurs présidents de l’audiovisuel public,* alors que les “sages” du CSA, instance réputée indépendante, en étaient chargés précédemment. (MD 04.12)
b. Un tale riguardo per il consenso non è mai stato nelle corde di Sarkozy. Quando, nel corso del mandato presidenziale, si è trattato di dar prova del suo stile, non si è mai posto problemi di buona educazione: così, nel gennaio 2008, in un comitato ristretto – e seguendo i consigli di Alain Minc – ha deciso la soppressione totale della pubblicità sui canali di France Télévisions [...]. È sempre senza dibattito che il capo dello stato si è arrogato la prerogativa di nominare direttamente i futuri presidenti dell’audiovisivo pubblico, togliendo questo compito ai “saggi” del Csa, un'istanza ritenuta indipendente. (MAN 04.12)

‘Such a consensual spirit was never the strength of Sarkozy. When it came to making his mark, when in office, he was never gifted with good manners: it is thus in a small group and on the advice of Alain Minc that he decided, in January 2008, to suppress publicity on the channels of ‘France Télévisions.’ [...] It is also without debate that Sarkozy took the liberty to directly name the future presidents of the public audio-visual media, while taking this responsibility away from the ‘wise men’ of CSA, an agency renowned for its independence.’

As it often happens in translation, in some cases it is not possible to establish any interpretative equivalence between the original and the Italian version. The absence of cleft in Italian cannot be explained in contrastive terms, but may result from an inaccurate reading of the information structure of the original. In our corpus, this happens in some cases, where the disambiguating effect of the Cleft sentence is not expressed in the Italian translation. In the example (18a), taken from a local news article reporting oral conversation among village people, the sentence structure is doubly marked: by the left dislocation of the object (le village ‘the village’) and the cleft with a subject (ce sont les enfants qui le font vivre ‘it is the children who make it live’). That sentence is replaced by a standard passive in Italian (il paese è mantenuto in vita dai bambini ‘The village is kept alive by the children’), which can be interpreted as a case of standardisation as the passive mode is less marked than the combination of the left dislocation and clefting:

(18) a. Où se rencontrer? Les bistros ont fermé. Les services publics? Un car scolaire, une mairie (deux permanences par semaine), une école, et c'est tout. Le village, ce sont les enfants qui le font vivre: leurs pas
et leurs rires ressonnent chaque jour dans les rues, à 8h29, à 11h31, à 13h29 et à 16h31. (MD 04.12)

b. Dove incontrarsi? I bistrot hanno chiuso. I servizi pubblici? Uno scuolabus, un municipio (con due giorni di apertura settimanale), una scuola, ed è tutto. Il paese è mantenuto in vita dal bambini: i loro passi, le loro risate risuonano ogni giorno nelle strade alle 8 h 29, alle 11 h 31, alle 13 h 29 e alle 16 h 31. (MAN 04.12)

'Where to meet? The cafes are closed. And public services? A schoolbus, a townhall (open twice a week), a school, and that's all. The village, it is the children who give it life: their steps and their laughter resonate every day in the streets at 8:29, at 11:31, at 13:29 and at 16:31.'

Le village, ce sont les enfants qui le font vivre
'The village, it is the children who make it live'

Il paese è mantenuto in vita dai bambini
'The village is kept alive by the children'

In (19b), the Italian reader is not guided in interpreting the contrast between the positive vote and the lack of enthusiasm of the Croatian population, since not only is there no emphasis on the prepositional phrase senza grande entusiasmo 'without great enthusiasm', but also the contrastive connective en réalité 'in fact' has been replaced by the consecutive cosi 'thus':

