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Is Jamie Oliver “Easy Peasy” in Slovene?

Summary

The research aims to identify the idiolectal features in selected cookbooks by Jamie Oliver (*The Naked Chef*, *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* and *Jamie’s Ministry of Food*), and how they were rendered into Slovene by Oliver’s translators. As a theoretical basis, it relies on Koller’s three-stage model for analyzing the original and the translation. The paper also confronts the problems that arise from cultural differences between Slovene and British culture. Lexical items are layered into independent categories in the form of concentric circles to denote quantity, significance and interconnection. Within these layers, I focus on specific analysis of expressions under the influence of word-formation, pop culture, gender specific language, onomatopoeia, phonetic symbolism, deliberate inaccuracy, comparison, informal and colloquial language, and creative instances such as “the icky factor”, “childish intimacy” and “the Peter–Pan–syndrome”. The translator’s subjective point of view was also taken into consideration.

Key words: Jamie Oliver, Luka Novak, Tadej Zupančič, idiolect, cookbook, comparative analysis, translation

Je Jamie Oliver “otročje lahek” v slovenščini?

Povzetek

Namen raziskave je določiti idiolektalne značilnosti Jamieja Oliverja v izbranih kuharskih knjigah (“The naked chef”, “Happy days with the naked chef” in “Jamie’s ministry of food”) in kako sta jih Oliverjeva prevajalca prenesla v slovenščino. Teoretična osnova raziskovalne naloge je Kollerjev tristopenjski model analize izvornika in prevoda. Naloga se tudi sooča s problematiko kulturnih razlik med slovensko in britansko kulturo. Leksikalni izrazi so bili razslojeni v posamične kategorije v obliki koncentričnih krogov, s katerimi se nakazuje količina, pomembnost in medsebojna povezanost izrazov. Znotraj posameznih slojev sem se osredinila na analizo izrazov, ki so pod vplivom besedotvorja, pop–kulture, jezikovnih posebnosti moške in ženske govorice, onomatopoeičnih izrazov, fonetičnega simbolizma, namerne nenatančnosti, primerjave, neformalnega in pogovornega jezika ter izvornih pojavov, kot so “dejavnika odvratnega”, “otročje bližine” in “sindroma Petra Pana”. Subjektivnost prevajalca je prav tako dejavnik, ki sem ga upoštevala.

Ključne besede: Jamie Oliver, Luka Novak, Tadej Zupančič, idiolekt, kuharska knjiga, primerjalna analiza, prevod

Is Jamie Oliver “Easy Peasy” in Slovene?

1. Introduction

Cookbooks are commonly seen on shelves in bookstores and homes. Since they are guides that instruct hobby chefs to cook as professionals by using exact, simple and clear diction, cookbooks follow specific conventions that govern this genre. However, celebrity chefs construct new, creative and individual patterns to convey knowledge and to promote their image as commodities. Such a person is Jamie Oliver, who has revolutionized not only cooking but even language. He shattered cookbook “etiquette” and highly specific cooking terminology in order to appeal to a variety of people and to create a unique level of simplicity. These changes constitute his personality, which can get lost in translation.

Luka Novak and Tadej Zupančič, Jamie’s translators into Slovene, face the challenge of rendering not only instructions but also Jamie’s personality into a different linguistic environment. The focal point in translating is, thus, not so much the recipe itself but Jamie’s exceptional idiolect: “The speech habits of an individual” (Finch 2000, 224). These speech habits incorporate stylistic features usually connected to sociolect and dialect but which are entirely independent and not a group-specific feature — in contrast to the previously mentioned terms. Jamie used his language to set himself apart from other chefs and used it consistently to form a trademark character that is rebellious, adventurous, childish, innovative and a little bit silly, but also nostalgic and warm.

These characteristics found in Jamie’s books are as important as the recipe’s primary function: to instruct. That is why the translation of Jamie is so difficult and provocative. Since every language breathes with its culture, English interacts with British culture differently from the way Slovene interacts with Slovene culture. Consequently, a transfer of personality from one culture into a decisively different receptor culture is cluttered with obstacles. In the process, a new — in the case of Slovene — Slovene Jamie is formed to instruct Slovene people in cooking. This is resolved in accordance with the possibilities the Slovene language has to offer.

Thus, the questions needing to be asked in this paper are as follows: What are Jamie’s idiolectal features? How are they categorized? How are they incorporated into the recipe structure and what is the impact on the audience? After locating these specifics in the original, the main focus shifts to the transfer of these lexical items from the original into Slovene. On the following pages, we will look at how a certain item was rendered into Slovene, how consistent this rendition was, how it fits into the target culture, what was the (most likely) path of translational decision-making and what other alternatives exist. This research explains in detail how complex a simple word can be and how much information it can bear and, consequently, lose. Therefore, I will give a brief insight into Jamie’s world of linguistic *smushing away* and *bashing the hell out* of English, focusing on the most interesting and typical words that we have grown to love in his books and TV shows.

2. The Layers

Jamie’s expressions are interconnected and expand in meaning and numbers. That is why their organization into concentric circles was the best way to visually categorize them, and depict the peculiarities of Jamie’s idiolect.

