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Stranger/Europe

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Abstract. Drawing on the working methods of imagology, this article surveys the way in which an implicit or tacit European self-image has taken shape over the centuries through contrast with two non-European Others: the New World and the Mediterranean. The article shows how these two others merge into a self-image of European alienation and moral perplexity following the devastations of the Second World War: the European cities have become kasbahs, Europe has become its own Other.

Keywords: Europe, imagology, stranger, xenophobia, exoticism, self-image, identity

Identity and image

The Stranger identifies Us – whether we define that Us in local, national, ethnic, or other terms. But which stranger identifies Europe?

There is, of course, no objective entity, let alone an identity, we can call European, and the subjective associations we have tended to shift from context to context and from period to period – in each case calling different Others, different Strangers into play –, Muslims, Americans, Oriental Despotism, or the native populations of the Third World. The characteristics that have been attributed to Europe in this fluid process of representation and stereotyping vis-à-vis non-European Strangers can be mapped to some extent by a well-defined method, that of *imagology* or image studies, a specialism first developed in the field of Comparative Literature to analyse the literary, narrative, and rhetorical cross-cultural representations of various nations. (Imagology was given its methodological and theoretical consolidation by Hugo Dyserinck (2014). Cf. also the handbook edited by Beller and Leerssen (2007) and the website imagologica.eu. An application to the European case was made in my Dutch-language monograph (see Leerssen 2015).

Imagology studies cross-cultural representations, predominantly in the field of literature and other narrative genres such as theatre, opera, and cinema. It studies these representations as discursive, poetical, and ideological[1] constructs and does not pronounce on their "truth" or "falsity". Hence my emphasis on a "subjective" rather than "objective" identity: the topic of investigation lies in the area of reputations, characterizations, and stereotypes, which are driven partly by the subjectivity of the onlooker.

Frequently, such national representations concern the tenuous but often-repeated notion of a "national character", a collective mentality predisposing a given society to certain modes of behaviour; as a result, national images or stereotypes concerning the "character" of the Germans, French, Hungarians, etc. are often ethnic in nature and often tacitly presuppose a physically inherited type of racial mentality (much like the different "characters" of poodles, terriers, Rottweilers, and other canine "races") (generally, see Leerssen 2006; on the role of animal breeding (especially horse-breeding) in the European history of physiognomy and collective characterization, see Claudia Schmölders 1998). In other cases, however, national stereotypes are less of an ethnotypical nature when they pertain to multicultural and/or multilingual societies such as Belgium or Switzerland. The case of Europe would fall into this category. The stereotypical "character" or identity attributed to Europe (if indeed we manage to pinpoint one) will be of a social and historical rather than of an ethnic nature.

Imagologists have long studied the perspectival situatedness of national images. The image or representation of Germany will differ according to its provenance: "German" in whose eyes – Polish? Austrian? Danish? French? Turkish? Japanese? In any given representation, there is a country that is represented or being looked at (the technical term is the "spected" nation), and the point of view of the onlooker (the "spectant"). The characterization takes shape in the interplay between these two poles neither of which is fixed or unambiguous and changeable over time. (French representations of Germany will be vastly different in 1750, 1850, and 1950).

The dynamics and interaction between various images from various perspectives is complex and fascinating. A nation can export its self-image and have it adopted by foreign spectants. Thus Mme de Staël's representation of Germany, in her *De l'Allemagne* of 1813, was largely an adoption of the German self-image as held by Romantics such as her lover and informant August Wilhelm Schlegel. At the same time, *De l'Allemagne* does not represent Germany *in vacuo* but as a counterpart and opposite to France; thus, in every description of "typically" German cultural characteristics, there is tacitly implied the *repoussoir* of a French self-image against which this Germany is silhouetted. (On German-

1 "Ideological" in the sense as defined by Gérard Genette (1969), as "a corpus of utterances that constitute at the same time a value-system and a world-view".

French mutual characterizations, see Florack 2000, 2001. Special attention to the role of Madame de Staël is paid in the older, pioneering study by Carré 1947.)

Conversely, in other cases, a nation can internalize the foreign representations of it and subscribe to them as a self-image. Thus, the Irish self-image of the "Celtic Twilight" or the Hungarian self-image of Mór Jókai's novella and Franz Lehár's operetta *The Gypsy Baron* (1885) or the primitivism of the French *négritude* school are all internalizations of images originally formulated from a metropolitan English, Viennese, or Parisian point of view and subsequently adopted by Irish, Hungarian, or black African authors. (On the "otherworldly" image of Ireland in the "Celtic Twilight" and its English, Victorian roots, see Francis Shaw (1934) and Leerssen (1996); on *négritude* and French primitivism in the penumbra of the surrealist movement, see Dyserinck 1980 and Steins 1972.)

Image formation is, then, a dynamics of cultural production, transfer, and exchange rather than a straightforward reflection of social reality. So, a European image, or European "subjective identity" can be also traced in its incipience and emergence as a discursive node. What I want to tease out in the following pages is an ensemble of representational strands coming from various narrative traditions, perspectives, and contacts and twisted into a complex knot.

