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Contents

Divergent Cultural Environment – Translator Authenticity[1]

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Abstract. People and communities living geographically far from each other and originating from culturally different environments establish contact with each other by means of the sudden spread of information and communication technologies. Knowledge of world languages no longer suffices for engaging in successful social interaction, it has to be accompanied by intercultural competence. Intercultural communication occurs when interlocutors belonging to different cultures understand each other. The translator's work can be also understood as intercultural communication since in addition to translating linguistic material, the translator also transcodes the culture of the source language into the target language. (Inter)cultural competence is therefore one of the basic requirements for a translator. There is an ever-increasing emphasis on mediation between different cultures in translation, and according to new interpretations of translation this mediation represents the keystone of translation. The present study examines how elements of Hungarian culture are rendered in Serbian and German by analysing translations of Hungarian authors' works into these two languages.

Keywords: intercultural communication, translation, (inter)cultural aspect, translator dilemmas

Experience the Difference

Our globalised world is characterised by accelerated information exchange, mobility, movement of services and labour, growing networks of relations, international integration, well-developed tourism and international contacts established on a daily basis. The fast spread of information and communication technologies has enabled geographically distant and culturally different people and communities to establish contact. However, knowledge of world languages no longer suffices for engaging in successful social interaction – it has to be accompanied by intercultural competence. As Hidasi (2008: 9–10) points out, "with the appearance of multinational companies and the spread of international cooperation, projects increasingly characterising scientific, cultural and educational life, the need for internationalisation has emerged in our daily work as well. With the rise of international communication from the domain of tourism into the everyday life of the average worker, intercultural and cross-cultural knowledge/competence has gained a different dimension. It is no longer the core element of knowledge of a restricted group of professionals only, but an existential requirement". Modern society creates numerous situations in which the participants in communication have to construct new domains of meaning. Lack of knowledge of the cultural context impedes understanding and reduces the efficiency of delivering the message. The key condition for establishing communication is that "the code sets of the encoder and the decoder have some common elements and that the coding employs these common signs, i.e. that both parties interpret the used system of signs equally or similarly" (Falkné 2001: 9).

Intercultural communication occurs when the participants in the act of communication belong to different national cultures but, nevertheless, understand each other. The interactive communication between members of different cultural groups is a delicate problem because it proceeds differently from communication between speakers who share a cultural background (in which case the encoder automatically selects such verbal and non-verbal devices that the decoder can correctly interpret): "As opposed to this [type of communication], successful intercultural communication is conditioned by the participants in the communication sharing the same language structure (grammar), using identical signs (both verbal signs, i.e. vocabulary, and non-verbal signs, e.g. gestures and facial expressions) and understanding the linguistic background (knowledge of country). No less importantly, it requires that the interlocutors adhere to the same rules regarding use of language (i.e. that the stylistic elements are used appropriately in the given situation)" (Földes 2007: 20, quoting Pavla Nečasova).

Intercultural competence is most valuable to tourists and globe-trotters, people paying short official visits to other countries (business people, government officials, scholars, researchers), officials residing in a foreign country, people who

have decided to emigrate but also individuals who live in their native country and frequently engage in intercultural interaction, as well as to individuals who belong to a group of immigrants: "In order to understand a culture, it is important to get to know its symbols (linguistic, non-linguistic and tangible symbols), the metaphor system of the given culture (as part of the knowledge of the context), as well as the myths of the given culture – its past, its history and modern beliefs" (Hidasi 2008: 24). Language teachers, translators, and journalists with full-time employment abroad (or working with foreigners), who are usually proficient in the foreign language, particularly perceive the otherness of the new culture, the new social environment: "In spite of high-level language learning and knowledge about the history and literature of the other culture, and despite understanding references to important historical personalities, poets, philosophers or poems learnt as early as in primary school or tales often recounted in childhood (for example, educated Americans often use quotations from *Winnie-the-Pooh* or from *Alice in Wonderland*), there always occur proverbs, anecdotes, tiny obscenities and ambiguities that give rise to a sense of being an outsider" (Buda 1992: 13–14). Individuals working abroad for a longer period of time, who actually manage to blend into the culture of the foreign language, often change their way of thinking, their point of view and they "cease to be typical members of their original culture" (Buda 1992: 14).

The changes mentioned are problematised in literature as well. This can be noticed in Dragan Velikić's NIN-awarded[2] novel *Islednik* [*The Detective*], in which the narrator, at home in the Mitteleuropean setting, constantly travelling and struggling with the discourse of the novel's genre, feels the urge to do stocktaking. It is as if he is continuing his mother's notes, stolen in Vinkovci years earlier. He writes down the names of the hotels, although in the course of time the names and ratings of the hotels have changed. Via the narrator's passion of a collector, the reader notices the international cavalcade of names, accepts a referential reading, realizing at the same time that, in this region, after the disintegration of the [Austro-Hungarian] Monarchy, and later of Yugoslavia, he assumes the absence of agreement, the eternal *tourist/ guest's* mode of being. He is a returning traveller and a hotel guest looking up his former accommodation, searching for a home in provisionality. The narrator (who mostly attends book presentations, exhibitions, and cultural events) is also a traveller through memories and traumas. His investigative attitude results in the development of a complex intercultural net, and numerous problems arise, related to alienation and loss of language and identity. The investigator attitude includes the search for and avoidance of encounters. as well as stressing his lonely walks. His father, who is an officer of the Yugoslav Navy and of Tito's regime, constantly sails, moves around with

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2   The *NIN* Award is a prestigious Serbian literary award established in 1954 by the *NIN weekly* and is given annually for the best newly published novel in Serbian literature.

his family, the only settling point in the narrator's childhood being *Vila Marija* in Pula/Pola (Croatia). His mother is an obsessive talker, neat and adventurous at the same time. From the perspective of an outsider, she lives like a Penelopé transformed by dementia and forced to "settle down" in an old people's home in Belgrade. However, she continues to travel with the help of her memories, moving from one town to another. Her last encounter with her son happens while she "is just living" in Rijeka (Fiume) and she even uses the local dialect (Velikić 2016: 76). Dialectal forms will prove to be a problem in translating the novel and the closing sentence of the novel also reflects a change towards the language use characteristic of Fiume. The narrator's irony signals his loss of the self, the approaching old age as well as the inevitable imitation of the maternal model. "A man has to be somewhere"– this is the recurrent key sentence of the novel, it is this principle that defines the narrator's mode of being, his lifestyle, his historical way of speaking.

The key character of the novel is Lizeta, with her life of vicissitudes and her experience of the micro-worlds of Thessaloniki, Trieste, Vienna, and Pula. The micro-context can be extended since, along with the ageing of people (the parents) and the narrowing of their perspective, Yugoslavia as a country also shrinks and the end of the novel levels harsh criticism at the current barbarian, demented world. The passage of time and its acceleration bring personal memories to the surface (including memories related to Hungary). The moment when his former classmate returns his logarithm table after forty years produces a rather elegiac effect in the narrator. After the encounter, he avoids further contact; the unexpected gift induces in him complex recollection and reappraisal. Maleša, the clockmaker of bygone times, who used to repair clocks on Tito's island, Brioni, lives in a temporal network. The time spent with him in a heated discussion helps the narrator in his investigation, in his attempt to disentangle the historical and cultural memory. Aleksandar Tišma's thoughts pervade the novel; it is through their discourse that the Vojvodinian space gains ground in the novel.

In the net of cultural contexts

L. S. Barkhudarov distinguishes between three types of context in translation: the micro-context (the level of the sentence), the macro-context (the context of the whole work) and, since the translator sometimes has to look for a solution beyond the macro-context, he names this even wider context the extra linguistic situation (context of situation, e.g. the literary work of an author, his complete oeuvre, the text corpus of his contemporaries, the whole of literature and culture) (Barkhudarov 1975: 169). Various languages view and code even the most common phenomena differently, which is why in most cases the sentential

context does not provide sufficient information to the translator. For example, when translating the verbs *aller* from French or *ići* from Serbian into German or Russian, the translator has to choose between *gehen* and *fahren* or between *идти* and *ехать*, respectively, depending on whether the person in question moved on foot or by a means of transport. Radomir Konstantinović cites several examples to illustrate the importance of knowledge of the source-language culture: in order to decide whether *el tango de Saborido* in Borges's poem means 'the tango from Saborido' or 'Saborido's tango', the translator has to explore the cultural history of Uruguay and to establish that Saborido was a composer, hence the latter solution should be opted for. When translating from English or Russian into French, if the word *river* is mentioned in the text, the translator has to check on the map whether the river mentioned flows into the sea or not because this fact determines his choice between the words *fleuve* (river flowing into a sea or ocean) and *rivière* (river not flowing into a sea or ocean). Also, in western languages, the system of kinship terms is simpler than in the eastern languages, which adhere to the tribal traditions in this respect. Consequently, if we want to translate the French *oncle*, English *uncle,* or German *Onkel* into Serbian, we have to choose from among the terms *stric* (father's brother), *ujak* (mother's brother), and *teča* (parent's sister's husband). If the exact family relationship cannot be determined from the context and it is necessary to choose between the words *ujak* and *stric*, most translators (consciously or instinctively) opt for *ujak*, following the civilisational tradition deeply entrenched in Indo-European poetry. This tradition is based on the view that the word *ujak* refers to a closer relative than the word *stric* because the love between a sister and a brother is deeper than the love between two brothers. What is more, one of the recurrent topics in Indo-European poetry is hatred and rivalry between brothers. Thus, if there is mention of this typical situation of closeness between the uncle and the nephew (for example, in the case of Alexander the Great and Roland, King Mark and Tristan, or Tsar Dušan and Miloš Vojinović in Serbian folk-poetry), then, by analogy, Donald Duck or uncle Donald is translated into Serbian as *ujka Paja* because the Serbian translator of the Disney cartoon follows this archetype (Konstantinović 2010: 35–37). Linguistic mediation is more than linguistic transposing, it goes beyond the level of words and sentences and appears as text embedded into a situation defined by the culture: "even the translating of a letter requires the translator to be acquainted with numerous extralinguistic (extratextual) factors. In order to decide how to translate the Hungarian address forms *kedves* or *tisztelt* into the target language, the translator has to know the relation between the sender of the letter and its addressee and to know whether the culture of the target language typically uses one or the other expression in the given situation" (Horváth–Szabari–Volford 2000: 16).

Cultures – transcoded

Culture and lifestyle considerably influence the language used by a given community, and this influence is most readily observed in the lexicon: for example, there are more than 80 expressions for the concept of horse in Chinese, Arabic has nearly 140 different expressions for the camel (Hidasi 2008: 29), Czech uses more expressions for coniferous trees (spruce – smrk, common fir – borovice, larch – modřín, fir – jedle, etc.) than Hungarian does (Beke 2008: 84), the Inuit have more than fifty expressions for snow, and Arabic specifies the type of sand in a more nuanced way than the languages of other peoples living in a non-desert environment. As a result of their cognitive function, languages bear a marker of "our culture/foreign culture", which is indicated in communication by lexical devices (loan words, educated words, etc.). The mapping and borrowing of concepts associated with linguistic realias typical of foreign cultures happens as the result of linguistic and cultural contacts and it assumes the collaboration of bilingual mediators (e.g. translators, interpreters) (Lendvai 2005: 67). Cultural competence is an essential requirement for translators: "In terms of importance, it outweighs translation competence, communicative competence, pragmatic and sociolinguistic competence, etc. Mediation between cultures is becoming increasingly important in literary translation and, according to a new interpretation of translation, it represents the cornerstone of translation procedures. The translator has to bridge the differences between the cultures, coded, for example, in realias and ethno-culturemes as text elements. The latter include social conventions and moral value systems as specific elements of the culture" (Tellinger 2007: 15).

Thus, the work of a translator can be viewed as intercultural communication since in the course of translating linguistic material the translator also transcodes the culture for the recipient of the source-language text. This is why besides acquiring the vocabulary and the grammar, the translator needs to have a vast knowledge of the culture of both the source language and the target language, as well as great extralinguistic knowledge in order to make the source-language text accessible and understandable for the target-language reader. The translator mediates between cultures. Since we acquire the language of our culture, its rules and accepted norms fairly early in life (between the ages of five and ten), we are mostly unaware of the ways in which our culture influences our behaviour and communication. "When we communicate with the members of other cultures, we often encounter languages, rules and norms markedly different from our own, and these encounters raise our awareness of the peculiarities of our own culture. At the same time, they may also be a source of positive feelings, but of the feeling of frustration as well" (Falkné 2008: 14–15).

An increasing number of scholars have recently explored the relationship between translation and culture. According to some of these scholars, the lexicon,

the grammar and the culture of two communities may differ to such an extent that translation becomes impossible. Namely, the other culture cannot be fully understood either at the linguistic level or at the semiotic level. On the other hand, scholars who support the view that translation is actually mediation between cultures claim that all parts of reality can be translated because the vocabulary of a language is continuously expandable with various methods (calques, loan words, neologisms, transfer of meaning, etc.) (Simigné 2011: 16).

A work of art and its translation often represent dissimilar cultural media. Translation is thus a field in which the differences between cultures are particularly evident: "Translation tries to identify the links between cultures, and building on these, it tries to make clear and acceptable all the things that would otherwise not be clear without special explanation. This, of course, does not imply that the translator should obscure cultural differences. On the contrary, in this world of uniforming globalization, individuality, extraordinariness is considered to be a lasting value. Therefore, it is extremely important to retain in translation the culture-specific elements and characteristics of a minority culture" (Spiczéné 2007: 15).

In his volume of essays entitled *Preveseji*, the Serbian translator Sava Babić provides an example from literature to illustrate the impossibility of translation due to cultural peculiarities. Branko Ćopić's poem entitled *Pite* (*Pies*)[3] represents a list of nearly twenty types of pastry/pie. The poem was inspired by the enormous variety of this dish in Serbian cuisine (in which the influence of eastern cuisine is particularly noticeable). Namely, the Serbian cookbook entitled *Veliki kuvar* (*Great Cookbook*) contains recipes for 115 different sorts of pie and yet it does not mention all the types found in the Ćopić poem. According to Babić, the poem could be translated into other languages and cultures with various translation procedures: *pite* could be replaced by pizza in Italy, fish dishes on Pacific islands, or rice dishes in China; however, this would only be substitution, not translation (Babić 1989: 81).

In the German translations of Dezső Kosztolányi's novel *Pacsirta* (*The Skylark*), the translator faces the problem of translating the word *pálinka* (brandy). In Klaus Schmuck's 1970 translation of the novel, the principle of equivalence applies naturally and the word *Schnapps* is used. The ninth chapter of the novel may present several problems for the translator, for example, how to transpose names, hymns, historical-political references, identity crisis, or names of dishes. The earlier German translation mostly emphasises the foreign character of names; the names of drinks do not raise any kind of problems in translation. In contemporary German translations, however, this spirit represents the untranslatable nectar

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3   Pita čvrka / Pita džilituša / Pita gužvara / Pita onako / Pita Misir-pita...// Pita zeljanica / Pita sirnica / Pita krompiruša / Pita drobuša / Pita jajara... // Pita savijača / Pita zaljevuša / Pita bundevara / Pita kajmakuša / Pita bazlamača // Ačak pita / Đul pita / Luft pita / Šam-pita / Krem-pita / Lenja pita / I Pitino dete!

of the foreign medium, a kind of Hungaricum, despite the fact that the word *pálinka*, naturalised in Hungarian in the 17th century, is of foreign origin (TESz 3 1976: 71)" (Hózsa 2015: 72). According to Judit Pieldner, such a "shift" can be considered as a benefit for interpretation, leading to a dialogue between one's own culture and the foreign culture (Pieldner 2010: 78).

From a distance of time and place (Switzerland), the success novel of Melinda Nagy Abonyi (on the volume: Melinda Nadj Abonji) from Óbecse (Bečej), entitled *Tauben fliegen auf (Pigeons Fly Off)* (Nadj Abonji 2010) emphasizes the local and cultural stereotypes that belong to the landscape of Vojvodina, Bačka and the people living here (for example, the Kocsis family). The family members who have emigrated travel back home for a wedding or a funeral turned into a family reunion. The novel mainly refers to the common but highly diverse culinary stereotypes, to the plains, the significance of the allée through the woods, to trees (acacia, poplar, chestnut trees), even to the air, the airflow, the fields, to the mud and the dust, the buildings (the fence, the outdoor kitchen), to the border and border crossing, the shreds of Hungarian language identity, and to the 1980s and the wartime period (Hózsa 2011: 110–111). The protagonist of the novel *Tauben fliegen auf (Pigeons fly off)* is Ildikó Kocsis, who had lived in Switzerland since the age of five and who narrates in German the world of Vojvodina, the stories she heard in Hungarian and the events which occurred during her visits home (to Vojvodina). She translates. Both the environment in the novel and the language of the volume are multi-ethnic: there are numerous italicised German, English and Serbian words in the text (the meanings of which are always clear from the context) and a few Hungarian words are also emphasised in italics. The Hungarian words italicised in the Hungarian edition occur in Hungarian in the original German volume, too (Szarvas 2013: 91). In one of the chapters of the novel in which the narrator recollects Vojvodina, the Hungarian terms of the dishes traditionally served at Hungarian weddings (broth with Tokaji wine, goulash soup, goulash soup with small noodles called *csipetke*, egg soup, bread dumplings, savoury scones), of wedding accessories and the key people at weddings (the bride's father, the master of ceremonies) are translated by the narrator into German, and these are translated from the German source language back into Hungarian in Éva Blaschtik's translation of the novel, *Galambok röppennek fel (Pigeons fly off)*. Taking into consideration the fact that the readers' background knowledge of the source language and target language may differ considerably, translators often make use of adding information or leaving out something. The Hungarian words *pogácsa* (savoury scone) and *fasírt* (*Frikadeller*, mincemeat dumplings) are printed in italics in the German and Hungarian texts, whereas in the Serbian translation only *pogácsa* is italicized in its Hungarian form, whereas *fasírt* is replaced with the explanation *dish made from minced meat*. Assuming that the readers are not familiar with the role of *Brautführer*, the Serbian translator of the novel, Dragoslav Dedović, uses descriptive translation

and renders *Brautführer* as *ceremonijal majstor* (master of ceremonies) or as *dever* (groom's brother). Similarly, there is no Serbian equivalent for the bride's father (*Brautvater*), and so Dedović descriptively (mis)translates it as *mladoženjin otac* (the groom's father). In *erőleves tokajival*, the Hungarian drink *tokaji* (from the Hungarian vine region Tokaj) implies what is being qualified (wine) even without explicitly mentioning it, and this is clear to any native speaker of Hungarian. However, when translating *Kraftbrühe mit Tokajer* (broth with Tokaji wine), the target language reader needs to be made aware of what is being qualified (*tokajsko vino*, wine from the Tokaj region), just as in translating *erőleves/Kraftbrühe* a cultural equivalent needs to be used in Serbian (*teleća supa sa tokajskim vinom,* veal broth with Tokaj wine) so that the meaning of the source language expression is properly conveyed. The term *Gulaschsuppe* (goulash soup) confuses the Serbian translator because the Serbian word *gulaš* (used by Dedović) corresponds to stew in Hungarian. The German *Gulaschsuppe mit gezupften Nockerln* is *gulyásleves csipetkével* in Hungarian (goulash soup with small noodles), but the Serbian translator again uses the equivalent of stew and renders this as *gulaš sa šufnudlama* (with a Germanism for noodles, even though Serbian cuisine has a word for this type of noodles, namely *tarana* or *trgančić*). Much like its German equivalent (*Süppchen mit geschlagenem Ei*), *tojásleves* (egg soup) is translated into Serbian descriptively (*supa sa umućenim jajetom*, soup with beaten eggs). On the other hand, the Hungarian *zsemlegombóc* (bread dumplings) is rendered in German as *Sauerrahm und Knödel* (with 'soured cream' added), but the Serbian translator does not specify the key ingredient of this dish and simply translates it as *knedle* (dumplings). The translations of Melinda Abonyi Nagy's novel highlight aspects of the different cultures involved, and these differences often lead the careful translator to add explanations to his translation. Moreover, since the novel focuses on the experiences of the minority, its identity, tradition, rites, the translator has to pay special attention to issues like the characters' way of speaking, the problem of belonging to an ethnic group and cultural differences.

In his essay on the translation of Dezső Kosztolányi's novel *Pacsirta*, the Serbian translator Predrag Čudić points out the dilemmas translators are often faced with. Among other things, he stresses that the overuse of the word *puszta* in the language of tourism has resulted in his translating *tarkövi puszta* (the steppe near Tarkő in Slovakia) as *tarkeška pusta* and not *pustara*: "I thought that any grassy area anywhere in the world can be called *pustara*, whereas the word *pusta* is only used in the Hungarian context. I have to emphasise that I have relied on Danilo Kiš, who mainly used the word *pusta* in his outstanding translations of Petőfi's poems. However, after learning that people who do not live in the border area of these two cultures are unlikely to understand the word *pusta*, I added a footnote to this word" (Čudić 2007: 588–589). The word *puszta* is also found in the German translations of the novel since with the increase of tourism it

becomes readily comprehensible to the German reader as well. Pacsirta's letter written in the *puszta* of Tarkő occurs in the eighth chapter of the novel. The key problem in all the three German translations (by Klaus Schmuck, Heinrich Eisterer and Christina Viragh) is the word *puszta*, which is mentioned in the heading of the letter, in the first sentence after the greeting, in reference to an idyllic awakening and later in the narrative reflection of Ákos Vajkay's vision (the Tarkő puszta, the Hungarian "puszta" life, the noise of the "puszta", what he saw was not the Tarkő puszta). All three translations solve the problem in different, though consistent ways. In his 1970 translation, Klaus Schmuck employs the dictionary equivalent of *puszta*, adapted to German (die Pußta), which reflects a stable, fixed entity, the provincial character of a site mostly familiar from the traditions of Lenau (*Pußta* Tarkő, das Leben in der *Pußta*, beim Larm der Pußta, die Pußta in Tarkő). In Heinrich Eisterer's translation, this linguistically and culturally unfamiliar word is left out altogether (Tarkő, (die vielen Freuden) des Lebens hier, von den Geräuschen des Hofes, das Gehöft in Tarkő), while Christina Viragh uses the Hungarian word with its Hungarian spelling in the German text (*Puszta* von Tarkő, *Puszta*-leben, von den Geräuschen der *Puszta*, *die Puszta* von Tarkő). "Therefore, in this regard, one may raise the issue of the increased influence of tourism as well as of the media, travel brochures and advertisements, the problem of going beyond the linguistic context, which Eco terms information about the world or encyclopaedic information" (Hózsa 2011: 109).

In the Serbian translation of Nándor Gion's 1974 anthology of short stories *Ezen az oldalon* (*On this side*), we find an example of successful translation of a nickname as the whole reference system carried by the character who bears this nickname is also transferred into the cultural context of the target language. *Szent Erzsébet* (Saint Elizabeth) is rendered by Lazar Merković as *Sveta Jelisaveta*, i.e. both parts of the foreign name are translated but *Erzsébet* is substituted with its Serbian equivalent, *Jelisaveta*, while *Szent*, a nickname with connotative meaning, is translated as *Sveta*. But the translation and the original text involve different legends, and thus the name of Saint Elizabeth has different intertextual references in Hungarian and in Serbian. While in Hungarian it is associated with Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–1231), who hid roses under her cloak,[4] the reader of the Serbian text associates the name of Sveta Jelisaveta, the Grand Duchess Elisabeth of Russia (1864–1918) killed in 1918, who was canonised in 1981 by the Russian orthodox

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4   Elizabeth of Hungary is perhaps best known for her miracle with the roses, which says that whilst she was taking bread to the poor in secret, she met her husband Ludwig on a hunting party, who, in order to quell the suspicions of the gentry that she was stealing treasure from the castle, asked her to reveal what was hidden under her cloak. In that moment, her cloak fell open and a vision of white and red roses could be seen, which proved to Ludwig that God's protecting hand was at work. Hers is the first of many miracles that associate Christian saints with roses, and is the most frequently depicted in the saint's iconography (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elizabeth_of_Hungary#Miracle_of_the_Roses).

church outside of Russia and in 1992 by the Moscow Patriarchate, too. However, the lives of the two Elizabeths do share some common features: they both led a moderate lifestyle, helped the poor, founded hospitals, they were both members of an order and were both canonized (Hózsa–Horváth Futó 2013: 167).

In the English, German and Croatian translations of Éva Janikovszky's picture book *Velem mindig történik valami* (*Something's Always Happening to Me*), the translator faced the problem of rendering in the target language several expressions specific to Hungarian culture (Hungarianisms). Andrew C. Rouse translated *hármas* (grade 3, the mark that teachers in Hungarian schools give to a student's work to show that it is average) as *mark C* because in the English-speaking countries letters are used to show the quality of a student's work. Éva Janikovszky's creative neologism for the caretaker of a block of flats, *tömbösített néni* (blocked lady) is simply translated into English as *janitor* and in the German translation she appears as *Die Hausmeisterin*. However, in the Croatian translation, she is the lady from the local board of tenants (*teta iz kućnog saveta*). The *szódás* (person who produces soda water) is not translated at all: in the Croatian translation of the picture book, the translator opted for a word which sounds similar, *stolar* (carpenter), in the English translation it becomes the *ice-cream man* and in the German translation it is turned into *der Limonadenverkäufer* (lemonade vendor) (Utasi 2015: 81–82).

Due to our daily exposure to the enormous amounts of information and to rapid technological development, it is generally believed that communication between people is improving. However, surveys have proven that surfeited with the abundance of information, people tend to withdraw to a comfort zone. Modern technological devices actually impede interpersonal communication and lead to alienation. Similarly, it is a misconception that the number of conflicts in communication will decrease with the growth of international space: "Rather, it is much more likely that knowledge about conflicts arising from more frequent contacts will be more appreciated. Consequently, it is much more acute than ever before to predict such conflicts and to develop methods to prevent them" (Hidasi 2005: 272–273).

In order to handle cultural shock ("the reaction of the foreigner to the new, unpredictable and therefore insecure environment", Falkné Bánó 2008: 83), adaptation to an environment and a new situation, in order to do one's work successfully in a foreign culture and in various intercultural situations, it is necessary that the translator, manager, ambassador, tourist, etc. make an effort to learn as much as possible about the foreign country's culture, the forms of communication and to develop his intercultural competence. Translation is also a form of cultural mediation, and therefore in order to communicate effectively in either speech or writing, the translator/interpreter has to be fully aware of the peculiarities of the interlocutor's social and cultural life, his traditions and habits.

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Somatisms with the Lexemes *Láb* in Hungarian, *Noga* in Serbian, and *Leg/Foot* in English

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Abstract. Somatisms are phraseologisms which contain at least one body-part term as a constituent. They make up a considerable part of the phrasemes of any language. In this paper, we focus on the extent to which the equivalent(s) of the term *láb* occur(s) in Serbian and English somatisms. The research is based on a corpus extracted from both monolingual and bilingual phraseological dictionaries of Hungarian, Serbian, and English. The data are analysed primarily from a cognitive point of view, with the aim of establishing whether the three languages are comparable in terms of the meaning of the idiom as a whole. Degrees of equivalence are established based on whether there is an idiomatic expression in Serbian/English containing the lexeme *noga* or *leg/foot*, respectively. Another issue addressed in the paper is the choice of the English term (*leg* vs *foot*) in somatisms and the question of whether this choice is arbitrary. Though structure is of secondary importance only, we also take it into account in establishing the degree of equivalence between the items listed in the corpus. Lastly, we stress the similarities and differences noted in the way the body-part terms mentioned are employed in the phraseologisms of the three languages.

Keywords: idiom, somatism, body part, Hungarian, Serbian, English

1. Introduction

Phraseological units, or set phrases in the broad sense (cf. Burger et al. 1982) have been identified in many languages and in various fields. In spite of this fact, phraseology has only become a discipline in its own right relatively recently. Since it was considered a peripheral issue in linguistics, phraseology was a neglected area of scholarship for a very long time and it is only in the past three decades or so that interest in this subfield of lexicology has considerably grown. The result of this interest is a large number of both theoretical and practical works dealing

with various aspects of multi-word units and in very different fields ranging from natural language processing to language teaching (Granger and Meunier 2008: xix).

Phraseological units tend to be language specific since they usually express the same abstract semantic concept by different realizations. This suggests that languages may vary substantially with respect to the semantic organization of the lexicon and its interaction with the real world (Colson 2008: 192). It may also serve as a starting point to explore how different languages realize a particular semantic concept, to determine whether similarities or perhaps even universal principles can be established in this respect between genealogically and typologically unrelated languages. It is with this research question that we set out to investigate phraseological units with the term *láb* 'leg, foot' in Hungarian and its Serbian and English counterparts, *noga* and *leg/foot*, respectively. Given that lexemes denoting parts of the body exist in all languages and are thus not part of language-specific vocabulary, the aim of the paper is to explore whether the body parts mentioned are used in phraseologisms with their traditional roles and symbolism (e.g. the head as the generator of ideas) and to what extent we can find correspondence between Hungarian, Serbian, and English in the field of phraseologisms with a particular body part, i.e. whether Serbian and English resort to using the same lexico-semantic field in expressing the same abstract semantic concept.

The paper is structured in the following way: Section 2 identifies the theoretical framework of the study by defining phraseologisms and somatisms. Section 3 gives a brief overview of contrastive research conducted in the area of phraseology and somatisms in particular. Section 4 provides details of the present research, including the corpus, the semantic and structural analyses, and their results. Section 5 sums up the findings of the study and points to future research areas.

2. Phraseologisms and somatisms

Being a relatively new field, phraseology often faces terminological challenges. Even the notion *phraseology* itself has often been defined differently, suggesting that there seems to be no consensus among researchers with respect to the criteria that should be implicated in phraseological research. Cowie (1994: 3168) defines phraseology rather loosely, as "the study of the structure, meaning and use of word combinations". Regarding the criteria, linguists used to distinguish between phraseological and non-phraseological units. Granger and Paquot (2008: 27) point out that the Eastern European tradition has tended to favour fairly fixed combinations like idioms or proverbs but that the more recent corpus-based approaches have adopted a much wider perspective and included many word combinations that would traditionally be considered to fall outside the scope of phraseology. In line with this, Gries (2008: 4) suggests that the nature and number

of elements involved in a phraseologism should be taken as defining criteria, along with the number of times an expression must be observed before it counts as a phraseologism, the permissible distance between the elements involved, the degree of lexical and syntactic flexibility of the elements involved, as well as the role semantic unity and semantic non-compositionality/non-predictability play in the definition. It is this last criterion that most researchers point out as the most important property of phraseologisms, assuming its elements to function as a single semantic unit, regardless of whether the issue of non-compositionality is part of the definition or not (e.g. Fraser 1976), a necessary condition for a multi-word unit to qualify as a phraseologism (Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow 1994). In the present study, a phraseologism will be defined as the co-occurrence of (a form of) a lexical item and one or more additional linguistic elements of various kinds, which functions as one semantic unit in a clause or sentence.

Regarding the question of "semantic unity", phraseologisms can be viewed as being situated along a continuum ranging from most opaque (semantically) and fixed (structurally) to most transparent and variable. For Cowie (1981), pure idioms (e.g. *spill the beans*) belong to the former end of the continuum and free combinations (e.g. *blow a trumpet*) to the latter, with figurative idioms (e.g. *do a U-turn*) and restricted collocations (= collocations, e.g. *heavy rain*) in between the two ends. As opposed to this top-down approach, Sinclair's (1987) bottom-up corpus-based approach lays much more emphasis on the view of language as being made up of co-selected words that constitute single choices (Granger & Paquot 2008: 29). The semantic structure of phraseologisms reflects the anthropocentric point of view characteristic of a given nation/ethnic group. The meaning of a large number of phraseologisms is motivated by a body part and they describe various aspects of a human: their age, character, psychological state, behaviour, etc. Phraseologisms which contain at least one body-part constituent are called somatisms (Ziem & Staffeldt 2011: 196). But while somatisms are expected to be found in all languages, to a higher or lesser degree, and are usually considered to be non-compositional (Kövecses & Szabó 1996), i.e. their meaning is not the predictable sum of the meanings of their components, in the case of somatisms, it is not arbitrary what the body-part terms denote, and therefore it is well-worth asking to what extent the meaning of a somatism is motivated by the semantic potential of the body-part term it contains. The second important question concerns the reference of the body-part term, which is usually the activity carried out by/with the help of that body part rather than the body part itself (Ziem & Staffeldt 2011: 196). This, in turn, raises numerous other questions such as whether and to what extent the meaning of phraseologisms is generally grounded in human bodily experience (cf. Gibbs 2006), which cognitive mechanisms systematically motivate the meaning construction, and others, which, for reasons of limited space, we cannot discuss here.

3. Previous research

In this section, we present a brief overview of existing research on phraseology and, more specifically, on somatisms, both in individual languages (especially Hungarian, Serbian, and English) and contrastively.

The phraseological tradition originated in Russia and Germany (Vinogradov 1946, cited in Colson 2008), from where the movement spread to other European countries. A significant portion of research in cross-linguistic phraseology has been conducted by the European Society for Phraseology, focusing on the comparison of German with various European languages (cf. Colson 2008: 192). English soon took over the supremacy, and in the past three decades or so there has been a growing interest in comparing the phraseologisms of English with those of other languages, both European and non-European (for a lengthy list of references, see Colson 2008). There have also been larger projects, comparing the different types of cultural phenomena underlying conventional figurative units in eleven languages (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2005). The conclusions based on all these studies seem to be the following: the existence of phraseologisms is a universal feature of languages, but differences are observed with respect to the preferred categories of set phrases. Similarly, metaphor has been identified as the key element in the phraseology of all languages, but again, in some languages, simple metaphors are preferred over complex set phrases. There is a close link between culture and phraseology, which is best observed in proverbs and fully idiomatic phrases; however, there is also a common idiomatic heritage to all European languages. Finally, maritime vs. continental culture also appears to play a role in the phraseology of a language (Colson 2008: 192).

Regarding the three languages under scrutiny in this paper, there are several contrastive studies on somatisms, including Csábi (2006) on Hungarian and English, Dragić (2015) on Serbian and English, and Andrić (2013, 2014, 2015).

4. The present research

Following Gläser's (1998: 126) claim that idioms may be regarded as the prototype of phraseological units as they form the majority of such items, in this paper, we will restrict ourselves to this type of phraseologisms. In line with Ziem and Stafeldt (2011) and with current cognitive-linguistic research in the domain of phraseology, the assumption we rely on in this paper is that the meaning of idioms can only be fully captured if they are considered to be conceptual in nature (Kövecses & Szabó 1996), with metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 2003) being the key cognitive mechanisms involved in the process of constructing idiomatic meaning, i.e. in linking domains of knowledge to idiomatic meaning.

In what follows, we give a thorough analysis of somatisms with the lexeme *láb* in Hungarian, *noga* in Serbian, and *leg/foot* in English, paying special attention to the way in which the conventional meaning of these body parts motivates the meaning of the idiom. We use Hungarian idioms as the starting point and look for corresponding idioms in Serbian and English to establish whether the idiom is rendered as a somatism involving *noga* or *leg/foot*, respectively, and thereby to arrive one step closer to discovering the theoretical principles underlying phraseology as well as its contextual use.

Sinclair's (1987) revolutionary bottom-up approach to phraseologisms, briefly described in the previous section, is corpus-driven. However, since there is still no electronic corpus of Serbian that could be used in the present study, we restricted our attention to several printed dictionaries of phraseologisms and idioms, both monolingual and bilingual, such as Bárdosi (2012), Forgács (2003), Litovkina (2010), and O. Nagy (1966) for Hungarian; Otašević (2012) for Serbian; Seidl and McMordie (1988), Siefring (2004), and Sinclair (1995) for English; bilingual dictionaries like Nagy (2007), Országh (1991), and Varga and Lázár (2000) for Hungarian and English, and Vilijams-Milosavljević and Milosavljević (2001) and Kovačević (2010) for Serbian and English. The only available contemporary Hungarian–Serbian dictionary was Hadrovics and Nyomárkay (2004), which is a rather small-scale dictionary, so we had to rely on our bilingual competence in providing the Serbian equivalents for Hungarian phraseologisms. The crucial concept in examining the idioms is correspondence, defined semantically, i.e. the analysis takes into consideration the meaning of the idiom as a whole, but correspondence is established with regard to the noun *láb* (i.e. based on whether there is an idiomatic expression in Serbian/English containing this body part).

4.1. Semantic analysis

Let us start the analysis by pointing out that both the Hungarian lexeme *láb* and its Serbian equivalent, *noga*, have a very rich semantic structure, with senses based on both metaphoric and metonymic extensions of the basic sense, which is "one of the limbs of humans (vertebrates) used for standing on and walking". In English, however, two lexemes are used: *leg* (the long, lower limb) and *foot* (the part of the body used to stand/walk on). It is only logical to expect then that some of the Hungarian (and Serbian) somatisms which do have a somatic equivalent in English will include *leg* and others will only allow *foot.* We will try to establish whether a pattern can be observed in this respect.