At the heart of the four illustrated idiolectal circles is the first layer of lexical items, labeled “Jamie-isms”. In matters of numbers, it represents the smallest of the four groups, with only 8 listed entries.

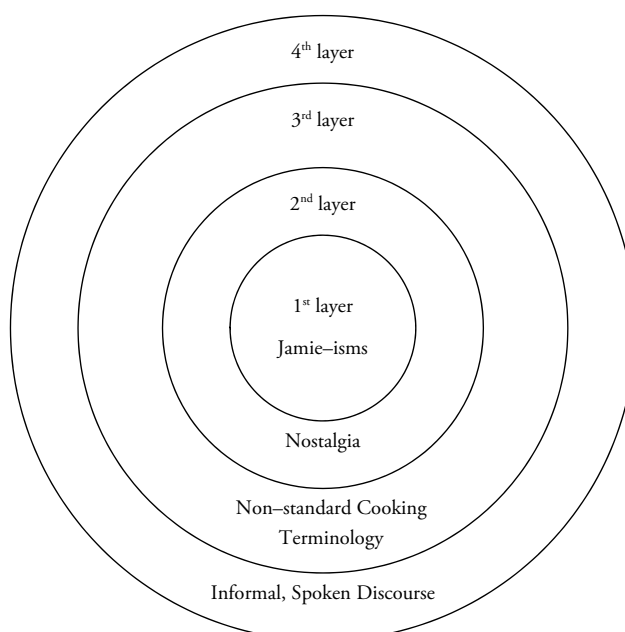


Figure 1: *The layering of Jamie's idiolectal words*

In spite of this, it is a vital layer, since it illustrates the productivity of the English language and how a celebrity chef can contribute to its evolution. The Slovene language has, similar to English, enough material to produce new words, but its capacities are not used to the fullest in the Slovene translation. This creates a conflict between the ST¹ and TT², and a fundamental challenge in the realization of Jamie's creativity to the same degree in the TT. Typical Jamie-words are *meringuey*, *porridgey*, *rolly*, *spinachy*, etc.

The second layer of distinctive lexical items — “Nostalgia” — consists of 19 quotations and allusions from the world of media: music, movies, comics, television and even advertisements. This layer of logemes³ comes from the golden age of British television — from the 1950s, 60s and 70s. It is a kind of hide-and-seek Jamie has integrated to tease his readers and make them children again — like a modern day Peter Pan who never wants to grow up. The second layer thus sets the basis for his “Peter-Pan-syndrome”.

Interestingly, Jamie quotes in a manner that is nearly undetectable for the average listener/reader, since the sources of quotations are very specific. If one does not have the same knowledge or background as the person quoting, the hidden allusion will remain hidden. This obscurity and specificity should be the driving force of the translation in this layer, too. It should hint at media influence in a new cultural environment; however, these cultural environments hinder each other. To give a brief insight into what Jamie's nostalgic words are, here are some typical examples: *don* (from *The Godfather*), *fandabidozi* (from The Krankies), *lovely jubbly* (from an orange drink commercial), *easy peasy* (from a detergent commercial), etc.

1 Source text.

2 Target text.

3 Radó's term for the “element of the ST [the translator] has to distinguish and then to reproduce while composing the TT” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 97).

The third layer — “Non-standard Cooking Terminology” — with its 113 entries represents the second largest group of Jamie’s idiolectal expressions, notable for their “misplaced” usage in comparison with other cookbooks. The term “misplaced” stands for the context in which these unusual words appear, but it is not bound to the register of the words themselves: while the fourth layer — informal, spoken discourse — is marked in register and used in specific situations, the expressions of the third layer can be labeled (as for example *bash*: informal (ODO⁴, Bash)), but Jamie’s usage deviates from the accepted norm (even for non-standard expressions), since he creates a different context of usage. This can be illustrated with the example of *soggy* for overcooked vegetables — the expression is usually applied to babies’ diapers. The Slovene translations deviate less from cookbook conventions, and they even come close to or are Standard terminology. Other influential instances of this layer are gender specific language, onomatopoeia, phonetic symbolism, the “icky factor”, deliberate inaccuracy and comparison. These are noticeable in expressions such as *bash up*, *smush ins*, *rugby-ball shape*, *the thickness of two beer mats*, *semi-mushy*, *soggy salads*, *plonk into*, etc.

The fourth and final layer — “Informal, Spoken Discourse” — is the most numerous (counting 281 expressions), since it encompasses informal and spoken discourse. This group consists of logemes which are, in comparison to other layers, codified in dictionaries, but marked in register and restricted to certain contexts. The last layer thus illustrates the outer rim of my concentric circles. It may be a marginal group and less ground-breaking in linguistic terms, but it still defines Jamie’s choice of words and indicates the growing de-standardization of the English and Slovene languages.

Although the fourth layer has some similarities to the third, the main difference is that these expressions are not necessarily cooking-related or modified in any way in order to relate to food. Words such as *bum*, *bro*, *scrummy*, *xxx*, *pretty damn* and *pimp up* are used to liven up the language and lighten the strict rules of cookbooks. Such colloquial words are sometimes more, sometimes less skillfully rendered into Slovene: *xxx* was omitted from the Slovene text and is therefore a zero equivalent;⁵ *bro* underwent domesticating translation⁶ (*stari*); the swear word *damn* was transferred into the mild swear word *prekleman*, and it went through an additional shift in location; *scrummy*, a British informal expression, was translated into Standard.