Eurocentrism meets America (dynamism and history, innocence and experience)

Eurocentrism is as old as Christendom's encounter with Islam and with the non-European world, that is to say, from the High Middle Ages onwards. (A survey is given in Peter Hoppenbrouwers 2006.) In many cases, such Eurocentrism is indistinguishable from straightforward ethnocentrism, generic rather than specific. European triumphalism in a colonial-imperial context, from the sixteenth century onwards, is expressed in many forms (maps, statues, iconography), but is, again, generic and does not ascribe a peculiar *character* to the triumphantly celebrated Europe. This changes after the scientific revolutions and the *querelle des anciens et des modernes*, when, in the Enlightenment, a chronotopical element creeps into the representation of the European encounter with the rest of the world. The world outside Europe is seen as static, extrahistorical, or backward and as such opposed to the dynamically progressive nature of Europe, which develops and learns from the past to improve upon it. Johannes Fabian has described this chronotopical Eurocentrism as "the denial of coevalness": the rest of the world may be ancient (e.g. the Persian, Chinese, or Japanese realms) or primitive (e.g. Africa or the Americas), it is Europe alone that combines an ancient tradition with a dynamics of progress (Fabian 1983; see also: Marshall & Glyndwr Williams 1982, Leerssen 1997). This idea of Europe-as-progress can also

be found in the Romantic themes dear to the European imagination of the early nineteenth century: Faust and Prometheus. To be sure, dynamism will soon cease to be a European monopoly and will become vested in the rising transatlantic counterpart, the United States; but in the European image of America (and also, to some extent, in the American self-image) the dynamism of the New World is a youthful, slightly naive one, and lacks the experience that comes with a long, centuries-old track record on the stage of world history.

Thus, Eurocentrism in the nineteenth century will emphasize its development potential against static Asian and African counterparts and its worldly-wise historical experience against dynamic America. Travel writing, from both sides of the Atlantic, will constantly activate an American–European polarity in this way: the travels of Dickens and Fanny Trollope in America and the European travels of Washington Irving and Mark Twain (*The Innocents Abroad*, 1877) are cases in point. (From amidst the very voluminous literature on the topic, the following studies may be mentioned: Ray Allen Billington 1981, Hagebüchle & Raab (eds) 2000, Ruland 1976, Woodward 1991, Wright and Kaplan (eds) 1999, Zacharasiewicz 2004.) A powerful expression of an American–European moral polarity in terms of New World moral simplicity vs Old World cultivated immorality plays through the novels of Henry James, the most concise example probably being *Daisy Miller* (1879).

In the twentieth century, the thematization of travel will still continue this transatlantic polarity: travel in Europe as a concentrated experience of many countries in a small space, travel in America as a negotiation of empty landscapes between ahistorical cities. Baudrillard has predicated his entire essay on America (*Amérique*, 1986) upon this *tabula rasa* notion, which is, however, a literary trope (with forebears like Tocqueville and Ortega y Gasset) rather than an original insight. Wim Wenders, the German filmmaker, has used the contrast between American and European settings and mentalities in various *road movies* (*Alice in den Städten* (1974), *Falsche Bewegung* (1975), *Im Lauf der Zeit* (1976), and most saliently, of course, *Paris, Texas* (1984), co-scripted by Sam Shepard), but the trope has its strongest early expression in the twice-filmed novel by Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* (1955; Kubrick's film, scripted by Nabokov and starring James Mason, was made in 1962; Adrian Lyne's version starring Jeremy Irons in 1994). The perverse seduction by a world-weary middle-aged European of a fourteen-year-old brash American girl and their wayward flight through a moral wilderness of anonymous motels, guilt and desire, allegorizes and spatializes not only the Nabokovian themes of loss and commemoration but also the clash between European experience and American innocence (very much in the mode of Henry James). The image of an America of wide empty spaces and restless, aimless movement is internalized in the Kerouac-style myth of being "On the Road".

The opposition, in *Lolita*, between Humbert Humbert's cultivated, urbane refinement and his moral depravity is worthy of note: an ironically negative connection is made between morality and refinement. We lose our innocence in acquiring civility and experience. Those who are culturally refined (like Humbert Humbert) are morally depraved, while our moral sympathy lies with Humbert's victim, who is given a tragic dignity despite her vulgar and childish superficiality.

Orientalism and the image of the Mediterranean

In the long European tradition of orientalism, a crucial position is taken up by the encounter of Byron with the Balkans. Ottoman Europe began south of Zagreb and Novi Sad, and in the eyes of many European travellers their encounter with the Islamic East began when they travelled into Bosnia or Albania. So too it was with Byron, whose Grand Tour in 1809–1811 took him from Malta to Albania and thence to Athens (the usual tour route, involving France and Italy, being inaccessible in these Napoleonic years). In Janina, a town in the Albanian-Greek Pindos region, Byron had a formative meeting with the local war lord, Ali Pasha, and his impressions of Ottoman Europe were expressed in four dramatic romances that he published in the years 1813–1814: *The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *The Corsair*, and *Lara*.