Regarding the semantics of somatisms containing the lexeme *láb* (of which we have found nearly 90), a large number of the Hungarian idioms containing this lexeme express movement, with the body part as its object or instrument. In most of these cases, the phraseologism is motivated by the conventional meaning of the

body-part term, and it describes movement or lack of movement. The movement may be voluntary (*húzza a lábát* ('drag one's foot') or medial (e.g. *lába kel vminek* 'get feet' or *lekopik a lába* 'walk off one's legs'), as in the following examples:

– *a lába elé néz* ('look in front of one's foot; *gledati pred* **noge** 'look in front of one's feet'; *look where one treads*);[1]

– *fut/menekül ahogy a lába bírja* ('run/flee as fast as one's legs can run'; *bežati koliko ga* **noge** *nose* 'run as fast as one's legs will carry one'; *run as fast as one's legs can/will carry one*);

– *szedi/kapkodja a lábát* ('collect/rush one's legs'; *pleplitati* **nogama** 'keep crossing one's legs'; *skitter, hightail*);

– *a nyaka köré szedi a lábát* ('put one's feet around one's neck'; *uzeti put pod* **noge** 'take the road under one's feet'; *hit the road, take a hike*);

– *beteszi a lábát valahova* ('put one's foot somewhere'; *stupiti gde* **nogom** 'put one's foot somewhere'; *tread somewhere*);

– *húzza a lábát* ('drag one's foot'; *vući* **nogu**, 'drag one's foot', *trail/drag one's leg/foot*);

– *lába kel vminek* ('smtg gets legs'; *dobiti* **noge**, 'get legs'; *take wings, melt into thin air*);

– *lejárja a lábát* ('walk off one's feet'; *padati s* **nogu**, 'fall off one's feet', *izgubiti* **noge** 'lose one's feet'; *be run off one's legs*);

– *majd lekopik a lába valami után* ('almost wear off one's legs for something'; *polomiti* **noge** *za čim* 'break one's legs for something', to go out of one's way for something);

– *csak a lábát lógatja* ('only dangle one's feet'; *dići sve četiri uvis* 'lift all four (= legs) in the air'; *rest on one's oars, fold one's hands*);[2]

– *kézzel-lábbal tiltakozik* ('protest/resist with one's arms and legs'; *braniti se rukama i* **nogama** 'resist with one's arms and legs'; *fight foot and claw/nail*).

Several Hungarian idioms with the lexeme *láb* express the actor's inability to stand, i.e. his physical condition, which may be the result of tiredness, drunkenness, illness, or old age. The body part, thus, expresses a locational relation, e.g.:

– *alig áll a lábán* ('one barely stands on one's legs'; *jedva se držati na* **nogama** 'barely stand on one's legs'; *be dead on one's feet, be ready/fit to drop*);

– *levesz a lábáról* ('take one off one's feet'; *oboriti s* **nogu** 'knock one off one's feet'; *knock/sweep one off one's feet, carry one off one's feet*);

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1 Following each Hungarian example, we provide its literal translation into English, the Serbian idiomatic equivalent, if available, also followed by its literal translation into English, and the corresponding English idiom. All idiomatic expressions are given in italics, non-idiomatic expressions are printed in normal.

2 Interesting to note is the morphological process which turns an intransitive verb into a transitive or causative verb: *jár* 'walk' vs. *lejáratja a lábát* 'walk off one's legs'; *lóg* 'hang' vs. *lógatja a lábát* 'dangle one's feet.

     – *a lábába száll az ital* ('drinks fly (get) into one's legs'; *piće udari kome u* **glavu** 'drinks hit one in the head'; *get tipsy/drunk*);

     – *fél lábbal már a koporsóban/sírban van* ('with one foot already in the coffin/grave'; *biti/stajati jednom* **nogom** *u grobu* 'be/stand with one foot in the grave'; *have one* **foot** *in the grave*).

    In a similar vein, there are also idioms which describe a psychological state, such as astonishment, excitement, insecurity or security, etc.:

     – *áll, mint akinek gyökeret vert volna a lába* ('stand as if one's legs were rooted in'; *stajati kao ukopan* 'stand as if entrenched'; *stand rooted to the spot, with one's* **knees**/**legs** *turned to jelly*);

     – *gagyibugyi/gyenge lábon áll* ('stand on insecure/weak feet'; *stajati/biti na klimavim* **nogama** 'stand/be on shaky legs'; (of one's knowledge) *rest on weak foundation*);

     – *inog/kicsúszik a lába alatt a talaj* ('the ground is shaky/slips under one's feet'; *ljulja se kome tlo pod* **nogama** 'the ground sways under one's feet'; *have the ground cut from one's* **feet**, *be left no* **leg** *to stand on*);

     – *szilárdan áll a lábán* ('stand firmly on one's feet'; *imati čvrsto tlo pod* **nogama** 'have solid ground under one's feet'; *have/keep one's* **feet** *(set) on the ground, have both* **feet** *on the ground*);

     – *bal lábbal kel fel* ('get up with one's left foot'; *ustati na levu* **nogu** 'get up on one's left foot'; *get out of bed on the wrong side*).

    The function of this body part, i.e. standing, may (metaphorically) represent being independent, conceptualized as being capable of standing on one's own, without support:

     – *(saját) lábra áll* ('stand on one's (own) feet'; *stati na svoje* **noge** 'stand on one's own feet'; *stand on one's (own) two* **feet**, *find one's* **feet**).

    A further group of idioms with the lexeme *láb* relates to social relations and often carries a positive or negative value judgement, as the following examples illustrate:

     – *a lába kapcája (sem lehet)* ('(not fit to be) one's toe rag'; *ne biti kome ni do* **kolena** 'not be up to one's knee'; *not fit to hold the candle for*, cannot be compared with);

     – *a lába nyomát is megcsókolja* ('kiss even one's footsteps'; *ljubiti kome* **stope** 'kiss one's feet'; revere);

     – *valakinek a lába elé borul* ('fall down in front of one's feet'; *pasti kome pred* **noge** 'fall down in front of one's feet'; *fall at somebody's* **feet**, *throw oneself at the* **feet** *of somebody*);

     – *lábat vet valakinek* ('put out a leg for someone'; *podmetnuti kome* **nogu** 'plant a leg for someone'; *put a spoke in one's wheels, queer somebody's pitch*);

     – *jó lábon áll valakivel* ('stand on good legs with someone'; *stajati s kim na dobru* **nogu** 'stand on a good foot with someone'; *be on good terms, get on with someone*);

– *hadilábon áll valakivel* ('stand on war(legs) with'; *biti na ratnoj **nozi*** 'be on the war leg'; *be at daggers drawn*).

Having accounted for the semantics of idioms with the lexeme *láb*, we next turn to the question of equivalence.

4.2. Equivalence

Given that our analysis uses Hungarian as its starting point and examines whether the idioms with the lexeme *láb* can be rendered by a somatism in Serbian and English and, if so, whether the body part employed corresponds to *láb,* we can establish three degrees of equivalence:

(1) total equivalence if the semantic content of the Hungarian idiom is conveyed in Serbian/English employing the relevant body part, i.e. *noga* and *leg*, respectively;

(2) partial equivalence if the semantic content of the Hungarian idiom is conveyed in Serbian/English employing a different body part. Here, we distinguish between two further degrees depending on whether (a) the body part stands in a meronymic relationship with the Hungarian *láb* or (b) it is an altogether different part of the body; (3) no equivalence, in the sense that (a) there is an idiom in Serbian/English, but it does not involve any body parts (it rests on a different conceptualization altogether) or (b) for the meaning conveyed by the Hungarian idiom, the dictionaries consulted list no idiomatic expressions in Serbian/English.

The overwhelming majority of the Hungarian idioms listed in Section 4.1 above do have a somatic counterpart in either Serbian or English (the body-part terms printed in bold face). In *Table 1*, we single out several cases in which we see total equivalence holding between the idiom in Hungarian and that in Serbian and/or English:

Table 1. *Illustrations of total equivalence*

Hungarian	Serbian	English
fut/menekül ahogy a lába bírja 'run/flee as fast as one's legs can run'	*bežati koliko ga **noge** nose* 'run as fast as one's legs will carry one'	*run as fast as one's **legs** can/will carry one*
húzza a lábát 'drag one's foot'	*vući **nogu*** 'drag one's foot'	*trail/drag one's **leg/foot***
bal lábbal kel fel 'get up with one's left foot	*ustati na levu **nogu*** 'get up on one's left foot'	-[3]
lába kel vminek 'smtg gets legs'	*dobiti **noge*** 'get legs'	-

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3　The dash in the table is not to be taken as implying that the idiom has no equivalent in English (or Serbian; cf. tables 2 and 3) but rather that it has no equivalent of the relevant type (illustrated in the table).

As evidenced by the examples above, even the syntactic structures of the total equivalents are very similar, except in the third case, where the noun *láb* is instrumental-case marked in Hungarian, whereas in Serbian the corresponding noun occurs in the accusative.

Regarding partial equivalence, we have pointed out that sometimes the idiomatic counterpart reflects a different conceptualization than the Hungarian one, either in terms of (2a) employing a meronym of *láb* or (2b) other body parts. *Table 2* lists several idioms which are in the relationship of partial equivalence with their Serbian and/or English counterparts:

Table 2. *Illustrations of partial equivalence*

	Hungarian	Serbian	English
(2a) meronymy	*(saját) lábra áll* 'stand on one's (own) feet'	-	*stand on one's (own) two **feet**, find one's **feet**)*
	a lába nyomát is megcsókolja 'kiss even one's footsteps'	*ljubiti kome **stope*** 'kiss one's feet'	-
	a lába kapcája (sem lehet) '(not fit to be) one's toe rag'	*ne biti kome ni do **kolena*** 'not be up to one's knee'	-
(2b) other body parts	*lába kel vminek* 'smtg gets legs'	-	*take wings*
	a lábába száll az ital 'drinks fly (get) into one's legs'	*piće udari kome u **glavu*** 'drinks hit one in the head'	
	csak a lábát lógatja 'only dangle one's feet'	-	*fold one's **hands***
	megfogja az Isten lábát 'grab God by the leg'[4]	*uhvatiti Boga za bradu* 'grab God by the beard'	-

It is very interesting to point out that in English the lexeme *foot/feet* motivates much more idioms than the lexeme *leg*. In fact, most somatic counterparts of the relevant Hungarian idioms include *foot/feet* rather than *leg*. Note, however, the idioms *trail/drag one's **leg/foot***, where the two lexemes under discussion appear to be in free variation, and *have the ground cut from one's **feet**, be left no **leg** to stand on*, two idioms with the same meaning but employing different body parts. Other meronyms of *leg* also occur occasionally, sometimes even as an alternative to it, as in *with one's **knees/legs** turned to jelly*, though other body parts have also been found in English counterparts of Hungarian idioms with the lexeme *láb*, e.g. *fold one's **hands*** or *fight **foot** and claw/nail*.

Also worth stressing is that sometimes the body part is 'built into' the idiom in Serbian or English, e.g. *stajati kao ukopan* 'stand as if entrenched' or *look where one treads*, both involving the action performed by the relevant body part.

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4   The idiom means 'to be very fortunate'.

The third degree of equivalence proposed above, which is best described as lack of equivalence, encompasses cases in which (3a) the meaning carried by the somatism with the lexeme *láb* in Hungarian is not expressed by a somatism in Serbian/English, as well as those in which (3b) the relevant Hungarian idiom has no idiomatic counterpart in Serbian/English (in the dictionaries consulted). *Table 3* below provides several illustrations for these two cases:

Table 3. *Illustrations of no equivalence*

	Hungarian	Serbian	English
(3a) no somatism	*gagyibugyi/gyenge lábon áll* 'stand on insecure/ weak feet'	-	*rest on weak foundation*
	hadilábon áll valakivel 'stand on war (legs) with'	-	*be at daggers drawn*
	lába kel vminek 'smtg gets legs'	-	*melt into thin air*
(3b) no idiom	*a lábába száll az ital* 'drinks fly (get) into one's legs'	[5]	get tipsy/drunk
	szedi/kapkodja a lábát 'collect/rush one's legs'		skitter, hightail
	beteszi a lábát valahova 'put one's foot somewhere'	-	tread somewhere
	lábbal tapos/tipor 'tread/ trample on with one's foot'	grubo pogaziti 'tread upon violently'	tread/trample something underfoot

Very interesting to note is the fact that there seem to be no Hungarian idioms with the lexeme *láb* which do have a (total or partial) equivalent in English but no equivalent in Serbian. A tentative explanation of this fact is that the over a millennium-long geographic closeness and linguistic contact of Serbian and Hungarian has resulted in the two languages and cultures having very similar conceptualizations. This also suggests that genealogical and typological relatedness might be a less important factor than geographical closeness (as evidenced by the differences between Serbian and English).

The results of the analysis also point to the existence of numerous language-specific somatisms with the relevant lexemes, e.g. the Hungarian idioms *a lába szárába száll az esze* ('someone's mind flies into their lower leg', i.e. deteriorates mentally due to old age), *három lábon jár* ('walk on three legs', i.e. with a walking stick), the Serbian *kriti kao guja noge* ('hide something like the snake hides its legs'), *potući do nogu* ('defeat to the feet', i.e. put to the rout) or the English *on one's hind legs* (standing up to make a speech). However, this comes as no surprise since in the cognitive linguistic tradition idioms are claimed to have conceptual motivation (cf. Lakoff 1987), which means that the meaning of

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5   There are, of course, non-idiomatic Serbian equivalents of the relevant idioms, but these are of
     no interest to us here.

many idioms seems natural and transparent to us exactly because conceptual metaphor and metonymy and/or conventional knowledge link the non-idiomatic meaning of the constituent words to the idiomatic meaning of the idiom. On the other hand, variation and alternative conceptualizations are also expected to occur as the result of the specific cultural context (governing principles and key concepts in different cultures), social concerns (different frequency of somatisms and of particular body parts used in them), cognitive preferences (differences in the experiential focus and metaphor and metonymy preference), styles, and coherence (cf. Kövecses 2005). Thus, culture-specific actions can be referred to in some cases as a result of which culture-specific content is provided for the similar generic structure (Csábi 2006).

5. Concluding remarks

Comparing idioms, the "central and most important class of phrasemes" (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005: 39), is particularly useful in several languages for analysing cultural phenomena. In this paper, we took as the starting point Hungarian idioms with the body part term *láb* and explored the extent to which the meaning of the idioms this lexeme motivates in Hungarian are realized as somatisms with the corresponding terms in Serbian and English. The results of the analysis show that although the universal bodily basis can, it does not have to be utilized in the same way in different languages (cf. Csábi 2006). This is most evident in the fact that a large number of English somatic equivalents of the Hungarian idioms employ the lexeme *foot* rather than *leg*. Differences can also be the result of experiential focus, as different people (and different cultures) may highlight different aspects of their bodily functioning.

Any comparison between figurative units in several languages undoubtedly unveils a number of interesting cognitive and semantic principles. At the same time, the image component is influenced by the culture of a specific language, and can therefore yield a lot of information about differences in culture (Colson 2008: 196). This small-scale research suggests that geographic closeness and linguistic contact may result in very similar conceptualizations as a large number of Hungarian somatisms with the lexeme *láb* have been found to have total or partial equivalents in Serbian (but much less so in English). Further research should therefore focus on those phraseologisms involving the lexemes *noga* in Serbian and *leg/foot* in English the Hungarian equivalents of which do not contain the lexeme *láb*. Furthermore, the validity of the above hypothesis should be checked by exploring the extent to which equivalents of various types of phraseologisms can be found in genetically and/or typologically unrelated languages which are geographically close.

Acknowledgements

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Regionality – Language – Internet

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Abstract. The Internet has a strong influence on our daily communication and language use. Its continuous growing makes us face the world characterized by networks of connections that span multi-continental distances. The metaphor of global village seems to be not merely a futuristic theory, but pure reality. People can communicate worldwide with each other, reach all kinds of information to get up-to-date, as long as they respect the basic demand of globalization, which means the use of a common language (i.e. English). But this tendency hides a serious issue if we try to observe globalization from the aspect of local and regional cultures and languages, especially those in minority position. The study deals with the language use of the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina, with special focus on Netspeak and the regional features of language forms used on the Internet. It also analyses the attitudes of a group of students towards the influence of the Internet on speech and language. This part of the survey is based on questionnaires.

Keywords: regionality, minority, globalization, Internet, Netspeak

1. Internet – communication – language use

In the last two or three decades, IT and communication technologies have been developing with great speed, and due to this fact communication between people has changed a lot. IT systems and global networks of communication that keep pace with more and more complex models – the Internet, especially the web and web 2.0 as well as their development – resulted in people's ability to communicate various contents worldwide without any IT or programming skills (with a mere user's competence).

According to Zoltán Bódi, "at the beginning of the World Wide Web, one could see only the connection of documents, today, the connection of users is also present. This is the era of web 2.0. [...] There are a lot of definitions for the web 2.0 phenomenon, but their common basis is that innovation that web 2.0 has brought into the web creates new, various technologies and opens up for broader

public to create contents for masses without any deeper technological insight. In other words, in the era we are living in and in the environment of communication that surrounds us, texts, linguistic and non-linguistic content are more and more various and changeable. [...] Dialogue within communities becomes even more intensive, so global phenomena become more intense, too" (Bódi 2009: 40).

This is the world of blogs, wikis, YouTube, and social media, where basically anyone can post their textual and/or multimedia contents they want to share with their acquaintances ("friends") or with a broader community of users. It is a global phenomenon, at least in the sense that posted contents may be seen by anyone around the world – if they know the given language. It is global also from the point of view that English language as the main holder of globalization is gaining in power even at the local level and first of all through popular products (music, video clips, games, etc.). It gets into the everyday life of social communities that live outside the Anglo-Saxon language areas, bringing unique contact-phenomena and mixed-language products (mostly Anglicisms). At this point, one has to mention more recent forms of communication, which have been created during active messaging and data transferring on the web (e.g. personal e-mails, newsletters, chats, social media, etc.), which have in common that they are written forms of communication; however, their language is closer to spoken language, so they belong to the written parole (performance).

David Crystal, the world-famous British linguist, calls this form of communication *Netspeak*. This term refers to the unique language use of the new global medium, the so-called '*third medium*' (Crystal 2004: 48), or the *Internet* (or the *Net*). In his book *Language and the Internet* (first published in 2001), Crystal carries out research on how this form of communication affects language, comparing written and face-to-face communication with characteristics of online messaging. He states that the new speech-form contains elements of both written and spoken discourse, while it has some additional characteristics which come from the physical characteristics of the channel, i.e. electronic communication, e.g. the lack of instant feedback (Crystal 2004: 30) or slower rhythm of Internet communication compared to direct human communication (Crystal 2004: 31). In this way, Crystal literally treats utterances of *Netspeak* as speech acts (Crystal 2004: 29), which can be analysed from the point of view of Grice's Conversational Maxims (Grice 1975).

In Hungarian linguistics, Zoltán Bódi calls this form of communication written spoken language,[1] which has been created by mixing spontaneous speech and text, most of the time with the aim to communicate as much information as possible to partners in communication through an electronic channel (Bódi 2004: 35).

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1   The phenomenon has also other terms in Hungarian linguistics: e.g. *written dialogue* (Ádám Kis), *secondary literacy or written chatting* (Géza Balázs), *virtual literacy* (Nikoletta Ágnes Érsok), etc.

At the beginning of its use, this form of communication (chat language, informally speaking) was appropriate for quick messaging thanks to English written language (with numerous shortenings, letter words, alphanumeric mosaic words, emoticons, etc.), and it has become widespread in this form all around the world. Its "spelling" is used even in non-English short messaging, so it has become fashionable in the Hungarian language, too. Its uniquely free language use and its way of writing, which ignores traditional writing standards (especially spelling), has created many "enemies" who claim that this is destroying language, making it less Hungarian, and they see this phenomenon as a negative effect of globalization, especially with regard to students who use net spelling more and more, and this becomes visible in their schoolwork, too (l. Veszelszki 2012, Kruzslicz 2013, Simon 2014, and others). However, there are standpoints which emphasize the creativity of net language, and they see it as a means of renewal, refreshing language, by which "the arrival of Netspeak is showing us *homo loquens* at its best" (Crystal 2004: 242). Finally, there are those who do not consider this phenomenon as something that would cause the deterioration of language, as language has its own self-cleaning mechanisms, which continuously eliminate unnecessary, fashionable elements (Pásztor Kicsi 2010: 51).

As opposed to the above mentioned phenomena and the so-called global village, there are real social and language communities, using real (mostly regional) languages, which cannot be left behind by members of these populations when they join activities in the global village while taking up attitudes and behaviour characteristic of virtual space. There are numerous nations who speak "small" languages even in our region, in Central Europe and the Balkans. These nations stick to their language, traditions, and even if they have to follow global tendencies and the dominance of English language in order to reach social-economic prosperity they would not give up their identity even if they experience difficulties as minorities in the given country. This kind of minority are Hungarians in Serbia with their own regional variety of Hungarian language.

2. Vojvodinian Hungarian regional language use and the World Wide Web

Regionality of the Vojvodinian Hungarian language – similarly to regionalities of other varieties of Hungarian outside the mother state – is not merely a regional language variant that has been created by natural integration of dialects that coexist in the given region. On the contrary, it is an isolated variant of Hungarian language, which was created in an environment where Hungarians have been living since they were separated from the mother state and their mother nation.

According to this, characteristics of this language may be defined according to three coordinates, one of which is the general Hungarian linguistic standard, the other two are dialectal influences and language contact with the majority (state) language and other languages in the region (interference) (cf. Kontra 2003: 300).

In earlier studies (Pásztor Kicsi 2011, 2013), I tried to reveal and classify the utterances of Vojvodinian Hungarian regional language characteristics present on the Internet, according to their place of occurrence, position within the language dialect, and linguistic attitudes behind them.

The studies mentioned above showed that webpages in Hungarian language at the *.rs* domain (Serbia) of the World Wide Web are influenced by standard Hungarian language as well as by English, but regional language characteristics are present, too. Individual characteristics vary (get emphasized or grow in number) according to the types of specific webpages, attitudes of the subject who collects and posts various contents to the page. However, it can be stated from this aspect that webpages of settlements and official institutions use first of all standard and regional language with an affirmative and prestige-oriented attitude, even if uploaded documents contain dialects or contact elements characteristic for that settlement, while in public forums and social media attitudes characteristic of the "third medium", playful, ironic, covert prestige attitude may also occur, which – depending on the current social environment – supposes deliberate code-mixing, too (Pásztor Kicsi 2011).

In general, one could state that on social media and public forums communication is not carried out according to traditional rules of communication but according to principles of *Netspeak.* This may result in overruling and relativizing Grice's Maxims, and it is difficult to see through and interpret attitudes hiding behind specific speech acts.

In this analysis, I was mostly looking at how a group of Vojvodinian Hungarian students relate to global language effects that are coming *via* the Internet and what they think about their regional position as Vojvodinian Hungarians. I used questionnaires in order to do this analysis.

3. Motivation and results of the questionnaire

Informants of the questionnaire were undergraduate students of the Department of Hungarian Studies of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad; therefore, it is not a broad sample (60 informants – 13 male and 47 female – who filled in the form). The received results within this realm certainly cannot be considered to be representative for the Hungarian students in Vojvodina in general; nevertheless, they cannot be ignored either partly because of the reasons why some young people in Vojvodina make their decision to study Hungarian language and

literature today, but most of all because of the role they will be able to have in their social environment after completing their studies.

Students of the Department of Hungarian Studies make a specific group of the 18–22-year-old young people who chose this department exactly for its teaching language, Hungarian.[2] One of the reasons for this is that most often students who apply for this department do not speak the state language at an advanced level,[3] and most institutions of higher education have courses exclusively in Serbian. For the same reason, not only those students apply for the Hungarian Department who graduated from grammar school but also those who have other kinds of secondary school certificates (e.g. technical schools), from different parts of Vojvodina, from regions where Hungarians make a majority as well as from the Hungarian diaspora; this way, the sample is noteworthy thanks to the variety of students (stratification and structure).[4]

But much more important is the fact that these students, after finishing their studies, at their future workplace, will belong to the part of human resources where they will be able to positively influence the process of cultivating and developing the Vojvodinian Hungarian identity. This relationship motivates and

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2   The Department of Hungarian Studies – in spite of continuing attempts for centralization, cut-backs, and economic restrictions – makes a segment of Serbian higher education, where – except for Serbian and foreign language courses – currently education is organized in Hungarian language exclusively, both at undergraduate and graduate level; moreover, some courses at the PhD school can also be attended in Hungarian. This is important because an autonomous university in Hungarian language could not be established in Serbia so far. As far as higher education is concerned, only the Pedagogical Faculty in Hungarian Language in Subotica offers courses in Hungarian language at an institutional level, except for some faculties within the University of Novi Sad, where some courses are partially organized in Hungarian, e.g. at the Faculty for Architecture in Subotica, Faculty of Economics, Polytechnic High School, the Academy for Art, and High School for Nursery School Teachers.

3   According to their own estimation, only 22% of the informants speak Serbian language at an advanced level and 35% of them claim to be intermediate-level language learners. The rest of the informants have not reached even this level: 38% of them claim to have elementary knowledge of Serbian and 5% of them have chosen the answer "I don't speak Serbian". These results seem to suggest a conclusion that only a fifth part of these students would be able to attend higher education in the state language. Besides, their knowledge of English does not seem to reach the required level either to be able to take an active part in communication or to use information from global sources, e.g. the World Wide Web. (This conclusion is also based upon the answers given by the informants, as only 7% of them claimed to speak English at an advanced level, 42% of them declared themselves as intermediate-level language learners, while 38% of the students who filled in the questionnaire claimed that they were elementary-level learners and 13% of them answered that they did not speak English at all.)

4   For example, 40% of the informants who filled in the questionnaires were from rural areas, 42% from urban surroundings, 15% of them from cities, and 3% of them living in the provincial capital, Novi Sad. However, regarding their surroundings in terms of language, 45% live in settlements where Hungarians make a majority, 30% of them in settlements where Hungarians and Serbs live in a more or less equal number, 8% of them in settlements were Serbs make a majority, and 12% of them in settlements where Serbs make the majority but there are other ethnic groups as well.

justifies this study as it is important to look at how future teachers, journalists, librarians, and organizers of cultural and community life relate to their mother tongue and the foreign language influence that affects it.

In that respect, the closed type questionnaire was looking for the following answers: *1)* what kind of Internet communication do they use the most; *2)* if they consider the linguistic standard of their private e-mails sufficient while communicating *via* the Internet; *3)* if it is important to take care about spelling and style while chatting on the Internet; *4)* if everyday language use is influenced by electronic mailing and the linguistic world of the Internet; *5)* what is their opinion about foreign (mostly English) language dominance on the Internet; *6)* if there are dialectal and/or regional language elements on the Internet; *7)* what do they think may motivate using dialectal or regional elements on the Internet.

3.1. The types of Internet communication

As far as types of Internet communication are concerned (of which more than one could be marked at the same time), as it could be expected, most of them would use social media and chatting to the highest degree. Instead, most of the informants (95%) claimed to use e-mail most frequently, followed by social media (93%) and then chatting (88%). The least of them answered they used blogs (10%) and forums (17%), as well as newsletters (22%). However, only one third (30%) of the informants were sharing content. So, more complex ways of Internet/web communication is used by a smaller percent of the informants.
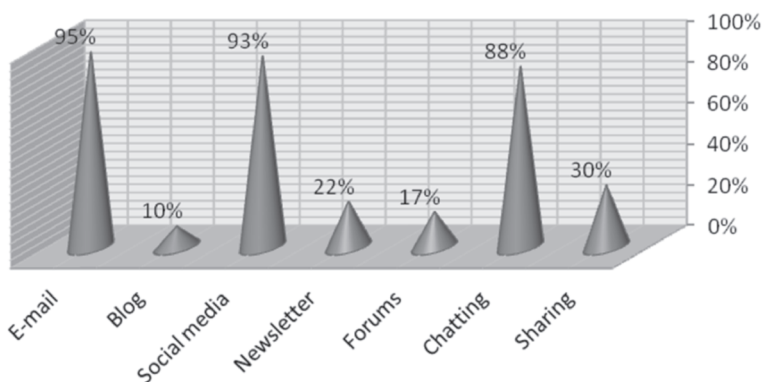

Chart 1. *The most commonly used forms of Internet communication*

3.2. The linguistic standard of private e-mails

With standards of private e-mails only 13% of the informants claimed to be rarely satisfied, most of them (47%) were satisfied in general, but 40% of them were always satisfied, which was not due to the perfection of received e-mails, but rather it suggested that informants had already been born into a world of electronic communication, so they did not have high-standard expectations towards private e-mails.
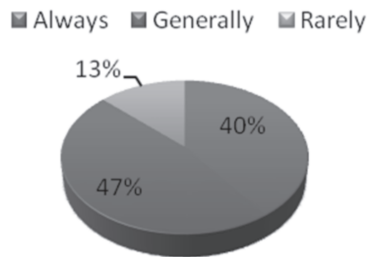
Chart 2. *Are you satisfied with the linguistic standard of private e-mails?*

3.3. Attitudes towards Internet chatting, its spelling and style standards

However, their attitude towards Internet chatting (*Netspeak,* in fact) and its spelling and style standards was rather surprising as 68% of the informants claimed that it was important to pay attention to spelling and style while chatting (even if there is hardly anyone who does so), 25% of the informants said that this was important only to the degree that one understood the written message, and 7% of the students said that it was only the speed that really mattered, there was no time for spelling. It is an essential data that nobody marked the options "it is not important at all" and "I do not chat in general".
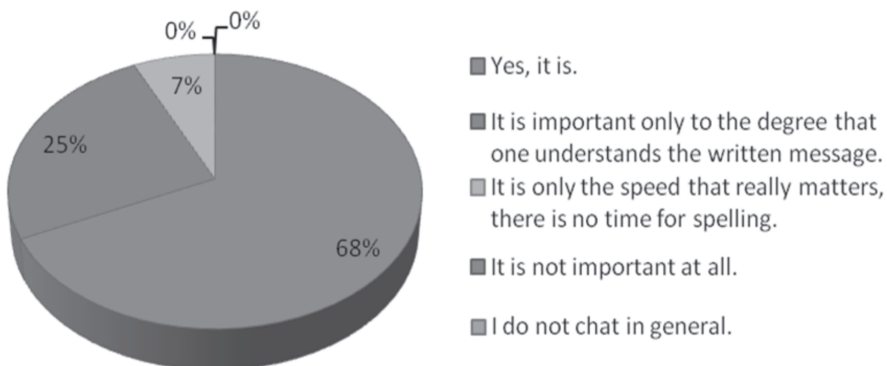
Chart 3. *Is it important to pay attention to spelling and style while chatting on the Internet?*

3.4. The influence of the Internet on everyday language use

To the question if electronic mailing and the world of Internet influenced everyday language use, most of the informants answered with yes (87%). 10% of them said "not now, but later it might be the case", 1% said no, and only 2% said they would not know. However, none of the informants marked the option that this would refer only to IT professionals or to people who were using the Internet regularly.
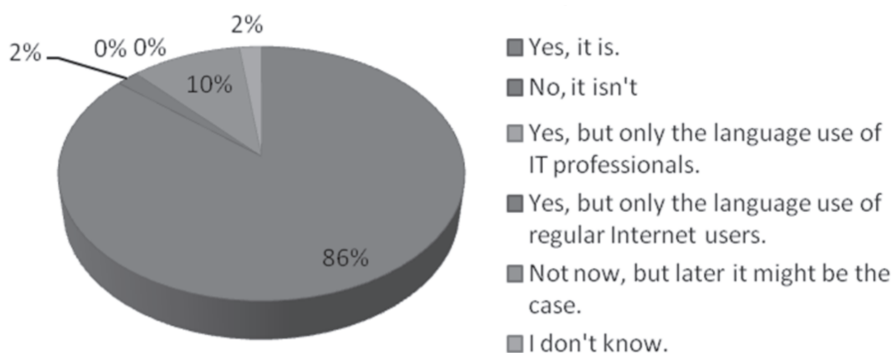
Chart 4. *Is everyday language use influenced by electronic mailing and by the linguistic world of the Internet?*

3.5. The dominance of English

Most of the informants (52%) said that they did not mind the dominance of English language, 2.5% had not even noticed it, 22% said they actually enjoyed it since they learned from it, and only 2% said they really did mind it. 7% were worried about the Hungarian language, 2.5% thought this was an issue that concerned only linguists, 5% did not like the dominance of English since they did not know the language, and 7% claimed that this made communication more difficult. To sum up, only one fifth of the informants (19%) distanced themselves from a more intensive use of English, the others thought that this was natural.
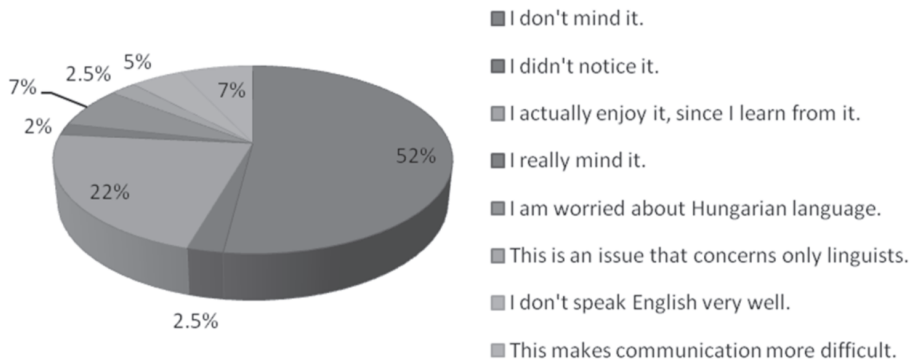
Chart 5. *What is your opinion about foreign (mostly English) language dominance on the Internet*

3.6. Dialectal or regional language elements on the Internet

Dialectal or regional language elements on the Internet – as it was stated in Zoltán Bódi's study (Bódi 2004: 150–156) and later in my research, too – is an evident phenomenon, even if local elements do not harmonize with the global image of the World Wide Web. However, 87% of the students think that these phenomena do occur on the Internet.

Chart 6. *Are there dialectal and/or regional language elements on the Internet?*

3.7. Motivations for the use of regional language elements on the Internet

Students specified different motivations for the use of the above mentioned elements (sometimes more than one at the same time). 58% of the students thought that this was a natural linguistic behaviour, 12% considered that the best motivation was loyalty to their own (vernacular) language variant. 15% of the students thought that this was showing the lack of knowledge regarding deliberate code-switching. 12% looked at it as an attitude on the Internet (playing roles) and 17% claimed they simply did not know the motivation for it.

Chart 7. *What do you think may motivate using dialectal or regional elements on the Internet?*

4. Conclusion

Results of the research done by questionnaires show that the Internet has a certain kind of influence on the informants (students of the Department for Hungarian Language and Literature of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad); yet, it does not affect their attitudes significantly, especially those concerned with language.

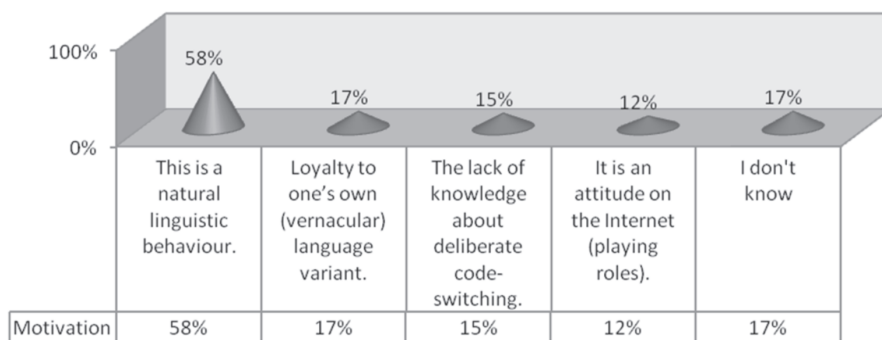As we have mentioned, most students who apply for this department do not speak the state language at an advanced level and they also lack an appropriate level of English knowledge. They are unable to take an active part in communication or to use information from global sources in an effective way. (As nearly half of the informants do not speak English at least at an intermediate level – cf. footnote no 3 –, one can hardly expect them to take intellectual benefits from visiting webpages in English.) However, this fact makes us also assume that these students will probably rather stick to their mother tongue and local community than let the global trends assimilate their identity.

The results of the questionnaire concerned with most frequently used types of Internet communication (question no 1) has also shown us that informants generally do not use the Internet/web communication with proper efficiency. In fact, most of them use the common types of online communication – e-mailing (95%), social media (93%), and chatting (88%) – most frequently, while other ways of Internet/web communication – sharing contents (30%), blogging (10%), etc. – are used by a smaller percentage of informants.