2.1 The First Layer

A language in itself is a communicative tool that is nearly without boundaries. It is creative, flexible, ever changing and, foremost, expressive at all levels. Another feature of language lies in its creation and maintenance of authority: the speakers themselves. Through the shared “inborn” knowledge of language, they not only reproduce (encompassing morphological, syntactical, semantic, etc. spheres) but also produce it. This productivity is most drastic and visible in neologisms and nonce words (lexical sphere), which were also used by Jamie.

As the expression “Jamie-ism” suggests, this list consists of words that deviate from Standard English vocabulary, and were newly coined by Jamie himself. Conforming to Plag’s notion of the term, neologisms are, “derivatives that were newly coined in a given period” (Plag 2003, 52). However, the difference in frequency and codification in dictionaries sets the terms neologism and

4 Oxford Dictionaries Online.

5 The terms “zero equivalent” and “zero equivalence” are among Kade’s translational concepts, where an ST expression is not rendered into a TT expression. Zero equivalence is also known as nil or one-to-none equivalence (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 50; Kenny 2004, 78).

6 Venuti’s term “domesticating translation” describes the approach towards translation where the translator brings the author of the original closer to the TT audience by adapting the foreign text to the target culture. The translated text is viewed as another original, rather than a translation (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 43).

nonce word apart: the first can be codified in special dictionaries; the second only occurs in a given situation and fades away immediately. Thus, not every coined word has to enter wide usage; such words can also disappear the moment they were uttered.

Words of this layer are based on derivational rules that are applied out of situational necessity in order to bring about new meanings or slightly different shades of meaning. Such expressions serve the speakers (also Jamie) more truthfully, or rather accurately than established “actual words”, which are already distinguished expressions of a certain language community’s mental lexicon.

In matters of word-formation, the Slovene language is as flexible as English, but this feature is relatively neglected by Slovenes for reasons of unawareness and perhaps even comfort. Since there is no Slovene dictionary of word-formation, linguists and translators are left to their own devices to cope with such immediate word-formational demands; hence, translators go for English foreignisms⁷ or calques⁸ rather than performing the more demanding task of coining new words with their limited word-formational tools. In such situations, translators could make use of topical dictionaries from the field of word-formation. Such an attempt was made by Stramljič Breznik: *Besednodružinski slovar slovenskega jezika, Poskusni zvezek za iztočnice na B*.⁹ This dictionary is definite proof that the Slovene language is capable of keeping the pace set by Jamie in his early books.

Other sources such as the Slovene dictionary SSKJ¹⁰ — the main authority on Slovene language — and corpora such as Fidaplust, Nova Beseda and Besedišče are starting to become outdated. The first came to a halt in 1991, and the second codified its native language only until 2006. Though the latter is not obsolete, it is stagnating.

This layer was usually translated into Standard without word formational incisions. However, the translation of *meringuey* (into *meringue*) is questionable. *Meringue* is a word of French origin but quite common in British English; so, for native speakers, there are no hurdles in understanding this expression. Novak translated the adjective *meringuey* into its nominal form (*meringue*), keeping the foreign spelling, declination and pronunciation. Therefore, *meringue* in a Slovene context is an exoticism,¹¹ which indicates a tendency towards foreignizing translation.¹² The most striking thing about *meringue* in Slovene is its lack of meaning. Since Great Britain is a neighbor to France, cuisine and cuisine terminology went back and forth between these two countries. This did not happen in Slovenia. There is almost no trace of French cuisine terminology, except among chefs, and none among the general public. The sentence, “Dobro izgleda, če se peče v posodi iz nepregornega stekla, saj se med pečenjem nekako razsloji, tako da na dnu nastane nekakšna sirasta limonova krema, na vrhu pa se pojavi rahla in prožna **meringue**”¹³ (Novak 2002, 284), is unintelligible to a common Slovene native speaker. Fidaplust has only two entries for *meringue* — as a dance form — the

7 “Foreignisms” is a collective term for words of foreign origin.

8 The term “calque” is one of Hervey and Higgins’s subcategories of cultural transposition. It denotes words of foreign origin which follow the model of the source language’s grammatical structures, but are not transferred verbatim from the source language (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 36).

9 English translation: *Word Family Dictionary of the Slovene Language, Experimental Volume for B Headwords*.

10 *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (English translation: *Dictionary of the Slovene Language*).

11 One of Hervey and Higgins’s subcategories of cultural transposition. Exoticisms are expressions which show most of their origin, since they are transferred into the TT with little or no adaptation (on a cultural and linguistic level) to suit the target culture (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 36).

12 Venuti’s term “foreignizing translation” is the opposite of “domesticating translation”. This approach brings the TT audience closer to the author of the original and the source culture. It restores the foreign text by transferring foreignisms into the TT, and provides the TT audience with “an alien reading experience” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 59).

13 English original: “It looks good cooked in a Pyrex dish, as it goes into layers as it cooks, with a sort of lemon curdy custard at the bottom and a spongy **meringuey** top” (Oliver 2001, 284).