The image of Ottoman Europe was in flux these years. While the Ottoman culture was no longer seen in terms of straightforward cruelty but rather in a mixture of apprehension and fascination (Mozart's *Entführung aus dem Serail* testifies to this), the combination of sensuous refinement and archaic ruthlessness remained a powerful lens for Romantic perceptions (Kleinlogel 1989, Konstantinovic 1999, Schiffer 1982, Stajnova & Zaimova 1984). So it was with Byron, whose own personality and poetic persona was predicated on the combination of tenderness and bitterness, sensitivity and misanthropy – a stance which has become known as "Byronic" and which strongly influenced the pose of the Romantic male, from Heine and Mérimée to Pushkin.

The Byronic representation of Ottoman exoticism coincided, furthermore, with the beginnings of Romantic philhellenism, which saw the Balkans as the theatre of a moral and national conflict between noble, oppressed Christians and cunning Turkish tyrants (Konstantinou ed. 1992). All these elements (Byronism, philhellenism, and Orientalist exoticism) conspired to make the romances of 1813–14 of determining importance in the Romantic perception of the Eastern Mediterranean. The image we may summarize is as follows: a picturesque landscape where the openness of the sea confronts the rugged terrain of mountains; where colourful cultures and traditions meet and mingle; where under the hot sun passions run high; where women are seductive and men driven by fierce

affects such as honour and jealousy; and where sensuousness, violence, and cruelty are closer to the surface than in civic societies and temperate climates.

This Byronic image of the Levant was subsequently applied to all of the Mediterranean when it was taken up by French Byronists such as Prosper Mérimée and Alexandre Dumas. Mérimée himself was intrigued by the fashion for Balkan culture (witness his imitation of Serbian oral epic in his *La Guzla* of 1824), but he also took the Byronic mix of sea/mountains, sensuousness/violence, eroticism/hatred into the settings of Corsica and Andalusia in stories such as *Matteo Falcone* (1829), *Colomba* (1840), and *Carmen* (1845). The image of Italian *banditti*, popular in the Romantic tales of these years, likewise drew on this representational register. Verga's *Cavalleria rusticana* (1880) imitated Mérimée's *Carmen*, much as the spin-off opera *Cavalleria rusticana* by Mascagni (1890) imitated Bizet's *Carmen* (1875).

Most popularly, Alexandre Dumas's *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1845–46) spread the imagery far and wide into the readership of the melodramatic novel. The hero of that book is repeatedly compared with Byron himself: solitary, misanthropic, with cruelly disappointed love and dark passions under the surface of refined dandyism. Moreover, although much of the action is set in fashionable Paris, Dantès (the self-styled "Count of Monte-Cristo") is linked almost obsessively to a Mediterranean setting. He is originally a sailor from the Catalan quarter of Marseille, has found his fabulous wealth in a treasure hidden on the island of Monte Cristo, was in touch with Napoleon during his Elba exile, and was imprisoned off Marseille in the island-fortress of the Château d'If. He has contacts among Italian *banditti* and Maltese contraband sailors, has picked up a Corsican servant (characteristically dedicated to the pursuit of vendetta), and has bought a house slave in Algiers and a slave-girl in Istanbul; he follows an oriental lifestyle involving the use of hashish and sumptuous food from all around the Mediterranean lands.[2] His hospitality is lavish, his sense of revenge is merciless. He is compared variously, not only to Byron, but also to an undead vampire (because of his pallor, result of his long imprisonment) and to Sinbad the Sailor. He lives outside the law, according to a primitive and ruthless honour code. To top it all, the slave girl he acquired, Haydée, is the daughter of Ali Pasha of Janina himself, of Byronic fame, whose doomed insurrection against the Ottoman authorities provides an important subplot.

Even in the twentieth century, this image of the Mediterranean has continued in force. We recognize it in Fernand Braudel's evocation, in *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (1947, rev. ed. 1967), of a terrain dominated by the encounter between the sea and impenetrable mountainous coasts, where central state control and civic societies are impossible and men live by

2 One example among many: fruits on offer include "des ananas de Sicile, des grenades de Malaga, des oranges des îles Baléares, de pêches de France et des dattes de Tunis" (Dumas 1963 (1): 398).

honour codes and outside the law. Also, the "honour and shame" theory, fashionable among anthropologists, may be seen in this Romantic, Byronic tradition. Drawing attention to the prevalence of feuds and vendettas in a belt stretching from Corsica and Sardinia by way of Sicily and the Peloponnese to Albania and Montenegro, anthropologists have characterized societal patterns in terms of a tension between the family code of "honour" (enforced by males, if necessary, by violent means and expressed in the values of hospitality and loyalty to one's given word) as against the threat of "shame" (incurred by the sexual approach of females by strangers). Originally used as a concept to define the fact that many pastoral communities regulated their codes of behaviour while standing outside the rule of law and the order of the modern state, "honour and shame" has since then become a favourite term to describe the lawlessness and behavioural codes of a non-civic Mediterranean (Campbell 1964; Gilmore ed. 1987; Peristiany ed. 1966. For an oblique comment on the incompatibility honour code with the restraint implied in the civic virtues of the modern western nation-state, see Bowman 2006). (We must therefore allow for the possibility that this anthropological model owes more to literary formulas and cultural stereotypes than to empirical observation and scientific analysis.)

Byron goes to Hollywood

The Byronic image of the Mediterranean spread into various media and, in the course of the nineteenth century, into various countries. The trajectory I want to trace leads from a crime thriller to cinema, from Algiers to Hollywood by way of Casablanca.