However, the most frequently used types of Internet communication are exactly the ones with personal character, where the features of Netspeak could be mostly recognized, so hypothetically the informants should be familiar with this kind of language use. Nevertheless, at this point, students do not seem to be quite aware of their attitudes while answering the related questions in the questionnaire.

However, their answers are sometimes rather surprising, especially in the case of their attitude towards Internet chatting (*Netspeak*, in fact) and its spelling and style standards (question no 3), as 68% of the informants claimed that it was important to pay attention to spelling and style while chatting (even if there is hardly anyone who does so). At this point, one can assume that more than two-thirds of all the informants were trying to give answers that match rather their status as students of the Hungarian Department than their real habits.

It is important that most informants (87%) agree that everyday language use is influenced by electronic mailing and the linguistic world of the Internet (question no 4), and they also recognize the dominance of English language (question no 5); still, it is somehow surprising that only one fifth of the informants (19%) distance themselves from this trend, while others mostly do not mind the dominance of English (54%) or have not even noticed it (22%). Still, there are some students (7%) who state to be worried about the Hungarian language. However, this opinion can be assumed as part of a more or less present attitude of purism, which one can obtain during the earlier phases of education.

However, the presence of local dialectical elements and other regional language characteristics in general terms does not harmonize with the global image of the World Wide Web since 87% of the informants think that these phenomena do occur on the Internet (question no 6). This recognition by itself has no particular importance, yet the answers of students about the reasons which may motivate using dialectal or regional elements on the Internet (question no 7) show an interesting distribution of opinions. Namely, more than half of the informants (58%) consider this phenomenon as the result of a natural linguistic behaviour; however, nearly an equal part of them interpret it as loyalty to one's own (vernacular) language variant (17%) or the lack of knowledge about deliberate code-switching (15%). Yet, neither the loyalty nor the ignorance in code-switching could be considered as a real reason for the presence of local language features on the Internet simply because personal communication through this channel is mostly informal.

According to this, 12% of all informants have recognized this phenomenon as an attitude (playing role) on the Internet. Considering the age of the informants, this percentage is rather low as they belong to the generation who should hypothetically be more familiar with the world of IT (they were all born in the last decade of the 20th century). Nevertheless, the most unexpected result in this matter is that almost one fifth of the students (17%) have answered this question choosing the option "I don't know". Therefore, let us assume that these informants have not even taken an effort to think over the problem, contrary to those who have tried to find even more than one possible answer to this question.

The results of the questionnaire lead us to the conclusion that there is a need for further research of these problems, first of all, with a wider range of informants

to be able to make more accurate conclusions. The range of informants should include the forthcoming generations of students of the Department of Hungarian Studies and more Hungarian students who attend other institutions of higher education in Vojvodina as well.

The results also turn our attention to the fields of knowledge where students of the Department need more information to be able to fit in the global trends yet preserve their local and regional identity. One of the potential tasks in this respect is that teaching and lecturing Hungarian language and literature should involve teaching characteristics of language and discourse of electronic/Internet media to a greater degree. If students gain awareness of differences between the variants of language (standard, regional, dialectical, written, spoken, Netspeak, etc.), they will be able to deal more easily with the global and other trends which threaten with any kind of assimilation.

Acknowledgement

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Pseudo-realia in the Romanian Translations of Various Hungarian Institutions and in the Hungarian Translations of Romanian Public Administration Terms[1]

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Abstract. My presentation addresses an issue translators of Romanian–Hungarian legal and economic texts encounter almost day by day. Each field of translation is special in its kind, but translating legal/economic texts requires an especially accurate knowledge of the acts, laws, and concepts of both the source and target language since this is essential for the translated text to be really a quality, professional, and – last but not least – an intelligible one to the target-language audience, i.e. the customers.

Keywords: translation, bilingualism, diglossia, realia, Transylvania

In my work, I often need to check texts that contain concepts being either unintelligible or not appropriate to customers of Hungarian native language – it does not matter if they come from Hungary or Transylvania. Checking texts aims at the correction of technical terms in the text in addition to that of the grammatical mistakes. In many cases, Transylvanian translators classify a certain rate of the concepts of legal/public administration into the category of social-political sorts of realia. In such a way, they almost transform these into culture-dependent units, and they tend to use individual or peculiar concords instead of translating the concepts in question. These concords are, however, not correct in terms of legal language and, what is more, they may sometimes cause problems in the interpretation of the law. My examples present especially the difficulties of translating Romanian public administration terms into Hungarian, but some of them describe the issue of translating the Hungarian names of institutions into Romanian as well.

Realia, in other words: lexical units without equivalents, have several definitions. The difference between them is mainly based on how strong or weak

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1   The article was translated from Hungarian by Béla Lukács.

the link is between a certain non-equivalent lexical unit and a certain culture. The common feature of most definitions is that realia, i.e. culture-specific words, have no equivalents in the target language. This statement, however, seems true on the surface only because it is proved by huge amounts of existing translations that translators have always found some kind of (more or less adequate) solution. When talking about two languages, we may observe some lack of lexis, which frequently originates from the unfamiliarity of the denoted object of the source culture (Mujzer-Varga 2012: 59). According to Florin, realia are words and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts that are characteristic of the way of life, culture, social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical features, they have no exact equivalents in other languages (Florin 1993: 123).

In Kinga Klaudy's definition, "denotative entities being uniquely typical of the culture of the source language, such as food, drinks, items of clothing, currencies, units of measurement, institutions, ranks, offices, and the names of all of these entities in general, are termed realia" (Klaudy 2007: 170).

Representing a new aspect in defining realia, Mujzer-Varga introduces the term realia lexeme. Consequently, "realia lexemes are each lingual utterance being typical of a certain community; bringing about similar associations amongst its members due to their nearly common background knowledge; realia lexemes have connotative meanings and emotional content" (Mujzer-Varga 2012: 59). Classifying realia helps us mainly in terms of analysing texts from the point of view of pragmatics. Nedergaard-Larsen's categorization is one of the most interesting of these categories (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 210–211), and it divides realia into four main categories: geography, history, society, and culture.

Table 1: *Classification of realia (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993)*

Extralinguistic culture-bound problem types		
Geography, etc.	Geography Meteorology Biology	mountains, rivers weather, climate flora, fauna
	Cultural Geography	regions, towns roads, streets, etc.
History	Buildings	monuments, castles, etc.
	Events	wars, revolutions, flag day (in the U.S.A.)
	People	well-known historical characters
Society	Industrial level (economy)	trade and industry, energy supply, etc.
	Social organization	defence, judicial system, police, prisons, local and central authorities
	Politics	state management, ministries, electoral system, political parties, politicians, political organizations

	Social conditions	groups, subcultures, living conditions, problems
	Ways of life, customs	housing, transport, food, meals, clothing, articles for everyday use, family relations
Culture	Religion	churches, rituals, morals, ministers, bishops, religious holidays, saints
	Education	schools, colleges, universities, lines of education, exams
	Media	TV, radio, newspapers, magazines
	Culture, leisure activities	museums, works of art, literature, authors, theatres, cinemas, actors, musicians, idols, restaurants, hotels, nightclubs, cafés, sports, athletes

The next three classifications have (approximately) the same major categories. Florin (1993) and Ramière (2004) distinguish between geographical, historical, social, and cultural realia, though Florin (1993) names the last two of these 'social-territorial' and 'ethnographic', respectively; moreover, Ramière (2004) and Grit (1997) both combine these two into one 'socio-cultural' category. These categories are all relatively straightforward: geographical realia are references to places and other elements of our surroundings, social realia refer to elements from society, and cultural realia refer to elements from cultural life. Grit (1997) adds three additional categories to his taxonomy: public institutional realia, which refer to elements in the public sector, private institutional realia, which refer to the private sector and units of measurement (e.g. inch). These are all very broad categories, but out of the four taxonomies only Nedergaard-Larsen identifies subcategories within these general categories (Smets 2000: 18).

Table 2. *Schematic overview of the taxonomies*

Nedergaard-Larsen (1993)	Florin (1993)	Grit (1997)	Ramière (2004)
Geographical	Geographical	Geographical	Geographical
Geography, Meteorology, Biology			
Historical	Historical	Historical	Historical
Buildings, Events, People			
Social	Social-Territorial	Social-Cultural	Social-cultural
Economy, Social organization, Politics, Social conditions, Customs		Private institutional	
		Public institutional	

Nedergaard-Larsen (1993)	Florin (1993)	Grit (1997)	Ramière (2004)
Cultural	Ethnographic	Socio-cultural	Socio-cultural
Religion, Education, Media, Culture			

Notwithstanding, regarding linguistic differences, we need to be careful not to confuse the field of realia with the field of terms. There is a fundamental difference between realia and terms. Terms are the basis of scientific lexicon; their scope is a specialized, scientific literature; in other spheres, above all in artistic literature, they are used with a definite stylistic aim. It is not artistic literature where we can mainly come upon realia as they represent elements of local and historical features; we find them in some descriptive sciences also, but they are now used, above all, as denominations of described objects or even as pure terms.

Choosing the best of the possibilities available for conveying the message of a realia depends on several factors: the genre/nature of the text, the role of the realia in the text, the nature of the realia, the source and target language, and the reader's background knowledge of the realia. When it comes to various sorts of realia, a translator's dilemma is always whether to choose transcription or translation. It is the translator who has to make a decision, taking all the circumstances into consideration. The number of strategies for translating realia is limited, compared with the possibilities of classifying them into categories. Most of the theoretical solutions, however, are not always or barely feasible in practice; therefore, various expedient strategies are to be used in the course of translation.
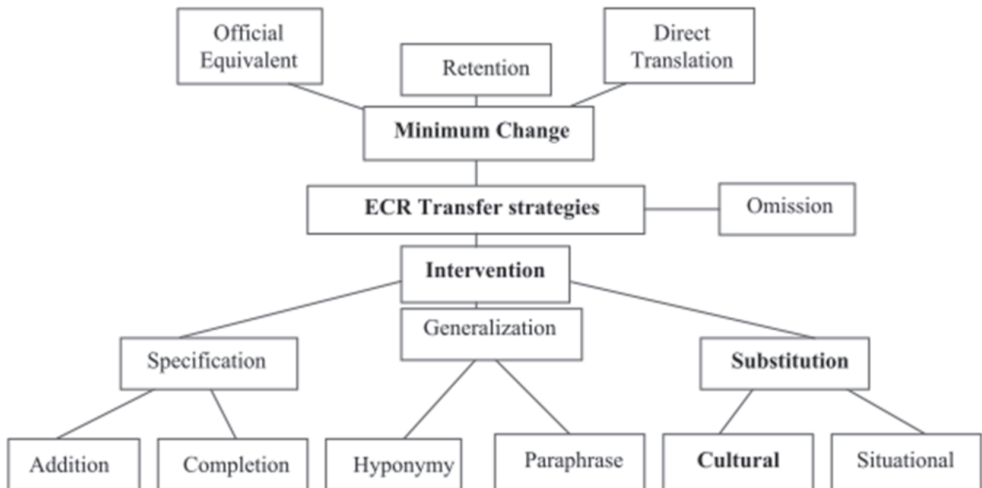

Figure 1. *Taxonomy of subtitling strategies (Pedersen 2007: 31)*

Regarding the translations I have examined and the examples below, we cannot really have any sorts of realia in their proper sense; although one may find lexical examples standing without equivalents, many times, one can translate without any sorts of realia, provided the translator knows the legal background.

(1)   *Kormányhivatal (HU)* ('Government Office')
         a. Instituție guvernamentală
            'Government institution'
         b. Oficiu guvernamental
            'Government Office'
         c. Departament guvernamental autorizat
            'Authorized governmental department'
         d. Agenție guvernamentală
            'Governmental local office'
         e. Birou Guvernamental
            'Governmental office'

Frequently, the translation of the expression into Romanian is incorrect even in EU translations, which may be regarded the official ones. 'Agenție' occurs many times, but this word is misleading for Romanian readers because it belongs mainly to the conceptual class of 'képviselet' ('representation'), 'kirendeltség' ('local office'). In Hungary and before 2011, the government office had been a central administrative body created by law and operating with the Government's direction,[2] and as from 1 January 2011 metropolitan and county government offices were established as the Government's regional administrative bodies with general competence.[3] The heads of these are appointed by the prime minister and they manage these bodies under ministerial direction. Examining the position and role of this term, it is clear that the correct translation of 'kormányhivatal' ('government office') is 'oficiu guvernamental'.

(2)   *(Nyíregyházi) Főiskola (HU)* ('College of Nyíregyháza')
         a. Institutul de Învățământ Superior din Nyíregyháza
            'Institution of Higher Education in Nyíregyháza'
         b. Școala Superioară din Nyíregyháza
            'School of Higher Grade in Nyíregyháza'
         c. Institutul Postliceal din Nyíregyháza
            'Post-Teacher Training Institution in Nyíregyháza'
         d. Colegiul Universitar din Nyíregyháza
            'Academic Students' Hostel in Nyíregyháza'

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2   http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=a1000043.tv#lbj15ideeb8
3   http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A1000126.TV

e. Colegiul din Nyíregyháza
   'Students' Hostel in Nyíregyháza'

A college is an institution in the Hungarian higher educational system, wherefore the two latter ones of the above possibilities are the most acceptable, paying special attention to their usage in several contexts. Then again, 'colegiu' in a Romanian context may be misleading as well because 'colegiu tehnic' is an institution in secondary education ('technical secondary vocational school'). While translating the names of similar Romanian/Moldavian institutions into Hungarian, we must pay special attention because the denotation of 'kollégium' in standard Hungarian is mainly 'diákotthon' ('students' hostel'), sometimes 'szakmai kollégium' ('college for advanced studies'), and not an institution in higher education.

(3)   *Diplomă de bacalaureat (RO)* ('Secondary School-Leaving Certificate')
       a. Érettségi diploma
          'Degree Certificate of School-Leaving Examination'
       b. Érettségi oklevél
          'Certificate of School-Leaving Examination'
       c. Érettségi bizonyítvány
          'Secondary School-Leaving Certificate'

Despite the fact that official documents issued in Hungary are clearly nominated as 'Érettségi bizonyítvány' ('Secondary School-Leaving Certificate'), I have often encountered 'érettségi diploma/oklevél' ('Degree Certificate of School-Leaving Examination', 'Certificate of School-Leaving Examination') as well. We might simply consider the translator's negligence, but a *diploma* ('degree certificate') has a higher position in the translators' scale of values beyond the borders than 'bizonyítvány' ('certificate') has. Certificate is rather associated with schoolchildren's 'ellenőrző' ('mark-books'). This type of translation (érettségi diploma/érettségi oklevél – 'Degree Certificate of School-Leaving Examination', 'Certificate of School-Leaving Examination', 'Secondary School-Leaving Certificate') may be regarded as the communicative equivalent of the source-language text because it complies with the requirements of referential, contextual, and functional equivalence as well.

(4)   *Consiliu local/județean (RO)* ('Local/county authority'*)*
       a. Helyi/városi/községi tanács
          'Local/town/municipal council'
       b. Helyi/megyei önkormányzat
          'Local/county authority'

Although the translation of 'consiliu' is almost self-evident, it is often translated as 'önkormányzat' ('local authority') too. In practice, local authority in Hungary

> […] means that the community in question is managed independently and entitled to make its own decisions regarding its own issues. In the case of a local government, in addition to the above facts, the sphere of authority of the government is simply to supervise local governments. Public affairs of a locality may be transferred to the competence and scope of duties of another organization through legal rules and in exceptional cases only. […] Law enables local residents to discuss any questions with their local authority or to express their opinion through referenda.[4]

Local referenda and this sort of rights to make decisions are missing in local communities in Romania.

(5)   *Persoană fizică autorizată (RO)* ('Individual with VAT number')
       a. Vállalkozói engedéllyel rendelkező magánszemély
          'Individual with entrepreneur's licence'
       b. Adószámmal rendelkező magánszemély
          'Individual with VAT number'
       c. Engedéllyel rendelkező magánszemély
          'Individual with a licence'
       d. Önálló vállalkozás
          'Independent business'

This concept always triggers lively debates on translators' deliberations and conferences. In my opinion, one may accept the second one only because in Hungary there is no such category as 'engedéllyel rendelkező magánszemély' ('individual with a licence'); the sort of licence should be specified right at the beginning (forwarding licence/licence for tertiary education/licence for managing accommodation?). The translations in which we can read 'vállalkozó' ('entrepreneur'), 'vállalkozás' ('business') refer to 'egyéni vállalkozó' ('private entrepreneur'), which is a separate management category determined by Act CXV of 2009 on private entrepreneurs and private companies.[5]

(6)   *Cod unic de înregistrare (fiscală) (RO)* ('*VAT number*')
       a. Egyedi azonosító kód
          'Unique identification code'

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4   http://www.kormany.hu/hu/mo/onkormanyzatisag-magyarorszagon
5   http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A0900115.TV&celpara=#xcelparam

   b. Egyedi regisztrációs szám
      'Unique registration number'
   c. Cégjegyzékszám
      'Company registry number'
   d. Adószám
      'VAT number'

We can find the above expression in certificates of incorporation, registrations of companies, tax returns, and other relevant official documents. I encounter the mistranslation of that expression almost every day. In addition to the incorrect verbatim translations (a, b), 'cégjegyzékszám' ('company registry number') is not correct either because we have been talking about 'adószám' ('VAT number'). VAT number was termed and abbreviated in these forms (CUI) until 1 January 2000, under Act 359 of 2004. Its new term (codul de înregistrare fiscală, CIF) has been used since 1 July 2007.[6]

(7)   *Certificat constatator (RO)* ('Certificate of Incorporation')
   a. Megállapító igazolás
      'Establishing Certificate'
   b. Cégnyilvántartási igazolás
      'Certificate for Registering the Company'
   c. Cégműködési bizonylat
      'Certificate for Company Capability'
   d. Cégbíróság által kiállított Megállapító igazolás
      'Establishing Certificate issued by Registry Court'
   e. Cégbejegyzési hivatal által kibocsátott működőképességi igazolvány
      'Certificate for Company Capability issued by Registry Office'
   f. Cégkivonat
      'Certificate of Incorporation'

Not knowing the terms and documents related to the Registry Court in Hungary leads to quite a lot of problems about translating 'cégkivonat' ('Certificate of Incorporation'), a term that should be known to every (technical) translator. 'Megállapító igazolás' ('Establishing Certificate') is so simple that it has no meaning whatsoever; 'Cégbejegyzési hivatal által kibocsátott működőképességi igazolvány' ('Certificate for Company Capability issued by Registry Office') attempts to imply the profound knowledge of the terminology. Actually, neither translation is acceptable, while the latter one is also faulty because a certificate of incorporation will not verify the capability of a company. Unfortunately, translations like these and even stranger ones appear not only on paper, but on

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6   https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cod_de_Identificare_Fiscal%C4%83

the Internet, on websites as well (i.e. those of notary publics and law offices), which we may deem authentic and valid.

(8)   *Pedeapsă cu închisoarea (RO)* ('Sentenced to deprivation of liberty')
        a. Börtönbüntetés
            'Imprisonment'
        b. Szabadságelvonás
            'Deprivation of liberty'
        c. Szabadságvesztés-büntetés
            'Sentenced to deprivation of liberty'

Here, I point out a common pitfall of translating judgement sentences passed in Romania. In Hungary, legal rules provide two forms of imprisonment: it may take a specific period or for life. Enforcement may be ordered in three grades depending on the seriousness of the crime: maximum-security prison, medium-security prison, or minimum-security prison. The governing law pertaining to certain grades is stipulated in Act CCXL of 2013 on Law Enforcement and Measures.[7] The court determines the grade of law enforcement in its sentence. In Romania, there are no grades similar to the ones in Hungary in enforcing imprisonment. Accordingly, 'börtönbüntetés' ('imprisonment') is used almost automatically and in most cases it is only one of the possible translations, and, if used in its general sense, it will not reflect the grade of the passed penalty.

Conclusions

Summing up the above-mentioned discussions, exchanges of letters, and various opinions voiced on conferences, we may state that considering technical terms as sorts of realia brings about a complex problem, and the roots of rejecting a technical term (which is clear many times) consist of a lot of factors. I emphasize the following:

The bilingualism of the translators from the Hungarian communities living in diaspora: bilingualism is typical of ethnic groups in minority, and this applies to the Hungarian communities living in diaspora. They usually speak a language to communicate with their families, relatives, in everyday life and personal relations, while the other one is used in offices, schools, and public life only. If the levels of the knowledge of these two languages are not equal, the dominant language will interfere with the other one: this appears in its grammatical system and translations, too. While analysing the definitions of bilingualism and diglossia, we may state that the Transylvanian translators' situation is clear from

7   http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A1300240.TV

the point of view of bilingualism because criteria in broader and narrower senses are met, e.g.: both Hungarian and Romanian are mastered as mother languages (Bloomfield 1933), translators have one of the four basic communicative skills (speaking, listening comprehension, writing, reading) in the second language (in this case: Romanian) in addition to the first one (MacNamara 1967), they are able to communicate in at least two languages in a mono- or multilingual community, and they are able to identify themselves or sympathize with both (or all) groups of languages and cultures partly or completely (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984).

Translators' diglossia: they use two variants of Hungarian, the dialect and standard form, but we may talk about regional standard language in the case of standard language. Obviously, regional standard language takes place between standard language and a dialect: it is a variation which has some colouring in terms of dialect units, e.g. softer pronunciation of dialects and, occasionally, words of dialects. The extent of this influence is not disturbing from the perspective of standard language. In order to justify that there is diglossia in some sense amongst the given Transylvanian translators, we need to talk about a regional standard language which has evolved at the boundaries of dialects. This regional standard language is a variation of the standard language, the first one having evolved through dialectal interactions; moreover, its place is between dialects and the standard language in terms of its relationship to norms. When writing, its users employ the literary variant, while their utterances are prevailed by standard language norms, but one can observe the traits of surrounding dialects, depending to various extents on locality and time. The fact that regional standard language, as a phenomenon of contacts, has appeared may be interpreted not only as the expansion of standard language towards regionalism but also as the spot of intrusion of regionalism into standard language. According to the model of variability, under the influence of standard language, the rules of competence of dialects are added to those rules of the standard language in such a way that those which are typical to dialects remain. In addition, we may say that a new regional substandard is taking shape as a consequence of three tendencies: (1) dialects are pushed back, (2) they are becoming variable and destandardizing, and (3) that they are losing their diglossic features. "Obviously, losing diglossic features may take place only amongst diglossic speakers (dialectal + regional standard lingual, dialectal + standard lingual, regional standard lingual + standard lingual), resulting in giving up the dialect or regional standard language" (Kiss 2013: 88). Summing up, translations have units being intelligible to speakers of regional standard language but inaccurate with a view to translations for special purposes. Completely avoiding such units is possible only if translators give up their rigid points of view of regional standard language – which may easily lead to mistakes in translation for special purposes.

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An Evergreen Challenge for Translators – The Translation of Idioms

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Abstract. Translating idioms has always been a challenging decision-making process for translators mainly because not all idioms have direct equivalents in the target language. Translators usually and ideally have a solid knowledge of the target language and its cultural aspects, but even so they cannot match the ability of a native speaker in deciding when – i.e. in what context and text type – an idiom would or would not be appropriate. This study aims to explore the main characteristics of idioms and the difficulties which might occur when translating them. A needs analysis will also be presented, where the various solutions which a group of translator trainees chose while translating certain idioms from the novel "A Game of Thrones" by George R. R. Martin into Hungarian are examined. Their strategies and the appropriateness of their choices are analysed and compared with the options of the experienced literary translator (Tamás Pétersz). We consider this an important endeavour because, based on our experience, we believe that the topic of the translation of idioms should be included into the curriculum and appropriate materials and tasks should be designed to develop the translator trainees' knowledge and skills in this domain. Therefore, the aim of this analysis is to obtain a clearer view of the difficulties they are dealing with and bear them in mind when designing teaching materials for them.

Keywords: translation of idioms, translator trainees, translation strategies, difficulties

Introduction

Translating idioms has always been a challenging decision-making process for translators. Even experienced and acknowledged translators, who usually and ideally have a solid knowledge of the target language and its cultural aspects, cannot match the ability of a native speaker in deciding when – meaning, in what context and text type – an idiom would or would not be appropriate. Besides a thorough knowledge of the source and target language, this process indispensably

requires creativity and the skill, willingness, and perseverance to search for the best equivalent. Along their studies and the subsequent years of experience, translators usually develop – consciously or instinctively – different strategies and solutions regarding the translation of idioms.

Another significant factor contributing to efficient translations would be that translators should ideally translate into their native language and not into a second language. It is well known that they possess a more profound knowledge of the linguistic and cultural aspects of their native language than of a second language studied at school or university. Jabak points out some of the underlying reasons for this: "translation into the first language enables translators to render cultural elements such as proverbs, idioms, metaphors, collocations, swear words and others into proper equivalents in their mother tongue because such translators are born and bred in the culture into which they translate these culture-bound aspects. In fact, the translators' first language is naturally acquired in a culture and environment where the first language is naturally acquired and practiced" (Jabak, under "Why is translation into the mother tongue more successful than into a second language?"). Hervey and Higgins emphasize that "translator training normally focuses on translation into the mother tongue, because higher quality is achieved in that direction than in translating into a foreign language" (Hervey and Higgins 2002: 2). Baker (1992) also believes that translators should try to work mostly into their native language, one of her supporting arguments being that foreign language speakers' competence in using idioms almost never equals that of native speakers. Therefore, those who translate into a foreign language can never achieve the sensitivity of a native speaker in judging how and when an idiom should be used. Reiss highlights that "the audience factor is apparent in the common idiomatic expressions, quotations, proverbial allusions and metaphors, etc. of the source language. [...] The translator should make it possible for the reader in the target language to see and understand the text in the terms of his own cultural context" (Reiss 2014: 79). However, because of the increasing market demands for translations, translators often have to translate into a second language. In these circumstances, it becomes even more imperative to concentrate on culture-specific elements in translator training and the different strategies that can be applied in dealing with their translation.

This study aims to discuss some of the relevant factors which might determine the appropriateness and acceptability of the translation of idioms, and to present some of the strategies and frequently used techniques recommended in the specialized literature. We proposed to explore the various solutions which translators – in this case, translator trainees – chose while translating certain idioms from the novel "A Game of Thrones" into Hungarian (their native language). The encountered difficulties and common errors, their strategies and the appropriateness of their choices are analysed and compared with the options of the experienced literary

translator. The aims of this analysis are the following: to obtain a clearer view of the difficulties they are dealing with, identify their most urgent needs and deficiencies, and bear them in mind when designing teaching materials for translator trainees.

Consequently, the ultimate purpose would be to improve and further develop the quality of translator training by planning and organizing the teaching process, taking into consideration the results of this needs analysis.

The definition and some important features of idioms

Before exploring the possible strategies regarding the translation of idioms, it is necessary to describe some of those features which can be responsible for the difficulties in their translation. The first problem would be related to their definition. In the *Longman dictionary of language teaching and applied linguistics*, the term *idiom* is defined as "an expression which functions as a single unit and whose meaning cannot be worked out from its separate parts. For example: *She washed her hands of the matter* means *She refused to have anything more to do with the matter*" (Richards & Schmidt 2010: 270). A similar definition is given by Seidl and McMordie, who say that "an idiom can be defined as a number of words which, when taken together, have a different meaning from the individual meanings of each word" (Seidl & McMordie 1988: 12–13). However, according to Brenner, "even many native English speakers aren't clear what constitutes an idiom – they simply use them. [...] Among various dictionary sources, there is some disagreement and confusion about how to define an idiom. [...] One common, basic definition [...] is: two or more words together that, as a unit, have a special meaning that is different from the literal meaning of the words separately" (Brenner 2003: 4–5). These units are not only different in meaning from what the words would mean separately but they are also considered more effective or gripping in certain contexts. As McPherron and Randolph state it, "most linguists, language teachers, language learners, writers, poets, or anyone who has ever thought much about their language will freely admit that idioms provide vivid descriptions and expressions that are more powerful and effective than literal and nonidiomatic language. [...] at the same time, idioms stubbornly resist easy classification and are some of the most difficult vocabulary terms to teach" (McPherron & Randolph 2014: 1). The difficulty of their classification is also suggested by Kövecses, who compares the linguistic expressions called idioms to a "mixed bag" which "involves metaphors (e.g. *spill the beans*), metonymies (e.g., *throw up one's hands*), pairs of words (e.g., *cats and dogs*), idioms with *it* (e.g., *live it up*), similes (e.g., *as easy as pie*), sayings (e.g., *a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*), phrasal verbs (e.g., *come up*, as in "Christmas is *coming up*"), grammatical idioms (e.g., *let alone*), and others" (Kövecses 2010: 231).

Consequently, an important issue regarding idioms is their classification. If there are different types of idioms, there might be differences regarding the ways they are understood and learned. There have been several attempts to categorize them. For example, Cacciari and Glucksberg (1991) proposed a functional approach based on their degree of compositionality and their semantic transparency. According to the dimension of compositionality, idioms can be *noncompositional, partially compositional,* and *fully compositional.*

> In *noncompositional idioms*, no relations between the idiom's constituents and the idiom's meaning can be discerned, as in the idiom *cheescake* to refer to pinup art [...]. In *partially compositional idioms*, some relationships between an idiom's constituents and its idiomatic meaning can be discerned and exploited. Although one could not infer the meaning *to die* from the literal meaning of *kick the bucket*, the idiom's literal meaning does constrain its use and comprehension. [...] In *fully compositional idioms*, the constituents map directly onto their idiomatic referents, as in the idiom *pop the question* (Glucksberg 2001: 73).

According to their degree of transparency – the extent to which the meaning of an idiom can be deduced from the meanings of its constituents –, Glucksberg distinguishes *opaque* and *transparent* compositional idioms. "In *compositional-opaque* idioms, the relations between an idiom's constituents and its meaning may be opaque, but the meanings of individual words can nevertheless constrain both interpretation and use. For the idiom *kick the bucket*, the semantics of the verb *to kick* can constrain interpretation. Kicking is a discrete act, and so one could not say *he kicked the bucket all week*, even though one could say *he lay dying all week*" (Glucksberg 2001: 74). In the case of *compositional-transparent* idioms, "there are one-to-one semantic relations between the idiom's constituents and components of the idiom's meaning. In the idiom *break the ice*, for example, the word *break* corresponds to the idiomatic sense of abruptly changing an uncomfortable social situation, and the word *ice* corresponds to the idiomatic sense of social or interpersonal tension" (ibid: 74). Besides *noncompositional, compositional-opaque*, and *compositional-transparent* idioms, there is also the *quasi-metaphorical* type. Such idioms, according to Glucksberg, convey meaning through their allusional content, calling to one's mind prototypes or stereotypes referring to certain situations, actions, or people: "they can simultaneously refer to an ideal exemplar of a concept and characterize some event or situation as an instance of that concept. For the concept *doing something prematurely*, for example, one might use the metaphorical idiom *crossing one's bridges before coming to them*" (ibid: 75).

Understanding, learning, and, above all, translating idioms can also be influenced by the different variants and new formats they might appear in.

Glucksberg (2001) draws attention to the fact that there can be a difference between learning and understanding an idiom, such as *spill the beans*, and recognizing it as a variant like *he didn't spill a single bean.* A variant's meaning is not stored and directly available in one's memory; therefore, recognizing variants involves complex mental processing and the implementation of different strategies.

Why are idioms difficult to translate?

The characteristics of idioms shortly discussed above may in themselves give an explanation for the difficulties which translators have to face while translating them.

English is considered to be a language rich in idioms; therefore, translators should be aware of their nature, types, and usage. An important problem regarding the translation of idioms – in our case, from English into Hungarian – might be their large number in English and the fact that some of them might be difficult to understand even for the native speakers, speaking different varieties of the language, i.e. British, American, Australian, Canadian, or other varieties. The *Cambridge international dictionary of idioms* (White 1998) explains over 7,000 idioms currently used in British, American, or Australian English. Bárdos (2000) points out that 3,000–4,000 words constitute the active vocabulary and 4,000–5,000 words the passive vocabulary of an advanced learner of a foreign language. If we compare the approximate number of idioms in English to the number of words in the active and passive vocabulary of an advanced learner, it helps us understand the extent of the challenge a translator trainee faces when translating idioms if we consider that his/her command of the second language ideally corresponds to that of an advanced learner's but not to that of a native speaker's.

For a translator, it is not enough to know or recognize an idiom; he/she must also be capable of deciding whether it is acceptable or not to use it in a certain text, depending on its register or genre.

According to Baker, "the main problems that idiomatic and fixed expressions pose in translation relate to two main areas: the ability to recognize and interpret an idiom correctly and the difficulties in rendering various aspects of meaning that an idiom or a fixed expression conveys into the target language" (Baker 1992: 65). She specifies four main difficulties in translating idioms. The first is the lack of an equivalent of an idiom or a fixed expression in the target language. The same meaning can be expressed with a single word in one language and with the help of a fixed expression in another. Therefore, the expectation to find equivalent idioms easily in the target language is unrealistic. Or, some idioms might be culture-specific. In this case, "it is not the specific items an expression contains but rather the meaning it conveys and its association with culture-specific contexts which can make it untranslatable or difficult

to translate" (ibid: 68). However, as Klaudy emphasizes, translators should be not only linguistic but also cultural mediators and it should be part of their professional competence to know the two cultures and be able to "compare and assess the geographical, historical, social and cultural aspects of two language communities" and develop "strategies to bridge the gaps between different cultures" (Klaudy 2003: 175). The second difficulty enlisted by Baker appears when an idiom has a similar counterpart in the target language, but it is used in different contexts or situations because of its different connotations. The third type of problem occurs when "an idiom may be used in the source text in both its literal and idiomatic senses at the same time. Unless the target-language idiom corresponds to the source-language idiom both in form and in meaning, the play on idiom cannot be successfully reproduced in the target text" (Baker 1992: 69). The fourth difficulty mentioned by Baker is related to the different source-language and target-language conventions regarding the use of idioms in written discourse, certain contexts, or the frequency of their use.

Davies also enlists some problems regarding the translation of idioms and fixed expressions, which show close similarity to the ones defined by Baker: recognition; no equivalent in the target language; a similar counterpart in the target language with a different context of use; an idiom used in the source text both in its literal and idiomatic sense at the same time; difference between the convention, context, and frequency of use in the source and target languages (Davies 2004: 193).

All the above mentioned problems and difficulties may occur in the struggle of the translators to achieve *naturalness*. As Newmark states it, the level of naturalness achieved in a translation may depend on whether it makes sense, reads naturally, and "is written in ordinary language, the common grammar, idioms and words that meet that kind of situation" (Newmark 1988: 24). Naturalness is important in all text types; this is the main reason why it is almost impossible to produce a proper translation if the translator is not working into his/her language of habitual usage. In order to achieve naturalness, translators should be able to detach themselves mentally from the source-language text and reread and check their work regarding the following: Would they ever see such language usage in texts belonging to the same genre and register written originally in the target language? "Is it usage, is it common usage in that kind of writing? How frequent is it?" (ibid: 26). However, they should not ask themselves whether it is English or not because, according to Newmark, "there is more English than the patriots and the purists and the chauvinists are aware of" (ibid: 26). He also admits that naturalness can be defined easily, "but not so easy to be concrete about. Natural usage comprises a variety of idioms or styles or registers determined primarily by the 'setting' of the text, i.e. where it is typically published or found, secondarily by the author, topic and readership, all of whom are usually dependent on the setting"

(ibid: 26). When translating idioms, naturalness might also be compromised by the use of books of idioms, dictionaries, which often fail to distinguish "between what is current (e.g. '*keep my head above water*') and what is dead (e.g. '*dead as a door nail*')", and by the difficulty of matching the equivalence of meaning with the equivalence of frequency (ibid: 28).

It can be concluded that idioms are a challenging domain of translation studies. In order to translate idioms from the source language into the target language, the translator has to choose the most appropriate strategy, taking into consideration their peculiarities, function, culture specificity, semantic and structural unpredictability. When dealing with these difficulties, translators may use various strategies.

Strategies used in the translation of idioms

According to Baker, the most fortunate and ideal situation would be that they find an idiom with a similar meaning in the target language. However, if they do not, then there are other factors to consider, "for example, the significance of the specific lexical items which constitute the idiom, i.e. whether they are manipulated elsewhere in the source text, as well as the appropriateness or inappropriateness of using idiomatic language in a given register in the target language. The acceptability or non-acceptability of using any of the strategies described below will therefore depend on the context in which a given idiom is translated. [...] Questions of style, register, and rhetorical effect must also be taken into consideration" (Baker 1992: 72).