SSKJ has none, and even our mental lexicon lacks this expression, so we do not understand how the pudding in the recipe should turn out. For the great majority of Slovene speakers, *meringue* carries no information, except if they Google it. However, if the translator had used Grad, Škerlj and Vitorovič's dictionary, or Oxford's English–Slovene dictionary (abbreviated as VASS¹⁴ and VASSO¹⁵), “meringue” would never have been a problem, since the first dictionary's translation of the logeme is *beljakova pena (pecivo)* (VASS, Meringue), while the second one suggests *španski vetrc* and *poljubček* (VASSO, Meringue). *Beljakova pena* names a raw egg white mixture, whereas *beljakovo pecivo*, *španski vetrc* and *poljubček* denote the baked meringue. These expressions are the accepted terms (even for laypersons) in Slovene cookery that stand for the English “meringue”. But during translation, Novak neglected the basic function of a recipe — to instruct. In this case, domesticating translation would have been the better solution. For the sake of keeping the foreign flair, explicitation would have been another option — *meringue*, followed by the Slovene expression (of the translator's choosing) in brackets. However, it must be noted that Oxford's English–Slovene dictionary was until 2005/2006 not yet published, so Novak did not have this particular dictionary at his disposal.

2.2 The Second Layer: Nostalgia

Though there is a great divergence between British and Slovene television, a difference which affects the translation, Slovene translators are given new possibilities through iconic commercials and products that embrace nostalgic notions and iconicity, comparable to the British 1950s image of a picture perfect society and economic wellbeing. Instead of following the American model of a consumer society, Slovenes can draw on socialistic ideals, products with cult status and the marketing strategy of these, tapping into the nation's history and the nostalgic construct of Yugoslavia.

To expand my idea, the Yugoslav economy was not driven by capitalism where only the strongest survived; it encouraged the consumption of Yugoslav products in the spirit of fairness towards the laborer: the people who produce the goods also enjoy them. So, even though foreign brands were not advertised on a large scale, a Yugoslav — and Slovene — advertising legacy from the 1960s and 70s was nevertheless handed down: for example, “Cockta – Pijača naše in vaše mladosti”, which is “the symbol of the Slovene consumer revolution” (Rogelj Škafar and Damjan 2010). Foreignizing translation of Britishisms is also possible, but in a Slovene version this would sound strange and unintelligible because of the unfamiliarity with British culture in a more and more “American anglicized” world.

One must be aware that there are many quotations embedded into the cookbooks, and there is simply no way to know everything; the older the sources of quotations get, the fainter our awareness of them. Jamie, nevertheless, has taken a liking to this kind of quoting.

People — including of course Jamie — embed quotations into their idiolect for allusion, or as an expression of personality. Such items illustrate our interests and how we see the world. Some remarks make such an impact on us that we slip them into our daily discourse — even when we talk to people who will probably not get the joke. Jamie, as I suspect, quotes texts (mostly) without the purpose of having them recognized. He simply does this for his personal amusement and to convey his individuality. This approach and his taste in quotations are yet again extremely vital for his writing style in English and in translation.

¹⁴ *Veliki angleško-slovenski slovar* (English translation: *Great English–Slovene Dictionary*).

¹⁵ *Veliki angleško-slovenski slovar Oxford A–K in L–Z* (English translation: *Great English–Slovene Dictionary Oxford A–K and L–Z*).

Some of Jamie's most interesting idiolectal expressions are condensed in this layer. One of them is *easy peasy*, which I also incorporated into the title of my paper. *Easy peasy* is a "near Jamie-ism", which (at first glance) appears to be Jamie's copyright material, but is actually a re-introduced word. Unlike the general belief (especially among the non-British), it is not Jamie's invention, but a nostalgic commercial slogan for a detergent.

The meaning of *easy peasy* according to ODO is, "very straightforward and easy (used by or as if by children)" (ODO, Easy-Peasy). In register it is considered British informal. It is difficult to establish whether the expression was part of informal discourse to start with, or has become part of it because of Jamie's influence. Either way, one thing is certain: *easy peasy* came into being as a slogan for the 1970s British TV commercial for Lemon Squeezy detergent, which looked like this: a little girl pointed out dirty greasy dishes to an adult (her mother or a relative); she then cleaned them easily and quickly with Lemon Squeezy, and at the end she said, "Easy Peasy Lemon Squeezy" (UD,¹⁶ Easy Peasy). Knowing the structure of the advertisement is important, since Jamie copies its usage of the phrase, and adds *easy peasy* as an independent sentence, "Drain the pasta, and while still steaming hot mix well with the tomatoes, check the seasoning and serve. **Easy peasy**" (Oliver 2001, 121). He also uses it as an adjective, as suggested by ODO, "**Easy Peasy** Ginger Beer" (Oliver 2001, 297).