A moderately successful thriller about a master criminal gone to ground in French Algiers, *Pépé le Moko* by Henri La Barthe (who wrote under the acronymous pseudonym of Ashelbé), was filmed in 1937 by Julien Duvivier, with Jean Gabin starring in the title role. The film opens on a map of Algiers (then, of course, firmly under French colonial control); from there, the first scene unrolls with police officers debating the impossibility of apprehending the elusive Pépé. An official sent from Paris is keen to bring the crook finally to justice. What he fails to understand and what is explained to him by his Algerian-based colleagues is that the normal rules of procedures do not apply on this shore of the Mediterranean. As to the naïve notion of venturing into the Casbah of Algiers (Pépé's hide-out), a local official explains to his French colleague (and to the audience):

> 'The Casbah is like a labyrinth. I'll show you.' *(The local officer walks over to the map of Algiers; the camera zooms in on it, then cuts to a series of documentary-style images, illustrative shots taken in the Casbah, illustrating the lecture-explanation given 'off' in voice-over)*:

> 'From the air, the district known as the Casbah looks like a teeming anthill, a vast staircase where terraces descend stepwise to the sea. Between these steps are dark, winding streets like so many pitfalls. They intersect, overlap, twist in and out, to form a jumble of mazes. Some are narrow, others vaulted. Wherever you look, stairways climb steeply like ladders or descend into dark, putrid chasms and slimy porticos, dank and lice-infested. Dark, overcrowded cafés. Silent, empty streets with odd names. A population of 40,000 in an area meant for 10,000, from all over the world. Many, descended from the Berbers, are honest traditionalists, but a mystery to us. Kabyles. Chinese. Gypsies. Stateless. Slavs. Maltese. Negroes. Sicilians, Spaniards. And wenches of all nations, of all shapes and sizes: the tall, the short, the fat, the ageless, the shapeless. Chasms of fat no one would dare approach. The houses have inner courtyards which are like ceilingless cells, which echo like wells and interconnect by means of the terraces above. They're the exclusive domain of native women. But Europeans are tolerated. They form a city apart, which, from step to step, stretches down to the sea. Colourful, dynamic, multi-faceted, boisterous, there's not one Casbah, but hundreds, thousands. And this teeming maze is what Pépé calls his home.' *(The camera moves back, by way of the Algiers map, to the scene in the police office).*[3]

The rhetoric is obvious: a labyrinth in three dimensions, strongly gendered as female, its chaotic topography overlaid with an equally bewildering accumulation of ethnicities and a general intimation of uncontrol: vermin, people, sins, and secrets. This is a Forest Perilous in which law and order have no power and where survival and success depend only on the prowess of the ruthless individual. It is as if Odysseus, that archetypical Mediterranean hero who "travelled much, saw many places and encountered many people" is here facing a new challenge.

This post-Byronic formula of the anti-hero as outlaw, in a moral and topological, multi-ethnic labyrinth, was immediately popular. The next year, in 1938, *Pépé le Moko* was remade in the United States under the title *Algiers*, starring Charles Boyer (and Hedy Lamarr). Ten years later, another American remake would follow: *Casbah*, starring Tony Martin (and with an important role for Peter Lorre). Casbah movies were almost a sub-genre in their own right, and it is in this light that we ought to see, I suggest, their most important spin-off: *Casablanca*.

Made in 1942, directed by Michael Curtiz and starring Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman, *Casablanca* is, of course, one of the canonical and popular classics of twentieth-century cinema. It is usually seen as a war drama about the

3 Here, as in other excerpts, the transcripts are from the film as viewed on DVD. In this case, I have relied on the DVD subtitles with an occasional emendation (*Berbères* as "Berbers", not barbarians; *filles* as "wenches", not girls).

impossibility of remaining neutral or as a psychodrama on the battle between idealism, love, and cynicism. As such, the character of Rick (and Humphrey Bogart in the role of Rick) is one of the most powerful twentieth-century avatars of the Byronic hero: solitary, disillusioned, hurt in love, misanthropic but with heroic charisma nonetheless. His entrance into the film (a late one; as late as that of Pépé in the earlier film) comes after an appreciable build-up: the dialogue mentions him repeatedly (much as the police officers discuss Pépé), it is said that "everybody comes to Rick's", and the first actions we see of him are concerned with his aloofness and authority within Rick's American Café. More to my point here, however, is the fact that, in the mode of *Pépé le Moko, Casablanca* opens with a map, with scenes of a multi-ethnic moral-cum-topographic labyrinth and with a voice-over explaining the convoluted breakdown of law and order (in this case: the corrupt and discredited Vichy regime) in a bewildering and overcrowded environment where only the strong and the ruthless can survive. Before the scene where a chaotic "round-up of the usual suspects" opens the actual narrative, the voice-over introduces us to the setting, to the visual background of a globe and then a map:

> With the coming of the Second World War, many eyes in imprisoned Europe turned hopefully or desperately towards the freedom of the Americas. Lisbon became the great embarkation point; but not everybody could get to Lisbon directly, and so a tortuous, roundabout refugee trail sprang up: Paris to Marseille; across the Mediterranean to Oran; then by train or auto or foot across the rim of Africa to Casablanca in French Morocco. Here the fortunate ones, through money or influence or luck might obtain exit visas and scurry to Lisbon, and from Lisbon to the Free World. But the others wait in Casablanca; and wait, and wait, and wait... (*cut to crowded street scenes, vendors, beggars, tourists and loafers, and a con man stealing the wallet off a gullible tourist couple whilst warning them against the dangers of Casablanca*.)