(19)  a. La Croatie deviendra, le 1er juillet 2013, le vingt-huitième Etat membre de l'Union européenne. Les électeurs ont approuvé le 22 janvier l'adhésion de leur pays. Si le "oui" a remporté près de 67% des suffrages, la très faible participation (43% des inscrits) limite la portée de ce vote. En réalité, c'est sans enthousiasme que les Croates s'apprécient à rejoindre l'Union. Laquelle a perdu beaucoup de son attrait dans tous les pays de la région. (MD 03.12)

b. Il 1° luglio 2013, la Croazia diventerà il ventottesimo Stato membro dell'Ue. Gli elettori hanno approvato il 22 gennaio l'adesione del loro paese. Sebbene l'esito abbia premiato il "sì" con il 67%, la bassissima partecipazione (43% degli iscritti) limita la portata del voto. I croati si apprestano così a entrare senza grande entusiasmo in un'Unione che, in tutti i paesi della regione, ha perso gran parte del suo fascino. (MAN 03.12)
Croàtia will become the 28th member of the European Union next year after its 67% approval vote in a referendum this January. However, the turnout was only 43%. European membership has lost its appeal for the Balkans. (MDE 03.12)

"En réalité, c'est sans enthousiasme que les Croates s'apprêtent à rejoindre l'Union. 'In fact, it is without enthusiasm that Croats are about to join the European Union.'

"I croati si apprestano così a entrare senza grande entusiasmo in un'Unione... 'Croats are about to join without great enthusiasm the European Union...'

In (20b), the absence of the cleft in the Italian version creates some imbalance in the correlative interpretation of the sentence as the information structure of the original text is not maintained:

(20) a. Tout autant qu'une mainmise d'un clan sur le FSLN, c'est cet affrontement idéologique qui a provoqué la scission. (MD 05.12)

b. Al pari dell'assoggettamento del Fsln da parte di un clan, questo scontro ideologico ha provocato la scissione. (MAN 05.12)

'It was as much this ideological clash as the power grab by Ortega's faction that led to the split.' (MDE 06.12)

c'est cet affrontement idéologique qui a provoqué la scission.

'this ideological clash provoked the rift'

4.2 Press Europ bidirectional corpus: Quantitative and qualitative results

As shown in Table 2, the PE-corpus is much smaller than the MD-MAN-corpus, inasmuch as it amounts to about 15% only of its total amount of words. It is nevertheless interesting to compare two translation corpora in order to highlight possible differences in translation choices. Moreover, the PE-corpus is bidirectional, which gives the opportunity to check how Cleft sentences occurring in Italian
newspapers are translated into French. In this section, I will first examine the distribution of explicit and implicit clefts (4.2.1); I will then briefly comment the distribution of clefts according to grammatical category (4.2.2) and I will finally illustrate the cases where a Cleft sentence is not translated with a cleft, in both directions (4.2.3). In the conclusion (4.2.4), I will compare the data extracted from the MD-MAN-corpus with those of the PE-corpus, which will emphasize some important differences due to the translation process.

Table 5: PE-corpus FR-IT: Quantitative results (total number of examples and % of total clefts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
<th>Explicit clefts</th>
<th>Implicit clefts</th>
<th>French clefts translated with other constructions</th>
<th>Per 100,000 Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Press Europ FR</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press Europ IT</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3 (55.5%)</td>
<td>5 (16.7%)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: PE-corpus IT-FR: Quantitative results (total number of examples and % of total clefts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
<th>Explicit clefts</th>
<th>Implicit clefts</th>
<th>Italian no clefts</th>
<th>Italian clefts translated with other constructions</th>
<th>Per 100,000 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Press Europ IT (52)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
<td>5 (54.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press Europ FR (83)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16 (72.8%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6 (27.2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures given in Table 5 and Table 6 show once again that the use of clefts is more frequent in French than in Italian. This observation becomes even more relevant in the translations from Italian into French where in 12 cases the French translator inserts a cleft where the Italian original does not resort to such a construction. On the other hand, in 6 cases an Italian Cleft sentence is not translated with an equivalent construction in French.