Novak copied the sentence structure of the commercial, but translated *easy peasy* as *izi bizi* and the Standard idiom *preprosto kot pasulj* (eq. easy as pie/ABC). Hence, it is a case of facultative equivalence.¹⁷ The expression is a calque, since *easy peasy* was structurally copied into Slovene by transferring the phonetic characteristics by means of Slovene orthography: *easy* was rendered into *izi*, *peasy* into *bizi*. Additionally, *izi bizi* was probably coined on the pattern of *rizi bizi* — risotto risi e bisi — which shares a structural similarity with *easy peasy*. In its phonetic and word-formational aspects, it comes close to the original and displays creativity influenced by the English language (*easy* – *izi*, *busy* – *bizi*). Furthermore, there is a slight change in the voiced consonant (from p to b), which expands the meaning of the English two-part expression, where only *easy* has a meaning, into a newly coined word with elements that have meanings by themselves — *easy business*, *easy busy* — hence, the readers can figure out the meaning of the new expression from the existing linguistic building blocks. Through this slight phonetic change, Slovene readers will understand this expression as "something easy to do", and *izi bizi's* oxymoronic constellation adds another touch of Jamie-ish playfulness in the Slovene translation, so it fits his personality. Furthermore, *izi bizi* was so catchy in Slovene that Novak modified the original expression from Jamie's books and altered it into *bizi bizi* which he used in the theme song of his show *Ljubezen skozi želodec*: "Work it, bizi bizi, bizi bizi. Work it. Bizi bizi, bizi bizi. Work it. Uuu, let's get bizi bizi" (Youtube, Ljubezen skozi želodec).

The second expression, *preprosto kot pasulj*, used a common set phrase to capture the meaning of making something with ease. *Izi bizi* is close to Jamie's personal taste, while *preprosto kot pasulj* is functionally appropriate. It is less spectacular, but it serves the purpose of conveying "easy". Another acceptable functional equivalent would be the phrase *zelo/otročje lahko* (VASSO, Easy-Peasy) as suggested by Oxford's bilingual dictionary, since it also embraces the concept of "something being very easy".

Another interesting example of re-introduction is *lovely jubbly*, which is etymologically even more complex than *easy peasy*. Originally, *lovely jubbly* was a slogan for the 1950s orange juice drink

¹⁶ Urban Dictionary.

¹⁷ The term "facultative equivalence" is one of Kade's translational concepts, where an ST expression is rendered into (many) different TT expressions. Facultative equivalence is also known as one-to-many equivalence (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 50; Kenny 2004, 78).

Jubbly, packed in a pyramid shaped, waxed paper carton. Later, John Sullivan — the creator and script writer of *Only Fools and Horses*, a popular British sitcom of the 1980s and 1990s — adopted the phrase for the character of Derek “Del Boy” Trotter. Sullivan and Jason (the actor playing Del Boy) were responsible for the popularization of the phrase *lovely jubbly* in Trotter’s cockney lingo (“lurvly jubbly”) (Thorpe 2001). *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* (the show and the cookbook) managed to popularize it even further: it entered *The Oxford Dictionary of English* in 2003 (BBC News 2003) and expanded beyond British borders.

The aim of *lovely jubbly*’s translation should be word melody and nostalgia. The translator went for *lušno za znoret* (lit. so lovely, you lose your mind) and *super duper*. The latter choice is somewhat odd, because Novak translated an English expression into another English expression. *Super duper* is an informal or slang (DC,¹⁸ Super Duper), humorous (ODO, Super–Duper) and old-fashioned (MD,¹⁹ Superduper) expression, originating from 1935–40 (it is a slightly older expression than *lovely jubbly*). This translation solution is another example of the English influence on the urban dialect of Ljubljana (Novak’s dialect) and the translator’s own idiolect (which becomes pronounced layer by layer and gives more proof that Novak rendered Jamie’s idiolect with his own — this becomes apparent if we compare Jamie’s Slovene language with Novak’s language in his show *Ljubezni skozi želodec*). While scanning through *Srečna kuhinja* (*Happy Days with the Naked Chef*), we see that Novak frequently used *super* — *super duper* could therefore be explained as showing consistency, which indicates a general shift.

Za znoret is a colloquial expression spiced up with *lušno* (Novak’s translation of *lovely*). This expression is slightly less striking than *super duper*, but both would belong — according to my categorization — in the fourth layer. They do not express a nostalgic feeling, though *super duper* has at least the melody of *lovely jubbly*. Furthermore, both are not as memorable as *lovely jubbly* in the English version. A word play on one of our beverages would have covered nostalgia and familiarity and could have become a catchphrase Slovene readers would associate with Jamie. For example, Fructal’s Pingo could have offered this word play: *bingo pingo*. Pingo triggers many memories of field trips (where we usually took this drink with us as a special treat) and of popping the inflated bag with a big bang once we had drunk it (some years ago, the packaging was a soft foil bag that you pierced with a straw).

2.3 The Third Layer: Non-standard Cooking Terminology

This is a layer with many subcategories because it has different elements that modify words in order to relate to food, cooking and its simplification. In other words, we have different tools to obtain the same end result: to have “cooking terminology” without much fuss. These elements are gender specific language (masculinisation of the clichéd “female domain”); onomatopoeia and phonetic symbolism (using sounds to deliver cooking noises into a written medium); the “icky factor” (conjuring gross images to shock the audience); deliberate inaccuracy (using estimated quantities not expressed in kg, teaspoons, etc.) and comparison (comparing food with everyday objects). Cultural differences are also one of the factors causing translational dilemmas.