Casablanca is an emphatically American film and treats the Maghrebinian setting as a Europe-in-microcosm: the various characters (many of them in fact played by actors fled from Nazi-controlled Europe) represent a cross-section of the European nationalities. Truly, "everybody comes to Rick's": Bulgarians, Czechs, Dutch, Nazis, Germans-in-exile, equivocal French, Peter Lorre with the Spanish name of Ugarte, Sydney Greenstreet as "Signor Ferrari" with fez and fly-swatter. Remarkably, here, as in *Pépé le Moko*, the Casbah population is only a passive *couleur locale* in the background; none of the speaking characters are actually Moroccan or Algerian. Indeed, *Casablanca*'s setting is a Europe displaced, a Europe of displaced people moved to the further shores of its colonial possessions.

It comes as no surprise to learn, then, that *Casablanca* was, in the original conception of the drama, located in Marseille, home town of Edmond Dantès. The original author, Murray Burnett (a New York teacher), had witnessed Hitler's entrance into Vienna and the subsequent large-scale stream of emigrations from the *Reich*. The Casblanca route came to his attention when he was in the South of France, and there he conceived the multi-ethnic café setting. This led to a play, co-authored with Joan Alison and written in 1940, entitled *Everybody Comes to Rick's*. The play was never produced, but Hollywood took an option and eventually grafted a Casbah-style setting on the European refugee drama (Harmetz 2002).

War-torn Europe as Hollywood-style Casbah

The Byronic image of the Mediterranean, from *The Giaour* to *le Comte de Monte-Cristo* and *Casablanca*, is a European one and involves a self–other distinction that may be schematized as follows:

Table 1. *The Byronic image of the Mediterranean*

Europe	**Mediterranean**
civic virtue	primitive honour
law and order	lawlessness and chaos
social structures	solitary individualism
cool, clean, controlled	hot, messy, sensuous
moderation	extremes

Under the pressure of totalitarian dictatorships and the ruins of total war, the "Casbah" imagery of life as a messy, unregulated labyrinth was increasingly applicable to Europe itself (rather than being projected into Europe's Romantic/exotic Other). The mappable distinction between nation-states was swept aside, and the ruined cities became themselves the receptacles of the flotsam and jetsam of displaced populations; the ordered mercantile or planned economies giving way to a rampant black market system. Casablanca, a city equivocally between a Maghrebinian-Orientalist setting and a European demography, is a first sign of this process of the internalization of the Mediterranean Casbah image. Europe itself is now becoming the topographical-cum-moral labyrinth. The treatment of that most Central of Central-European cities, Vienna, in *The Third Man* is a case in point. The Carol Reed film, starring Orson Welles and Joseph Cotten, dates from 1949 and was based on a screenplay by Graham Greene, which Greene reworked into a novella in 1950. (For this information and some of what follows, see Greene's (2005) foreword and the editorial comments in *The Third Man* and *The Fallen Idol* as well as Alloway 1950 and Palmer and Riley 1980.)

Tellingly, the opening is, once again, a voice-over introducing the audience to an alien environment. Maps are absent this time, but various documentary-style shots and newsreel footage are used (as they were in the prologue to *Pépé le Moko*) to give a sense of place, involving, emphatically, the partitioning of the city into different zones of occupation, and its ruined character.

Table 2. *The Opening of* The Third Man

Voice-over	Images
I never knew the old Vienna before the war, with its Strauss music, its glamour and easy charm; Constantinople suited me better.	Panorama, with the caption *Vienna*; images of landmarks covered in snow
I only got to know it in the classic period of the black market. We'd run anything if people wanted it enough and had the money to pay.	Furtive, unshaven dealers, suitcases containing shoes; silk or nylon stockings; money changing hands, a bottle of painkillers; wristwatches around an arm.
Of course a situation like that does tempt amateurs, but... well, you know they can't stay the course like a professional.	A corpse floating in the partly-frozen Danube
Now the city is divided into four zones, you know, each occupied by a power, the American, the British, the Russian and the French.	Military signs in various languages indicating the zone limits
But the centre of the city, that's international. Police file international patrol, one member of each of the four powers. Wonderful! What a hope they had, all strangers to the place and none of them could speak the same language except a sort of smattering of German. Good fellows on the whole, did their best, you know.	Differently-uniformed officials saluting, changing guard, driving around in patrol car
Vienna doesn't really look any worse than a lot of other European cities; bombed about a bit...	Various ruined inner-city locations
Oh I was going to tell you, wait, I was going to tell you about Holly Martins, an American, came all the way here to visit a friend of his, the name was Lime, Harry Lime.	Soldiers marching and on parade
Now Martins was broke and had been offered some sort, I don't know, some sort of a job... Anyway there he was, poor chap, happy as a lark and without a cent.	Train pulling into station. Holly (Joseph Cotten) alights.