Baker (1992) enlists five strategies. Some of them will be exemplified here with English–Hungarian translations:

1) Using an idiom of similar meaning and form

This strategy might seem to be the ideal solution, but other aspects, such as register, style, or rhetorical effect, must be considered as well. Baker agrees with Fernando and Flavell in their warning against the urge that most translators feel to search for an idiom in the target language risking to use even inappropriate ones (Fernando & Flavell cited in Baker 1992).

Using an idiom of similar meaning and form means to use an idiom in the target language which has approximately the same meaning as the source-language idiom and it contains equivalent lexical items. However, such ideal matches can rarely be achieved.

Examples:
break someone's heart – összetörni valakinek a szívét
face to face – szemtől szembe
step by step – lépésről lépésre

s/he did not turn a hair – egy hajszála sem görbült meg
prepare the ground – előkészíteni a terepet.

2) Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form

This strategy is based on the possibility to find an idiom in the target language with a similar meaning to that of the source idiom or expression but containing different lexical items.

Examples:

Jack-of-all-trades – ezermester
one good turn deserves another – jótett helyébe jót várj.

3) Translation by paraphrase

According to Baker, "this is by far the most common way of translating idioms when a match cannot be found in the target language or when it seems inappropriate to use idiomatic language in the target text because of differences in stylistic preferences of the source and target languages" (ibid: 74).

In order to exemplify this strategy, Baker uses the French translation of the following source text: "One frequent criticism of the Manitoba Government throughout the language controversy was that it never seemed to *get a handle on the issue.*" A possible Hungarian translation using paraphrasing would be: "A nyelvi vita idején egyik gyakori bírálat Manitoba kormányával szemben az volt, hogy a jelek szerint soha nem volt képes *kezelni/uralni a helyzetet.*"

Paraphrasing idioms can also be exemplified with the following English–Hungarian translation called by Klaudy *total transformation* (a lexical transfer operation):

He'd cooked Seton's goose all right. - ... Alaposan *elintézte* Setont.

Although the idiomatic expression *to cook sy's goose* has some possible corresponding Hungarian idioms (e.g. *keresztezi/meghiúsítja valakinek a terveit, ellátja a baját*), the translator chose to use a single word (*elintéz*) (Klaudy 2003: 293–294).

4) Translation by omission

In certain situations, idioms may be omitted from the target text. The reason for this may be that they cannot be easily paraphrased, they do not have a close match in the target language, or because of stylistic considerations.

5) Strategy of compensation

This is a strategy which Baker does not try to illustrate because it would take up too much space. "Briefly this means that one may either omit or play down a feature such as idiomaticity at the point where it occurs in the source text and introduce it elsewhere in the target text" (Baker 1992: 78).

As it has been already mentioned before, Klaudy (2003) also deals with the possibilities of translating idioms when describing *total transformation.* Practically, this lexical transfer operation presented by her may include two of Baker's above mentioned strategies: using an idiom of similar meaning but

dissimilar form and translation by paraphrase. Some of the examples given by Klaudy (2003: 292–293) are:

várja, hogy a sült galamb a szájába repüljön – to let the grass grow under one's feet;
fűt, fát ígér – to promise the moon
falfehéren – white as a sheet.

In Baker's opinion, "using the typical phraseology of the target language – its natural collocations, its own fixed and semi-fixed expressions, the right level of idiomaticity, and so on – will greatly enhance the readability of your translations. Getting this level right means that your target text will feel less 'foreign' and, other factors being equal, may even pass for an original" (Baker 1992: 78).

Analysis of the strategies chosen by the translator trainees

In this study, we proposed to analyse the various solutions which a group of translator trainees chose while translating into Hungarian twenty idioms (given in context) from the novel "A Game of Thrones" by George R. R. Martin. The students were allowed to use any kind of available resources (online or printed dictionaries), but they did not have access to the official Hungarian translation of the text when working on their translations. Most of them had not read the novel before, but they were familiar with the story because of the popular film adaptation of the book.

The target group consisted of seventeen second-year students studying translation and interpreting (Hungarian and English languages) at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences Târgu-Mureş. It is important to mention that although a requirement for admission to the Bachelor's programme is to have a B2 level English language certificate and, ideally, they should reach C1 level by the end of their studies, their translation skills (involving reading comprehension and writing skills) are not always on the appropriate level. Before this task, the group had not received any specific training regarding the issue of how to deal with idioms in translation.

Their strategies and the appropriateness of their choices were examined and compared with the options of the experienced literary translator. However, the sample of the present study is not large enough to draw general conclusions regarding the strategies of translating idioms from English into Hungarian. The aim of this analysis is simply to obtain a clear view of the difficulties the members of the target group are dealing with. It can be considered a needs analysis assessing some of the problems the students may face, and it is only the first part of a more detailed research regarding the design and improvement of teaching materials for translator trainees.

The following twenty idioms had to be translated: *did not rise to the bait, drag him into the quarrel, being made light of, his bowels had turned to water, made his hackles rise, had caught him red-handed, brought up the rear, in the dead of night, an old hand at justice, picked their way carefully, gave her a chill, were taking a toll, a man half in his cups, on wary feet, in a fit of guilt, peas in a pod, in the blink of an eye, guard your tongue, I never asked for this cup to pass to me, coming hard at her heels.* They were extracted from the text in the order as they occurred, together with the paragraphs in which they appeared; therefore, they could be interpreted in context. They are of different types and some of them can be regarded as variants of certain idioms.

The students' choices were categorized into *acceptable* and *unacceptable* translations and the main strategies chosen by them were also assessed. From Baker's five strategies, four could be identified: *(1) using an idiom of approximately similar meaning and form, (2) using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, (3) translation by paraphrase*, and *(4) translation by omission*. The fourth strategy*, translation by omission* was not considered acceptable in the case of this task, and they had no reason to apply the fifth strategy (*the strategy of compensation*) described by Baker. Besides the four previously mentioned strategies, one more could be identified: some students tried to translate certain idioms (5) *literally* (word-for-word) because they simply did not recognize them as idioms.

In order to illustrate the different strategies chosen by the students, let us examine four examples.

1. Source text: "Gared *did not rise to the bait.* He was an old man, past fifty, and he had seen the lordlings come and go" (Martin 2011). The meanings of the idiom *to rise to the bait* given in *The Dictionary – Idioms* are the following: *to respond to an allurement; to fall for an enticement or fall into a trap.* The various translations of the idiom *did not rise to the bait* are shown in *Table 1.*

As it can be seen in the table, Tamás Pétersz, an experienced translator, who translated the novel into Hungarian with the title *Trónok Harca,* chose the second strategy – using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form: *nem vette fel a kesztyűt* (Martin 2014). None of the translator trainees used the same Hungarian idiom. However, some of them realized that there is a Hungarian expression related to *bait (csali)* which can be used as an equivalent of the SL idiom in this context. Some forms of the Hungarian expression used by them are acceptable: *nem akadt csalira, nem vette be a csalit, nem harapott a csalira, nem kapta be a csalit, nem harapott rá a csalira, nem ugrott a csalira.* They used different verbs, but that does not change the overall meaning of the expression. Two students managed to find and use an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form: *nem esett bele a csapdába.* There were two unacceptable attempts to paraphrase the idiom (*nem reagált a cseles kérdéssel, nem*

engedett a fiatal úrfi megjegyzéséhez) and an acceptable one (*nem vette fel a piszkálódást*). The literal translation *nem ment előre a csalihoz* is unacceptable.

Table 1.

SL (EN)	TL (HU)	Student's initials	Student's translation	Strategy (1/2/3/4/5)	Acceptable translation	Unacceptable translation
did not rise to the bait	nem vette fel a kesztyűt (translated by Tamás Pétersz – strategy 2)	CR	nem reagált a cseles kérdéssel	3		x
		DI	nem vette fel a piszkálódást	3	x	
		FI	nem akadt csalira	1	x	
		IE	nem ment előre a csalihoz	5		x
		IB	nem vette be a csalit	1	x	
		KB	nem harapott a csalira	1	x	
		KN	nem vette számba a csalit	3		x
		KV	nem kapta be a csalit	1	x	
		KK	nem kapta be a csalit	1	x	
		KA	nem vette be a csalit	1	x	
		ME	nem harapott rá a csalira	1	x	
		PH	nem ugrott a csalira	1	x	
		SZs	nem engedett a fiatal úrfi megjegyzéséhez	3		x
		SzA	nem esett bele a csapdába	2	x	
		SzZs	nem esett bele a csapdába	2	x	
		SzS	nem akadt a csalira	1	x	
		VN	nem vette be a csalit	1	x	
		Total			**13**	**4**

2. Source text: "Will had known they would *drag him into the quarrel* sooner or later. He wished it had been later rather than sooner" (Martin 2011). The meaning of the idiom *to drag (someone) into (something)* given in *The Free Dictionary – Idioms* is the following: t*o force, impel, involve, or convince someone to participate in an undesirable situation or action.* The various translations of the idiom *drag him into the quarrel* are shown in *Table 2*.

Table 2.

SL (EN)	TL (HU)	Student's initials	Student's translation	Strategy (1/2/3/4/5)	Acceptable translation	Unacceptable translation
drag him into the quarrel	őt (is) belerángatják a vitába (translated by Tamás Pétersz – strategy 1)	CR	veszekedés lesz	3	x	
		DI	őt is belerángatják a vitába	1	x	
		FI	őt is belesodorják a vitába	2	x	
		IE	bele fogják őt vonni a vitába	5		x
		IB	belekeverik a veszekedésbe	2	x	
		KB	vitába fog keveredni	2	x	
		KN	belerángatják a civakodásba	1	x	
		KV	veszekedés lesz	3	x	
		KK	belekeveredik a vitába	2	x	
		KA	a veszekedésbe húzzák őt	5		x
		ME	vitába keverednek	2	x	
		PH	őt is bevonják a veszekedésbe	3		x
		SZs	belekeverik őt is a vitába	2	x	
		SzA	belekeverik a vitába	2	x	
		SzZs	belekeverik a vitába	2	x	
		SzS	behúzzák őt is a veszekedésbe	5		x
		VN	a veszekedésbe húzzák őt	5		x
		Total			**12**	**5**

In this case, Tamás Pétersz chose the first strategy – using an idiom of approximately similar meaning and similar form: *őt (is) belerángatják a vitába* (Martin 2014). Two students also realized that in Hungarian there is a similar expression (*belerángatni valakit valamibe*), and used it in their translations: *őt is belerángatják a vitába, belerángatják a civakodásba.* Five students used an idioms of similar meaning but slightly dissimilar form: *belekeverik a veszekedésbe, belekever(ed)ik (őt is) a vitába, vitába keverednek.* Others used translation by paraphrase: *veszekedés lesz.* Four attempts of literal translation and one to paraphrase the idiom proved unacceptable.

3. Source text: "Gared had spent forty years in the Night's Watch, man and boy, and he was not accustomed to *being made light of*" (Martin 2011). The

meaning of the idiom *to make light of* given in *The Free Dictionary – Idioms* is the following: *to treat something as if it were unimportant or humorous.* The various translations of the idiom from the text are shown in *Table 3*.

Table 3.

SL (EN)	TL (HU)	Student's initials	Student's translation	Strategy (1/2/3/4/5)	Acceptable translation	Unacceptable translation
being made light of	gúnyolódjanak rajta (translated by Tamás Pétersz – strategy 3)	CR	gúnyolódjanak rajta	3	x	
		DI	gúnyolódjanak rajta	3	x	
		FI	gúnyolódjanak vele	3	x	
		IE	félvállról vegyék	2	x	
		IB	kigúnyolják őt	3	x	
		KB	aki a düh embere	3		x
		KN	félvállról vegyék	2	x	
		KV	figyelmen kívül hagyják	3	x	
		KK	félvállról vegyék	2	x	
		KA	-	4		x
		ME	figyelmen kívül hagyja	3		x
		PH	viccet csináljanak belőle	3	x	
		SZs	nem veszik komolyan	3	x	
		SzA	erre rávilágítsanak	3		x
		SzZs	erre rávilágítsanak	3		x
		SzS	csúfot űzzenek belőle	2	x	
		VN	-	4		x
		Total			**11**	**6**

Here, Tamás Pétersz used the third strategy – he paraphrased the idiom: *gúnyolódjanak rajta* (Martin 2014). Three students also chose the verb *gúnyolódni/ kigúnyolni (taunt/mock/ridicule)* to paraphrase the idiom. Other acceptable attempts to paraphrase the idiom were the following: *viccet csináljanak belőle, nem veszik komolyan.* There were three successful attempts to use expressions of similar meaning but dissimilar form: *félvállról vegyék, csúfot űzzenek belőle, figyelmen kívül hagyják.* Four of the paraphrasing attempts and the two omissions were unacceptable.

4. Source text: "Will had been a hunter before he joined the Night's Watch. Well, a poacher in truth. Mallister freeriders *had caught him red-handed* in the Mallisters' own woods, skinning one of the Mallisters' own bucks, and it had been a choice of putting on the black or losing a hand" (Martin 2011). The meaning of the idiom *to catch someone red-handed* given in The Free Dictionary – Idioms is

the following: *to catch a person in the act of doing something wrong.* The various translations of the idiom from the text are shown in *Table 4*.

Table 4.

SL (EN)	TL (HU)	Student's initials	Student's translation	Strategy (1/2/3/4/5)	Acceptable translation	Unacceptable translation
caught him red-handed	rajtakapták (translated by Tamás Pétersz – strategy 3)	CR	őt elkaptak mikor tett ér	3		x
		DI	tetten érték őt	2	x	
		FI	fülön csípték	2	x	
		IE	tetten érték	2	x	
		IB	elkapták véres kézzel	5		x
		KB	véreskezűnek találták	5		x
		KN	rajtakapták	3	x	
		KV	-			x
		KK	szélhámosságon kapták	3	x	
		KA	-			x
		ME	tetten érték	2	x	
		PH	-			x
		SZs	tetten érték	2	x	
		SzA	elkapták/tetten érték	2	x	
		SzZs	tetten érték	2	x	
		SzS	rátaláltak	3	x	
		VN	-			x
		Total			**10**	**7**

In this case, Pétersz used the third strategy again; he paraphrased the idiom, using only one word: *rajtakapták* (Martin 2014). Seven students successfully managed to find Hungarian expressions with similar meaning but dissimilar form: *tetten érték, fülön csípték.* There were three successful paraphrasing attempts (*rátaláltak, szélhámosságon kapták, rajtakapták*). One paraphrasing, two word-for-word translation attempts, and four omissions were unacceptable.

Regarding the acceptability of the translations of the twenty given idioms, 61% proved to be acceptable and 39% unacceptable, as it is shown in the diagram.
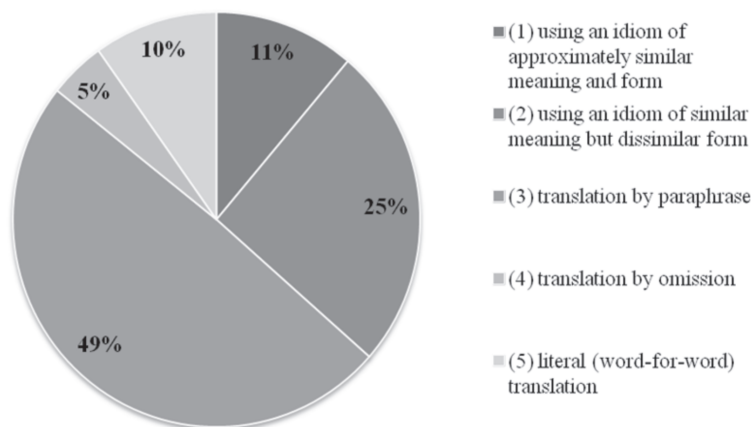
The main reasons for unacceptability were the following: not recognizing the fact that the respective phrase is an idiom, problems with interpretation, use of inappropriate style and incorrect grammatical structures. However, these reasons were not necessarily related to the choice of strategy (except those who omitted the idiom or tried to translate them literally because they failed to recognize them as idioms).

The acceptability of the translations

The frequency of use of the different strategies can be seen in the following diagram:

Strategies used by the translator trainees

- (1) using an idiom of approximately similar meaning and form
- (2) using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form
- (3) translation by paraphrase
- (4) translation by omission
- (5) literal (word-for-word) translation

The most frequently chosen strategy was translation by paraphrase. This confirms Baker's opinion, who also concluded that this is the most commonly used strategy. The strategy of paraphrasing was followed in frequency by the attempt of using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form. Some of the idioms proved to have an equivalent of approximately similar meaning and form in the target language, and in most cases this was recognized by the students. Translations by omission were not considered acceptable and very few literal translations proved to be appropriate. The translator trainees' choice of strategy is not very different from that of the experienced translator (Tamás Pétersz) regarding the order of frequency and the percentage of strategies. Pétersz used translation by paraphrase in 55%, an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form in 30%, and an idiom of approximately similar meaning and form in 15%.

Conclusions

The aim of this study was to obtain a clear view of the difficulties and problems that a group of translator trainees may encounter in translating idioms. It can be considered a needs analysis because assessing some of the problems they face can help us design more appropriate teaching materials for them. However, as we have mentioned it before, the sample of the present study is not large enough to draw general conclusions regarding the strategies of translating idioms from English into Hungarian.

Based on the analysis of the strategies used by the translator trainees and the appropriateness of their choices, it can be concluded that it is a major challenge for them to translate idioms. The analysis has shown that their translations involved five main strategies: (1) using an idiom of approximately similar meaning and form, (2) using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, (3) translation by paraphrase, (4) translation by omission, and (5) literal (word-for-word) translation. Although they worked with the idioms instinctively, without any previous training regarding this particular domain, the most frequently used strategy was translation by paraphrase, which confirmed the information relating to the predominant frequency of this strategy presented in other studies.

The fact that 39% of their options were not acceptable due to the non-recognition of certain idioms, problems with interpretation, use of inappropriate style, and incorrect grammatical structures, draws our attention to the need to introduce the issue of translating idioms into the training programme, including idiom-typology, possible problems of recognition and interpretation, and translation strategies.

Therefore, a further step in our work will be to introduce the topic of the translation of idioms into the curriculum and design appropriate materials to develop our students' knowledge and skills in this domain. In order to increase their awareness regarding the translation of idioms, we intend to introduce specific activities and tasks, such as: the presentation, explanation, discussion, exemplification, and practice of idiom recognition and the strategies of idiom translation; comparative analysis of translated texts where the source-language texts are rich in idioms; vocabulary activities focused on idioms; creation of glossaries containing idioms, their explanations, and their possible translations into Hungarian; translating texts rich in idioms; search for online dictionaries and resources that make the translation of idioms easier.

Obviously, the translation of idioms becomes easier with a deeper knowledge of the languages and cultures the translators are working with. But, if they become aware of the issues regarding the different types of idioms, the importance of their recognition, and their appropriate interpretation, this may help them in facing the challenge of translating them.

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Online dictionary

http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com

Cultural Interchangeability? Culture-Specific Items in Translation[1]

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Abstract. This paper summarizes the results of the translation work carried out within an international project aiming to develop the language skills of staff working in hotel and catering services. As the topics touched upon in the English source texts are related to several European cultures, these cultural differences bring about several challenges related to the translation of realia, or culture-specific items (CSIs). In the first part of the paper, a series of translation strategies for rendering source-language CSIs into the target language are enlisted, while the second part presents the main strategies employed in the prepared translations.

Keywords: realia, translation strategy, intercultural communication, cultural sensitivity

1. Introduction

This paper summarizes the challenges and the results of the translation work carried out by the Sapientia team within an international Erasmus+ project for Strategic Partnership called "Key Skills for European Union Hotel Staff" (Project No 2014-1-HR01-KA2014-007224; implemented in the period of 2014–2016), aiming to develop the language skills of staff working in hotel and catering services. In this presentation, I would like to focus on the translation of extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs) or realia which were found as the most challenging part of the translation work. For this purpose, in the first part of the paper, I would like to give a general presentation of the project, followed by a brief summary of the main translation strategies enlisted by the literature of the domain related to the translation of culture-specific references. The main part of the paper consists of the presentation of a series of examples which display the

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most imposing problems encountered during the translation work. The paper ends with the conclusions drawn from this demanding linguistic experience.

2. Presentation of the project

The ongoing project in which the Department of Humanities of Sapientia University is involved is an international Erasmus+ project for Strategic Partnership called "Key Skills for European Union Hotel Staff" (Project No 2014-1-HR01-KA2014-007224; implementation period 2014–2016), aiming to develop the language skills of staff working in hotel and catering services. In this project, six partner institutions from six countries are collaborating: Tourism and Catering School Dubrovnik (Croatia), Primrose Publishing (UK), Ekonomska šola Murska Sobota (Slovenia), IPSSA Nino Bergese (Italy), Sapientia University, campus of Miercurea Ciuc (Romania), and Turiba University (Latvia). It addresses the specific objectives of the Erasmus+ programme in the field of education and training. Among the objectives of the project, the following might be mentioned: 1) to improve the level of key competences and skills (namely, employability skills and language competences), with particular regard to their relevance for the labour market (tourism and hospitality industry) and their contribution to a cohesive society (providing better cultural awareness and increased language competence); 2) improve language teaching/learning and promote EU's broad linguistic diversity. The project is targeted at developing professional language competence in six EU countries in twelve languages (English, Italian, Croatian, Latvian, Slovenian, Romanian, Hungarian, German, French, Russian, Spanish, and Greek) and raising hospitality industry employees' intercultural awareness.

The project is aimed at creating and designing materials that provide hotel staff, trainees, and students with a very extensive range of replies to guests' questions and requests in twelve languages – at the hotel reception, in the hotel restaurants, cafés and bars as well as in other parts of the hotel. On a broader scale, all this has also been designed to become equally valuable to everyone who works in the field of tourism and deals with foreign visitors. The project has also provided ideas and study materials in the above mentioned twelve languages for the hotel management to enable them to deliver information to groups of guests, to make presentations, to promote the hotel, to help staff recruitment, to enhance international collaboration, and to manage the hotel and the staff more efficiently.

The project also provides a wealth of valuable insights into cultural differences between various European countries and the principal countries outside Europe where visitors come from, with in-depth guidance on what one should do and say and what one should avoid doing and saying in different countries and contexts and when talking to foreigners. The first part of the project focuses on designing

teaching/learning materials for professional language learning in the hospitality industry (CEFR[2] level A2/B1) in twelve languages. The second part of the project focuses on the development of 6 in-depth modules for English language learning (CEFR level B2/C1) related to work in the tourism and hospitality industry. The project website is available at http://www.language4hotel.eu/.

As mentioned above, at the initial stage of the project implementation, an English-language material was created to help hotel staff, trainees, and students to interact effectively and confidently with guests using a variety of languages. The needs analysis conducted at an earlier stage of the project had shown what different employees in a hotel need in order to deal efficiently and politely with guests using a foreign language. An extensive range of frequently asked guest questions and typical staff replies were developed by the English partner in order to enhance the work of those working at the reception desk and in the restaurant. The material was integrated within three colourful digital maps as well (see figures 1, 2, and 3), representing hotels and their surroundings in three separate imaginary locations: in the rural countryside, by the seaside, and in the mountains, at a ski resort, all three available online (http://www.2clix.eu) and on CDs.

Figure 1. *Village map*

Figure 2. *Seaside map*

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2   Common European Framework of Reference.

Figure 3. *Ski resort map*

The materials have also made extensive use of smartphone apps in the twelve languages, easily downloadable and ready to use by both hotel and restaurant staff and by their guests or anybody interested in using them or simply playing with these digital maps or apps (http://2clix.net/frontdesk/).

As mentioned above, within the implementation part of the Front Desk and Restaurant work package, several hundred guest questions and staff replies were created in English. These were translated by the partner institutions into the languages they were responsible for. As Sapientia University is situated in a region where the national language is Romanian and the language spoken by the majority of the local population is Hungarian, our team's task was to translate the English material into these two languages, as well as to translate Hungarian and Romanian materials into English. As the author of this paper was translating mainly into Hungarian, the examples will present EN–HU translations.

3. Culture, language, translation strategies, cultural interchangeability

Due to the fact that the source material to be translated belongs to the domain of tourism and hospitality industry, it is highly culture-specific. The cultural differences existing between countries are especially visible in this context as being one of those extralinguistic areas where cultural substitution or transference frequently occur. In order to provide proper translation of cultural terms, the translator needs to be aware of the source culture, recognize the cultural elements in the text, and try to find a proper variant in the target language considering the target audience. The cultural aspects of the translation work are especially emphasized here as well as the translator's task to find the most appropriate technique of conveying these aspects in the target language (James 2002, Stolze 2009).

In order to analyse the linguistic strategies employed within the translation work carried out within the project, Newmark's definition of "culture" has been taken into account. In his view, culture is "the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression" (Newmark 1998: 94). He distinguishes "cultural" from "universal" and "personal" language, especially focusing on the "foreign" cultural words in their narrow sense. In his view, "'cultural' words are easy to detect since they are associated with a particular language and cannot be literally translated". However, he also enlists several "cultural customs (…) where literal translation would distort the meaning" and [therefore] "a translation may include an appropriate descriptive-functional equivalent" (1998: 95).

There are two distinct attitudes regarding the culture–language relationship. On the one hand, Newmark does "not regard language as a component or feature of culture" (1998: 95). His view is in direct opposition to the one taken by Vermeer who states that "language is part of a culture" (2012: 193). Vermeer's stance implies the impossibility of translation, whereas for Newmark translating the source language (SL) into a suitable form of target language (TL) is part of the translator's role in transcultural communication.

In our view, the success of a translation depends to a large degree on its coherence with the target audience's ("the addressees'") situation, and this stance is especially valid for translations carried out in the domain of tourism, where the skopos (aim) of the translation is to attract the highest possible number of target audience to the region (cf. Reiss & Vermeer 2014, Nord 1997, among others).

In this paper, I would like to focus on the translation of culture-specific items (CSI) or extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs), particularly on the translation of food and cooking items, names of national dishes, and geographical names that raise the most frequently asked question: "What kind of strategies to apply in their translation?" As Aixelá (1998: 58) claims, these CSIs are "those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text".

Having in mind that food items are considered to be especially culture-sensitive and "are important expressions of national culture" (Newmark 1998: 97), these specific national terms are not interchangeable because they denote mono- or transcultural references that are not to be transferred into the target language. Therefore, the translators in the project have followed the advice given by the scholarly literature in translation studies referring to the translation of realia (see Florin 1993, Tellinger 2003) or other overlapping terms such as "culture-bound problems" (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993), "cultural categories" (Newmark 1998), "culture-specific items" (Aixelá 1996, Terestyényi 2011), "allusions"

(Leppihalme 2001, 2011), and "extralinguistic cultural references" (Pedersen 2007). They have come to the agreement that the names of national dishes should be retained, but in their description universal terms should be employed that might be understood by any foreign speaker.

In the taxonomy of translation strategies, two major ECR transfer strategies can be distinguished: (1) Minimum Change and (2) Intervention. Minimum change includes a further subdivision: (a) the inclusion of the *official equivalent* into the target text (TT), (b) *retention*, which means that the original cultural reference is retained, i.e. taken over from the source text (ST) unchanged into the TT, and (c) *direct translation*. Intervention includes (a) *specification* (addition and completion), (b) *generalization* (hyponymy and paraphrase), and (c) *substitution* (cultural and situational) (taxonomy taken over from Pedersen 2007). (For an earlier discussion of the problems in the translation of realia, see Ajtony 2015.)

4. Discussion of translation problems

In the following part of the paper, some problems are highlighted where translators encountered special difficulties. First, the problems related to the translation of national dishes are discussed. Next – closely related to the former topic –, the translation of the food glossary is considered, especially focusing on the items of food which have geographical and, therefore, cultural specificity. Finally, a series of instances from the translation of the Front Desk and Restaurant guest questions and answers are mentioned.

4.1. Translation of national dishes

One of the most challenging parts of the translation work consisted of a special aspect of the restaurant- and kitchen-related sentences. This section involved the creation of a short, accurate, and very clear description of fifty national dishes for each of the six partner countries. The list of national dishes was conceived in such a way as to be ideal descriptions a guest needs in order to decide whether or not to order the dish. These descriptions have no recipes and no list of ingredients, but sufficient information for the guest to form a vivid image of the dish. These lists of national dishes were first created in the five partners' languages, re-created in English, and then translated into the other seven languages. As Sapientia is considered to be a Romanian institution in this project, its first language is obviously taken to be Romanian in spite of the fact that our campus is situated in a region with a majority of native Hungarian population. Therefore, the list of national dishes was first created in Romanian, then it was translated / re-created in English, and finally translated into Hungarian.

In the translation of the names of national dishes, the strategy of retention has been employed, a translation strategy involving minimum changes: i.e. the name of the dish has been retained, only their description was translated into English, and then into Hungarian, employing the strategy of specification (addition and completion). We interpreted the term "national dishes" in a specific way. As Romania is a country where several nationalities coexist, the cuisine of several nations can be found on the menus of restaurants, depending on the region. Consequently, we included not only typical Romanian dishes in the list (see examples 1–3 below) but also typically Hungarian ones (examples 7–10), and even one Armenian dish (example 11). In the following, we shall present different strategies applied in the translation of national dishes, illustrated with examples.

In the case of typically Romanian dishes, the name of the Romanian dish was retained, and its description was translated into English and Hungarian:

(1) *Saramură de peşte*
   (RO) Diferite feluri de peşte fripte pe pat de sare, servite, de regulă, cu mămăligă.
   (EN) Several kinds of fish grilled on a bed of salt, usually served with cornmeal porridge.
   (HU) Sóágyon sült halfélék puliszkával tálalva.
(2) *Tochitură*
   (RO) Tocăniţă de porc sau de vită cu cârnăciori, ceapă şi condimente. Preparat servit cald, alături de mămăligă cu ochiuri şi brânză rasă deasupra.
   (EN) Pork or beef stew including sausage, onion, and spices. Served hot, usually with a side-dish of cornmeal porridge topped with fried egg covered in grated cheese.
   (HU) Kolbásszal, hagymával és fűszerekkel ízesített disznó- vagy marhapörkölt. Melegen tálalják; köretként puliszkát szolgálnak fel reszelt sajttal megszórt tükörtojással.
(3) *Pastramă*
   (RO) Carne sărată, afumată, uscată, condimentată şi marinată, friptă la cuptor. Preparat servit cald sau rece, în felii subţiri, cu praz şi cartofi prăjiţi sau cu mămăligă caldă.
   (EN) Salted, smoked, dried, seasoned, and marinated meat baked in the oven. Served hot or cold, in thin slices with leeks and chips or hot polenta.
   (HU) Sózott, füstölt, szárított, fűszeres és marinírozott hús sütőben megsütve. Hidegen vagy melegen, vékony szeletekre vágva, póréhagymával és hasábburgonyával vagy meleg puliszkával tálalják.
(4) *Papanaş*
   (RO) Brânză dulce de vaci, prăjită în ulei şi servită cald, presărată cu zahăr pudră şi cu smântână şi dulceaţă deasupra.

> (EN) Sweet cottage cheese fried in oil and served hot, powdered with caster
> sugar and topped with cream and jam.
> (HU) Melegen tálalt, olajban sült, kristálycukorral meghintett, tejföllel és
> lekvárral leöntött édes túróból készült édesség.

Secondly, there were examples where the Romanian name of the dish was adopted in Hungarian – with a Hungarian spelling. In these cases, the Romanian name of the dish was retained, but the Hungarian spelling of the Romanian name was also included in the description (see the names written in bold in examples 5 and 6), the same way as it would appear in the menu of a local restaurant.

(5) *Mititei (Mici)*
> (RO) Cârnăciori dintr-un amestec de carne tocată de porc, de vită şi de miel,
> fripți la grătar. Se servesc cu muştar şi cu pâine, ca gustare caldă sau ca
> fel principal.
> (EN) Grilled sausages of minced pork, veal, and lamb meat mixed together.
> Served with mustard and bread as a hot starter or main course.
> (HU) **Miccs**. Roston sült, darált disznó-, borjú- és bárányhús keverékből
> készült apró kolbászkák. Mustárral és kenyérrel, melegen, előételként
> vagy főfogásként tálalják.

(6) *Ciorbă ţărănească*
> (RO) Ciorbă de legume tocate şi fierte, cu carne de porc, servită cald, adesea cu
> smântână şi cu ardei iute.
> (EN) A sour soup consisting of pork and chopped boiled vegetables, served
> hot, often with cream and chili pepper.
> (HU) **Parasztcsorba.** Disznóhúsból és kockára vágott főtt zöldségekből készült
> savanyú leves. Melegen, tejföllel és csípős paprikával tálalják.

A third category includes those entries which were taken over from the Hungarian cuisine into the Romanian one, preserving the Hungarian term in the name of the Romanian dish. However, the samples presented below display three different stages: Example 7 renders the Hungarian term via French borrowing (which offers the name a more 'professional' sounding as French is considered to be the language of gastronomy), Example 8 preserves the Hungarian term, while examples 9 and 10 are naturalized borrowings (according to Newmark, the naturalization technique "adapts the SL word first to the normal pronunciation, then to the normal morphology of the TL" (1988: 82).[3]

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3   Here, I would like to thank my reviewer for having drawn my attention to the distinction within this category.

(7) *Varză à la Cluj*
   (RO) Straturi de varză dulce sau murată, amestecate cu straturi de carne de porc tocată. Preparat servit cald, ca fel principal, cu smântână.
   (EN) Main course of fresh or pickled white cabbage layered with minced pork. Served hot with sour cream.
   (HU) **Kolozsvári káposzta**. Friss vagy savanyú káposztából készült, darált disznóhússal rétegelt étel. Melegen, tejföllel tálalják.

(8) *Vargabéles*
   (RO) Budincă de tăiței coaptă. Desert tipic unguresc, servit cald sau rece.
   (EN) Baked Hungarian noodle-cake dessert served warm or cold.
   (HU) **Vargabéles**. Széles metéltből készült magyar sütemény. Desszertként szolgálják fel, melegen vagy hidegen.

(9) *Gulaş*
   (RO) Gulaş – făcut din bucățele de carne de porc, de vită sau de oaie şi din cartofi tăiați cubulețe, servit ca supă sau ca fel principal.
   (EN) Goulash – containing chopped pork, beef or mutton and diced potatoes, served as a soup or main course.
   (HU) **Gulyás** – kockára vágott disznó-, marha- vagy juhhús és felkockázott krumpli. Levesként vagy főfogásként tálalják.

(10) *Langoş*
   (RO) Gogoaşă plată, prăjită în ulei, servită cu smântână, caşcaval ras şi usturoi sau servită dulce, cu gem deasupra.
   (EN) Deep-fried dough served with sour cream, grated cheese and garlic, or served sweet, topped with jam.
   (HU) **Lángos** – Bő olajban sült kelt tészta. Tejföllel, reszelt sajttal és fokhagymával vagy édesen, lekvárral leöntve szolgálják fel.

The single typical Armenian dish that was mentioned in our list was "Ciorbă armenească", where in the case of the English translation a general description of the dish can be found, while the Hungarian translation contains the typical Armenian name of the soup:

(11) *Ciorbă armenească*
   (RO) Ciorbă tradițională armeană, făcută din zeamă de carne fiartă şi condimentată cu frunze de pătrunjel.
   (EN) Traditional Armenian sour soup made of meat broth and seasoned with parsley leaves.
   (HU) **Ángadzsábur leves**. Hagyományos örmény savanyú leves. Húslevesből készül petrezselyem levéllel ízesítve.

As the examples above show, several strategies were employed in order to translate this wide variety of Transylvanian dishes. The diversity of the dishes entailed a diversity of translation strategies: mainly the strategy of retention was employed, where the official equivalent of the dish was preserved, with the specific spelling of the target text (see "gulyás" – "goulash" – "gulaş"), but the strategy of intervention (specification, generalization) was also applied.

The following subchapter presents the translation problems encountered in another corpus related to food and cooking, in this case, the glossary, which raised further questions.