The main driving force of this layer is male language, which is strongly entwined with male culture and solidarity — especially in the framework of cooking. Expressions with Jamie’s “everyday objects” form an example of how men embrace simple, comparative diction — a general feature of male language, where keeping things clear without excessive explanation is the norm. Male speakers

¹⁸ Dictionary.com.

¹⁹ Macmillan Dictionary.

want to be straightforward and simple to understand, and this is something we also notice with Jamie, who prefers to de-complicate instructions by applying rules of thumb instead of following the cookbook convention of giving exact quantities in centimeters or inches (depending on the unit of measurement) for the thickness of, e.g., dough. To avoid a mathematics class approach, Jamie gives us a variety of universally accessible tools: coins, matchsticks, fingers, etc. These items are used more easily when actually comparing something: one can put a £1 coin next to the pastry, a thumb next to root ginger cubes, a matchstick next to sliced bacon; one can even scale up a doughnut. Practicality in comparing is Jamie's greatest aim.

A fine example of a comparative is *a big Christmas cracker*. A Christmas cracker is an oversized, colorful, shiny sweet-wrapper filled with sweets, amusing riddles, jokes or poems and a king's paper crown, which is then worn once the cracker is popped with a small bang. The British and people of the Commonwealth traditionally pull crackers in the manner of a wishbone before tucking into the turkey dinner. Since the cracker is a unique British Christmas treat, it is impossible to find anything similar in other cultures. It becomes even more difficult to translate when Jamie uses it as a comparative for Beef Wellington: "Roll the mince up in the pastry until it's covered completely. Squeeze the ends together – it will look like **a big Christmas cracker!**" (Oliver 2008, 156). By comparing his Beef Wellington to *a big Christmas cracker*, he projects the whole image of Christmas dinner onto this dish: something fun and surprising waiting on one's plate, the excitement of popping the wrapping, the joy of dining together with friends and family, and, last but not least, the explosion of taste in one's mouth. The Slovene translation replaced *a big Christmas cracker* with *velika petarda* (a pyrotechnic cracker), and the positive Christmas connotation was converted into a negative one, since the Slovene expression conveys something dangerous and ear-shatteringly loud. However, *velika petarda* is an approximative (one-to-part) equivalent,²⁰ since the meaning of a cracker partially covers the meaning of a Christmas cracker: it still produces a big bang and has the same shape as a Beef Wellington. It is also something with which adolescent boys (or now adult men) are familiar, since crackers are thrown during New Year's festivities. This is something nearly all boys did during their high school years, no matter how dangerous it was. So, there is a "bad boy" connotation and knowledge behind the Slovene Jamie. This translation contains some of Jamie's personality, though it does not incorporate a nostalgic family atmosphere, but connotes juvenile sassiness. This characteristic in the framework of *Jamiejevo ministrstvo za prehrano* is questionable, since Jamie has grown older and calmer; accordingly, his youthful and spunky vocabulary has also moderated. Nevertheless, Zupančič did a good job in showing an overall calmer side of Jamie in the whole translation, so *velika petarda* can be labeled as a youthful spike embedded into *Jamiejevo ministrstvo za prehrano*.

2.4 The Fourth Layer: Informal, Spoken Discourse

This layer contains non-standard English language — English that is usually spoken and is informal in nature — and shows a tendency to express oneself in a more relaxed manner in written media, which is usually governed by Standard language. Since Jamie's target audience is the middle class — in his last book, even the working class — he adjusts his language to a less rigid structure (spoken language), and creates a more casual atmosphere (as if speaking to his readers in his favorite pub or his own kitchen, and telling anecdotes from his personal life). Jamie takes into account audience design, i.e. "speakers changing their style of speech according to the person or people

²⁰ The term "approximative equivalent" and "approximative equivalence" are one of Kade's translational concepts where the TT expression partially covers the meaning of the ST expression. Approximative equivalence is also known as one-to-part(-of-one) equivalence (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1999, 50; Kenny 2004, 78).

they are addressing” (Thornborrow 2004, 67), even though the convention for written English dictates Standard English. By imposing a friendlier environment, Jamie labels himself, his cooking and his language as something casual, and signals group membership and social identity. The latter term is closely bound to covert prestige, where “the maintenance of stigmatized forms is viewed as a positive marker of group membership and non-acceptance of the norms of more prestigious social groups” (Jones 2004, 143). Through these mechanisms, he establishes a down-to-earth personality and an honest connection to his audience.

This same category of informality can be determined in the Slovene TT, but not as a result of equivalence that pairs an informal English expression of the fourth layer with a corresponding informal expression in the Slovene text. Informal discourse in Slovene is established by itself through a general shift, tinged with the urban dialect of Ljubljana and even the Americanized spoken language of the young (like *paštica*, *tripati*, *ultra*, *fotka*, *trik* and *itak*²¹). Furthermore, *Kuhinja do nazga* and *Srečna kuhinja* are an excessive imitation of Jamie’s style; especially *Kuhinja do nazga*, since Jamie incorporated his style into the text of *The Naked Chef* with great care and (it appears) more timidly than in *Happy Days with the Naked Chef*, while Novak, who translated both books at the same time, imitated the style without considering the first book’s reserve, making it slightly more informal than it was originally. Additionally, elements of other layers (as we have established above) are usually compensated by informal language. So, even if the fourth layer’s equivalents appear Standard, this does not mean that the Slovene TT has no informal language.