The voice-over is spoken by Orson Welles in the character of a black marketeer. (In the film, Welles portrays the black-marketeer Harry Lime, who is here, however, referred to in the third person.)[4] The tone is suave, debonair, and cynical, mocking the inept efforts at control and law enforcement. Tellingly, the city in which such a character thrives is not the "old" pre-war Vienna of civility and metropolitan order but rather the new, partitioned, ruined city. It is, in fact, yet another example of a Casbah-style labyrinth, and fittingly the voice in the commentary sees it as a continuation of his previous working terrain: Constantinople – another example of Europe's post-war interiorization of the Byronic Mediterranean.

In *The Third Man*, Harry Lime is a second Pépé le Moko: gone into the underground of a labyrinthine city, impossible to catch by the law enforcement authorities who are baffled by the complex topography of the place. The post-war climate, and Graham Greene's existentialist vision, make this an altogether more sombre film, however. Whereas surface cynics like Pépé le Moko and Rick the American are fundamentally admirable and likeable, drawing on the sympathy of the Byronic hero, Harry Lime, inverts the scheme. His roguish, debonair likeability is on the surface, and his essence is pure, satanic evil – as his old school friend Holly Martins finds out in a painful process of disenchantment. Good and evil are fatally complicated, contaminated, and compromised in this world. Tellingly, the crime racket with which Harry Lime earns his money involves selling diluted and contaminated antibiotics to hospitals: medicines that do not cure but leave patients crippled, paralysed, and brain-damaged, in a state worse than death. This moral contamination is likewise incessantly spatialized: the directions of "heaven" and "hell" have got their wires crossed. Thus, the janitor, who informs Holly that his friend has been killed in a – staged – road accident, points downwards when he surmises, in halting English, that Harry may have gone to heaven, or else (pointing upwards) to hell. The gesture foreshadows the up-then-down movement of the Ferris-wheel, where Holly and the undead Harry, who had staged the accident so as to fool the police, come face to face. Here, in the film's climactic scene obviously inspired by the biblical account of Christ's temptation by Satan, Harry offers a deal to Holly; when the wheel reaches its highest point, people on the ground seem insignificant specks in the landscape below, their life or death a matter of no consequence. Eventually, the action will go underground in a literal sense. In a scene reminiscent of the Harrowing of Hell, Lime is chased into his true hide-out: the sewers of Vienna, a labyrinth with a vengeance – full of echoes, dead ends and shadows disappearing around corners, and the proper setting of the moral cloaca where Lime's life has taken him.

4 In the US release, the introductory voice-over is spoken by Joseph Cotten in his role as Holly Martins; the text is more or less the same (less "British" irony, the idiom slightly Americanized, the reference to Constantinople dropped as well as the reference of German as a minimal *lingua franca*).

Urban jungle: no law, no order

The "chase into the sewers" (or caves) is as much a thriller trope as is its counterpart, the "chase across the rooftops". One invokes the thrills of claustrophobia, the other the thrills of vertigo. Its prototype is, of course, the descent of Jean Valjean into the sewers of Paris in Victor Hugo's *Les misérables* (1862). The constants and variables of this trope, as used by Hugo and followed by Greene, need not concern us too closely here, but the thematic filiation does alert us to the fact that there is, in fact, a fairly long-standing narrative presence in European and American literature of the modern city (sewage systems are *par excellence* a feature of urban modernity and at the same time an image of the dirty underside of things that have been pushed out of sight in civic society)[5] as a Forest Perilous, or jungle. *Les misérables* follows, in its own socialist sympathy for the downside of society, a setting that had been made popular in literature by Eugène Sue in his epoch-making *Les mystères de Paris* (1843), which explored the criminal slum life of Paris and knew many spin-offs and imitations (besides Hugo's own work, we can think of Dickensian London or the criminal neighbourhoods of the Sherlock Holmes stories). Sue himself referred, in the asides to his *Mystères de Paris*, repeatedly to the American adventure novels of Fennimore Cooper, stating that the inner-city slums of Paris were a wilderness not unlike the forests and plains of America, where hardy savages stalked and killed each other, using ruses, cunning, and violence. Alexandre Dumas picked up the parallel between inner city and savage wilderness in his novel *Les Mohicans de Paris* (1855); the slang name *apache* for a Parisian underworld criminal likewise plays on the connection. In each case, the back alleys of the great cities are a dangerous testing ground for the hero, who here proves his mettle and his superiority.

The Sherlock Holmes variation on that theme was picked up in the New World, not only in crime journalism (an example worth mentioning: Asbury 1927, made famous by Martin Scorsese's 2003 film, a sensationalist New World equivalent of Chevalier's *Classes laborieuses, classes dangéreuses*) in the detective stories of Dashiel Hammett and Raymond Chandler, who gave a certain Byronic glamour to their hard-boiled, disenchanted detectives. This is how Chandler praised Dashiel Hammet's style of detective fiction:

> The realist in murder writes of a world in which gangsters can rule nations and almost rule cities [...]; a world where a judge with a cellar full of bootleg liquor can send a man to jail for having a pint in his pocket, where the mayor of your town may have condoned murder as an instrument of money-making, where no man can walk down a dark street in safety because

5 Compare, by contrast, the ongoing emphasis in *Pépé le Moko* on the insalubrious "open-sewer"-style dirtiness of the pre-modern Casbah, dank, and lice-infested.