45 This column includes 3 cases in which the Italian original resorts to implicit Reverse Cleft sentences. These constructions are not translated with a cleft in French in 2 cases, whereas in one case it is translated with an inferential cleft (see [30b]).
46 This column shows the cases in which there is no cleft in Italian (12), whereas the French translation includes an explicit cleft.
In examples (21b) and (22b), the prepositional phrases in *questo spirito* ‘in this spirit’ and *A Giugliano* ‘in Giugliano’ are inserted into a Cleft sentence in the French translation.

(21) a. “Nessuno può sindacare su quel che facciamo”, parlava anche in *questo spirito*. (La Stampa, 05.01.12)

b. “Personne ne peut se mêler de ce que nous faisons”, a-t-il dit – *c'est aussi dans cet esprit-là qu'il s'exprimait*. (PE 05.01.12)

“No one can criticise what we do,” he said – *was uttered in this spirit*. (PE 05.01.12)

*parlava anche in questo spirito*

‘he spoke also in this spirit’

*c'est aussi dans cet esprit-là qu'il s'exprimait*

‘it is also in this spirit that he spoke’

(22) a. *A Giugliano, vicino a Napoli, viene stampata oltre la metà del denaro falso prodotto in Europa.* (La Repubblica, 23.03.12)

b. *C'est depuis les alentours de Giugliano, un fief de la mafia napoli-taine, que proviennent près de la moitié des faux billets en euros en circulation.* (PE 23.03.12)

‘The region around the city of Giugliano, a strong-hold of the Neapolitan mafia, provides nearly half of the counterfeit euros in circulation.’ (PE 23.03.12)

*A Giugliano, vicino a Napoli, viene stampata oltre la metà del denaro falso*

‘In Giugliano close to Naples, is printed over half of the counterfeit money’

*C'est depuis les alentours de Giugliano ... que proviennent près de la moitié des faux billets...*

‘It is from the surroundings of Giugliano, ... that come half of the counterfeit euros...’

47 The translations (into Italian, French or English) found on the Press Europ website are labelled PE.
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4.2.1 Distribution of explicit and implicit cleft sentences

As Table 5 and Table 6 show, the proportion of implicit clefts is higher in the original articles (5 occurrences in Italian and 3 in the French translation), which corresponds better to the standard use in written Italian. In the French-Italian translation, the percentage of implicit clefts (16.7%) is still relatively high as compared with explicit clefts with subjects (22.2%), which is due to the fact that the translation is less literal than in the MD-MAN-corpus, where we find proportionally more explicit clefts (25%) in the Italian translation than implicit clefts (16.3%).

In the examples (23) and (24), the subject (le capitalisme sauvage ‘unbridled capitalism’/la classe media ‘middle class’) is part of an explicit cleft in French and an implicit cleft in Italian:

(23) a. Cette fois, c'est le capitalisme sauvage qui en fait les frais, à en juger par celles [les blagues] qui circulent actuellement à Bucarest. (Le Monde 24.08.12)

b. Questa volta, a giudicare da quelle [le barzellette] che circolano attualmente a Bucarest, è stato il capitalismo selvaggio a farne le spese. (PE 24.08.12)

'To judge from the gags that are doing the rounds in Bucharest, this time around, runaway capitalism is the main target.' (PE 24.08.12)

c'est le capitalisme sauvage qui en fait les frais
'It is unbridled capitalism that pays the price'

è stato il capitalismo selvaggio a farne le spese
'it was unbridled capitalism to pay the price'

(24) a. È la classe media a mancare, sono i borghesi che abitavano i piani tra quello nobile e le mansarde. (Corriere della Sera, 12.04.12)

b. C'est la classe moyenne qui fait défaut, les bourgeois qui habitaient entre l'étage noble et les mansardes. (PE 12.04.12)

'It's the middle class that is leaving, the bourgeois who lived between the first floor and the attic.' (PE 12.04.12)

È la classe media a mancare
'it is the middle class to be leaving'

C'est la classe moyenne qui fait défaut
'it is the middle class that is leaving'
4.2.2 Distribution of grammatical categories in Cleft sentences

The distribution of Cleft sentences according to grammatical categories in Table 7 and Table 8 shows the prevalence of subjects both in French and Italian original articles, followed by adverbials.