Since there are different factors influencing Jamie’s informal language, related expressions are usually arranged in subcategories such as general informal (*style*, *missus*, *cos*), cultural specifics (Britishisms: *Yorkie*, eggs with *soldiers*, *helffy*, *pukka*; Americanisms: *surf and turf*, *ya*, *pig-out*, *buddy*; Australianisms: *barbie*), vulgarisms (*bloody*, *bloomin’*, *dead easy*) and infantilisms (childish expressions and word play: *tart* meaning a pastry and a prostitute).

One of Jamie’s typical expressions is *pukka*, a Hindi word for excellence. It has a considerable rate of occurrence and thus greater chances of variation. Therefore, *pukka*, which occurs thirteen times in the ST, has nine different forms of realization in the Slovene TT. Among them, *mega*, *epohalen* and zero equivalence are repeated. *Mega* is considered part of the language of youth (influenced by English) and, furthermore, an expression frequently heard in the Štajerska region (mostly uttered by the young — less than 30 years old). *Epohalen* is, according to SSKJ, an expressive word, which means “of great importance, especially for mankind”²² (SSKJ, *Epohalen*). Considering the meaning and context of *epohalen*, such a description for chicken would be highly unusual. Furthermore, *epohalen* is rarely heard in informal language on television. Consequently, such a choice of word seems slightly odd in modern Slovene.

The most interesting translation of *pukka* is *nabrit touch*: “Sicer dodajajte začimbe, kakor vam je všeč, ampak tule je nekaj predlogov, s katerimi bo vaša zelenjava dobila malo bolj **nabrit touch**” (Novak 2002, 220) for the English “Feel free to flavour your veg as you like but here are my suggestions to give you a bit of a **pukka** edge to your veg” (Oliver 2001, 220). In addition to the informal *pukka*, there is even a rhyme in the sentence: *edge* and *veg*. After deconstructing the Slovene *nabrit touch*, a double structure or a two-fold complex layering is revealed: the first consisting of *nabrit*, the second of *touch*. *Nabrit* is an expressive word which means inventive, smart and cunning (“ki zna z iznajdljivostjo, duhovitostjo presenetiti, prevarati” (SSKJ, *Nabrit*)). It is appropriate in meaning (*nabrit* includes creativity and some “evil mastermind thinking” suitable

21 English translation: pasta, to trip, ultra, photo (with a diminutive suffix), trick and of course.

22 Slovene original: “Ki ima zelo velik, trajen pomen, zlasti za napredek človeštva [...]” (SSKJ, *Epohalen*).

for Jamie's preferences), but not so much in context, since it is usually applied in written language and not as frequently in spoken or informal discourse. A sharp contrast is then created by the English exoticism *touch*, which shows its strong foreign influence in its spelling, pronunciation and grammatical features. This word is another indicator of the youthful language Novak endorses in *Kuhinja do nazga* and *Srečna kuhinja*. Finally, *nabrit* and *touch* combined as *nabrit touch* form an unusual collocation.

The translation of the word *helffy* had a similar approach. *Helffy*, where the pronunciation of “th” as “f” (Jones 2004, 143) is one of the indicators of Cockney English — or of the broader Estuary English — represents the transcription of the word “healthy”. Though it is Jamie who writes, he is actually quoting his friend, and has thus chosen to reveal something of this friend's origins. With this accent Jamie makes use of the strategy of covert prestige. Cockney in particular is considered an “ugly” and “low class” dialect, but it “make[s] [its] speakers appear warm, ‘cool’, humorous and masculine or tough” (Melchers and Shaw 2003, 53). That is what Jamie wanted to achieve: in spite of his celebrity status, he wanted to appear as the kid next door with whom you can always hang out. This is the image he chose for himself, and he used different means to uphold it.

For “I eat **helffy** now, Ollie” (Oliver 2001, 90) the translator used a sentence with a foreign word of English origin, which is highly unusual in Slovene: *tripati*. Since an isolated word is difficult to comprehend, here is the co-text for clarification's sake: “Imam frenda z imenom Andy Slade, plinarja iz Essex, ki trdi – ravno se je preselil v svoje novo samsko stanovanje – da zdaj **‘tripa na zdravi hrani’**”²³ (Novak 2002, 90). Because of the word *tripati*, this sentence has a difficult code to break. *Tripati* can be traced back to the English word “to trip” with the informal meaning of to “experience hallucinations induced by taking a psychedelic drug, especially LSD” (ODO, Trip). So, the Slovene translation can be read as “he's getting high on healthy food”. Since *tripati* takes its meaning from ODO's fifth sense of “to trip”, understanding it in Slovene is greatly limited: first, it is an English word which is not understood by everyone; second, it is an informal expression from a specific field (narcotics). In the ST, Andy the gasman was laid back and easy to understand (with only a tinge of dialect — a single phoneme); in the TT, Novak created a highly complex expression which is understood only by young people (teenagers and people in their early 20s) and people exceptionally proficient in English, while everyone else is left in the dark. This kind of approach addresses mostly teenagers — this is further aided by the word *frend* (a typical expression in youth language) — which is selective in comparison with Jamie.