4.2. Glossary of food and cooking items

Besides the translation of the description of national dishes which presented cultural items that have to rendered with different strategies in the TL (either English or Hungarian), the project also contained a glossary of 213 items of food, which was prepared and translated into 12 languages, among which Hungarian and Romanian. The main headings of this glossary included: vegetables, fish and seafood, meat, cereals, fruit, herbs, spices and nuts, as well as methods of cooking were enlisted. The most challenging part of the translation work included those items which are foreign to the Romanian and/or the Hungarian cuisine, and therefore the TL equivalent was sometimes difficult to find. For the Sapientia team, one of the most interesting parts of this glossary was the list of fish and seafood, which are quite "distant" (both geographically and culturally) for the translators as inhabitants of a mountainous region such as the one where the campus of Miercurea Ciuc is situated. Here is the list of 35 such items in English and their Hungarian translation:

FISH AND SEAFOOD	HALAK ÉS A TENGER GYÜMÖLCSEI
anchovy	szardella
carp	ponty
catfish	törpeharcsa
cod	tőkehal
crab	tengeri rák
cuttlefish	tintahal
eel	angolna
gilt-head bream	aranyfejű keszeg
haddock	foltos tőkehal
hake	tőkehal
halibut	óriási laposhal

FISH AND SEAFOOD	HALAK ÉS A TENGER GYÜMÖLCSEI
herring	hering
John Dory	kakashal, Szent Péter hala
lobster	homár
mackerel	makréla
monkfish	ördöghal
mussel	éti kagyló
octopus	polip
oyster	osztriga
perch	sügér
plaice	lepényhal
pike	csuka
red mullet	vörös márna
shrimp	garnélarák
salmon	lazac
sardine	szardínia
sea bream	durbincs, tengeri keszeg
scallops	fésűkagyló
sea bass	tengeri sügér
seaweed	hínár, tengeri moszat
skate	rája
sole	nyelvhal
squid	tintahal
whelk	ehető kürtös csiga

The question is how language teachers or learners, as target groups of this language material, can attend to this list of English and Hungarian equivalents. Obviously, if cultural interchangeability is at stake, it can be claimed that these specific food items will never have the same meaning for a person familiar with the cuisine of the British Isles as for a native Hungarian or Romanian in Transylvania. If such a learner would like to acquire the names of these kinds of fish, they will naturally look them up on an Internet site to check at least their image, and also, if possible, taste them when the occasion arises, in order to be more familiar with them.

4.3. Translation of Front Desk and Restaurant questions and answers

The last subchapter of this paper highlights some of the main problems encountered during the translation process of the Front Desk (including the

Village, Ski, Seaside sections) and Restaurant guest questions and answers mentioned above in Chapter 2, where several hundred typical questions asked by guests and typical answers given by receptionists and restaurant staff had to be translated from English into Hungarian and Romanian. Within this section, the project partners agreed that geographical names (toponyms), personal names, artistic and cultural items should be retained.

In all sections of the Front Desk texts, no equivalent was needed for internationally known cultural terms, such as types of credit cards (*MasterCard, Visa, American Express*), names of English newspapers (*Daily Telegraph*), persons' names (e.g. Marianna, Henry, Jacqueline, Maurice). However, common street names, such as Church Street or High Street, were replaced by their Hungarian equivalents (Templom utca, Fő utca), but in the case of Riverside Lane, Chapel Lane, where the Hungarian equivalent would sound less common, the original English name was added in brackets, as a gloss: "Folyópart köz (Riverside Lane)", "Kápolna köz (Chapel Lane)".

The most specific technical terms could be found within the Ski section, where certain special skiing equipment operating in the imaginary ski resort were translated using the strategies of direct translation and retention: in most cases, the proper name was retained (when it was translatable, it was translated in brackets), while the name of the equipment was translated. For instance:

(12) (EN) What time does the Dragon chair-lift start in the morning?
     (HU) Mikor indul reggel a Sárkány (Dragon) székes felvonó?
(13) (EN) The gondola lift is out of action. Should we go on the Horizon drag-lift?
     (HU) A gondola felvonó nem működik. Használjuk inkább a hosszú Horizont síliftet?
(14) (EN) Where is the toboggan-run?
     It starts from the top of the Chamois chair-lift.
     (HU) Hol van a szánkópálya?
     A Zerge (Chamois) székes felvonó felső állomásánál kezdődik.
(15) (EN) Can I have lessons in Telemark skiing?
     (HU) Van lehetőség Telemark sítanfolyamra?
(16) (EN) There is a challenging stretch of moguls at the start of the Diabolo run.
     (HU) A Diabolo pálya elején van egy nehéz, mogulos szakasz.

5. Conclusions

The translation work carried out within the Erasmus partnership project proved to be a really difficult but interesting challenge to work with. As one of the main aims of the project was to decrease the cultural distance between nations of the

EU and to raise intercultural awareness in the tourism industry, the translators' help was twofold: on the one hand, they carried out a special task of rendering intercultural elements into each others' languages, thus helping future hotel industry staff to make themselves better understood by their guests and trying to minimize the chance of cultural misunderstandings. On the other hand, the translators themselves were acquainted with the great number of new cultural terms they had not been familiar with. The cultural competence of the translators was especially tested in this project, and the results showed that they managed to handle the challenge quite well.

Regarding the proper translation and transferring strategies, it can be claimed that the suitable rendering of culture-specific items in a TL (the transference of realia) gives a "local colour" to the text while retaining cultural names and concepts. As it could be seen both in the translation of national dishes as well as the culture-specific terms in the Front Desk and Restaurant texts, several SL cultural words were borrowed and introduced into the TL. As opposed to the practice noticeable in tourist guidebooks (see Rezaei & Kuhi 2014), translators tended to domesticate the cultural elements as much as possible. The purpose of this tendency was to make the translated material more user-friendly and more accessible for its target audience, learners, and teachers alike.

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On the Hungarian Equivalents of the English Passive in Literary Translations
A Case Study on the Translations of Two Novels

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Abstract. This paper investigates the choice of Hungarian equivalents for the English passive construction in translated texts in order to have a glimpse on how translators deal with the English passive. In previous studies (Tankó 2011, 2014), we have looked at the problems encountered by L1 speakers of Hungarian in the acquisition of the English passive voice, having identified different Hungarian equivalents of the English passive that native speakers would resort to when expressing a passive meaning. A special attention has been paid to the Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction, which seems to be the closest syntactic equivalent of the English passive, which captures most of its syntactic or discourse function properties. The main question to pursue is whether L1 speakers of Hungarian use the same strategies as shown in previous studies or they choose some other structures to express the passive meaning when it comes to translating literary texts. On the other hand, we would like to analyse Hungarian contexts which require a translation using the passive in English. Thus, our corpus consists of Orwell's *1984* and Jókai Mór's *Az arany ember*, comparing them with their translated versions.

Keywords: translation, passive construction, translation equivalent

1. Introduction

The primary aim of this paper is to investigate the choice of Hungarian equivalents for the English passive construction in translated texts. Furthermore, we wish to compare the strategies translators would resort to when translating literary texts with the choices of L1 speakers in their everyday speech.

In the first part of the paper, we will present the translation equivalents which were associated with the English passive by L1 speakers of Hungarian, and then enlist the hypothesis of our research. We will continue by providing an analysis

of the data resulting from the two novels and their translated versions, followed by discussions and conclusions.

2. Previous studies

In previous studies (Tankó 2011, 2014), we have identified several Hungarian equivalents of the English passive construction, which evince at least one of the parametric properties of English passive sentences. These structures are: (i) the synthetic passive, (ii) the third person plural form of the verb with generic reading, (iii) the active sentence with the direct object in topic position or (iv) the active sentence with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position, and (v) the predicative verbal adverbial construction. In what follows, we will analyse them one by one, looking at their main characteristics.

2.1. The synthetic passive

There used to be a synthetic (verbal) passive in Old Hungarian, formed with the suffix *–tat/-tet*. In the codices, these passive forms are used very frequently (Tóth 2000: 253). However, they occur extremely rarely in contemporary Hungarian, and only with certain verbs. For example: *születik* ('be born', from *szül* 'give birth'), *adatik* ('be given', from *ad* 'give'), *viseltetik* ('owe somebody certain feelings', from *visel* 'bear'), *foglaltatik* ('be included', from *(magába) foglal* 'include'). It must also be mentioned that, although used, most of these forms (except for *születik*) are considered archaic.

2.2. The 3ʳᵈ person plural form of the active verb

In Hungarian, the active verb forms are not only used in the active sense (e.g. *He closed the door*.) and in the unaccusative sense (e.g. *The door closed*.) but also to express passive meaning (e.g. *The door was closed by Mike*.) by using the third person plural form of the active verb where the agent remains unexpressed.

(1)   *Felszeletelik a kenyeret.*
         prt$_{UP}$.slice:3rd.pl the bread.Acc
         'They slice the bread. / The bread is sliced.'

As remarked in previous studies, an interesting feature of the structure is that it can be used even in cases when only one agent is meant (i.e. The bread is sliced by one woman). Thus, the structure has a generic reading. In this respect, the structure resembles the English short passives.

2.3. Active sentence with the direct object in topic

Although a regular active sentence, the direct object appears pre-verbally, that is in an emphatic position. When topicalized, the DO is extracted from the verbal phrase and occupies a position at the left periphery of the sentence.

(2)   *Az ajándékot megvásároltam.*
         the present.Acc prt$_{MEG}$.buy:past.1sg
         'I have bought the present.'

   Compared to the passive in English, it is the topicalization of the internal object that occurs in both the English passive and the Hungarian active sentence with the direct object in topic position. The active verbal form is not altered, and the external object is kept as the subject. Only the internal object moves in topic position. However, it retains the accusative case, as opposed to the passive voice in English. Thus, the active sentence with the direct object in topic position is an equivalent which resembles the English long passives.

2.4. Active sentence with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position

Similarly to the previous construction, the direct object is topicalized. Furthermore, the subject too appears in an emphatic position on the left periphery of the sentence, i.e. it is in focus position, carrying the main accent.

(3)   *Ezt a tortát ÉDESANYÁM sütötte.*
         this the cake.Acc mother.my bake.past.3sg
         'This cake has been made by my mother.'

   Compared to the passive in English, just like in the active sentence with the direct object in topic, it is the topicalization of the internal object that occurs in both the English passive and the Hungarian active sentence with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position. Again, the active verbal form is not altered, and the external object is kept as the focused subject. Thus, the active sentence with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position is an equivalent which resembles the English long passives where the agent is focused on since it brings along some new information.

2.5. The predicative verbal adverbial construction

In contemporary Hungarian, the predicative verbal adverbial construction (PVAC) is sometimes referred to as passive, or passive-like construction (see Alberti 1996, 1998; Márkus 2008, among others). It is true that the PVAC appears to be a syntactic equivalent of the passive, for a number of reasons: (i) it disposes of a special verbal phrase (the adverbial participial form, ending in -vA), (ii) it implies an auxiliary (*van* 'to be' or *lett/lesz* 'become'), (iii) it selects the internal argument as subject, and (iv) it may overtly express the agent. However, the Hungarian PVAC, due to numerous constraints, has a low productivity, as opposed to the passive in English.

(4)   *Az autó le **van** fest-ve.*
        the car$_{Nom}$ prt$_{down}$ is paint-vA
        'The car has been painted.'
(5)   *Az autó le **lett** fest-ve a fiú által.*
        the car$_{Nom}$ prt$_{down}$ became paint-VA the boy by
        'The car got painted by the boy.'

In what follows, we will present the constraints on the two types of PVAC in Hungarian. There are (i) lexical constraints regarding the class of verbs which can appear in the construction; (ii) aspectual constraints (especially regarding telicity); and (iii) syntactic constraints regarding the presence/absence of an overtly expressed agent phrase in the two types of PVAC.

As for the lexical constraint, only transitive and ergative (unaccusative) verbs are compatible with the PVAC (Kertész 2005: 2).

(6)   *A kávé meg van őrölve.*
        the coffee PRT be:3sg grind.adv.part
        'The coffee has been ground.'
(7)   *A tó be van fagyva.*
        the lake PRT$_{in}$ be:3sg freeze.adv.part
        'The lake is frozen.'
(8)   **Mari énekelve van.*
        Mary sing.adv.part be:3sg
        *'Mary is sung.' (Kertész 2005: 2)

From an aspectual point of view, states and processes are incompatible with the PVAC, as the first class of verbs lacks any change of state; furthermore, they are not telic. It is only aspectually complex verbs that occur in the PVAC (i.e. accomplishments and achievements), as they can be decomposed into a process and a resulting state, thus affecting the implied subject.

(9)   * *Az eső zuhogva van.*
         the rain pour.adv.part be:3sg
         'The rain is pouring.'
(10)   *A levél meg van írva.*
         the letter PRT be:3sg write.adv.part
         'The letter has been written.'
(11)   *Az üveg el van pattanva.*
         the glass PRT_{away} be:3sg crack.adv.part
         'The glass is cracked.' (Kertész 2005: 16–17)

Thirdly, concerning the syntactic constraint, the adverbial participle form describes a state which came about as a result of the event expressed by the base verb; consequently, it cannot be interpreted as eventive. This is why an important characteristic of the *be*-PVAC is that no *by*-phrase can appear to express the agent of the action. On the other hand, the PVAC with the auxiliary *lett/lesz* 'become' is grammatical with an overtly expressed agent phrase, as illustrated below.

(12)   **A fal le van fest-ve a fiú által.*
         the wall PRT_{down} is paint-VA the boy by
         'The wall is painted by the boy.' (Tóth 2000: 242)
(13)   *A fal a fiú által lett lefestve.*
         the wall.Nom the boy by become:3.sg.past prt_{DOWN}.paint.vA
         'The wall has been painted by the boy.'

Another consequence of the stative reading of the *be*-PVAC is that it is not compatible with manner adverbials, for example *quickly*, which can only modify events. In contrast, the PVAC with the auxiliary *lett/lesz* 'become' is grammatical with the same type of adverbs.

(14)   **A levél gyorsan van meg-ír-va.*
         the letter quickly is PRT -write-VA
         'The letter is written quickly.' (Tóth 2000: 241)
(15)   **A levél gyorsan lett meg-ír-va.*
         the letter quickly become PRT -write-VA
         'The letter got written in a hurry.'

Concluding, there are several types of constraints which apply for the Hungarian PVAC. Basically, it is mainly transitive or ergative verbs, accomplishments or achievements which are compatible with this construction, while the agent depends on the choice of the auxiliary since only the PVAC with the auxiliary *lett/lesz* 'become' allows the presence of a by-phrase.

2.6. Findings of previous studies

In previous studies, we have analysed the frequency of the above enumerated structures, all of them resembling to some extent the English passive construction. The results of the empirical research have shown that for perfective verb forms and short passives test subjects tend to use the PVAC, while progressives and long passives are mostly translated with active sentences with the direct object in topic position (Tankó 2011, 2014). Furthermore, certain dialectal differences have been pointed out as well. The PVAC is much more frequent in the Csángó and Székely dialects than in standard Hungarian – results confirmed by other studies as well (Kádár and Németh 2010: 201).

3. The main questions

In the present study, we will compare the original and translated versions of two well-known novels and address a series of questions as comparing the translation equivalents to the results of previous studies. First of all, we are interested whether the same Hungarian equivalents used for the English passive are used in translations of literary works or translators resort to other, possibly more ingenious solutions, given their thorough knowledge of the source and target languages as compared to common speakers of English as a second language. Another issue to investigate is whether any of the structures enumerated above is preferred in literary translations. Given the fact that one of the two novels under discussion was written in the second half of the 19th century and the other one in the middle of the 20th century, we would expect the archaic synthetic Hungarian passive to be used. The third problem to look into is whether there is a difference between literary translations and everyday speech regarding the choice of an equivalent when conveying the passive meaning.

4. The hypothesis

Our main hypothesis is that the equivalents used in literary translations will be basically the same. As expected, synthetic passive will be avoided, while active sentences with the DO in topic will be preferred for short passives and the active sentences with the DO in topic and the subject in focus for the long passives. Another hypothesis is that there will be less PVACs in translations since translations have in mind standard Hungarian.

5. The study

5.1. Data

For data collection, we have used the English translation of *Az arany ember*, written by Mór Jókai in 1872 and translated by Hegan Kennard in 1894 *(Timar's two worlds)*. As Jókai's novel is from the 19th century, we have chosen another piece from the 20th century, that is the first chapter of *1984*, a novel written by George Orwell in 1949 and translated into Hungarian by László Szíjgyártó in 1989. In our choice of these particular novels, we had in mind the fact that these texts contain long descriptive passages, consequently they provide favourable context for the use of passive constructions.

We have compared the two translations with their original versions with respect to the use of passive(like) constructions, identifying and analysing the English passive constructions and their Hungarian equivalents. In our analysis, we have considered only the first chapter of *1984* and its Hungarian version and the first eight chapters of the Hungarian novel and its English translation.

5.2. Findings in the Hungarian novel

Being a novel from the 19th century, we have 19 instances of synthetic passive in the original Hungarian text. When the original Hungarian version uses synthetic passive, it is usually translated by an English passive construction (84.21%).

(16)   *nyilváníttatik (p. 27)*[1]   *is declared (p. 5)*
           elolvastatnak (p. 60)   *are read (p. 27)*
           visszaadatnak (p. 60)   *are returned (p. 27)*

It is only in three cases where the translator resorted to an active construction instead of the passive.

(17)   *forgattatik (p. 55)*   *turn the skewer (p. 23)*
           felhúzatik (p. 55)   *to spit on a long skewer in a piece*
                                       of beef (p. 23)
           nem mondatik semmi (p. 60) *nothing wrong (p. 27)*

The PVAC appears 54 times in the first seven chapters of the book, and it is translated using an English passive construction 27 times (50%).

The Hungarian PVAC is totally ignored in three cases and left without any translation whatsoever.

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1   The numbers in brackets refer to page numbers.

(18)   *tölgyfahajóhoz van kapcsolva (p. 30)* [it is joined to the door of oak]
         rétegekre látszanak osztva (p. 55) [they seem to be split into layers]
         tűzfényével volt kifestve (p. 58) [it has been painted by the light of fire]²

In some cases, the Hungarian PVAC is translated using some adjective, which actually implies an agent having performed some kind of activity in order to reach the resulting state expressed by the adjective.

(19)   *legkevésbé volt megelégedve (p. 26)*   *not satisfied (p. 4)*
         meg volt mentve (p. 50)   *was safe (p. 19)*
         rejtve van (p. 70)   *is least accessible (p. 33)*

The Hungarian PVAC is translated using an active English construction in 16 cases.

(20)   *tele van aggatva (p. 29)*   *hang (p. 6)*
         el lesz süllyesztve (p. 38)   *must go down (p. 12)*
         le van csúszva (p. 84)   *has dropped (p. 43)*

Table 1. *Translation equivalents of the Hungarian archaic passives and PVACs*

English translation	Archaic passive %	PVAC %
Passive translation	84.21	50
No translation	-	5.55
Adjectival translation	-	14.8
Active translation	15.7	29.62

Finally, let us consider a few examples where the Hungarian PVAC is translated with an English passive construction, which seems to be a rule of thumb.

(21)   *feketére van festve (p. 28)*   *is painted black (p. 6)*
         meg volt mentve (p. 43)   *was saved (p. 15)*
         meg vannak jutalmazva (p. 62)   *are rewarded (p. 28)*

Summarizing, the translator mostly used the English passive construction in the translation of synthetic passives as well as for the PVACs. However, about a third of the PVACs are translated using active sentences and, marginally, adjectival forms occur too.

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2   Our translation.

5.3. Findings in the English translation of the Hungarian novel

A number of 150 passive constructions appear in the English translation: 43 long passives and 107 short passives, that is constructions without an expressed agent.

Table 2. *Translation equivalents for the English passive constructions*

Hungarian structure	Long passive %	Short passive %
Synthetic passive	2.32	10.28
PVAC	20.93	13.08
Active sentence	76.74	71.96
No verbal structure	-	4.67

Most of the time, the agent is expressed in a BY-phrase, yet there are cases when we come across WITH-phrases which could be interpreted as agents.

(22)   *(the ground) was covered with grass (p. 35)*   *fűvel van benőve (p. 73)*
          (it) is covered with vines (p. 36)   *be van futtatva (p. 74)*
          (the rooms) are roofed with rushes (p. 36)   *náddal van födve (p. 74)*

About a fifth of the 43 English long passives appear as counterparts of the Hungarian PVAC. It is interesting that all of them are formed using the BE auxiliary as opposed to what we have expected: a structure with the BECOME auxiliary.

(23)   *is marked by two arrows (p. 15)*   *meg van jelölve (p. 42)*
          is surrounded by an earthwork (p. 30)   *a szádához vannak ragasztva (p. 66)*
          was fastened to it by a hook (p. 22)   *a deszkához volt akasztva (p. 54)*

In one case, the English passive construction translates a Hungarian synthetic passive.

(24)   *are taken by the inspector (p. 26)*   *átvétetnek (p. 60)*

The rest of the English long passive constructions are used for translating active sentences (around 76% of the cases).

(25)   *is divided by a ledge of rock (p. 17)*   *zárja el (p. 46)*
          was held by winged genii (p. 30)   *tartja (p. 65)*
          was hidden by a long ugly island (p. 32)   *elfedi (p. 69)*

In the case of 5 short passive forms, there is no Hungarian equivalent in the original version; the translator might have introduced them to offer a clearer picture to the English reader.

(26)   *(salt, tobacco and coffee) are smuggled (p. 5)*
         (the papers) are well smoked (p. 60)
         (gentle softness) is spread (p. 84)

Other English short passive constructions are used for translating synthetic passives in 11 cases.

(27)   *is declared infected (p. 5)*   *nyilvánittatik (p. 27)*
         has been found (p. 28)   *nem találtatott (p. 61)*
         are delivered (p. 28)   *beküldetnek (p. 62)*

Many of the English short passive constructions are used for translating regular active sentences (77 occurrences representing 71.96%).

(28)   *was seen (p. 22)*   *meglátták (p. 53)*
         was exhausted (p. 33)   *elfogyott (p. 69)*
         was intended (p. 33)   *ajándékba szánta (p. 69)*

Some of the long passives are used as counterparts of the Hungarian PVAC (14 cases).

(29)   *is painted black (p. 6)*   *feketére van festve (p. 28)*
         was saved (p. 15)   *meg volt mentve (p. 43)*
         is stuck (p. 36)   *a sziklához van ragasztva (p. 74)*

Summarizing, in over 70% of the occurrences, English passives, long or short, are used for translating regular active sentences, which clearly signals that passive is far more frequent and productive in English than in Hungarian (compare 19 synthetic passives and 54 PVACs in the original Hungarian text to 150 passive forms in the English translation).

5.4. Findings in the English novel

A number of 304 passive constructions appear in the English translation: 26 long passives and 278 short passives, as shown in *Table 3* below.

Considering the long passive constructions, it is interesting that only one of the 26 occurrences is translated into Hungarian with an active sentence in which the DO is in topic.

(30)   *his skin was roughened by coarse soap (p. 2)*
         bőrét kicserzette a durva szappan (p. 3)

Three of the English long passive constructions are translated into Hungarian using the 3rd person plural form with generic reading.

(31)   *could be shown by documentary evidence (p. 27)   támasztották alá (p. 22)*
         were composed by mechanical means (p. 30)   készítettek (p. 23)
         had been oppressed by the capitalists (p. 49)   elnyomták (p. 38)

Table 3. *Translation equivalents for the English passive constructions in 1984*

Hungarian translation	Long passive %	Short passive %
Synthetic passive	-	0.35
PVAC	-	3.95
Generic translation	11.53	45.32
Active sentence, DO in topic	3.84	3.95
Regular active sentence	84.61	42.8
Other solution	-	3.23
No translation	-	0.35

The other passive constructions (more exactly 22 cases) are translated with regular Hungarian active structures.

(32)   *were roamed by gorilla-faced guards (p. 3)   gorillaarcú őrök cirkáltak (p.4)*
         had been adopted by the Ministry of Peace (p. 32)   el is fogadott (p. 25)
         are not paralysed by fright (p. 71)   nem bénítja is meg (p. 54)

In the case of one short passive form, there is no Hungarian equivalent in the translation.

(33)   *(Goldstein himself) had been seen there (p. 38)*

In another case, the short passive is translated using the Hungarian synthetic passive. Expectedly, we are dealing with a verb that is typically used in the synthetic passive form in contemporary Hungarian (*születik* 'be born' from *szül* 'give birth').

(34)   *had been born (p. 5)*   *született (p. 6)*

Other English short passive constructions are translated using the Hungarian PVAC (in 11 cases).

(35)   *was wound (p. 7)*   *a dereka köré tekerve (p. 7)*
         was written (p. 7)   *volt az arcára írva (p. 7)*
         was plastered (p. 47)   *vastagon volt az arcára kenve (p. 37)*

In other 11 cases, English short passive constructions are translated using active Hungarian constructions with the direct object in topic position.

(36)   *was overheard (p. 2)*   *minden hangját hallják (p. 4)*
         was scrutinized (p. 2)   *minden mozdulatát megfigyelik (p. 4)*
         was thrown back (p. 37)   *fejét hátravetette (p. 29)*

Many of the English short passive constructions (around 45%) are translated with regular active sentences with generic reading, where the verb is in the 3rd person plural form.

(37)   *were supposed (p. 61)*   *a párttagokról feltételezték (p. 47)*
         had been condemned (p. 8)   *halálra ítélték (p. 8)*
         were nicknamed (p. 26)   *becézték (p. 21)*

A great number (about 42%) of the short passives were translated using regular active Hungarian sentences.

(38)   *had been grouped (p. 23)*   *csoportosult (p. 19)*
         would be whirled away (p. 26) *sodorta le (p. 21)*
         was refused (p. 45)   *megtagadta (p. 36)*

Beyond the expected Hungarian translation equivalents of the English passive construction, there are some other solutions as well. We have come across some interesting choices in translation which disregarded all the possible Hungarian equivalents of the English passive and provided original solutions. For example, 'was said' is translated with 'állítólag' [supposedly/allegedly] or 'a szóbeszéd szerint' [rumour has it][3].

(39)   *was said (p. 3)*   *állítólag (p. 4)*
         was said (p. 38)   *a szóbeszéd szerint (p. 30)*

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3   Our translation.

Another interesting solution is the use of nouns when translating English passive constructions into Hungarian, as illustrated in the examples below. This shift in word class, i.e. from verb to noun in our case, is known in the literature as transposition (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002).

(40)   *the flats were built (p. 4)*   *a lakás tervezői (p. 5)* [the designers of the flats]
          a jargon was used (p. 26)   *tolvajnyelven (p. 21)* [in jargon][4]

Summing up, when translating English passive constructions into Hungarian, the translator mostly uses active sentences. These result support Klaudy's (2003: 177) theory that Indo-European languages tend to be more static as compared to the more dynamic Hungarian with less passive constructions. Consequently, the Hungarian synthetic passive and the PVAC appear only sporadically. We have noted some unusual nominal and adverbial solutions as well, which sound very natural in Hungarian.

6. Conclusions, limitations, directions for further research

In the present paper, we have explored the problems translators face when dealing with English passive constructions. We have argued that the number of Hungarian equivalents used for the English passive in translations of literary works is about the same as the ones used in everyday speech, as presented in previous studies (Tankó 2011, 2014). However, a few interesting solutions occurred, e.g. the use of nouns in certain cases. As for choosing among the equivalents in translating the English passives, active sentences seem to be preferred in literary translations, while PVAC is less frequent. This result supports our hypothesis: since translations imply the use of standard Hungarian, PVACs are less frequent in translations. As expected, Hungarian synthetic passive is avoided in translation.

Due to spatial constraints, we have dealt only with a few chapters of the discussed novels; furthermore, we have omitted discussing the non-predicative passive forms. Consequently, further research is needed to investigate strategies for translating passives and passive-like constructions throughout the two novels and, possibly, involving translations of contemporary pieces of literature so as to have a wider picture on the Hungarian equivalents of the English passive in literary translations.

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4   Our translation.

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Learning Schoolscapes in a Minority Setting

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Abstract. In my paper, I present a qualitative approach to the linguistic landscape of Hungarian schools in Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe, Romania. These landscapes are called schoolscapes as they represent the material environment where texts and images "constitute, reproduce and transform language ideologies" (Brown 2012: 282). These manifestations reveal a lot about language learning and teaching in a formal educational environment. Beyond the simple representations of languages in education, we may trace more or less hidden curriculum details of foreign- and second-language teaching (English/German, Romanian) in a Hungarian-Romanian dominant bilingual setting. My aim is to describe the visual manifestations of the differences and similarities between the languages taught to minority children and the mutual efforts of teachers and students to meet the basic challenges of learning and teaching these languages.

Keywords: linguistic landscape, bilinguals, hidden curriculum, language learning

1. Linguistic landscape, language ideology

Visual language can be as strong as the written word. The study of the signs has a long history; however, the term *linguistic landscape* was first used by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25). The field of research called by this term has become a fast-developing subfield of applied linguistics, known as the study of public multilingual signs. It also forms part of sociolinguistics and language politics because linguistic landscape "is the visual representation of the individual and collective understanding of the experienced language policy and traditions of language use" (Tódor 2014: 530). Investigating the linguistic landscape is useful in regions where communities/ethnic groups with different linguistic-cultural backgrounds live together. Linguistic landscape focuses on signs, cultural symbols, and notices found in public spaces, so linguistic landscape becomes "a web of significances where languages are used in different ways, conveying

different meanings and with different aims in mind" (Gorter-Cenoz 2014: 167). Inscriptions, signs, etc. have two basic functions: they either provide information (hence their communicative/informative function) or convey symbolic meanings; so, the symbolic function is always present. The symbolic function gains importance in a minority linguistic background. For example, it carries further symbolic reference in public spaces with bilingual informative signs. If the order of the languages used is controlled, it is also of importance which language appears first, etc. Therefore, the discussion of linguistic landscapes is inseparable from language ideologies. The linguistic landscape (LL) literature gives thorough analyses of the relationship between top-down and bottom-up signs: "between LL elements used and exhibited by institutional agencies which in one way or another act under the control of local or central policies, and those utilized by individual, associative or corporative actors who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 10). The dominant and subordinate positions of language choices vary between top-down and bottom-up authors, and the dominant position is "expected to reflect a general commitment to the dominant culture, while the latter is designed much more freely according to individual strategies" (Gorter 2006: 10). Language ideology within the discussion of linguistic landscapes refers to a set of shared attitudes and beliefs of the given community about language or languages. It is "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255). Like any ideology, language ideology is shaped in a cultural setting. It is not merely an individual's perception of language use or attitudes towards their users but it is also related to collective perceptions and cultural hegemonies (Gal 1998). Moreover, language ideology is neither stable nor static and is closely linked to the notion of identity, helping to identify ourselves and to let others identify us. It is important that the impact of language policies can be analysed with the help of language practices and elements of linguistic landscape. As Shohamy (2006: 110) notes, the public space can be an arena for ideological battles: "… the presence (or absence) of language displays in the public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes de facto language policy and practice". Linguistic landscape becomes a manifestation of language ideology and practice (Shohamy 2006), which help people to position them when they reflect upon their views on language learning, on bilingualism or multilingualism.

2. School spaces and questions raised by the present research

The aim of this paper is to present a qualitative approach to the linguistic landscape of Hungarian schools in Romania. These landscapes are called schoolscapes as they represent the material environment where texts and images "constitute, reproduce and transform language ideologies" (Brown 2012: 282). These manifestations reveal a lot about language learning and teaching in a formal, educational environment. The linguistic ecosystem of schools provides a rich insight into the specific dimensions of school life. Schoolscapes represent excellent ways to explore the visual forms of the hidden curriculum regarding language ideologies in education (Johnson 1980, Shohamy 2006, Brown 2012, Aronin & ÓLaoire 2012) through the examples of different languages. School spaces can be used to legitimize certain language ideologies. Hidden curriculum also refers to all those values and expectations which are not included in the written curriculum and at the same time reflect the more or less conscious educational philosophy of institutions (Brown 2012). According to Szabó (2015), "schoolscapes are determined not only by laws and local regulations, but by the visual practices of the given institution as well. Inscriptions and cultural symbols placed on the façade and the walls of the school building are tools for orienting the choice between various cultural and linguistic ideologies" (Szabó 2015: 24). Studies of the signage in schools can lead to a better understanding of what goes on inside schools and, as such, contribute to education research. Both in minority- and in majority-language medium schools, it is important to study the relationships between the mother tongue, the official language, and foreign languages. In a minority setting, the triple presence of the mother tongue–state language–foreign language offers many research topics (Bartha–Laihonen–Szabó 2013).

In Romania, the mother tongue of the majority, Romanian, is not taught as a foreign language to minority students, while English or German are clearly foreign languages. In my paper, I will try to present how schoolscapes evolve according to this situation and how the languages (Romanian, English, German, etc.) are represented in the schoolscape of Hungarian-medium schools in Romania. I will also describe the identified differences between teaching Romanian and teaching foreign languages represented in the schoolscapes. Moreover, schoolscape can be approached as a demonstration or materialization of the 'hidden curriculum' regarding language ideologies in education (Brown 2012). Further on, I will reflect on who the signs have been made or initiated by (school authorities, teachers, students, etc.). I will have a look at the various products themselves and discuss where and how long these signs and images are displayed. All these elements of schoolscapes are intertwined; they change continuously and mirror the local, national, and cultural ideologies of those participating in the schoolscapes.

3. The Hungarian ethnic minority and languages at schools in Szeklerland

The largest Hungarian minority in the Carpathian Basin lives in Romania. The language of the Romanian majority has a dominant official status. Hungarians constitute the largest ethnic minority in Romania (1,227,623 – 6.5% of the total population).[1] Hungarian is not only the mother tongue but the language of everyday communication for dominant bilinguals[2] in Szeklerland,[3] who are also members of a national and cultural minority in Romania. Although there is a positive attitude towards multilingualism, which is regarded as a means of integration into the European community and global society, different attitudes and ideologies apply to the state language than to the Hungarian language, which indicates that people's attitudes towards the Romanian language are influenced by their views of state language policy. State language policy is quite often connected to the power and the dominance of Romanians as the majority group and stands for a top-down language policy.

Compulsory school age is 6. Children can choose from three kinds of school types in this region of Romania. Hungarian-medium schools offer teaching in the mother tongue (Hungarian) of the students, complemented with the state language programme. Mixed-medium schools mean that students can choose the language of instruction, either Romanian – with all subjects taught in Romanian – or Hungarian, again with all subjects taught in Hungarian, except the state language classes. Classes are not mixed; there are separate Romanian and Hungarian classes in each age-group. The third type is the Romanian-medium school, where the language of instruction, administration, etc. is Romanian. There are quite a few students of Hungarian ethnicity who join the Romanian-medium schools or Romanian classes of mixed-medium schools either because they come from mixed families or they hope for better opportunities in life by learning proper Romanian. Hungarians usually attend Romanian-medium schools and use Romanian on a daily basis outside the home in regions where they constitute the minority of the population. However, in those areas where they are in majority, Hungarian-medium education is widely available (the region called Szeklerland consists of three counties: Covasna, Harghita, and Mureş). Lacking the opportunity to practise Romanian in everyday life in Szeklerland, Hungarians rely on school education to learn Romanian. It is widely held that this is the main

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1   Census   2011:   https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Romania#20_–October_2011_census.
2   Dominant bilinguals are bilinguals who are more proficient in one language as compared to the other language.
3   It is a historic and ethnographic area in Romania, inhabited mainly by Hungarians and Romanians, a region of three counties with slightly more than 800,000 inhabitants in Transylvania in Romania.

reason why students are not able to acquire Romanian, the official language of the country, at an appropriate level. Romanian is a compulsory subject throughout the entire education system and some subjects, such as Romanian history, have to be taught through the medium of Romanian even in schools where Hungarian is the language of teaching. The main cause of the unsatisfactory outcome of Romanian instruction lies in teaching methods, which Kiss terms 'worst-practice' (Kiss 2011: 257). Romanian is taught as a first language, not as a foreign one, with a heavy emphasis on literary analysis. Consequently, "comprehension is limited and students only succeed by memorizing" (Kiss 2011: 256). On the other hand, English being the first foreign language they learn at school, many language learners report a good or even high level of English proficiency. The teaching of a foreign language starts in the second grade. At pre-school level, some kindergartens organize courses in a foreign language for which parents must pay. From the fifth grade on, a second foreign language is added.

4. Research materials and methods of analysis

In the course of work on the present study, 4 state schools were visited between February and April 2016, 2 Hungarian-medium schools and 2 mixed schools (Székely Mikó High School, Mikes Kelemen High School, Váradi József Primary School, and Berde Áron High School). There were 8 interviews made with primary school teachers and language teachers, and photos were also taken.