Table 7: PE-corpus FR-IT: Quantitative results (absolute frequency and % of total number of occurrences)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Press Europ FR-IT</th>
<th>FR explicit clefs</th>
<th>IT explicit clefs</th>
<th>IT implicit clefs</th>
<th>French clefs not translated with clefs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>11 (61%)</td>
<td>4 (22.2%)</td>
<td>3 (16.7%)</td>
<td>4 (22.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objects</td>
<td>1 (5.6%)</td>
<td>1 (5.6%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbials</td>
<td>5 (27.8%)</td>
<td>5 (27.8%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (5.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerundives</td>
<td>1 (5.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>10 (55.6%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>3 (16.7%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>5 (27.8%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL: 18</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: PE-corpus IT-FR: Quantitative results (absolute frequency and % of total number of occurrences)\(^{48}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Press Europ IT-FR</th>
<th>IT explicit clefs</th>
<th>IT implicit clefs</th>
<th>IT No clefs(^{48})</th>
<th>FR explicit clefs</th>
<th>Italian clefs not translated with clefs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>2 (9.1%)</td>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
<td>3 (13.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objects</td>
<td>1 (4.5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (4.5%)</td>
<td>2 (9.1%)</td>
<td>1 (4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbials</td>
<td>2 (9.1%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6 (27.3%)</td>
<td>8 (36.4%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerundives</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (4.5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>5 (22.7%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>5 (22.7%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>12 (54.5%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>16 (72.7%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>6 (27.3%)</strong> (4+2 missing translations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL: 22</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{48}\) This column takes into account the cases in which the French translation inserts clefs that do not occur in the original Italian texts.
In example (25), the cleft subject is a pronoun (eux / loro ‘them ’):


b. "Nel 1985 il ministro delle finanze socialdemocratico e la sua équipe erano stati soprannominati “la destra finanziaria” del partito. Palme era primo ministro, ma ha lasciato fare, sono loro che hanno dere- golamentato i mercati e liberalizzato le banche". (PE 20.02.12)

"In 1985, the social-democratic finance minister and his team were referred to as "the financial right" of the party. Palme was prime min- ister, but he allowed them free rein. They were the ones who dereg- ulated the markets and liberalised the banks." (PE 20.02.12)

Ce sont eux qui ont déréglémenté les marchés et libéralisé les banques
'It is them who deregulated the markets and liberalized the banks'

In example (26), we find a prepositional phrase (contre ce choix brutal / contro questa scelta brutale ‘against this brutal choice’) in cleft position:

(26) a. C'est contre ce choix brutal que se bat Giovanni Savino, 33 ans, éducateur spécialisé (Le Monde, 30.03.12)

b. Ed è contro questa scelta brutale che si batte Giovanni Savino, 33 anni, educatore specializzato. (PE 30.03.12)

'Specialist educator Giovanni Savino, age 33, has devoted his life to preventing young people from opting for this most brutal choice.' (PE 30.03.12)

C'est contre ce choix brutal que se bat Giovanni Savino
'It is against this brutal choice that fights Giovanni Savino'

4.2.3 Alternatives to clefts in translation

Since the translation is less literal than in the MD-MAN-corpus, we find more cases where the cleft is not translated in both directions. It is interesting to note that in 3 cases out of 5, the Italian translation has a standard word order, as in (27b):
(27) a. "C'est une situation personnelle de solitude absolue qui m'a poussé à écrire ce texte qui a pris la forme d'une parabole: je parle d'un pays qui meurt parce qu'il n'accepte pas sa propre fin, et qu'il n'accepte pas l'autre." (Le Monde, 17.06.12)

b. "Mi trovavo in una situazione personale di solitudine assoluta, che mi ha spinto a scrivere questo testo che ha preso la forma di una parabola: parlo di un paese che muore perché non accetta la propria fine e non accetta l'altro." (PE 17.06.12)