3. Conclusion

As the result of my research into Jamie's idiolect and its realization in the Slovene translation, the following general observation was made: both Novak and Zupančič made use of a variety of domesticating and foreignizing translational tools to render Jamie's British, caring, childish, nostalgic and adventurous personality into the Slovene environment. Each layer represents unique tendencies the author constructed as part of his personal (and consumer oriented) development. These specific categories were usually subjected to a general translational shift in the direction of informal and youthful English-colored Slovene language or plain Standard.

The first layer was Jamie's expression of linguistic creativity, by which he coined simple and understandable words to establish uniqueness. The translators might have tried to follow his lead, but were confronted by the lack of up-to-date linguistic databases (dictionaries and corpora

²³ English original: “I've got a mate called Andy Slade, the local gasman back in Essex, who swears, as a bachelor just moved into his new house, that ‘I eat **helffy** now, Ollie’” (Oliver 2001, 90).

on the topic of word-formation) and were thus left to their own creativity to fill these voids. Consequently, translators (in general) usually resort to foreignisms and calques, or spare themselves the trouble and translate into Standard. The latter approach was also chosen by Jamie's translators.

The second layer conveys media relevance through quotations. Many of these are very specific and require in-depth cultural knowledge which made it difficult for Novak and Zupančič to transfer them into domesticating translations, since (alternatively) direct references to British media culture do not evoke meaning in Slovene culture, owing to Slovenes' unfamiliarity with British TV programming. The translators usually missed the media implications and translated the logemes into media-unrelated expressions or rendered a specific item into a Slovene equivalent by chance. Even based on such trivial matters as quotations from advertisements, Jamie projected a nostalgic environment into the present day. This complex web of childhood memories ("Peter-Pan-syndrome") was usually ignored in the TT, since a Slovene word's connotation shifted the whole image of a present casual and past nostalgic Jamie into a youthful present state for his character.

The most interesting elements of the second layer are, however, the near-Jamie-isms. The Slovene translations were influenced by globalized English to such an extent that an English logeme was translated as another English foreignism. This gave — as another conclusion of my research — the first indication of the impact English has on Slovene, Novak's and (indirectly) the Slovene Jamie's idiolect. Thus, Jamie was rendered into Slovene by means of Novak's personal linguistic coloration.

The third layer is Jamie's take on introducing non-standard cooking terminology in the form of cooking-related linguistic adjustments which use different instances to break cookbook conventions. In my research, these specific subcategories were submitted to a general shift in the direction of Standard and informal language. Most of them were translated in accordance with contextual consistency (especially in Novak's case), whereas Zupančič was more analytical and used Novak's already established expressions in a consistent manner or created new ones (if there were no existing translations). One can state that no uniform tendency is to be observed in the translation of the third layer.

Last but not least, the fourth layer with its informal language was meant to liven up the language and — similar to the third layer — to lighten the strict rules of cookbooks. Generally, these informal expressions were rendered into Slovene mostly by means of general shift. This means that English informal expressions of the fourth layer were established through independent Slovene expressions — especially in the direction of Americanized spoken language and the Ljubljana coloration. Furthermore, the analysis showed that *The Naked Chef* and *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* were translated at the same time, so both cookbooks were translated with an equally strong informal character. Consequently, *The Naked Chef* was exaggerated in matters of informality, and Jamie's initial reserve and his personal growth on the way to becoming a celebrity chef were reduced.

Another important aspect of the fourth layer's translation is Novak's evident usage of the urban dialect of Ljubljana and his personal idiolect. Similar to Jamie, who bonded with his readers by means of informal discourse and some Cockney expressions, Novak, too, sent out a signal to establish group membership on a regional level (Ljubljana's urban dialect). However, there is also some divergence between the ST and TT point of view, since Jamie used Britishisms and general informal language — thus, his discourse is non-preferential concerning region and age group, and understandable nonetheless — while Novak excludes many specific groups: people from other Slovene regions, older people (the age limit is a startling 40 or 50 years) and people not proficient

in English. Through these limitations, “ljubljanščina”²⁴ sets out an indirect image of high prestige, modernism, cosmopolitanism, a chic persona, specific knowledge and (also) pretentiousness. Novak thus uses a double-edged blade: he signals a modern, stylish and youthful personality with local coloration (positive image in accordance with Jamie’s individuality); on the other hand, it also connotes strong exclusion and haughtiness. Therefore, owing to the overly “in vogue” character of the Slovene Jamie, he does not appear down-to-earth to a wide range of people; instead, he establishes a connection only with an educated, trendy young audience. Zupančič, in comparison, tried to imitate a general Slovene informal language, but re-used Novak’s most popular expressions to achieve a consistent style as in the third layer.

To sum up, the boundaries of Jamie’s individual layers were, in Slovene, blurred and subjected to a general shift in the direction of Americanized informal language. One can state that the translators created a list of possible Jamie-ish expressions, and used it according to the given co-text and contextual consistency. Hence, expressions were usually translated into a variety of words and were meant to be interchangeable.

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