Table 1. *The sources in the corpus*

Nr.	School type	Number of photos	Length of interviews
1	Primary school	62	45'
2	Primary school	18	30'
3	Primary school	22	40'
4	Primary school	23	21'
5	High School	21	46'
6	High School	60	38'
7	High School	84	1h 23'
8	High School	50	43'
Total		340	346'

The research method was a qualitative one and the 'tourist guide technique' was applied (Szabó 2015). This approach relies on a new fieldwork method that Szabó has developed. It is based on such forms of mobile data collection as the 'walking tour methodology' (Garvin 2010), as the researcher and the interviewee co-explore the space to be investigated. Szabó says about his method that, using it,

the researcher acts as a tourist guided by teachers, for example, of the given school and explores the school's space while taking photos. The appointed guides and the teachers comment on the choice of language, symbols, and displays on the walls during their school tour and answer the researcher's ('the tourist's') questions about further details. By applying this technique, I was able to collect a lot of information easily on the signage and language choices and received background explanations concerning the teaching materials used, as my chosen guides were language teachers, except for the teachers in one of the primary schools where data were also collected. During the interviews with the teachers, I managed to draw the participants' attention to the hidden curriculum as well as to the implicit policies and ideologies revealed by the signs on display. It was also possible to briefly interview students from different classes and collect additional data from them. The insights recorded during this walking interview were analysed later and the photos were categorized and simultaneously investigated together with the audio recordings and their transcripts in accordance with other details of the research. This joint exploration was capable of combining the researcher's view, the teachers' opinions and the students' perspectives. The research focused on the process of how the schoolscape illuminated the hidden curricula of the state language and the foreign language(s) taught at the given school. In what follows, I will make use of a marketing concept in order to illustrate all the participants in this process. Therefore, I propose to analyse the schoolscape along the four Ps of the schoolscape mix.[4] The analysis will cover (1) the agents and participants and present their interpretation of signs and displays (people); (2) the types of schoolscape elements displayed (product); (3) the places where these signs are displayed, because the location where they are exposed to public view carries informative, normative, and controlling references (place), and, finally, (4) the length of time for which the signs are displayed, i.e. whether the objects are intended for a permanent, long-term, or temporary demonstration (period).

4.1. People

With the help of the tourist guide technique, it was possible to elicit explanations about how certain signs, symbols, and exhibits were used. However, this method had its own limitations because interpretations of schoolscape items may have varied from participant to participant within the particular schoolscape. The question of agency came up as a complex factor and participants of schoolscapes could give different interpretations of a particular sign. For example, the stars in the photo below (*Figure 1*) were placed above the blackboard in a classroom of 10th

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4   The term 'marketing mix' was first used by Neil Borden in 1953 as a business tool in marketing to determine a product's or brand's offer and is often associated with the following four Ps: price, product, promotion, and place.

graders. At first sight, since they were painted in the Hungarian national colours, it appeared obvious that they were used as decorations for the 15th of March, the Hungarian national holiday. However, their true meaning was revealed by the sign makers, i.e. by the students themselves, who said that the signs had been designed for the Christmas holiday. Nevertheless, painting Christmas stars in the Hungarian national colours created a particular relationship between explicit universal signs and implicit language ideologies.
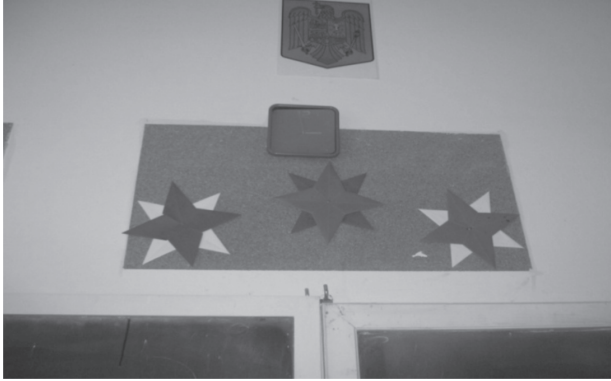
Figure 1. *Christmas decoration comes in red-white-green*

One of the participants of the schoolscapes is the school authority itself. It is this body that is to determine under what conditions and where signs can be placed in each classroom, etc., which conveys different language ideologies and metadiscourses on Romanian and foreign languages. As Romanian is the language of administration and it must be ubiquitous, the official notices and leaflets are in Romanian. In Hungarian-medium schools, the non-official documents are usually monolingual notices as the readers of these signs are mostly Hungarians.

Teachers/educators represent the next group of participants in the process; they are the main sign makers. They enjoy relative freedom either to strictly follow the national curriculum or to deviate from it. Within a minority setting and in metadiscourses, a different attitude is shown as opposed to top-down policy. Top-down policy requires teaching Romanian as a second language, and later as a mother tongue, so minority students should meet the same requirements as their Romanian peers. Teachers of the Romanian language may use methods and techniques, even materials which are normally required in the foreign-language teaching process. Hence, in some cases, teaching Romanian becomes more communicative – a method most frequently applied to promote the acquisition of foreign languages. Furthermore, it is the teachers' duty to display tableaux exhibiting linguistic norms, teaching aids and students' works (sometimes without any correction). Elements associated with teaching English are more

prominent in high schools than in elementary school classes. In elementary schools, teaching Romanian is the main concern of teachers of Hungarian students. It is this setting in which their first contact with the Romanian language takes place and the foundations of their familiarity with it are laid down.

Students, the third group of agents within a schoolscape, are the main sign readers. Their language choice and language use, however, are characterized by two globalized and specialized linguistic registers, and depict a spontaneous rather than conscious attitude (*Figure 2*). There is a gradually increasing indifference over time: elementary schoolscapes are more vivid while the 11th and 12th graders' classroom walls are almost bare.

Figure 2. *Becoming global*

4.2. Products

The totality of the artifacts was categorized into several groups regardless of their Romanian- or English-language content. First of all, there are administrative texts, which are often highly normative and monolingual (Romanian). The structure of the school year, fire or evacuation plans on classroom doors, official notices of the Education Ministry on boards are compulsorily written in Romanian and they are printed and signed by an official. Bilingual signs are mainly notices as well, which on their turn could facilitate language learning in a minority setting (*Figure 3*). These notices are, however, controlled and usually carefully designed, reflecting a top-down policy of the school authority. In Hungarian-medium schools, there are fewer Romanian monolingual notices. All those that are locally produced are in Hungarian as the addressees are the members of a particular school.

The third major group of signage in the schoolscape included students' works displayed with the aim to encourage their learning; therefore, sometimes even teachers' corrections are missing. These displays are frequently changed and in many cases there are elements of a hidden curriculum, or 'off-the-curriculum' embodiments of creativity and teacher enthusiasm. Many examples of students'

language use came up during project work, especially when its final results were exhibited. However, the lack of students' projects in schoolscapes might mean either the lack of a hidden curriculum or alignment with the official curriculum requirements.

The fourth large group of signs (tableaux with grammar rules, teaching aids, hand-outs, etc.) reflects normativity. They are present in schoolscapes in order to fit top-down language ideologies. Tableaux are gradually disappearing both in elementary and high schools. In elementary schools, only Romanian tableaux are displayed, those in foreign languages are missing. However, even in high schools grammar rules, verb derivation tableaux in Romanian outnumber foreign language ones. Except some English irregular verb lists, schoolscapes do not reflect any grammar-based foreign-language teaching methods, showing that linguistic performance is due to a rule-centred approach in education and language proficiency is dominated by metalinguistic discourse. The signs, maps, and symbols found in schools are not written but symbolic representations of language and language learning ideologies. They mostly present the use of British English as the 'real' variety of English in a very transparent way. The interviews carried out with language teachers revealed that, although Great Britain was iconic for English and British English is highly represented, in metadiscourses a more diverse ideology was reflected and teachers claimed that they were carefully introducing American or even other dialects of English to the students in order for them to gain an insight into a more varied English-language culture. Signs and other items reflecting Romanian culture and language ideology are mostly connected to normativity (due to the tableaux) as well as to some curriculum-based literary works or writers (photos, images of Romanian authors and personalities, excerpts from literary works, etc.). An interesting group of products displayed in schoolscapes consists of locally produced materials, which showed considerable creativity to fit the bilingual or even multilingual context. These leaflets, notices, and images appear on the notice boards of classrooms and usually represent the joint work of teachers and students. In many cases, we can witness a mix of Hungarian, Romanian, and English. These hybrid practices reflect and strengthen tolerance, while they also represent bottom-up language ideologies. They symbolically combine the informative, entertaining, and trendy characteristics of the most valued and most widely read elements of a schoolscape.

4.3. Place

The placement and number of images, signs, and symbols can also convey different meanings. In primary schools, one can usually find a lot more signs compared with secondary schools (at upper secondary level, there are almost no signs). This is mainly due to elementary school teachers' hard work and enthusiasm as well

as to requirements of methodology, whereas there is a gradually increasing lack of interest on behalf of high-school graduate students. There can be a psychological and sociological explanation to this phenomenon: in the age of images, virtual reality, and social networks, students may become immune to the abundance of messages around them. However, in schools, the placements of signs still carry emphatic meanings. While in elementary classrooms every single spot is utilized, in high schools, it is the institution and its management that decides which spots can be assigned for such purposes. It lies within their competence to select the places for the displays, which can be reflective of language policy and educational ideology (corridors might be left empty or the opposite). Signs and symbols reflecting national identities are usually exhibited in these main places, as, for example, tableaux with grammar rules are sometimes displayed above or below the blackboards which are considered as central/focal spots of a classroom.

Hidden or semi-hidden places are less noticeable. These places also carry a metalinguistic aspect because the displays are there but not perfectly visible as top-down policy and local language ideologies clash in a furtive manner. In certain cases, formal or official exhibits appear in these hidden places, even behind other notice boards, at the end of corridors, or in the neighborhood of lots of other, more colourful signage. According to the interviewees, these are never conscious acts. In a high school, where French as a foreign language is also taught, the only display exhibiting French culture and language is a notice board at the darkest end of a corridor, while English signs, notices are everywhere on the walls of the same school. On the other hand, specially designed places are carefully chosen by the agents of schoolscapes in order to emphasize the content of the displays. Students' works are exhibited on notice boards, by which they make their voice heard. These are temporary displays and are frequently changed. According to the interviewees, teachers pursue a twofold aim: they want "to make them aware" of the signs and to let them express themselves at the same time.

4.4. Period

The lifespan of these displays is different, which carries further meanings apart from their variety, the degree of involvement of the sign makers, and the place they are exhibited in. Permanent signs, displays, and symbols reflect the dominant language policy, i.e. the language ideology of the institution. They are found at entrances, on the walls of corridors, or in central spots in classrooms. They are supposed to be controlled and normative. They convey top-down language ideologies (state flag, map, tableaux). On the other hand, long-term signs and displays are commonly found on notice boards in and outside of the classrooms (changed each semester or once a year at least). They are both informative and instructive (notices, official documents, tableaux of grammar rules, etc.) or are

of general interest (school year schedule) and written in Romanian. Some of them can also be of local interest (timetables, programmes, etc.) and are usually printed in Hungarian. The third and probably most exciting type of exhibits are the temporary displays which convey students' views on a variety of topics. They are often changed and mostly found on the walls of classrooms; they are rarely present on the walls of corridors (the language used is mostly Hungarian, Romanian, or English, rarely German). However, there is a general decrease in the number of signs and displays over time: elementary classrooms are very colourful, while those of the 9th–12th graders tend to be grey and boring.

5. Discussion and conclusions

In this paper, I have focused on the illustration and examination of schoolscape element varieties and on their reflection of language ideologies. Although each school can be characterized by a distinct schoolscape, I looked for certain common aspects which would reveal the hidden curriculum through the different examples of teaching languages. I hold that it is critically important to identify the agents – the sign makers, sign readers, and all other significant participants – and any authority (local, regional, or national government) that sets the rules for signs. The top-down public language displays in the school clearly support the Romanian language, while bottom-up displays show the dominance of Hungarian in the signs. Top-down policy is presented by the authorities of the institutions; the signs displayed by them mirror normative standpoints. Teacher encouragement and student involvement, i.e. the bottom-up ideology is reflected by the signs and objects ranging from no displays at all to an overcrowded surface, which, however, gradually disappears over the years. Schoolscapes in Szeklerland outline a multilingual environment (Hungarian-Romanian-English), which has been building up lately. Apart from the informative content of the signs, the choice of language represents a symbolic value for some or all of the participants.

The limited display of traditional language-teaching preferences in certain schools and the attitude of the teachers loyally observing the curriculum usually go together, with little or almost no reference to the hidden curriculum in such cases. On the other hand, the high-level visibility of students' works in Romanian and in English outline a hidden curriculum creatively designed by the teachers and carried out together with their students. These teachers back up their choices with firm statements in which they mark themselves off from the national curriculum. One can find differences in how the languages (Romanian, English, German, etc.) are represented in the schoolscape of Hungarian-medium schools in Romania, but this diversity results from the main differences of the second-language and foreign-language teaching curricula. Romanian language teaching lacks almost all

the elements of communicative foreign-language teaching and what is displayed in the classrooms mainly depends on the teacher. Whenever the materialization of the 'hidden curriculum' takes place, it reflects the choice of the teachers and not of the official curriculum or language policies. Bottom-up ideologies are reflected in these instances of the schoolscape. Regarding foreign language teaching, the omnipresence of English is one of the most conspicuous markers of the process of globalization and shows the competitive advantage of the English language in this field. Still, classroom displays reflect teachers' effort and students' willingness to participate in this joint work. Students' works and locally produced materials can be further analysed in terms of the hidden curriculum in more detail. The place and period factors in this intertwined and continuously changing setting of a schoolscape is also worth studying. Although teaching Romanian as a foreign language to minority students is not aligned with language ideologies, it is visualized in the hidden curriculum, and so it appears in practice. The four Ps (people, product, place, and period) reveal a lot about language learning and teaching ideologies. There is a mix of conscious and unconscious choice of places, where the conscious choice embodies normativity and there is an emphasized control. The most interesting and varied elements are in constant change. Yet, official notices (permanent displays) are mostly overlooked.

Finally, further research is required to study the elements of the schoolscape in order to explore the material use of languages and language learning processes in schools and to come to a deeper understanding of ideologies shaped by these processes.

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Language Attitudes, Language Learning Experiences and Individual Strategies What Does School Offer and What Does It Lack?

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Abstract. Language learners' attitudes towards the language and its speakers greatly influence the language learning process and the learning outcomes. Previous research and studies on attitudes and motivation in language learning (Csizér 2007, Dörnyei 2009) show that attitudes and motivation are strongly intertwined. Positive attitude towards the language and its speakers can lead to increased motivation, which then results in better learning achievement and a positive attitude towards learning the language. The aim of the present study was to get a better insight into what regards the language attitudes of students attending Hungarian minority schools in Romania. The interest of the study lies in students' attitudes towards the different languages, the factors/criteria along which they express their language attitudes, students' learning experiences and strategies that they consider efficient and useful in order to acquire a language. Results suggest that students' attitudes are determined by their own experiences of language use, and in this sense we can differentiate between a language for identification – built upon specific emotional, affective, and cognitive factors – and language for communication.

Keywords: language attitudes, motivation, language for identification, language for communication, cross-linguistic associations

1. Introduction

Research on language attitudes is connected to a larger socio-political, socio-cultural, and socio-economic context where multilinguals' languages are attributed different meanings and values. Language learners' attitudes towards the language (including its status and prestige) and its speakers greatly influence

the language learning process and the learning outcomes. Caroll (1964) and other researchers (Csizér 2007, Dörnyei 2009) claim that attitude represents one of the most important sets of variables for predicting learner efficiency and achievement.

The aim of the present study is to gain a deeper insight into and to offer a more comprehensive analysis of Hungarian minority students' language attitudes based on their learning experiences. The paper examines Hungarian minority students' attitudes to different languages and their opinion on effective and useful language learning strategies. Data presented in the paper comprises the results of a larger period of data collection concerning language use and linguistic behaviour.

2. The relationships between attitude and motivation: brief theoretical framework

Attitude is a set of beliefs and psychological predispositions to act or evaluate behaviour in a certain way (Gardner 1985). Language attitude is also described as a complex notion which can be defined as part of the existential competences, but also as a dynamic structure of learner attitudes.

Motivation is the reason for doing something, the combination of desire and effort in order to attain a goal (Gardner 1985). Dörnyei's (2005) motivational model includes general and situation-specific learning motivations. Instrumental and integrative motivations in language learning are the outcomes of learners' specific linguistic needs and their attitudes towards the language and its culture. This motivational background highly influences learners' attitudes towards language learning and their efficiency in learning the language.

According to Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) "L2 Motivational Self System", language learners' behaviour can be analysed along three components, namely the "ideal L2 self", the "ought-to L2 self", and the "L2 learning experience". In our interpretation of learners' language behaviour and linguistic attitudes, it is necessary to add a fourth component introduced by Richard Clément under the name of linguistic self-confidence (Csizér 2007, Dörnyei 2009). However, in the course of our analyses, the notion of the L2 motivational self system with its components will be treated as the learners' self-reflections, their linguistic self-concept, which is under constant change and re-assessment because the different learning and communication experiences redefine the learner's personality and image of the self (Tódor 2009).

The above mentioned linguistic self-concept of learners can be explained by using the terms and concepts coined by Dörnyei (2005), i.e. the 'ideal' self and the 'ought-to' self. These two make up the linguistic self-concept and are considered by Dörnyei as strongly related. The 'ideal' self represents the (language) learner's wishes and desires that s/he would like to achieve in the near future for his/her

personal development and well-being. This type of motivational background is highly dependent on the learner's attitudes towards the target language and its native speakers. The 'ought-to' self is connected to instrumental motivation in literature. As Dörnyei (2005) defines it, the 'ought-to' self refers to all the attributes that a person believes s/he needs to or should achieve in order to avoid some negative consequences, so it is rather meeting external needs and expectations than a personal desire. Among the typical instrumental motivations, we can mention better salary, better job, etc. and, in our case, some external learning motivations such as those connected to linguistic prestige – state language, international language, etc.

Gardner and Lambert (1959) were the first to demonstrate a significant relationship between motivation and positive attitudes towards the language and its speakers. The Attitude Motivation Test Battery (ATMB) developed by Gardner and Lambert (1959) included five constructs – attitudes towards the learning situation, integrativeness, motivation, language anxiety, and instrumentality – and several scales to assess these constructs. If we take a closer look at these scales, we can see that, for example, motivation is measured along motivational intensity, a desire to learn the language and attitude towards learning the language. Measuring motivation by examining language learners' attitudes towards learning the language is a good example to show that attitude and motivation are interconnected.

On the basis of previous research results and studies on attitudes and motivation in language learning, it can be concluded that attitudes and motivation are strongly intertwined. Positive attitude towards the language and its speakers can lead to increased motivation, which then results in better learning achievement and a positive attitude towards learning the language. However, neither attitude nor motivation are stable, they can change over time and are closely related to the actual social, political, and socio-historical context and power relationship (Pavlenko 2005: 31).

Apart from the distinction referring to language learning motivation – instrumental and integrative –, we also need to point out a distinction regarding linguistic needs and language use. While learners might have instrumental (external) or integrative (internal) reasons for learning a language, they can also have different reasons for using the language. House (2002) differentiates between "language for communication" and "language for identification" (terms taken from Hüllen 1992). Multilingual people can choose the language and adjust the language to their needs. Thus, for example, speakers can use their mother tongue to express their cultural identity and use another language only as an instrument to communicate and to understand each other (Dégi 2012). In the light of this theory, the increased demand for English as an international, high-prestige language should not be treated as a threat to multilingual diversity, but it should be considered as a development towards a so-called "multilingualism with English" (Hoffman 2000: 3).

3. The empirical study

The aim of the present study is to gain a better insight into what regards the language attitudes of students attending Hungarian minority schools in Romania. Our research addresses questions related to students' attitudes towards different languages, the factors/criteria along which they express their language attitudes, students' learning experiences and strategies that they consider efficient and useful in order to acquire a language.

The source of data presented and analysed in the present paper is the result of a long data collection period that lasted for three years during our research on language use and linguistic behaviour.[1] For the purpose of our research, Hungarian minority schools were selected from two types of bilingual localities, namely settlements with a small Hungarian minority population and those with a large Hungarian minority population (where Hungarian minority people constitute the majority of the population). Both urban and rural schools were investigated. The subjects of our study were students of primary and secondary schools (5 to 12 graders) attending a Hungarian minority school in one of the following locations: Timişoara (N=70) and Tormac (N=46) from Timiş County, Sândominic (N=69), Miercurea Ciuc (N=46) and Topliţa (N=45) from Harghita County, and Ghimeş (N=53) from Bacău County. Thus, a total of 329 primary and secondary school students participated in the research. Almost half of the subjects were boys (47%) and slightly more than half of the subjects were girls (52%). *Table 1* below shows the distribution of the respondents by gender.

Table 1. *Distribution of subjects by gender*

Setting	Boy	Girl	N
Timişoara	36	34	70
Tormac	12	34	46
Sândominic	31	38	69
Miercurea Ciuc	26	20	46
Topliţa	27	18	45
Ghimeş	24	29	53

The sampling of our respondents was based on the linguistic context the respective schools they attended were set in. Therefore, the schools selected have the following profile:

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a. educational institutions characterized as dominantly Romanian social and linguistic environment (with Hungarian sections with a small number of students) or their larger social and linguistic environment is dominantly Romanian – the institution itself is a Hungarian-minority school but the community is dominantly Romanian (Tormac, Timişoara).

b. educational institutions characterized by a social and linguistic environment bilingual in Hungarian and Romanian, but the institution is set in a dominantly Romanian social and linguistic environment (Ghimeş and Topliţa).

c. educational institutions characterized by a dominantly Hungarian social and linguistic environment, and their larger social and linguistic environment is also dominantly Hungarian, in which the Hungarian minority population of the community constitutes the local majority (Sândominic, Miercurea Ciuc).

The research aimed at investigating the linguistic landscape of the institutions listed above and exploring students' attitudes; therefore, a triangulation of research methods was used to collect data (Sántha 2015, Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault 2015). Based on this type of integrated research methods, design data was collected using both quantitative research methods (questionnaires) and qualitative methods (interviews, focus-group discussions, and taking photos) bearing in mind the fact that students' age difference has an influence on the way researchers can approach them and get a deeper insight into their opinions and attitudes. Data presented in the present study were collected with questionnaires (3 closed-ended and 3 open-ended questions) and focus-group discussion with students.

4. Results

4.1. The game of duality: language for identification and language for communication

The most frequently used language plays a crucial role in defining one's linguistic self, and it is followed by languages that one encounters directly or indirectly (linguistic and social context, institutional learning, self-study, etc.). In the questionnaire, students were asked to name what they thought was the most beautiful language and bring up arguments to support their choice. Obviously, there are a large number of reasons why one can opt for such a relative and complex notion like beautiful language. In the course of analysing students' answers, we were interested in their reactions and arguments as well as in the types of the key concepts that they used. In other words, we were curious about the set of criteria they used to define the most beautiful language.

Table 2. *Which is the most beautiful language?*

The most beautiful language	Arguments	Answer types
Hungarian	"because it is my mother tongue"[2]	Central, the most frequently mentioned reason.
	"because it is the most beautiful language" "it is the most difficult" "because it is special" "it contains nice words and expressions" "it was easy for us to learn" "because I like it; because it is beautiful" "I am proud of it" "it sounds nice" " it has a rich vocabulary" "it contains nice expressions and Hungarian people are intelligent" "…because I don't speak any other language" "it is nice, well-balanced, easy to understand" "it is tough and logical" "it is sophisticated" "unique, melodious, complex" "maybe it is the most difficult language in the world"	Listing adjectives, affective nature of answers. It highlights the role of language in shaping one's identity. It is worth mentioning that this affective dimension generated the most colourful and varied answers about the language.
	"because I am Hungarian and so are my parents" "I was born Hungarian and respect this language" "because I inherited it…" "because it is old and it is full of archaic/folkloric expressions"	Identity-bearing capacity. It highlights the role of language in shaping one's identity.
	"because through it I can understand people and my friends" "because I like reading in this language" "because I can express myself better" "because it is the best way to tell what you want; because there are a lot of words at our disposal, to make ourselves understood" "because you can express one thing in many ways" "it has polysemic words and we can talk more fluently using many words"	Language of communication, it helps to establish relationships. The language has a communicative-functional role.

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2   Statements and expressions between quotation marks are the respondents' answers.

The majority of the students (73%) considered Hungarian to be the most beautiful language and defined its beauty according to the following criteria: a. *because it is my mother tongue,* b. a multitude of arguments for their choice by using a *list of adjectives*. In this list of adjectives describing the language, mainly emotional ties are formulated, but we can also find references to different language myths (for example, "the most difficult and special language"). The third set of arguments contains comments and reactions which reflect the language's role in *shaping one's self*, its *identity-bearing capacity*; so, using the language allows for a more sophisticated and complex self-expression. At the same time, the communicative-functional role of the language is also a factor to determine its beauty and make oneself understood.

Many of the respondents (27%) qualified languages other than Hungarian as beautiful. A summary of their answers is provided in the table below.

Table 3. *Which is the most beautiful language?*

The most beautiful language	Arguments
Romanian	"because it is useful", "because I can express myself better"
English	"because it is used by many people"
French	"because its pronunciation is pleasant", "because I like how words are pronounced"
German	"because it contains only a few swear words"
Chinese	"because the letters are cool"
Italian	"because it is beautiful, melodious, it has an interesting pronunciation, it is exceptional, it is used by many"

Analysing respondents' answers as to why they chose a specific language as the most beautiful one, it can be seen that apart from the most frequently mentioned reason – mother tongue – used in the case of Hungarian, the external aspects, characteristics of a language form a category along which a language is defined as beautiful, for example, pronunciation, the way it sounds, letters, melody, or its usefulness.

The data presented above show that in the case of the mother tongue (Hungarian) our research subjects' attitudes are mainly expressed by using affective language and are based upon their linguistic and communicative experiences, while in the case of other languages subjects' opinions about the language are based upon the language's external features. Thus, the mother tongue serves the purpose of expressing self-identity, heritage, and confident self-expression; it is the language of identification. However, the ability to make oneself understood and understand others as well as the external linguistic features of languages

also play an important role in deciding which language is "beautiful". In this respect, we can differentiate between *internal* and *external* categories, where internal means attitudes derived from linguistic experience and their affective, cognitive, and experiential dimensions, whereas external means attitudes based on impressions, aesthetic elements, and receptive language skills.

A similar duality is observed by Sára Magyari (2015), who examined what the school population of Timiş and Oradea counties thought of the mother tongue. Her research results show a duality in the way minority school children perceive their mother tongue. On the one hand, there is a sort of external discourse, which prescribes how one should speak about the mother tongue (for example, "sweet mother tongue", "it must be protected", "it is our responsibility to preserve it," etc.), while, on the other hand, there is an underlying/internal discourse, which contains the real/true attitudes (Magyari 2015: 42).

According to the interviewees' answers, it can be said that Hungarian language is the language for identification and self-expression, English is the language which opens up possibilities, and Romanian is the language of instrumentality.

It can be observed that children coming from mixed marriages obviously present a dual affective attitude when it comes to choosing the most beautiful language. This might be the explanation for the fact that even if they have chosen a school with Hungarian as the language of instruction they still feel that they can express themselves better in another language.

It is worth mentioning that students' answers present two types of underlying attitudes: there is a more powerful presence of ethnolinguistic identity-driven attitudes, according to which the mother tongue is the most beautiful language "because we were born Hungarians"; on the other hand, there are the cultural relativism-based attitudes in statements like "there is no such thing as the most beautiful language", "all languages are beautiful", "everybody considers their own language beautiful", "everyone's own mother tongue is the most beautiful, and thus for me Hungarian is the most expressive language". Knowledge about students' underlying attitudes towards languages is of utmost importance in the education of linguistic behaviour as a major determining factor of linguistic behaviour is exactly the way how we think about languages.

Another major factor that influences language attitude is the functionality of the language, since such language evaluations reveal the motivational background of the "ought-to self" (Dörnyei 2005). In what follows, the paper sets forth this aspect and examines students' choice of the most useful language and the arguments that support their choice. In the context of Hungarian minority communities in Romania, this question has an even greater relevance since the above mentioned duality can be further extended – by analysing this issue, we can obtain a picture about students' attitudes towards learning and speaking the state language and foreign languages.

Table 4. *Which is the most useful language?*

The most useful language	Arguments
English (56%)	*world language,* "you can communicate with anyone", "the most spoken language in the developed countries", "the most widely spoken language", "English language knowledge is necessary for almost all job applications", "we can use it everywhere in the world because it is spoken in almost all countries"
Romanian (31%)	"We live/are in Romania." "It is used in many places in Romania."
Hungarian (9%)	
German (8%)	
Chinese (1%)	

Considering students' definition of their "ought-to selves", it can be seen that language prestige is defined by the instrumentality of the respective language. Again, students' responses reveal duality in their attitudes: English and Romanian are considered to be the most useful languages. The high prestige of English is attributed to the fact that it is a world language and one can be successful with it even on the labour market. The necessity to acquire Romanian comes from the desire to integrate into the immediate language environment. These are natural communicative needs. The results are in line with other motivational studies carried out in Transylvania (Dégi 2012), namely that English is considered by students as a language of success, which is also used for international communication – it is the language of "international multilingualism", while Romanian is a language of "local/national multilingualism" (Dégi 2012: 661).

Trying to sum up students' attitudes towards languages, it can be said that while expressing their linguistic self students differentiate between a language for identification, which in this case is Hungarian, and a language of effective communication, that is English, Romanian, and Hungarian.

4.2. Language learning techniques: the students' perspective

After having explored students' attitudes towards languages, we tried to get insights into their opinions regarding language learning. Examining students' perspectives on language learning, on the one hand, offers information about those factors which students consider to be efficient in learning a language; on the other hand, students' answers can give an overall picture about students' language learning experiences in school, their advantages and disadvantages.

Our respondents were asked to give their opinions about the way someone can learn Romanian and foreign languages efficiently. The review of the students'

answers reveals that – regardless of the status of different languages – acquiring both productive and receptive language skills seems to be important and the most effective strategy is direct language use. The most frequently mentioned strategy to learn Romanian, the state language, is *situated learning and active engagement*, as the examples below illustrate:

"you practise the language in your environment"

"…practice makes perfect"

"from friends"

"if you observe the language and use it frequently"

"if you observe how others communicate"

"if you make Romanian friends"

"if you move to a Romanian region"

"you need to live in a Romanian community".

In the case of foreign languages, students stress the importance of the target-language-speaking countries and connections/friendships with native speakers: "go to that country where the language you want to learn is spoken".

The *second* language learning context is the school and respondents mention some institutional language learning techniques:

"learning and practising vocabulary"

"if you pay attention to what is going on in the lessons and you learn"

"if you pay attention to what is going on in the lessons"

"you need to learn the vocabulary and grammar"

"through Romanian tales"

"through reading Romanian books"

"through having extra lessons"

"if you read"

"if you pay attention to what is going on in the lesson and you do some extra exercises".

As far as students' answers related to institutionalized language learning are concerned, it needs to be emphasized that self-discipline is frequently mentioned – acquiring knowledge is achieved by paying attention and being consistent. However, some individual learning techniques also appear like "learn the most important words and their connectors". Moreover, there are opinions underlining the importance of self-study: "you need to learn on your own (learning independently)". According to some students, learning a language has to be started at a young age – you need to start learning and reading "because later you can expand your vocabulary by reading".

Another learning technique is again related to non-formal contexts. Learning strategies presented here are the most varied. On the one hand, these strategies involve *creating an artificial language environment*; on the other hand, they can entail some *concrete language learning tools*: watching movies, cartoons, listening

to music, playing games, watching movies with subtitles, watching TV, using computers, playing videogames, doing/watching lessons on the Internet, setting your phone language to Romanian, using Google Translate, using dictionaries.

The results presented above regarding students' opinions on effective language learning are in close connection with Enikő Biró's (2015) research results concerning the language learning strategies of foreign workers. Biró's respondents, reflecting on their learning strategies, strongly emphasize the lack and shortcomings of formal education. Their repertoire of language learning strategies is much poorer compared to the students' list of strategies, probably because foreign workers lead a different life-style.

Students' answers on effective language learning strategies can thus be grouped around the above mentioned three ideas: a) direct language use through situated learning and active engagement, b) school, institutionalized language learning, and c) creating an artificial language environment. Students' answers bear an important message for school/institutional education. Students obviously prefer active, experiential learning opportunities, and this should be taken into account when planning institutional language teaching.

4.3. Cross-linguistic awareness

Apart from exploring students' attitudes to the different languages and their opinions regarding the most effective language learning strategies, we were also interested in their cross-linguistic awareness as they are multilingual language learners. Therefore, students were asked if any of their previously acquired language(s) help(s) them in learning another language.

There is a large number of studies concerning multilingual language learning and how languages interact in one's mind (Herdina & Jessner 2002, Bono 2011, Cook 2016). These studies emphasize the fact that language learning is not a linear process and languages are not kept in separate boxes in the speaker's mind. Therefore, researchers argue for a dynamic view of language acquisition according to which multilingual language learning involves the influence of one or more language systems "on the development of not only the second language but also the development of the overall multilingual system" (Herdina & Jessner 2002: 28). Similarly to this dynamic systems theory (DST) model developed by Herdina and Jessner (2002), multicompetence also emphasizes the dynamic interplay and interrelationship between languages in a multilingual person's mind (Cook 2016).

This interplay of languages in a speaker's linguistic repertoire and prior language knowledge is said to have a facilitative effect on further language acquisition, so learners can benefit from these cross-linguistic associations (Jessner 2008, Bono 2011, Jessner, Megens & Graus 2016). Bono (2011: 26) argues that the "possibility to establish crosslinguistic associations based on the similarities and differences

of known languages is a powerful tool that can be turned to the learner's advantage *if certain conditions are met*" (highlight in the original). Research results in the field point out that the conditions mentioned by Bono (2011) are connected to metalinguistic awareness – in other words, cross-linguistic associations need to be complemented by metalinguistic awareness in order for them to have a facilitative effect on language learning. Metalinguistic awareness is defined as the ability to analyse and control, to help learners to focus on structural similarities and differences between languages (Herdina & Jessner 2002, Bono 2011).

Therefore, metalinguistic awareness is of utmost importance, especially in institutionalized language learning, where there is a greater focus on form and classroom discussions involve a lot of metalanguage.

Consequently, our questions also focused on the metalinguistic awareness of our students' respondents. We wanted to find out whether their prior knowledge of languages facilitated language acquisition and in what ways. Schools and, more generally, formal language education could provide plenty of opportunities to develop students' metalinguistic and cross-linguistic awareness. Bono's study (2011) concludes that learners are mostly unaware of the cross-linguistic phenomena they produce, and it is the task of foreign language teachers to raise students' metalinguistic awareness by reflecting upon similarities and differences between the languages and by helping students "to exploit the shared resources in their linguistic repertoire" (Bono 2011: 49).

Probably the above mentioned unawareness led the majority of students (54%) to answer that neither Hungarian nor Romanian can help them acquire English or other languages. 28% of the respondents claimed that their Romanian language skills help them in many cases. These latter respondents point out mostly lexical similarities, stating that there are "similar words", "similar words of Latin origin appear", etc. Only a minority of students (12%) said that Hungarian also helped them learn another foreign language because they "translate into Hungarian" and there "are words which are explained in Hungarian". These answers suggest, though not explicitly, that in the course of acquiring English (as a third language) the Hungarian mother tongue can be used as a tool to understand texts and vocabulary, while Romanian plays a role in recalling and learning new vocabulary.

5. Conclusion

Our opinions about different languages influence not only our attitudes to these languages but also our language learning strategies, and thus our entire language behaviour. The results suggest that students' general positive attitude towards languages promote cross-linguistic associations and integrative, dynamic multilingual thinking.

At the same time, students' answers reveal that even if the aim of institutional education is to develop communicative competences in several languages in line with the European Union's key competences, everyday school language teaching is dominated by a monolingual perspective and language teaching approach (thinking in one language). Our findings regarding the majority of students claiming that their previously acquired languages are not facilitative in their language learning and that only 28% point out the lexical similarities between Romanian and English are in line with Bono's (2011) findings and might prove that cross-linguistic associations are individual initiatives and mainly unconscious. Therefore, as Bono (2011) also argues, there is a need for language teachers to help students to bridge the gap between languages and to help them exploit their previous language knowledge.

Considering students' answers regarding the most beautiful and most useful languages, it can be stated that their attitudes are determined by their own experiences of language use and, in this sense, we can differentiate between language for identification – the mother tongue built upon specific emotional, affective, and cognitive rationale fulfils this function (including communicative roles) – and language for communication, which, in the case of our respondents, is predominantly English and Romanian.

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Discourse Intonation and Information Structure: An Empirical Study of Existential *There* Constructions in Non-Native Spontaneous Speech

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Abstract. The management of given and new information is one of the key components of accomplishing coherence in oral discourse, which is claimed to be a problematic area for language learners (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrell 1995: 14). Research on discourse intonation proposes that instead of the given/new dichotomy, givenness should be viewed as a continuum, with different types of accessibility (Baumann & Grice 2006). Moreover, Prince (1992) previously categorized information structure into Hearer-old/Hearer-new and Discourse-old/Discourse-new information. There is consensus on the fact that focus or prominence associated with new information is marked with nuclear pitch accent, and its main acoustic cue, fundamental frequency (f0) (Ward & Birner 2001: 120). Non-native intonation has been reported to display numerous differences in f0 range and patterns compared to native speech (Wennerstrom 1994; Baker 2010). This study is an attempt to address the issue of marking information structure in existential *there* sentences by means of f0 in non-native spontaneous speech. Data originates from task-based interactions in the Wildcat Corpus of Native- and Foreign-Accented English (Van Engen et al. 2010). This paper examines two issues: (1) information structure in relation to the notions of givenness and different types of accessibility (Baumann & Grice 2006) and to Prince's (1992) multidimensional taxonomy and (2) the use of f0 peaks to mark the prominence of new information. Several differences were measured among native speakers regarding the use of f0, sentence type, and complexity.