'It was my personal situation of absolute solitude that prompted the writing of the text which took the form of a parable about a country that dies because it refuses to accept its own transience, and is hostile to other identities.' (PE 17.06.12)

C'est une situation personnelle de solitude absolue qui m'a poussé à écrire ce texte

'It is a personal situation of absolute solitude that prompted me to write this text'

Mi trovavo in una situazione personale di solitudine assoluta,

'I found myself in a personal situation of absolute solitude

che mi ha spinto a scrivere questo testo

that prompted me to write this text'

In 2 cases, however, the French cleft is translated with a passive as in (28b):

(28) a. Certains les gardaient en souvenir [les pésétas] mais avec la crise, la nostalgie n'a plus sa place, explique M. Pino. C'est Mme Ameijeira Rivas, l'opticienne, qui a eu l'idée de tout ceci, se souvenant que la banque d'Espagne avait calculé qu'il restait plus de 1,7 milliard d'euros de pesetas en circulation. (Le Monde, 06.01.12)

b. L'idea è venuta ad Ameijeira Rivas, l'ottica, che si è ricordata che la Banca di Spagna aveva calcolato che rimanevano in circolazione più di 1,7 miliardi di euro di pesetas. (PE 06.01.12)

"Sometimes they were kept as souvenirs, but, as Mr Pino explains, people cannot afford to be nostalgic in the current crisis. It was Miss Ameijeira Rivas, the optician, who came up with the idea for the scheme, when she remembered that the Spanish central bank had
calculated that more than 1.7 billion euros worth of pesetas remain in
circulation.' (PE 06.01.12)

_C'est Mme Ameijeira Rivas, l'opticienne, qui a eu l'idée de tout ceci_
'It is Ameijeira Rivas, the optician, who had the whole idea'

_L'idea è venuta ad Ameijeira Rivas, l'ottica_
'The idea came to Ameijeira Rivas, the optician'

In the Italian-French direction, in 6 cases the French translation does not use a
cleft to translate an Italian cleft. This is particularly true with the Italian implicit
Reverse clefts (29a):

(29)  a. _A guidare la classifica sono gli inglesi_, con concessioni record di
1,600,000 ettari, seguiti da italiani, tedeschi, francesi e nord-ameri-
cani. (La Repubblica, 15.03.12)

b. _Les Britanniques sont en tête_, avec un record de 1,6 millions d'hec-
tares de terres cultivées, suivis par les Italiens, les Allemands, les
Français et les Américains. (PE 15.03.12)

'The British are in the lead with a record 1.6 million hectares of culti-
vated land, followed by the Italians, the Germans, the French and the
Americans.' (PE 15.03.12)

_A guidare la classifica sono gli inglesi_
'To be in the lead are the British'

_Les Britanniques sont en tête_
'The British are in the lead'

In one case the French translation resorts to an inferential cleft of the type *c'èst... parce que* 'it is...because' (cf. Atayan and Wienen in this volume) with a causal
interpretation (30b):

(30)  a. _Ad accelerare la proliferazione della jatropha è il fatto che il bio-
diesel rappresenterà in futuro il 71% delle importazioni agro-
energetiche UE_. (La Repubblica, 15.03.12)

b. _Si la culture du jatropha est si prolifique, c'est entre autres parce
que le biodiesel représentera à l'avenir 71% des importations en
agrocarburants de l'UE_. (PE 15.03.12)
"If jatropha plantations are so widespread, it is, among other reasons, because biodiesel is expected to represent 71% of biofuel imports to the EU.\textsuperscript{12} (PE 15.03.12)

\textit{Ad accelerare la proliferazione della jatropha è il fatto che il biodiesel...}

"To accelerate the proliferation of jatropha is the fact that biodiesel..."