> law and order are things we talk about but refrain from practising [...] But down these mean streets a man must go who is not himself mean, who is neither tarnished nor afraid. The detective in this kind of story must be such a man. He is the hero, he is everything. [...] He must be, to use a rather weathered phrase, a man of honour, by instinct, by inevitability, without thought of it, and certainly without saying it. (Chandler 1983: 190–191)

Chandler's "Philip Marlowe" and Hammett's "Sam Spade" moved across crime and moral squalor as sad, cynical, and just men, and that, too, is a source tradition for Humphrey Bogart's "Rick" in *Casablanca*. One year before *Casablanca*, the triad of Bogart, Lorre, and Greenstreet had acted out scenes of crime, betrayal, and willpower in *The Maltese Falcon* (1941, based on a Dashiel Hammett story and a remake of a 1931 version, with Bogart playing Sam Spade). Such detectives bring justice, or at least a sense that "crime does not pay", into an urban wilderness only superficially civilized; they are the descendants of the sheriffs who dispensed rough and ready retribution in the frontier towns as imagined in the Wild West novel.

Lost in the labyrinth: Confused pioneers

In the decades following the First World War, Europe seemed to present a happy, adventurous challenge to Americans. American soldiers after 1918, doughty machos in the Ernest Hemingway mode, or else individuals enriched by the artistic and historical riches of the Old Continent, seem to abolish the old Jamesian note of being out of one's depth and strike a happier, more confident note, (generally, Chew III (ed.) 2001) still present in post-war films like *An American in Paris* (1951), *Roman Holiday* (1953), and *Sabrina* (1954). The heroic progress of the allied forces from the 1944 Normandy landings onwards was to reinforce the idea of an American can-do attitude in a European setting, men of honour going down mean streets.

It is this source tradition that is ruthlessly ironized and subverted in *The Third Man*. Holly Martins (the name, Greene notes, is deliberately and mockingly non-macho) is a writer of Western novelettes, a pulp fiction genre as hackneyed in its good-guys/bad-guys ethics as it is limited in its repertoire of narrative motifs. Accordingly, his notion of good and evil in Vienna is simplistic to a degree. Thus, in the first encounter between a half-drunk Holly and the worldly-wise British intelligence officer Calloway, Holly calls Lime the "best friend I ever had". Calloway rejoins:[6]

6 Calloway is the closest we get to an authorial point of view and moral anchoring point in *The Third Man*. In the story Greene subsequently wrote, Calloway provides the narrative voice,

Calloway: That sounds like a cheap novelette.
Holly: I write cheap novelettes.
Calloway. I'm afraid I've never heard of you... What's your name again?
Holly: Holly Martins.
Calloway (*apologetically*): Sorry
Holly: Ever heard of *The Lone Rider of Santa Fe?*
Calloway: Can't say that I have.
Holly: *Death at Double-X Ranch?*
...
[Holly, angered by Calloway's denunciation of Lime as a murderous racketeer, suspects that his late friend is being posthumously set up as a 'fall guy'.]
...
Holly: Listen Calahan...
Calloway: Calloway. I'm English, not Irish.
Holly: You're not going to close your files at a dead man's expense!
Calloway: So you're going to find me the real criminal? Sounds like one of your stories.
Holly: When I'm finished with you, you'll leave Vienna, you'll look so silly!

The search for the real course of events around the death of Harry Lime thus seems to follow an established "whodunit" pattern of dauntless detective (Sam-Spade- or Philip-Marlowe-style) vs conceited cop. In the event, it emerges that good and evil, perpetrator and victim, friend and foe, are hopelessly tangled. The Third Man mysteriously present after the drive-by accident of Harry Lime was Harry Lime himself, staging his own death. The "best friend" Holly ever had turns out to be what Calloway said he was: a ruthless, murderous criminal, consorting with an assorted set of evil characters from different countries (such as the cadaverous-looking Romanian Popescu). Finally, it is Holly himself who leaves Vienna, looking silly, after first having betrayed his false friend to Calloway's forces. The destruction of Holly's naïve morality is made complete in the memorable quip given by the amoral felon Harry:

'Don't be so gloomy! After all, it's not that awful. What the fellow said, in Italy for thirty years under the Borgias they had warfare, terror, murder and bloodshed; but they produced Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci and

along with Greene's own, pragmatic, Anglo-Catholic ethos: the moral imperative to punish crime, despite the quixotic nature of such a mission in a fallen and fatally tainted world. (This configures the subjective British self-image into a mid-way position between Central-European depravity and American naiveté).

> the Renaissance. In Switzerland, they had brotherly love and five hundred years of democracy and peace, and what did that produce? The cuckoo clock! So long, Holly.'

This cynical dissociation and opposition between civilization and morality, between the good and the beautiful, is what wrong-foots Holly throughout the film. The hero is out of his depth, and the setting is accordingly full of oblique angles, distorted perspectives, buildings surrounded by scaffolds and rubble. The morality and the topography of Vienna are both equally askew. What is more, this labyrinthine morality reverberates in a strong European–American polarity.