Keywords: non-native Englishes, discourse intonation, information structure, prominence, pitch accent

Introduction

Discourse intonation has received an increasing amount of attention in recent years and it has become a central component of communicative competence stemming from its elemental role in top-down linguistic processing (Celce-Murcia 2007: 46). Among many other functions, it contributes to the structuring of discourse by signalling discourse segment boundaries, turn-taking, topic management, and marking information structure by highlighting new information (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrell, 1995: 14). However, some researchers claim that intonation is difficult or even impossible to teach (Jenkins 2000), while others have provided empirical evidence for the effectiveness of visualization techniques in intonation teaching and raising phonological and metalinguistic awareness (Hardison 2004; Gorjian, Hayati, and Pourkhoni 2013; Levis & Pickering 2004; Tanner & Landon 2009; Chun 1998; Kaltenboeck 2001; Nagy 2014).

The effective development of communicative competence has become a highly debated and complex issue due to the use of English in international contexts by speakers of diverse backgrounds (Celce-Murcia 2007). The effect of the listener's native language is a basic factor to be addressed in non-native listening. Based on Major's (2001) model, Lecumberri et al. (2010) maintain that the effect of L1 is "inversely proportional to the level of phonological competence"; in other words, the L1 sound system has a greater influence in the initial stages of language acquisition, whereas in later stages universal and target-language features become more prominent (Lecumberri, Cooke, and Cutler 2010: 881). Furthermore, recent research suggests that L1 phonetic categories, or the so-called L1-category filter, in themselves do not provide explanation for non-native speech perception and processing. For example, non-native listeners were measured to outperform native English speakers in sound discriminations involving a sound which was not part of their native inventory. In addition to the effect of L1 categories, more general phonological principles and acoustic-phonetic factors, such as phonological features, appear to contribute to non-native speech perception and processing (Pajak & Levy 2014: 148–149).

Literature review

Non-native suprasegmentals

There is a rapidly growing literature on the suprasegmental features of non-native English yielding an abundance of empirical evidence for the role of suprasegmental features and the characteristics of non-native English (Chun 2002; Trouvain & Gut 2007; Munro & Derwing 1999; Baker 2010; Kang, Rubin,

and Pickering 2010; Nagy 2009). However, the majority of studies have focused on word- or sentence-level phenomena, such as word stress or intonational patterns or contours (Cutler et al. 2007; Lai 2008; Nagy 2009). Along similar lines, Cutler et al. (2007) compared English and Dutch native speaker perception of English and Dutch lexical stress minimal pairs, and found that non-native Dutch listeners were able to use suprasegmental information more effectively in their native language, which was partly attributed to the greater importance of suprasegmental information in lexical recognition in Dutch. In other words, Dutch speakers did not rely on suprasegmental information in English although segmental cues are considered more important in lexical access in English compared to Dutch. However, in another task they outperformed native English speakers by transferring their native-language suprasegmental processing skills (Cooper, Cutler, and Wales 2002: 222–223). Lai (2008) examined the stress patterns of Mandarin EFL learners and native speakers in noun-verb minimal pairs, and found that Mandarin speakers used each correlate that was examined: duration, intensity, maximum f0 and mean f0 to distinguish nouns and verbs. Native speakers used mean and maximum f0, intensity and duration to mark stress for nouns, but only duration for verbs. Mandarin speakers, on the other hand, used the four correlates consistently for both nouns and verbs. The analysis of second formants revealed that native speakers reduce unstressed vowels in nouns and verbs, while Mandarin speakers only reduced unstressed vowels when they were situated in the second syllable (Lai 2008: 45–46). Wennerstrom (1994) examined several features of non-native intonation. The data was elicited in an oral reading task and a structured free-speech task. The analysis focused on high phrase accents, high pitch accents, low pitch accents, and high boundary tones. The study concluded that among native speakers intonational units are similar to grammatical units in their significance and predictability (Wennerstrom 1994: 415). Moreover, non-native speakers were found to use intonational patterns differently compared to native speakers. In a study of non-native focus acquisition, Baker (2010) identified several differences in non-native speech such as higher f0 maxima, larger f0 ranges, and stronger pitch accent cues (Baker 2010: 212).

However, there has been relatively little research on non-native suprasegmental features above sentence level, or non-native spontaneous speech (Pickering 2004; Hirschberg et al. 2007; Trouvain & Gut 2007; Chun 2002; Nagy 2015). This is partly due to the complexities of suprasegmental features. Firstly, the difficulties associated with the measurement of the perception of intonation originates from a variety of factors such as the presence of multiple cues and cue trading, and the fact that intonational cues may serve diverse functions in different languages. Additional issues arise from the fact that f0 perception is also connected to higher-level linguistic processing. In addition, the combination of discrete and continuous features of intonation makes the measurement of f0 perception a challenging

endeavour (Vaissière 2008: 239–241). Moreover, non-native suprasegmental features need to be examined thoroughly, with attention to phonetic and phonological factors. Some non-native errors have been misinterpreted due to a difference in the intonational patterns or the use of acoustic cues (Mennen 2004: 58–59).

Vaissière (2007) provides an overview of the issues associated with the study of intonation including the effect of phonetic context, discourse context, language-specific and non-language-specific processes. Among others, f0 features are not independent of the intrinsic f0, loudness, duration of the segment, the quality of surrounding sounds, the discourse intention of the speaker, pragmatic meanings, or the language-specific use and perception of suprasegmental features (Vaissière 2008: 242). However, non-language specific or universal aspects have also been proposed. Gussenhoven (2004) proposes the three biological codes, the Frequency Code, The Effort Code, and The Production Code, providing an explanation for the universal features underlying the interpretation of pitch variation. These include affective and informational interpretations, but in each case reflect universal form–function relations (Gussenhoven 2004: 79). Prominence is the informational interpretation of the Effort Code, grammaticalized as focus. The Effort Code refers to the increased articulatory effort associated with certain meanings, resulting in increased articulatory precision and greater pitch excursion. However, increased pitch does not necessarily create an effect of prominence. Prominence is perceived on the basis of deviation from a reference line, such as the speaker's pitch register (Gussenhoven 2004: 85). In other words, the Effort Code is related to the speaker's wish to convey meaning that is considered important. This meaning of importance is grammaticalized as focus. The most common type of focus is presentational focus or information focus, which is usually not distinguished from corrective focus in English, which uses pitch accents to mark focus constituents. Besides intonation, languages may use other linguistic devices to mark information structure, such as syntactic structure or focus particles (Gussenhoven 2004: 86–87).

Information structure, focus, and sentence structure

One of the central elements of discourse intonation is its function marking information structure. Focused elements and new information are marked with prosodic prominence, generally denoted with the term nuclear pitch accent (Ward & Birner 2001: 120). According to Chafe (2001), information structure is managed in interactions by the management of focus and periphery. The former is marked with "distinctive terminal intonation contour, an initial resetting of the pitch baseline, the presence of silence before and after, a change of tempo at the beginning or end, and boundary changes in voice quality such as whispering or creaky voice" (Chafe 2001: 675). Furthermore, Hirschberg et al. (2007) provide

empirical evidence for the use of downstepped contours for topic and information structure marking in read and spontaneous Standard American English (SAE). They conclude that downstepped pitch accents are associated with given or inferrable information. However, the issue that they also appear with new information remains unresolved (Hirschberg et al. 2007: 22).

The consensus view seems to be that information status should not be conceptualized as a dichotomy of new vs. given/old information. Prince (1992) defined information status along two dimensions, namely the Hearer and the Discourse. New information in this respect may be known to one or more participants of the interaction, and thus be Hearer-old, yet it can be Discourse-new in case it had not been previously mentioned during the interaction. In addition, some information may belong to the category of Inferrables, which means that it is accessible (Prince 1992: 309). Furthermore, some researchers proposed additional subcomponents of signalling information status, such as salience and focus of attention, and advocated that givenness should be viewed as a continuum which includes the two extremes of new and given status and the intermediary textual, situational, and inferential accessibility (Venditti & Hirschberg 2003; Baumann & Grice 2006).

The role of intonation in syntactic disambiguation has also been extensively examined among native speakers. Warren et al. (2000) examined durational differences in the disambiguation of syntactically ambiguous sentences elicited in a cooperative game task. The speakers and listeners were naïve native speakers. Their results show that prosody was used in the disambiguation process even when speakers had access to situational information aiding disambiguation. The authors argued that prosody fulfils an important role in sentence comprehension (Warren et al. 2000: 24). Schafer et al. (2000) examined the prosodic features of data collected with the same cooperative game task presented in Warren et al. (2000). Their results corroborate the previous results that prosodic disambiguation is likely to contribute to sentence comprehension in a variety of discourse situations. However, their results revealed that prosodic structure cannot be predicted solely based on syntactic structure (Schafer, Speer, Warren, and White 2000: 180). Van de Vijver et al. (2006) examined f0 and duration of focused lexical items in an experimental setting in different focus conditions, namely prosodic focus marking (question–answer pairs), syntactic focus marking (clefts/declarative sentences), and lexical focus marking (*only* as a focus marker). The results showed that only nuclear accent had an effect on the duration and pitch of focused lexical items, and not syntactic or lexical focus marking (van de Vijver, Sennema, and Zimmer–Stahl 2006: 217–218).

As regards language learners, there is evidence pointing to the varying degree of effectiveness in L2 use of prosody for syntactic disambiguation and the dominance of contextual cues over prosodic ones (Ying, 1996: 698). Sennema et al. (2005)

found that the position of the word in the sentence was the strongest cue in lexical recognition and recall among German L2 learners. Prosodic focus marking was found to play only a supporting role in the recognition of words in sentence initial or final position. However, prosodic focus marking has a stronger effect on words occurring in medial position (Sennema, Vijver, and Carroll 2005: 196–197).

Finally, presentation of new information may be linked to specific structures, such as existential *there* sentences, which are non-canonical structures with a postposed logical subject and the expletive *there* occupying the canonical subject position. As regards information structure, existential *there* sentences are used to express Hearer-new information. Hearer-old NP-s result in infelicitous sentences and are not allowed in the postverbal position of existential *there* sentences (Ward & Birner 2001: 127). In addition, information status is also connected with definiteness (expressed by the definite article, demonstrative articles, possessive adjectives, personal pronouns, and proper nouns), as Hearer-old information is usually definite, while Hearer-new information is usually indefinite (Prince 1992: 299–302).

Research questions

1. Do native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) use different sentence types when they present Hearer-New information? Are existential *there* constructions used to present Hearer-new information?
2. Do NS or NNS use more complex sentences when they present Hearer-new information?
3. Do NS and NNS use f0 to mark prominence of new information differently in various sentence types? Is the Hearer-new word marked with an f0 maximum?

Methodology

This article analyses data from the Wildcat Corpus of Native- and Foreign-Accented English. The corpus contains scripted and spontaneous recordings of native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) of varied linguistic backgrounds involving 76 speakers from 13 native language backgrounds, in both native and non-native pairings. Recordings were carried out in a sound-treated booth in the Northwestern University Phonetics Laboratory. The conversations were recorded in stereo using a Marantz PMD 670 flash recorder and participants wore AKG C420 headset microphones (Van Engen et al. 2010: 517).

I examined the spontaneous speech data from 10 out of the 37 currently available conversations recorded using the Diapix elicitation technique (see *Appendix 1*), which involved 10 native and 10 non-native speakers (14 males

and 6 females) participating in a spot-the-difference task. The total duration of the 10 interviews selected for analysis was 3:10 hours. In order to complete the task, the two speakers had to cooperatively identify the differences in the two pictures they had been presented with. Each speaker underwent a familiarization task before the recording. For the purpose of reducing the effect of speech accommodation, conversations with NS-NS and NNS-NNS pairs were included. Prior to recording, participants were evaluated by native speakers of American English for accentedness on a scale of 1 (no foreign accent) to 9 (very strong foreign accent). A marked difference was found in the accent of native and non-native speakers. The average NS accentedness rating was 1.27, with ratings ranging from 1.04 to 1.67, while the average NNS rating was 6.35, with a range of 3.10 to 8.31 (Van Engen et al. 2010: 518–519).

Data analysis and measurements were carried out using Praat version 6.0.12. (Boersma & Weenink 2016). The word boundaries established in the corpus transcription, produced by hand-corrected automatic alignment of orthographic transcription, were individually re-examined and additional hand corrections were made (Wildcat Corpus of Native- and Foreign-Accented English, n.d.). In the first stage of data analysis, I added a new tier (*InfoStatus*) and I labelled the first occurrences of keywords containing Hearer-new information. Changed items in the Diapix task were used as keywords. I also added a further tier *(SentType)*, which was used for the hand-labelling of sentence types in which Hearer-new information appeared. Sentence labels included declarative, ellipsis, possessive, there, there_nf (new information keyword not in focus position), interrogative, and other. These tiers and labels were used to extract new information sentences from the LongSound files. File extraction was carried out using the Massive Speech Corpus Tool (MaSCoT) (Sadowsky 2016), and resulted in 78 sound files and corresponding Praat TextGrid files.

Measurements were carried out with a script based on Mietta Lennes's Speech Corpus Toolkit for Praat (Lennes 2011). Maximum, minimum, and mean f0, and standard deviation were measured in Hz on words containing Hearer-new information coupled with pitch accent (*MaxF0, MinF0, MeanF0, F0SD*) and the sentences containing these words (*MaxF0Sent, MinF0Sent, MeanF0Sent and F0SDSent*). In addition, the number of words was also measured for each sentence based on the number of intervals in the *mixed* tier of the corpus containing the word-level transcription of the interactions. These measurements were used to calculate *n_words*, thus categorizing sentences into 1–3-word, 4–6-word, 7–9-word, 10–12-word, and 13+ word sentences. Finally, the normalization of fundamental frequency measurements was carried out by calculating f0 z-score values (*F0Z-score*). It must be noted that additional issues stem from the segmental effects influencing f0 values, which at this stage of analysis are viewed as inherent features of naturally occurring speech (Pierrehumbert 1980: 14).

Results and discussion

Sentence types presenting hearer-new information

The first question was aimed at the NS and NNS use of different sentence types when they present Hearer-new information. Contrary to preliminary assumptions, existential *there* only appeared in 5% of the NS sentences and 3% of NNS sentences. Additional examination of the larger sample provided evidence for the extensive use of existential *there* sentences in the Diapix interactions in sentences not containing the keywords selected for this analysis. The information structure and prosodic features of these existential *there* sentences are open for further research.

Declarative sentences were the most frequently occurring sentence type both among native (33%) and non-native speakers (47%). Native speakers also preferred possessives (30%) and ellipsis (23%), whereas non-natives used ellipsis (26%) and interrogatives (11%) more frequently. Possessives were less frequently used by non-native speakers (7.9). However, according to a Chi-square test, there was no significant relationship between nativeness and sentence type: $\chi^2(6) = 8.54$, $p \geq .05$.
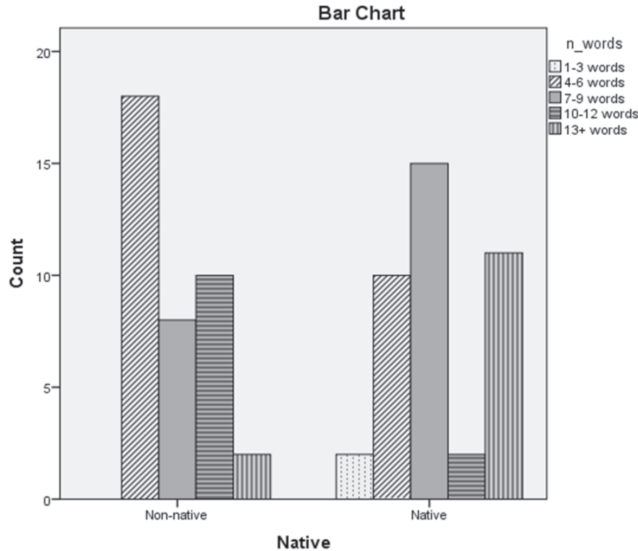
Figure 1. *NS vs NNS distribution of sentence complexity*
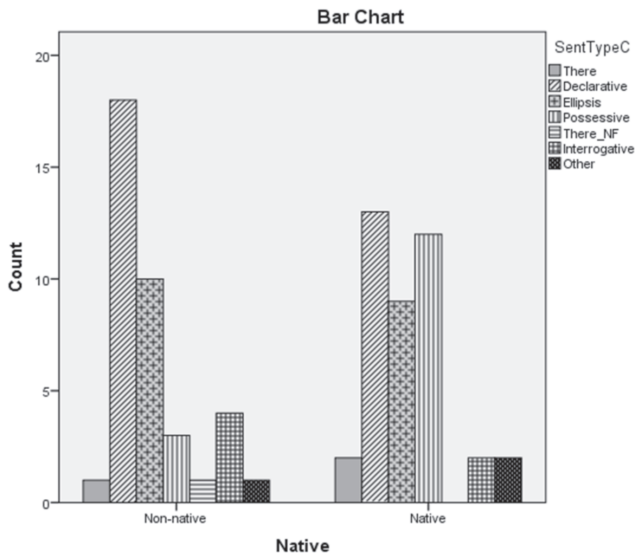
Figure 2. *NS vs NNS distribution of sentence types*

Sentence complexity

The relationship between nativeness and the complexity of sentences containing Hearer-new information was also examined. As an initial step in examining sentence complexity, I examined the number of words each sentence contained. This was accomplished by counting the number of intervals in the text grid tier containing word-level transcription, which also included spontaneous speech phenomena such as repetitions or filled pauses. Non-native speakers (N=38) mostly used shorter sentences: 47% of their sentences contained 4–6 words, whereas native speakers (N=40) preferred sentences containing 7–9 words. Sentences consisting of a higher number of constituents were more frequently used by native (27%) than non-native speakers (5%). An additional difference was in the use of 1–3-word sentences, which only occurred among native speakers. In general, non-native speakers tended to use shorter sentences focusing on one piece of new information, whereas native speakers were found to use longer sentences as a result of presenting information in more detail or demonstrating more frequent use of spontaneous speech phenomena. *Figure 3* presents the distribution of sentence complexity among native and non-native speakers as measured by the number of intervals in TextGrid files corresponding to the number of words in each sentence.

According to the results of a Chi-square test, there was a significant relationship between nativeness and the complexity of sentences: $\chi^2(4) = 17.94$, $p \leq .001$. The Cramer's V=.48 value measuring association demonstrates a strong relationship between the variables.
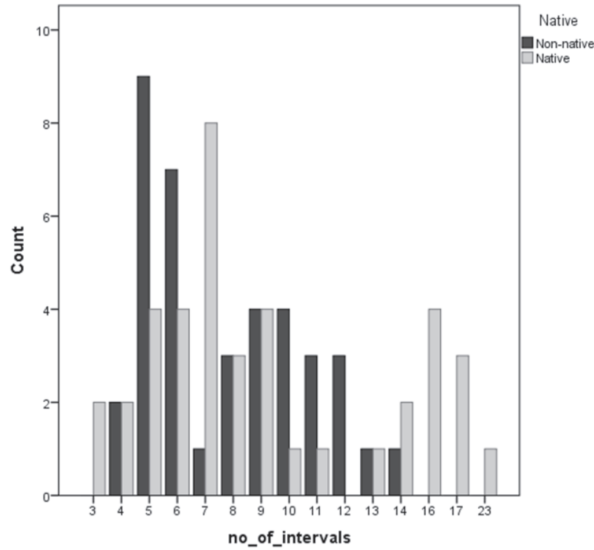
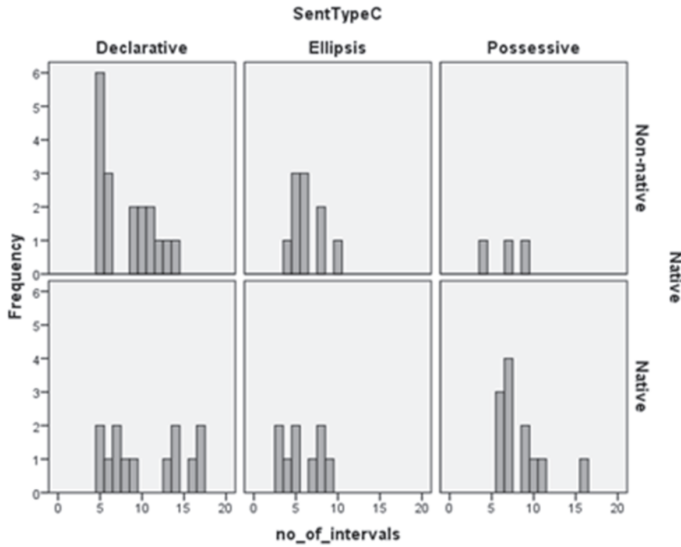**Figure 3.** *NS and NNS distribution of sentence complexity*

Figure 4. *NS and NNS sentence complexity in the three main sentence types*

    Furthermore, several differences were found in the sentences of native and
non-native speakers after examining the relationship between sentence types
and complexity. Declaratives were more complex among native speakers, while
non-native speakers used sentences of varying complexity. Ellipsis occurred in
shorter sentences among native speakers compared to non-natives. However,

the most marked difference was found in possessive sentences, where native speakers used longer sentences considerably more frequently (*Figure 4*). Sentence complexity can be further signalled by the presence of additional f0 peaks, which is briefly discussed in the following section.

F0 marking prominence in various sentence types

The third research question focused on the role of f0 in marking prominence of new information and its relation to various sentence types. The preliminary visual inspection revealed that the data was not normally distributed; as a result, nonparametric tests were used. In addition, scatterplots were used to verify the monotonic relationship. An independent-samples Kruskal-Wallis test revealed no significant differences among NS and NNS f0 z-scores. Nonetheless, visual inspection of f0 z-scores showed a different distribution among native and non-native speakers in the most frequently used sentence types (N_{DECL}=31, N_{ELL}=19, N_{POSS}=15) (*Figure 5*). Consequently, further research on a larger sample is needed to map the differences between native and non-native speakers.
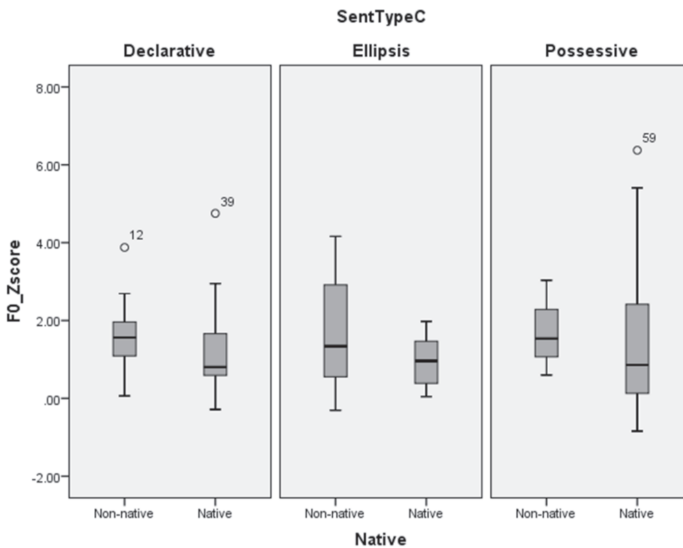

Figure 5. *NS and NNS f0 z-score values in the three main sentence types*

An additional question concerning f0 prominence was whether Hearer-new information is marked with the highest f0 peak of the sentence. The results of a Spearman correlation revealed a strong positive correlation between MaxF0 and MaxF0Sent (ρ_{NS}=.85, N_{NS}=40, p<.001) among native speakers, but only a moderate positive correlation among non-native speakers (ρ_{NNS} =.45, N_{NNS}=40, p<.001). A

further distinction can be made by looking at gender differences. Unfortunately, at this stage, the sample size only allows for statistical testing among sentences produced by male speakers (N_{male}=55, N_{female}=23). A Spearman correlation carried out among male non-native speakers uncovered a strong positive correlation between f0 peaks measured on words carrying new information (*MaxF0*) and sentence-level f0 peaks (*MaxF0Sent*) (ρ_{NNS}=.85, n_{NNS}=31, p<.01). Conversely, no similar significant relationship could be established among native speakers. Furthermore, a similar discrepancy between native and non-native speakers is observable when we examine the relationship between f0 peaks in the three most commonly occurring sentence types (ρ_{NS} =.87, N_{NS} =31, p<.01; ρ_{NNS} =.45, N_{NNS} =31, p<.001). In conclusion, the results indicate the need for an in-depth analysis of the relationship of f0 and sentence types.

Conclusions

The data provides empirical evidence suggesting that native speakers used more complex sentences when they presented Hearer-new information. According to the initial hypothesis, native speakers were more likely to use longer sentences. In addition, the sentence-level f0 maxima was less likely to overlap with f0 maxima measured on Hearer-new words among native speakers. On the other hand, non-native speakers were more likely to emphasize Hearer-new words with f0 peaks. Moreover, non-canonical structures were rarely used either by native or non-native speakers. Existential *there* sentences were found to occur in a small percentage. However, a preliminary examination of existential *there* sentences occurring independently of new information keywords revealed a considerable number of such structures in the Diapix interactions. A further research aim is to map the information structure of these additional existential *there* sentences.

Finally, native and non-native speech also diverged in the use of f0 within sentences. Additional differences were found among the two groups in use of f0 to mark the prominence of new information in different sentence types. However, the sample was not large enough to allow for generalizations at this point.

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English as a Lingua Franca and Its Implications for Teaching English as a Foreign Language

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Abstract. The analysis of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has received considerable attention over the years. There has been a lot of research done both on the morpho-syntactic properties of ELF interactions and the communication strategies used by ELF speakers in order to facilitate communication and avoid misunderstandings. Given the fairly large number of findings, the question arises whether ELF should be introduced in the curriculum or replace EFL (English as a Foreign Language). I believe that although ELF data are significant and can benefit teaching English as a foreign language, they cannot replace EFL, especially because English as a lingua franca is primarily a communication tool and not a language variant. Also, while there have been other models suggested as alternatives to teaching a standard version of English, none of these models seem practical enough or have proven applicable in the classroom.
After giving an overview of the research done on English as a lingua franca, with a special emphasis on the notion of lingua franca core, the study reflects on the repercussions of ELF findings on teaching English as a foreign language.

Keywords: ELF, Lingua Franca Core, communication strategies, language teaching

1. Introduction

English as a lingua franca has received a lot of attention over the years due to the spread of English among non-native speakers of English. Today, we live in an interconnected globalized world (a "global village") where the number of non-native speakers of English exceeds the native ones. English, often seen as a "practical tool" and also as a "working language" (Crystal 2003: 426), has emerged as a lingua franca used by millions of people to engage in a conversation with each other.

The aim of the present study is multifold: on the one hand, it gives an insight into the research done on English as a lingua franca (ELF) with a special emphasis on the notion of lingua franca core, while, on the other hand, it reflects on the repercussions of the ELF findings on teaching English as a foreign language (EFL).

ELF and its repercussions on foreign language teaching have been studied extensively over the last few decades. Considering the large amount of data, there has been considerable debate about whether ELF should replace EFL (English as a Foreign Language) or be introduced in the curriculum. Although there have already been several attempts to do so, the question as to how ELF could be applied to foreign language classes still remains open. I believe that, until a new practicable model based on ELF data is offered to teachers, ELF cannot substitute EFL. Nevertheless, I find that ELF data are significant as they shed light on the areas that need more focus when teaching English as a foreign language.

2. ELF. A definition

While there is no clear-cut definition of a lingua franca, two main understandings of this term can be distinguished. On the one hand, ELF is often considered a "contact language" between people who do not share a common mother tongue and use English as the chosen foreign language for communication (Firth 1996) (as cited by Seidlhofer 2004: 211). On the other hand, ELF is also regarded as interactions between two or more lingua cultures in English for whom English is not the mother tongue (House 1999) (as cited by Seidlhofer 2004: 211).

The two definitions reflect two different perspectives on ELF, which, although connected, also differ from each other. Thus, while the first one regards ELF as a linguistic concept and sees ELF as a language variety, the second definition defines ELF from a sociolinguistic perspective defining ELF as a working tool rather than a language variety.

In the present approach, ELF is understood in this latter sense; so, ELF is defined here as a means of communication between speakers who do not share the same mother tongue and who use English for ELF purposes. This definition greatly corresponds with Penny Ur's (2010: 85) understanding of ELF, defining ELF "as interactions between people whose mother tongue is not English."

3. The notion of Lingua Franca Core

There has been considerable research done on ELF communication. Analysis of ELF has focused mainly on spoken English data and has been carried out at the level of (a) language, (b) lingua-cultural background of interlocutors, and (c)

domain (Seidlhofer 2004: 8). Concerning the level of language, ELF descriptions have mainly focused on phonological and pragmatic features (such as long pause, overlapping speech), but there have also been attempts to describe the lexico-grammatical characteristics of ELF interactions. Several corpora have been compiled with the attempt to capture the lexico-grammatical features of ELF talk (e.g. the English Department of the University of Vienna compiled the VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) corpus with the intention to analyse the morpho-syntactic properties of spoken ELF on the basis of non-native speaker communication). Research carried out on linguistic properties of ELF talk has resulted in a series of studies that focus on the repercussions of ELF on language teaching and also language acquisition (Canagarajah 2007, Jenkins 2000, Seidlhofer 2004, etc.). There are also studies on ELF focusing on a specific lingua-cultural background of interlocutors and delimiting the research to specific regions (e.g. ELF in Southern Africa (Meierkord 2006)). Finally, some studies also concentrate on a specific domain, like international business settings, such as ELF in business telephone calls (Haegemann 2002) or analysing the use of English in academic settings (Mauranen (2003), reports about the compilation of the ELFA, the Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings). Based on the findings, there have been several attempts to describe a lingua franca core that would contain the main phonological, morpho-syntactical, and also pragmatic characteristics of ELF interactions.

Jenkins (2000) uses the term lingua franca core for pronunciation elements that are crucial for intelligibility in face-to-face lingua franca communication. The elements included in lingua franca core are all the consonant sounds (except for /θ/ and /ð/), consonant clusters (addition (consonant insertion) is preferred to deletion), vowel length distinctions, and nuclear stress. On the other hand, some of the elements that are focused on in a traditional syllabus of EFL but are not so important for intelligibility are not included in lingua franca core. Pronunciation features that in Jenkins' view do not impact ELF intelligibility are the sounds θ/ and /ð/ (for which most substitutions are possible, such as /f/ and /v/), dark [l] at the end of the word, as in *little*, word stress, stress-timing, exact vowel quantity and pitch movement.[1]

A lingua franca core has been suggested for morpho-syntactic characteristics as well. Seidlhofer (2004) gives a preliminary list of grammatical items which are 'deviant' from native-speaker norms, but which are considered unproblematic in ELF communication. These are:

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[1] Jenkins's list of Lingua Franca Core has also received criticism. Dauer (2005) calls Jenkins's list problematic in several respects, such as not giving enough reasons as to why it is only θ/ and /ð/ (which in her opinion could be rather substituted by /t/ and /d/, not /f/ and /v/) left out from the consonants, also the lack of suprasegmental features in Lingua Franca Core, such as word stress, intonation, features of connected speech, etc.

– the omission of -s in third person singular: he *look* very sad;
– the omission of articles: our countries have signed agreement;
– treating *who* and *which* interchangeable;
– substituting bare infinitive for *-ing*: I look forward *to see you;*
– using *isn't it*? as a universal tag.

Mauranen (2010) also lists some of the main morpho-syntactical features of ELF conversations. Among the characteristics, she names the non-standard uses of articles (of *the* Wilson's disease) and of prepositions (discuss *about*, obsession *in*), regularization of verb forms (*teached*, *stucked*), regularization of countable and uncountable forms (*furnitures*, *researches*), also productive or non-standard morphology (*irrelatively*, *commentated*), and creative solutions (*far away* uncle).

Research on ELF has shed light on the pragmatic aspect of ELF interactions as well. Several researchers (Seidlhofer 2004, Mauranen 2010, Hülmbauer et al. 2008, etc.) draw attention to the fact that in ELF communication partners do not orientate themselves to native-speaker norms but negotiate meaning as conversation unfolds by adapting their skills to those of their partner and to the purpose of communication (Hülmbauer et al. 2008: 25). Grammatical accuracy does not play a significant role in ELF communication: more important than formal correctness is functional effectiveness as ELF speakers are primarily users and not learners of the language. Negotiation and adaptation are often defined as key features of ELF interactions: speakers negotiate meaning as they engage in a conversation adapting their skills and needs to those of their partners. Mauranen (2006) offers an interesting analysis of the strategies used in ELF interactions by non-native speakers (NNS) of English in order to facilitate communication and avoid confusion. Misunderstandings in ELF interactions are rare and often resolved either by topic change or by other strategies such as repetition or rephrasing (Seidlhofer 2004: 11).

In what follows, a brief description of an analysis that focuses both on the morpho-syntactic properties and the pragmatic elements of ELF interactions in online communities will be given. Besides reflecting the everyday language use of ELF speakers, these data can also help teachers tailor their teaching methodology to fit their students' needs.

4. ELF data as a source of inspiration for teachers

During the months of April and May 2012, a corpus-based research was carried out on ELF communication in the Couchsurfing Online Community, a hospitality and social networking website, aimed at providing free accommodation for people all over the world. Members of this community commit themselves to hosting travellers and might also 'surf' on other people's couches for free. As

such, Couchsurfing offers a cheap way of discovering the world, allowing for the encounter of people from different social and cultural backgrounds. Thereby, English is most often used as a language of communication. The analysis of ELF communication has been undertaken within the Vienna Couchsurfing Group, a subgroup of the Couchsurfing community, counting more than 10,000 members coming from Vienna but also people from all over the world including native speakers of English. The members have a great variety of communication forms at their disposal. They can choose to write on the bulletin message board, where they can see what other members have written, and also comment on them, discuss online in various subgroups, initiate new threads, or send private messages to one another.

The analysis of the morpho-syntactic and pragmatic aspects of the ELF has yielded similar results to the ones mentioned by Seidlhofer (2004) and Mauranen (2010). Regarding the morpho-syntactic properties, the most common mistakes detected are the non-standard use of prepositions (sentences 1–2), the omission of 's' in third person singular or, on the contrary, its overuse (sentences 3–4), the regularization of uncountable forms (sentences 5–6) and also verb forms (e.g. 'what I mended' (instead of 'meant')), or the different incorrect variants of the *look forward to vb + ing* construction (sentences 7–8).

1) I was looking *on* the wrong month
2) (…) if you are interested *to* join me/us send me a message
3) if someone *whant* to join me
4) (….) but cool a lot people *wants* to joining!
5) *Advices* for Vienna (title of a thread)
6) Hope you could share with me yours *experiences* and some *informations* :)
7) I'm looking *forward having* a fun holiday with CS spirit ;)
8) Looking forward *to see you*

Overall, it can be said that ELF speakers do not seem to worry much about grammatical correctness as long as they mutually understand each other. Since they negotiate meaning during the conversations, adapting their skills to those of their partner's, the lack of grammatical correctness rarely causes misunderstandings. While some confusion can be noted during the interactions, this results from the specificities of online communication (e.g. the lack of non-verbal cues) rather than the language skills of the interlocutors.

There are several communication strategies adopted by ELF speakers in order to facilitate understanding in the Vienna Couchsurfing Group. Placing a question into the subject line is one of them; so, there is a great number of threads where the subject contains a question or a request (like: *Fare Dodging Vienna's transport?* (asking for information), *How to make friends in Wien?* (seeking help as well

as advice), *In town this week… looking for some friends or jogging partners* (request*), How to get from Vienna to Adlitzgraben?* (asking for information), *Someone up to meet today??* (initiating an activity), etc. By using this strategy, the users immediately signal whether they need help, information, or advice or if they wish to organize something or are looking for friends. Another important strategy is self-regulation (altering or adapting one's behaviour to the situation at hand), characteristic of postings that contain larger discussions (posting a) is an example of seeking approval). Such postings are usually much longer with more elaborate sentences reflecting vivid talk with repetitions and the tendency for overemphasis (postings b–c).

a) *oh i am sorry* if you or anybody else got the impression that i was talking to a special person from the thread with "never say all" and criticise them... [..] maybe i wasnt very clear in my words... maybe you got now what i wanted to say before ;) at least i hope so :P

b) i am austrian, *with austrian roots* and i *really, really* have to say that it isnt that bad... (and i am glad to have wonderful friends also from abroad) [...]

c) As a conclusion I *must say* Austrians are very kind and respectful people, but for a foreigner, it may seem hard to form friendships with them at the beginning, due to misunderstandings [...]