\textit{Si la culture du jatropha est si prolifique, c’est ... parce que le biodiesel représentera...71\% des importations en agrocarburants}

"If jatropha plantations are so widespread, it is... because biodiesel is expected to represent...71\% of biofuel imports"

4.2.4 \textbf{Comparison between the MD-MAN-corpus and the PE-corpus}

By comparing our two translation corpora, we can draw some tentative conclusions:

- the \textit{Manifesto} translation tends to be more literal, therefore the proportion of explicit clefts over implicit clefts is higher (67.3\%) than in the PE-corpus (55.5\%);
- the \textit{Press Europ} translations show more flexibility in the choice of equivalent structures to clefts. The frequency of cases where the French clefts are not translated with clefts is of 27.8\% in the Italian translation from French and of 27.2\% in the French translation from Italian;
- the quantitative discrepancy between the two corpora is indicative of different translation strategies. In the case of the explicit clefts extracted from the MD-MAN-corpus, I would talk about a case of syntactical influence on the Italian translations (cf. 2.1), whereas the PE-corpus, by tending to avoid literal translation, shows a wider variety of options. Naturally, such an observation remains a hypothesis given the small size of the corpora.

5 \textbf{Translation corpora vs. comparable corpora: Concluding remarks}

In this essay I have shown that, whereas the dialogue between contrastive linguistics and translation studies is certainly welcome, it is necessary to be aware of the weight of syntactic interference that inevitably characterizes the translated text
as opposed to a text originally written in one language. More concretely, the data extracted from translation corpora will have to be measured against the figures drawn from comparable corpora in order to identify more objectively similarities and differences in the use of clefts in two languages.

In conclusion, I will now compare the two translation corpora that I have assembled for this study with the data extracted from the ICOCP-corpus (which is a comparable corpus according to the definition given in 2.2) for Italian and French. My observations will concern the general frequency of Cleft sentences in French and Italian, the ratio of explicit and implicit clefts, as well as the distribution of cleft constituents according to their grammatical category.

As Table 9 shows, the overall frequency of clefts in translated press articles, counting both translation corpora (41/100,000 words), is lower than the results of the ICOCP-corpus for French (75/100,000 words) and Italian (79/100,000 words). As expected, the French version (either original or translated) shows a slightly higher rate of clefts. This is mostly visible in the French translation from Italian in the PE-corpus, which means that French – as predicted by the compensation mechanism – will resort more often than Italian to an explicit Cleft sentence.

Table 9: Parallel and comparable corpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation corpus</th>
<th>Absolute frequency</th>
<th>Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FR original</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT translation</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT original</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR translation</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICOCP corpus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR original</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT original</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 10, the ratio of implicit clefts in Italian translation is very low compared with the ICOCP-corpus concerning Italian, namely about half (39% vs. 79% in the ICOCP-corpus). In the MD-MAN-corpus, the proportion of implicit clefts as compared to explicit clefts is of 39.5%. Since French does not have an implicit cleft, we see the effect of translation in the Italian target texts that give a significant preference to explicit clefts when the cleft constituent is a subject (60.5% in translation corpora vs. 21% in ICOCP).
Table 10: Explicit and implicit clefts in Italian (total occurrences, % of total number of examples of each category and relative frequency per 100,000 words)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Explicit clefts with subjects</th>
<th>Implicit clefts with subjects</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Relative frequency (per 100,000 words)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IT transl. MAN</td>
<td>26 (60.5%)</td>
<td>17 (39.5%)</td>
<td>43 (100%)</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT transl. PE</td>
<td>4 (57%)</td>
<td>3 (43%)</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICOCP IT</td>
<td>31 (21%)</td>
<td>116 (79%)</td>
<td>147 (100%)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In three cases only, the Italian translation uses an implicit Reverse cleft sentence (see [1b], [31b] and [32b]). This contrasts with the relatively high frequency of such constructions in ICOCP (38/100,000 words):