Finally, in the Vienna Couchsurfing Group, it often comes to code-switching when members involved in a conversation are Austrians. Taking into account that this group has many Austrian members, code-switching used by both Austrians and foreigners (which can be the case, too) can be regarded as a convergence strategy, used by members to seek for approval and acceptance. Sentence d) is an example of how the person initiating the conversation switches to German in order to seek for acceptance and at the same time states (maybe unwillingly) her Austrian identity. The postings in this group reflect a colourful language use, ranging from postings only in English or German to mixed responses, containing phrases both in English and German.

d) I think I'll offer a visit to Kahlenberg, including some Geocaching for those interested ... Bettina, *hast du den Kahlenberg schon fertig abgegrast*?

It seems then that ELF communication has a dynamism of its own with specific characteristics and unwritten rules that are respected by natives and non-natives alike. While ELF as a construct seems to have characteristics that are common to most interactions where English is used as a lingua franca, ELF should be regarded primarily as a communication tool rather than a language variety. Nevertheless, as it has been pointed out above, studying ELF communication

brings along significant advantages for teachers of English, who gain an insight into how English is used for ELF purposes.

By analysing ELF data, teachers can realize the importance of teaching communication strategies to their students. While all components of a communicative competence (grammatical competence (the use of grammatical rules), sociolinguistic competence (appropriateness), and strategic competence (the proper use of communication strategies)) (Canale & Swain 1980)) are important and probably practised in class, the latter seems to be more neglected despite the fact that it largely determines the learner's fluency and conversational skills. This competence, which concerns the ability to express oneself in the face of difficulties or limited language knowledge, involves the use of strategies that are employed when problems arise in the communication process. It incorporates all those techniques that learners adopt when in their attempt to get a message across to their partner they find that they lack the necessary vocabulary item or structure (Fernández Dobao & Palacios Martínez 2007).

According to Corder (1981), strategic competences are of two types: message adjustment strategies, also called avoidance strategies (when speakers lacking the necessary vocabulary to refer to an object, avoid mentioning it or say something different from what was originally intended), and resource expansion strategies, or achievement strategies (when the interlocutors attempt to overcome the communication problems by paraphrasing, approximation (using a similar term to the needed one), non-linguistic means (e.g. gestures or miming), borrowed or invented words (e.g. *auto* for *car*, etc.). These communication strategies can be cooperative when students ask their partner for help (e.g. *How do you call it when…?*) or non-cooperative when they try to reduce the communication gap on their own (by paraphrasing, approximation, etc.). An important way of developing conversational strategies can be done by the use of fillers, which can range from very simple phrases like *well, I mean, actually, you know* to larger structures and even phrases like *to be quite honest, I see what you mean, as a matter of fact*, etc. (Dörnyei & Thurrell 1991). These fillers, meant to keep the conversation going, can be practised from the beginner level onwards and can be incorporated into various communication exercises.

5. The relevance of ELF for teaching English as a foreign language

The data on ELF and also ELF core are significant as they reflect the way English is used among non-native speakers for ELF purposes. The elements of lingua franca core can often be detected not only in face-to-face interactions but in online communication as well. The linguistic (phonetic and morpho-syntactic)

properties together with the pragmatic aspects of interactions point to a specific dynamism of ELF communication governed by the *Let it pass* principle (which means that everything is possible as long as it does not hinder successful communication).

This being said, the question arises whether these findings should be incorporated in EFL curriculum and, if so, to what extent this should or could be done. The attitudes of researchers to ELF often differ from those of teachers in this regard. From the researcher's perspective, a standard variety is not considered appropriate for teaching English as a foreign language. This is relevant especially for pronunciation, so that learners of English should not be expected to accurately produce BrE or AmE pronunciation but be allowed to preserve their own accent. Generally speaking, researchers require that a re-evaluation and a redefinition of teaching English as a foreign language take place based on ELF results (Seidlhofer 2004).

Several models have been suggested as an alternative to teaching a national variety. One such model would be teaching ELF instead of EFL, based on a "common core" syllabus that includes common non-native usages with features that are considered ungrammatical according to grammatical norms (e.g. she *go*, the people *which*, etc.). While the idea of including such elements in the curriculum would be probably rejected by the majority of English teachers, other suggestions like the combination of different models or variants or, by contrast, a standard international variety, a world standard English (comprising usages accepted in most international contexts) have also emerged.

These latter models might not be applicable either due to different reasons: despite the fact that teaching diverse variants might be interesting to students, it might also be difficult to put into practice because of the limited number of hours that teachers have to teach. In addition, students might not find them very practicable since their primary aim is to use English in ELF contexts. Finally, considering a standard international variety, it is often argued that in fact this does not exist (Ur 2010).

The idea of teaching ELF or incorporating any of the models listed above is often rejected by teachers. This might be partly due to the shortage of ELF materials as well as the difficulties that come along with changing former ways of teaching. Furthermore, the reluctance of teachers to teach ELF can be explained by the fact that none of the models mentioned above are practical enough to be used in the classroom.

6. How can ELF findings benefit teaching English as a foreign language?

Despite the fact that more research is necessary on ELF, the findings are relevant and should have an impact on teaching English as a foreign language. ELF data are important as they reflect the tendencies of NNS of English as regards both the use of linguistic elements and the pragmatic aspects of communication. The notion of lingua franca core comprises elements that teachers should focus on while teaching, including segmental elements like consonant and vowel length distinction and also suprasegmental elements like nuclear stress. Nevertheless, the notion of lingua franca does not include all the elements that influence intelligibility. Discourse intonation, for example, though not included in lingua franca core, is often regarded as a core element of communicative competence since it signals prominence and structures discourse (Chun 2002). Ramirez Verdugo (2005) draws attention to the fact that non-native speakers use other intonation range and variety of contours than native speakers, and by doing so they do not signal the same communicative and pragmatic functions as native speakers do. Thus, teaching intonation to them would be beneficial. Besides intonation, elements of prosody, such as stress (also words stress), pause, and rhythm, influence intelligibility and, as such, should be also focused on in class.

ELF findings also point to the fact that instead of laying too much emphasis on the accuracy of linguistic forms, as regards both pronunciation and morpho-syntactic features, the focus should be shifted to non-linguistic forms that affect mutual understanding. This would imply not only a transition from the dominance of the nativeness principle towards focus on intelligibility (the intelligibility principle) but also the acquisition of communication and accommodation strategies that are shown to be present in ELF communication.

A shift towards intelligibility has already taken place in teaching ESL and EFL. Language teaching today is approached from a functional perspective with a focus on the communicative needs of learners. While communication practices might commonly take place in the classroom, a special attention should be given to them, all the more so since communication strategies play a significant role in ELF interactions. Effective teaching methods to improve the communication skills of students could include interactive activities like students interviewing each other, role play, small-group discussions, listening to and watching everyday conversations in English, engaging learners with online communication tools (by encouraging group work online). Practising communication strategies would not only foster active learning, and thereby enhance the language competence of students, but it would also help them to use the language more effectively and to overcome difficulties resulting from cultural differences.

Regarding the expectations of ELF researchers that no native variety should be seen as a norm to be followed is the most difficult requirement to fulfil. Since ELF is primarily to be regarded as a communication tool and not as a language variety, it cannot replace a standard variety in class. Although there have been other models suggested as an alternative to the standard variety, none of them can be practicable in the classroom for the time being. Also, as Penny Ur (2010) notes, in order to show diversity and allow for deviations to take place, there should be a norm to follow, so that a standard version is needed for teaching. Following a standard version, however, does not and should not exclude elements of L1. NNS of English should not be discouraged from using their own accent or corrected when they do not pronounce words according to the norms of a standard variety. This is even more so since it has been demonstrated that non-native pronunciation does not hinder communicative success, on the contrary, it may even facilitate mutual intelligibility (Deterding & Kirkpatrick 2006).

7. Conclusions

In conclusion, it can be said that ELF findings have a great relevance for teaching English as a foreign language. The most important advantage of ELF findings is that they reflect the language habits of ELF speakers, helping teachers asses their students' needs and adjust their teaching methods accordingly. While introducing ELF in the curriculum might not be needed at all, ELF findings can be incorporated in language classes, by "translating" and "adapting" them to students' needs. For this, it is necessary that a new language awareness take place, which – although follows a certain standard – does not regard it higher than other varieties and does not exclude influences of L1. This is especially important for pronunciation since NS accents continue to be preferred not only by teachers but also by students, as Nagy (2014) shows in her analysis of attitudes towards NS and NNS pronunciation.[2] It should be kept in mind that while a certain percentage of learners might use English to communicate with native speakers the majority of learners will most likely use English in an ELF context. As such, it is important that students be exposed not only to NS accents but also to NNS accents of English.

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2   Nagy (2014) analyses the relationship between attitudes of non-native speakers of English towards NS and NNS accents as well as the correlation between their perceived and actual comprehensibility. Students had to evaluate NS and NNS accents in terms of personal attributes and comprehensibility. While there was a preference of students for NS accents, the students having evaluated them more positively with respect to both categories, their comprehensibility was higher for NNS than NS accents.

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Organized Chaos: Cohesive Devices in Benjy's Sections of William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*

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Abstract. As the history of criticism on *The Sound and the Fury* proves it, Benjy's section is probably the most controversial part of the novel. Some literary critics and writers celebrated it as an excellent piece of literary art, the peak of writerly performance, while others felt confused and irritated over the trials it posed to the reader.

Although critical voices that reproach the writer for the incoherence of Benjy's narrative may be justified at first sight, a closer inspection reveals that it is much less incoherent than it appears. In my paper, I will argue that there are several ways in which the author helps the reader to construct a more or less coherent story line out of the fragmented events that happened in the course of about thirty years. Secondly, I want to demonstrate that functional-semantic approaches to text analysis, such as Systemic Functional Grammar or Text Linguistics, can be effectively employed in analysing and interpreting literary texts. Finally, I try to find a psychological explanation of how Benjy's incoherence is made readable by the interworking between the coherence-seeking dispositions of the reader and the ingenious cohesive devices used by the writer.

Keywords: William Faulkner, Benjy, text linguistics, cohesive devices

Introduction

Much of the incomprehension and puzzlement experienced by both early and later readers of *The Sound and the Fury* is attributed to the fragmentariness of Benjy's section. Benjy's part is written in such a way that it only partially satisfies the curiosity of the reader who – in line with the normal endeavour of all readers – wants to decipher the story behind the discourse, and expects a clear-cut plotline. A major difficulty the reader has to face is that the chronology of the

story is scrambled, memory flashbacks from different past events are interspersed with events happening in the narrative present. Not only that, but it is often unclear whether the events being related at a given point in the narrative are taking place in the narrative present or in the past (the fact that past tense is used throughout the narrative present adds to the confusion). Another challenge posed by Benjy's narrative is the fact that the past events related in the memory flashbacks do not belong to a single sequence of events. There are more than a dozen shorter or longer episodes from different points of the past the fragments of which are mixed throughout the narrative. No wonder then that so much ink has been spilled over "straightening" Benjy's story by establishing the chronological order of the events (Steward & Backus 1958, Volpe 1964, Ross & Polk 1996).

Faulkner himself attempted in 1946 to "straighten" the story by writing an appendix to *The Portable Faulkner* edition of his selected works and insisting that it should serve as an introduction to later editions of the novel. But even at the time of writing he had doubts whether it was a good idea to start the novel with the part most difficult to follow. It was only after a series of experiments of moving it to and fro within the novel that he finally decided to leave it where it initially had been placed: at the beginning. Whether this reflects an authorial intention or not, Benjy's part functions as a trial for testing the commitment of the reader: those who persist in moving on despite all the obstacles they have to face qualify themselves as "resilient readers". Benjy's section requires a resilient reader tolerating ambiguity, capable of figuring out the author's novelistic conventions and dropping them as soon as they prove to be misleading, and eager to revise his interpretation whenever new elements appearing in the narrative require it, no matter how frequently this happens.

If I wanted to find a visual image comparable to Benjy's part, I would compare it to a finely sewn, varicoloured patchwork.[1] An aesthetically appealing patchwork measures up to two different expectations at the same time: variegation and cohesion. Cohesion is assured by the reiteration of patches of the same colour as well as by the stitches that keep the individual patches together. In a similar manner, the cohesion of Benjy's narrative is assured by the reiteration of certain topics, motifs, and symbols, and by the way the different textual fragments are linked to one another. In this paper, I will present the results of my analysis applied to Benjy's section the goal of which was to identify the cohesive devices that hold the textual fragments together and the ways in which the author helps the reader to construct a more or less coherent storyline.

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1   This might not be a daring idea in the light of Faulkner's confession according to which his intention was to have the first part of the book printed in many different colours in order to help the reader keep track of the events happening at different points in time (see: Gwynn & Blotner 1959: 94). His dream was fulfilled eighty years later, when The Folio Society released a colour-coded special edition of the novel in 2012.

The concepts of coherence and cohesion; method of analysis

There has been considerable discussion in the specialist literature about the conditions a set of sentences has to meet so that it can be considered to form a coherent text. A highly inclusive definition of a cohesive text is offered by Brown and Yule (1983), who relegate responsibility for textual coherence to the reader by saying that "texts are what hearers and readers treat as texts" (199). Other theorists, like Halliday and Hasan (1976), claim that cohesion markers, such as reference, substitution, ellipsis, and lexical relationships, are indispensable ingredients of a coherent text even though they finally admit that "it is the underlying semantic relation [...] that actually has the cohesive power" (229).

For the sake of clarity, I will adopt the definitions of coherence and cohesion as they are given in *The Routledge dictionary of language and linguistics* (1996). According to this, coherence "specifically signifies the semantic meaning and the cohesion of the basic interconnection of the meanings of the text, its content/ semantic and cognitive structure. Semantic coherence can be represented as a sequence of propositions that form a constellation of abstract concepts and connected relations" (198).

Cohesion, on the other hand, "refers to the various linguistic means (grammatical, lexical, phonological) by which sentences 'stick together' and are linked into larger units of paragraphs, or stanzas, or chapters. Cohesion is produced by (a) the repetition of elements of the text, e.g. recurrence, textphoric, paraphrase, parallelism; (b) the compacting of text through the use of devices such as ellipsis; (c) the use of morphological and syntactic devices to express different kinds of relationships such as connection, tense, aspect, deixis, or theme-rheme relationships" (199).

I will use the patchwork metaphor introduced above to illustrate what exactly I have examined. First, I looked at the ways in which the present and the past fragments of the narrative are linked to one another, that is, the stitches which hold the patches together. More specifically, I looked for instances of lexical and syntactic repetition, development of semantic fields related to important topics (e.g. death), and co-referential use of pronouns (anaphora, cataphora). However, instead of making an inventory of the cohesive devices used in Benjy's section, I applied a more functional approach by focusing on the effects the use of such devices might have upon the reader. Apart from the grammatical and lexical cohesive devices specified above, I also considered visual clues such as the use of different typefaces to signal transitions between time levels. To this end, I read the text unit by unit and described the grammatical, lexical, and visual devices that are used for signalling time shifts and assuring cohesion.

Then, I examined the devices that link the fragments belonging to the same time level together, that is, the way in which the same coloured patches cohere. In order to do this, I created a separate document for each time level where I collected all the fragments belonging to that particular level, and analysed the language used in the different levels. My intention was to identify those themes and lexical elements (e.g. proper names) that link the fragments of the same time level together.

The very first step in the process of analysis consisted of establishing the number of fragments and that of the time levels. This proved to be much more complicated than it had seemed at first sight. After several attempts, I realized that what counted as a separate textual fragment or a different time level was not so obvious at all: it was often a matter of interpretation. So, instead of carrying out the whole work myself, I decided to review the literature available on this topic, and to rely on the findings. I found a great diversity across studies with respect to the number of fragments and time levels. Olga Vickery (1954), for instance, interpreted the text as consisting of "four extended episodes" completed with shorter "recollections", Cleanth Brooks (1952) divided the section into eleven various "experiences", Edmund L. Volpe (1964) identified sixteen levels, while Stephen M. Ross and Noel Polk (1996) found fourteen different time levels. After a thorough analysis of Benjy's section, George R. Stewart and Joseph M. Backus (1958) divided it into 106 "units", and arranged the fragments into thirteen different "time levels". They based their analysis almost entirely on the text itself, but on some occasions they also looked for corroboration in other texts such as the other three sections of the novel, Faulkner's later short stories and novels, and the appendix attached to the book in 1946. Since I found their analysis and their argumentation for it convincing and because their analysis had been based almost exclusively on the text involving as little speculation as possible, I decided to use their study as the starting point of my own analysis. Stewart and Backus summarized their findings in two tables: the first one comprises the numbers of the 106 fragments accompanied by the first line of each fragment as identified by the authors (443). The second table contains the 13 levels arranged in chronological order as reconstructed by the authors of the study, together with the numbers of the fragments belonging to each time level (444). For more recent analyses of the cohesive devices in the novel, see also Toolan (1998) and Tennent (2015).

I used the 1956 Random House edition of *The Sound and the Fury* for the present analysis, which is a photographical reproduction of the novel's 1929 edition. The Arabic numbers without brackets refer to the number of the units as identified by Stewart and Backus, while the numbers in brackets after the quotations indicate the page on which the fragment in question can be found in this edition.

Findings

Out of the thirteen longer or shorter plot threads, the event sequence of the narrative present (Luster and Benjy's wandering around the Compson estate on April seventh, 1928) emerges as the backbone of the narrative to which all the memory clusters are metonymically attached. Metonymy is the organizing principle that integrates memories into the current flow of events. The metonymy involved in triggering time shifts can be spatial (a certain spot on the Compson estate evokes a past event that took place at the same location), sensual (a current sensual perception recalls a similar experience from the past), or referential (a certain person or name brings up childhood memories related to the same person or to another person with the same name). The fragments belonging to the present level are evenly distributed throughout the section, usually every second or third fragment shifting back to the present. However, there are several instances in the narrative where the intruding memory fragments are more numerous, the distance between two consecutive present units becoming longer. The narrative strategy seems to be that whenever life-changing events are involved, they are foregrounded to such an extent that the present level is unable to intrude in spite of its immediacy and prevalence in most parts of Benjy's section. Apart from "The Present" time level consisting of 32 textual fragments, the time levels involving the largest number of fragments are the ones that carry Benjy's earliest childhood memories: "Damuddy's Death" and "The Name-Changing". The "Damuddy's Death" level starts quite early on in the narrative, and – just as "The Present" level – it becomes a consistently foregrounded time level throughout the narrative. We can say that, in a way, these two levels demarcate the distal ends of the narrated time continuum, setting a time-frame for Benjy's section. The cohesion of the less consistent time levels (those involving less fragments) is facilitated by their concentration to a given part of the narrative, that is – apart from several exceptional dislocations – their fragments being placed relatively close to one another.

Typeface change (from Roman to italics and vice versa) is used to signal shifts between time levels. However, the convention of typeface change is constantly modified: the initial association of the narrative present with the Roman types and the memory fragments with the italics is soon dropped, time shifts being signalled by the use of different typefaces irrespective whether the shift takes place between present and past or two past time levels. On some occasions, only the first sentence of a fragment is written in italics, while at other times typeface change is dropped altogether, and time shift is not signalled in any way. The inconsistencies in the use of typeface change can become misleading for readers who rely on such clues too heavily, as if Faulkner wanted to show that the mechanical following of conventions is not rewarding, the reader has to stay alert all the time.

Sometimes typeface change has other functions than signalling time shift. At one point in the narrative, typeface change occurs in fragment-internal position, having the pragmatic function of differentiating between words genuinely addressed to Benjy eliciting his collaboration, such as Versh's commands, and utterances that are addressed to him but not interpreted by him as such:[2]

> We went back. "You must think." Mother said. *Hold still now* Versh said. He put my overshoes on. "Someday I'll be gone, and you'll have to think for him." *Now stomp* Versh said. "Come here and kiss Mother, Benjamin." (8)

On several occasions, the time shift – signalled by the change of typeface – takes place in the middle of a sentence. For example, time shift from April seventh, 1928 ("The Present" level) to early fall, 1898 ("Damuddy's Death") is signalled by sentence-internal typeface change:

> "Now, git in that water and play and see can you stop that slobbering and moaning."
> I hushed and got in the water *and Roskus came and said to come to supper and Caddy said, It's not supper time yet. I'm not going.* (19)

The effect of this technique is that the two fragments – and the two water scenes at the branch related to different time levels – are more strongly intertwined, and the temporal gap is smoothly bridged.

A similar technique is used on page 75, where time shift from November, 1900 ("The Name-Changing") to early fall, 1898 ("Damuddy's Death") is signalled by line-internal typeface change:

> *I can carry him,* Caddy said. "Let me carry him up, Dilsey." (75)

This ingenious method is just one of the cohesive devices employed in linking consecutive textual fragments.

The repetition of a proper name in a subsequent fragment is another way of making the text cohere. Sometimes the name refers to the same person but at different times and sometimes it refers to two different persons (e.g. the name Quentin can refer to Benjy's brother or to his niece). An example for the former case is the following passage, in which we can see Jason as a child in 1900 and as an adult in 1928:

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2   On a different interpretation of this fragment-internal typeface change, see Ross and Polk 1996: 13.

"Hush." Father said. "Jason." he said.
"I'll make you some more tomorrow." Caddy said. "We'll make a lot of them. Here, you can look at the cushion, too."
Jason came in. (80)

The passage below exemplifies the second case, where the name "Quentin" first refers to Benjy's niece in 1928, and then to his brother in 1900:

Dilsey went away. "Quentin." She said in the hall. "Quentin. Supper is ready."
We could hear the roof. Quentin smelled like rain, too. (81)

This technique shapes a narrative that makes possible for the reader to perceive the child self and the adult self of the character almost simultaneously, or puzzle him with the ambiguities in the representation of the character named Quentin.

The common indicator of textual cohesion, anaphora, is also employed, but its function surpasses that of assuring local cohesion. Sometimes the antecedent (e.g. "Versh's house") and the subsequent anaphoric pronoun ("it") are separated by a time shift, and thus while they have the same referent (Versh's house), they point to it from two different time perspectives:

I liked to smell Versh's house. *There was a fire in it and T.P. squatting in his shirt tail in front of it, chunking it into a blaze.* (33)

The object pronoun is correctly interpreted as an anaphoric pronoun referring to the noun "house" – they have the same referent. However, there is a temporal distance of several years between the two scenes – a gap smoothly bridged by a simple cohesive device. In this way, the anaphora has a double function: on the one hand, it assures local cohesion (the two fragments read as a coherent text), while, on the other, it bridges the temporal gap between two time levels.

The same coherence effect is attained by the use of active verbs that logically follow one another. For example, Benjy gets snagged on a nail at the end of a fragment in the present time level, and Caddy frees him at the beginning of the subsequent fragment in the past:

"Wait a minute." Luster said. "You snagged on that nail again. Cant you never crawl through here without snagging on that nail."
Caddy uncaught me and we crawled through. (3)

Or they start up the hill at the end of one fragment in a certain past time level (in 1910), and they reach the top at the beginning of the following fragment in another past time level (in 1898):

> I went on with them, up the bright hill.
> *At the top of the hill Versh put me down.* (26)

The act of starting towards a point in space (the hill) and arriving there gives a sense of progress that helps the reader to bridge the time gap between the two events.

Since the fragments belonging to each of the thirteen time levels are separated from one another by intruding fragments from other time levels, the cohesive devices linking them are different from the ones discussed above.

Repetition or reformulation of the last phrase or sentence from an earlier fragment at the beginning of the subsequent fragment belonging to the same time level operates in two ways. On the one hand, it helps the reader to pick up the narrative string exactly where it has been dropped several pages before and, on the other hand, it gives a sense of duration to the act described in the repeated sentence. For instance, if we hear Luster scold Benjy at the end of one fragment, and we hear him do the same thing at the beginning of another, we have the impression that the scolding was continuously going on, even while we were reading about other events.

The plots of the thirteen time levels differing from one another, the semantic field constructed around certain themes also helps the reader to associate the fragments with the appropriate time levels. The fragments belonging to "Damuddy's Death," for instance, develop the semantic field of "death" (built up by the words "funeral", "dead", "moan", "buzzard", "undress") and the rivalling semantic field of a happy gathering (including words such as "company", "party", "music", "sing"). In the same vein, the fragments associated with the "Caddy's Wedding" level contain words related to the semantic field of drinking, such as "sassprilluh", "cellar", "drink", and "bottle", as well as the expressions referring to the sounds the two characters make like "holler" or the onomatopoeic word "whooey".

Although all thirteen plot threads entertain the same limited number of characters consisting of the Compsons and the black servants, the distribution of the proper names differs depending on the time level. While "Luster" is the most frequently occurring name in "The Present" level, whereas "Caddy" is hardly ever mentioned, she becomes the most prominent figure in the memory levels, accompanied by Benjy's earlier attendants "Versh" and "T. P.", respectively. In this way, nouns also function as cohesive devices. The significance of names and the act of naming receives special attention in "The Name-Changing" time level, where the narrator's different names ("Benjy", "Benjamin", and "Maury")

are unusually frequently mentioned. The repetition of the narrator's three names so many times emphasizes the main theme of the time level, namely the name-changing event, and the confusion of identity entailed by it.

The recurring phrase "Caddy smelled like trees" (pages 50, 51, 54, 58) and its variants "Caddy smelled like leaves" (5), "Caddy smelled like trees and like when she says we were asleep" (5), "Caddy smelled like trees in the rain" (22), "She smelled like trees" (51, 88) constitute a hyperlink operating across time levels. It recurs ten times throughout the narrative either in fragment-internal position or as a free-floating phrase intruding between two consecutive fragments. It singles out Caddy as the main figure upon whom the cohesion of the whole section hinges.

Final notes

I am well aware that just like any other analysis the one presented in this paper was also carried out in artificially created conditions which involved dissecting the body of the text, submitting the fragments to combinatorial operations, slow-motion reading and repeated reading – proceedings that are very different from those employed in real-time reading. The question therefore arises as to how many of these cohesive devices are consciously noticed by the real-time reader at all. After all the work I invested in merely identifying them, my intuitive answer would be: not many. Most of them are probably unconsciously registered, some go entirely unnoticed. How, then, is the narrative perceived coherent enough for the reader to keep on reading? A tentative explanation to this phenomenon comes from the psychologist Daniel Kahneman (2012). He posits the existence of two kinds of coherence: a logical one based on serial operations of reasoning and a less rigorous one called associative/emotional cohesion, achieved through a network of associations activated by a limited number of clues. The two types of cohesion are in fact two different products of the human mind achieved through very different cognitive procedures: logical coherence requires a careful processing of a significant amount of evidence, while associative/emotional coherence is instantaneously created by the network of associations easily put into motion by a few pieces of evidence. Kahneman differentiates between two cognitive systems within the human mind. System 1 is responsible for all fast thinking, intuition, gut feeling, and self-confidence that enable people to assess situations and take quick decisions. It is, in fact, an amazingly efficient story-telling machine capable of creating coherent stories despite scarce evidence through associative memory and emotional reactions. People, then, are prone to take decisions on the basis of the coherence of the story their mind creates, and not on the evidence themselves. System 2, on the other hand, involves slow thinking, focusing, analysing, and it takes time. It functions as a safety system

in case the coherence of the story is disturbed by conflicting evidence. Since System 1 is in charge most of the time, we can reasonably speculate that it is employed in reading as well, facilitating the reading process by its coherence-seeking, story-telling operations. Thus, the chaos in Benjy's narrative induced by the fragmentation of chronology is appeased and organized by the joint effort of the author and the reader: Faulkner's ingenious cohesive devices, on the one hand, and the reader's pursuit of coherence on the other.

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Book Review

Daniel Dejica, Gyde Hansen, Peter Sandrini, Iulia Para (eds),
Language in the Digital Era. Challenges and Perspectives
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Review by
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The Digital Revolution is characterized by unprecedented technological development, which has increased the speed and breadth of knowledge turnover within the economy and society and it has had a dramatic impact on the way we communicate and think about the language. The volume *Language in the digital era. Challenges and perspectives* brings together eighteen contributions of humanities scholars who focus on the evolution of language as well as on language teaching and learning in the digital era. These contributions are divided into three thematic parts, which explore general aspects of linguistics and humanities in the digital medium, the changes undergone by language and translation techniques in our digitized society, and the challenges and perspectives of language teaching and learning. Each contribution is divided into several sections that present the state of the art and the methodology used, and discuss the research outcomes and perspectives of the authors. The volume also includes a section of detailed notes on contributors.

The first part of the volume, *Humanities gone digital*, analyses general aspects of humanities and linguistics in the digital space. In the opening chapter, *Recent trends in digital humanities scholarship,* Mary P. Sheridan discusses the increasingly important role of digital media in higher education, focusing on the prominence of Digital Humanities in the United States and offering suggestions for incorporating Digital Humanities projects in our work.

In the second chapter, *Theme-reme analysis of English and Romanian tourism websites,* Claudia Elena Stoian and Daniel Dejica present the outcomes of a thorough analysis performed on a corpus of commercial websites from Great

Britain and Romania, meant to promote these countries. Drawing on Systemic Functional Linguistics, the authors identify, compare, and contrast the themes which are predominant on these websites.

In the third chapter, *Necessary and luxury English loanwords in some Romanian online newspapers and magazines,* Simona Şimon introduces the reader to the socio-economic factors which favour the borrowing of words from English language, and provides examples of loanwords used in Romanian online newspapers and magazines. The corpus on which her research was carried out was made of two hundred and five loanwords from thirty Romanian online newspapers and magazines.

The last chapter of this first part of the book is *Corpus linguistic outcomes and applications in the digital era* by Diana Oţăt, where the author depicts current trends and applications in corpora design and compiling, focusing particularly on innovative interdisciplinary approaches to language study through corpora investigation and applied computer-assisted analysis tools. She concludes that by means of computer-assisted tools corpus linguistics has considerably diversified its research directions, facilitating new language explorations and theories.

The second part of the volume concentrates on language and translation, and it includes topics ranging from the digital translation policy, new technologies, and specialized translation to online resources for terminology management, translation of online advertising, or subtitling. In his study *Towards a digital translation policy,* Peter Sandrini argues that translation policy represents a core component of an efficient language policy, ensuring that multilingual communication works as intended within a company or institution. The author highlights the effects on such a policy of the digitalization and globalization of the translation industry, concluding that "once in place, translation technology must be monitored and evaluated periodically" (p. 58).

In the second chapter of this part, *The impact of new technologies on specialised translation,* Mariana Pitar provides an overview of translation tools deployed during the different stages of the translation process, which "are time-saving, contributing to the profitability and increase in quality of the translation" (p. 69). Moreover, the author emphasizes the contribution of technology on specialized translation and encourages students to discover these new tools, test them, establish a value list, and include them in their translation activity.

In the next chapter, *The transfer of signs between heterogeneous systems: incongruent equivalences*, Felix Nicolau discusses the status of translation studies nowadays, the role of translations and translators in a post-industrial society, analysing how various methods of translation are applicable in the case of incongruous systems of signs. He reaches the conclusion that "whether we translate texts into other texts or images into texts, sounds into images, films into texts and so on, the principles of translation are the same" (p. 93) and

it is the expertise of the translator that becomes crucial as the range of signs becomes broader.

In the fourth chapter, *Evaluating online resources for terminology management in legal translation*, Titela Vîlceanu focuses on the quantitative and qualitative evaluation of reliable online resources such as bilingual and multilingual glossaries, multilingual databases, monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. The aim of this evaluation is twofold: to enhance internal and external coherence with respect to terminology management and to secure error-free legal translation.

In *To delete or to add? Omissions and additions in two Romanian translations of Jack and the beanstalk*, Loredana Pungă carefully investigates cases of omissions and additions in two Romanian variants of the English tale (a printed and an electronic text), highlighting the effect that these translation/adaptation techniques may have on their readers. After a thorough analysis, the author concludes that, as there are much more numerous online variants of this tale, "the electronic medium favours the production of such deviations from the traditional tale genre pattern, and, as a result, its degradation" (p. 119).

In the sixth chapter, *A standards-based contrastive analysis of online and printed technical translations in Romanian,* Daniel Dejica creates a standards-based grid which he uses to analyse the formal and content-specific aspects of forty-five interdependent translations in printed and electronic formats. His research outcomes confirm that the field of technical translation offers numerous opportunities for future research, "particularly in the context of its development and evolution in the digital era" (p. 134), and raise a series of challenging questions for translation researchers and scholars.

The last two chapters of Part 2 focus on subtitling. In *Extratextual elements in subtitle – the battle of linguistic and cultural codes*, Violeta Tănase elaborates on the importance of extratextual markers in the translation of audiovisual texts, as they "give the source-language text its full meaning, which can be completely altered if they are neglected in translation" (p. 147). Such elements which have an impact upon the subtitler's choices include objects, settings, costumes, gestures, music and noise tracks, background conversation, television commercials, intertitles and written materials such as posters, billboards, or newspapers.

In her contribution, *Subtitling in Romania and Spain: a contrastive analysis*, Elena Laura Vulpoiu points to the scarcity of monographs and studies on the subtitling process, and she considers necessary to create some rules and guidelines to be followed in this type of audiovisual translation. The author investigates, compares, and contrasts the practice and characteristics of subtitling in Romania to subtitling in Spain, based on empirical data provided by a translator of the Romanian national television (TVR 1).

The third part of the volume, *Language teaching and learning in the age of technology,* focuses on language teaching and learning and addresses the

changes, challenges, and perspectives of didactics in the age of technology. In his study *Digital literacy and the challenges of digital technologies for learning*, László Komlósi summarizes his findings in his research in the fields of cognitive linguistics and cognitive anthropology, indicating that unprecedented development in information and communication technologies exerts unforeseen impact on social cognition, information processing, and human learning. The study also calls attention to "the undesirable phenomenon of the 'digital gap in education and socio-economic status', which is a consequence of exclusion and marginalization of certain social groups in society" (p. 171).

In the second chapter of this part, *On the use of hypermediality in teaching culture in German as a foreign language context*, Karla Lupşan points to the importance of hypermedia, defined as the combination of text elements, graphics, video, and audio in teaching culture in German as a foreign language context and to how the use of hypermediality can lead to the development of important transdisciplinary competencies, "enhanced by the active, autonomous involvement of the students and by the fact that the teacher only rarely takes on the role of source of knowledge" (p. 178).

In the third chapter, *Online Communication – Netspeak. The Internet as a facilitator for new ways of communication and the impact on our language*, Iulia Para thoroughly analyses online communication and the language of the Internet. She identifies the main features of *netspeak*, which "may not influence our language, but they can provide a firm starting point for taking into consideration netspeak as an authentic language variety" (p. 198), and she explains what makes it different from standard language.

In her contribution, *Young English learners in the digital age,* Alexandra Jic discusses the importance as well as the challenges of using modern technologies to enhance the English learning process of young learners. Based on a survey carried out in several Romanian schools, the study focuses on teachers' perceptions of the way in which digital books were introduced, emphasizing the problems that teachers have to overcome in order to use them successfully. Moreover, the author also illustrates children's attitudes towards English classes that incorporate digital books in the teaching and learning process.

In the fifth chapter, *Training and development in the digital era,* Simona Olaru-Poşiar examines the steps of the training cycle and the management of training and development in the digital era. The author claims that "the ability to develop and exploit software opportunities is critical for self-progress and such new software means the need for training" (p. 226). However, technology and the Internet also provide new techniques for trainers to use in the process of training itself.

In the last chapter of the book, *Developing communication skills in Romania in the digital era*, Valentina Mureşan explores different problematic aspects of postmodern teaching in Romania and stresses the need for teachers to adapt

to the requirements of a postmodern pedagogy, to adjust to the digital learner's individual needs, and to design relevant, engaging classes, "where collaborative learning is encouraged, where technology is truly part of everyday learning and teaching, and where learning is continued outside the classroom" (p. 241). The author claims that there is still a faulty understanding of the concept of communicative competence in Romania and a certain resistance to it is persistent as language proficiency remains the focus of many EFL teachers.

The volume *Language in the digital era. Challenges and perspectives* is unique in its state-of-the-art, broad-based coverage of current knowledge and research on the evolution of language, translation processes, as well as language teaching and learning in the digital era. The editors have succeeded in selecting and arranging the articles in a manner that gives coherence to the volume and offers a highly informative reading experience. The articles offer insights into or analyses of the current state and future directions of many key concepts regarding language and translations in the age of technology, and they present fundamental research on major techniques, strategies, and methodologies that are currently the focus of international research projects. The contributions are carefully documented, built upon up-to-date theoretical frameworks as well as many relevant examples, and they provide clear explanations and very useful suggestions not only for translation scholars but also for translators or translation students. Therefore, this important book is recommended to scholars, professionals, students, and anyone interested in the changes within the humanities in conjunction with technological innovation or in the ways language is adapting to the challenges of today's digitized world.

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