(31)  

a. Après quarante-trois jours d’une mobilisation sociale sans précédent, durant laquelle les services publics et les entreprises ont tourné au ralenti, c’est un sentiment de gâchis qui prédomine. (MD 12.11)

b. Dopo quarantatré giorni di una mobilitazione sociale senza precedenti, durante la quale i servizi pubblici e le imprese hanno girato a rilento, a predominare è un sentimento di confusione. (MAN 12.11)

‘After 43 days of unprecedented social demonstrations, during which public services and businesses have been slowed down, it is a sentiment of waste that prevails.’

c’est un sentiment de gâchis qui prédomine
‘it is a sentiment of waste that prevails’

a predominare è un sentimento di confusione
‘to prevail is a sentiment of waste’

(32)  

a. Comme les Blancs sont deux fois plus nombreux que les Noirs, c’est le Parti républicain qui gagne, sauf à certaines élections locales, comme à Jackson. (MD 04.12)

b. Poi, siccome i bianchi sono due volte più numerosi dei neri, a vincere è il Partito repubblicano, fatta eccezione per alcune elezioni locali, come a Jackson. (MAN 04.12)

‘Since the whites outnumber the blacks two to one, the Republicans win, except in certain local elections, like Jackson.’ (MDE 06.12)
c'est le Parti républicain qui gagne
‘It is the Republican party that wins’

*a vincere è il Partito repubblicano
‘to win is the Republican Party’

Regarding the grammatical category of the cleft constituent, the results are globally similar to those of ICOCP-corpus in terms of the preference given to subjects, followed by adverbials and objects. As we can see in Table 11, in the ICOCP-corpus the subject is the most common cleft category (68% in IT and 56% in FR), followed by adverbials (26% in IT and 29% in FR) and objects (6% in IT and 15% in FR).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FR-MD (original)</th>
<th>FR-MAN (transl.)</th>
<th>FR-PE (original)</th>
<th>FR-PE (transl.)</th>
<th>IT-PE (original)</th>
<th>IT-PE (transl.)</th>
<th>IT-PE (original)</th>
<th>IT-PE (transl.)</th>
<th>ICOCP FR</th>
<th>ICOCP IT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objects</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbials</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerundives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can identify, however, some specific features related to the translation process. As the Italian translation of *Le Monde Diplomatique* is very literal, the number of clefts remains almost identical in both versions. The Italian translation of *Press Europ*, which is less literal, tends to produce more clefts with subjects (38.9%) rather than with adverbials (27.8%), whereas the French translation shows a higher rate of clefts with adverbials (36.4%) like the original French of *Le Monde Diplomatique* (44.2%).

Translation corpora allow taking into account the cases in which a cleft is not translated with an identical construction. As we have seen in 4.2.3, the French translation of the Italian PE-corpus tends to insert a Cleft sentence where there is none in the Italian original but not always. This tendency can be partly explained with the compensation mechanism. It is important, however, to explore the textual reasons that motivate the use of clefts in both languages according to the context (marking transition or reducing ambiguity in the interpretation).

Thanks to corpus-based approaches, translation has become a focus of interest for contrastive linguistics. As Johansson (2007) confirms:
As translation shows what elements may be associated across languages, it is fruitful to base a contrastive study on a comparison of original texts and their translations. At the same time, translations have special characteristics of their own and may deviate from original texts in the target language. Given an appropriate corpus model it is, however, possible to control for translation-specific features. (Johansson 2007: 3–4)

The contrastive study on clefts that I carried out in this article on the basis of self-assembled translation corpora intends to bring more awareness of the advantages and limits in dealing with translated material. In the case of Cleft sentences, I was able to highlight some differences in translation strategies concerning, for example, the choice of an implicit cleft in Italian as an alternative to an explicit cleft.

As I have tried to show, the combined analysis of translation corpora and comparable corpora is necessary in order to distinguish between the possibilities offered by each language’s systemic conventions and the stylistic options chosen by the translator.

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