The idea of Vienna-as-pitfall is enhanced by the cultural incomprehensibility and complexity of the place. Nationalities abound: German, Czech, Russian, Romanian, and Austrian. As often as not, they speak a strange language. A surprisingly large amount of dialogue in the film is in fact in German and, as such, incomprehensible to the questing Holly.

> Janitor: Da werden Sie kein Glück haben, mein lieber Herr! Sie kommen um zehn Minuten zu spät. Da ist niemand mehr hier, Sie läuten umsonst.
> Holly: Speak English?
> Janitor (*shrugs and smiles apologetically*): English? Er... na ja... little... little. (*Tries to resume*): Sie kommen um zehn Minuten zu spät...

The incomprehensibility of Vienna is thus not only a moral one but also a cultural one. The mores, realities, historical predicaments, and languages are all of them lost on our American *ingénue*. His clash with that Vienna that combines cultural complexity and immoral depravity uncannily mirrors the amorality of Humbert Humbert, depraved but refined in a naïve but schlocky, ridiculous, cuckoo-clock America.

Conclusions

From all these conflict-fraught tales of disturbance, we can extrapolate an underlying sense of normality – the implied European default of normality against which the disturbance manifests itself. I would suggest it in the following terms: The implicit European self-image is one of a separation between an ordered interior world, ruled by laws and by domestic values, a household with a centre of gravity in traditional authority, and cordoned off from an unordered outside where only the law of the jungle applies. That image is that of the house, with its roofs, walls, and thresholds separating outside from inside and with its central focus in the hearth and chimney giving warmth and shelter to its inhabitants.

Outside this ordered world of domesticity are nomads, displaced or placeless strangers, who live in non-houses, whose fires are not on a hearth but under the open skies, and whose behaviour is wild, lawless, unregulated, and transgressive. In this stereotypical self–other opposition, Europe's ultimate Stranger is the Displaced Person, may he be the Asian Mongol or Hun, the Saracens or Beduins moving across the deserts of the Islamic world, the American Indian (and cowboy!) or African/Australian "savage", or the contemporary asylum-seeking migrant. The cities of non-Europe are, accordingly, not places of law and order but urban jungles of crime and lawlessness (from the casbahs of the Islamic world to the criminal ganglands of the Americas).

Seen in this light, the crisis of European order as experienced around the ravages of the Second World War are exemplified by the idea that this nomadic, anti-domestic Otherness is no longer outside but inside Europe: in the chaotic, ruined cities with their displaced people and black markets. Vienna is as much a casbah as Casablanca or Algiers, and the topology is that of the non-domestic building, the non-house: a place of walls but without inside or outside, and with, at its hearts, not a hearth but a monster; the prototype being the Labyrinth. Post-war Europe is, a bit in moral and in topological terms, a maze.

Behind the home and the rule of order is the shadow of the non-home, *un-heimlichkeit*. Europe presents, in modern representations, a combination of civilized refinement and a fraught history, a combination of suave civility and long-lost innocence, that Machiavellian sense that behind every Michelangelo lurks a Borgia, behind every Sissi a Dracula, behind every Louvre a Dachau – and between the two a sense of complexity and mixed feelings.

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The Notion of the *Foreign* in Hungarian and Bulgarian Phraseologisms

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Abstract. The confrontation between *the native* and *the foreign* is a problem that focuses research efforts on a number of humanities, e.g. cultural studies, anthropology, linguistics, ethnography, etc. The following report analyses the notion of the *foreign, the other, the different*, reflected in the phraseological wealth of the Hungarian and Bulgarian languages. The reviewed phrasemes concentrate the shock upon collision with *the different* or evaluation of the experience gained in the continuous communication with *the other*. *The foreign* is usually individualized by outlining and exaggerating some of its characteristics using parallels, oppositions, and metaphors. The negative attitudes and judgments prevail over the others: the fear of the collective "I" losing its own identity creates a negative attitude towards the *foreign*, distorted, or wrong notion of *the other* and *the different*. Many of the idioms reflect interethnic relations from times long gone, and so they are no longer a significant part of the active vocabulary of Hungarians and Bulgarians. Their analysis, however, is of great interest as they preserve the collective memory of the Hungarian and Bulgarian cultural communities and reveal their traditional notions and knowledge.

Keywords: contrastive phraseology, phrasemes, national stereotypes, ethnonyms

It is a well-known fact that a significant part of the cultural memory of every language community is encoded in its phraseology. The idioms refer to the realia of the given culture, carry significant ethno-cultural information, and have various connotations. The purpose of the present article is to examine in the light of phraseology what images are present and passed on about strangers in the public consciousness of Hungarians and Bulgarians.

The distinction between the "I", i.e. the speaker as the centre of communication, and the "not I", i.e. *you, he/she, they*, forms the basis of the attitude towards the *foreign*, which draws a line between the private sphere of the individual and the surrounding world.

Generalizations manifesting themselves in evaluating *the foreign*, *the other*, *the different* have been present for a long time and cemented themselves by comparison to one's own cultural patterns throughout the centuries. People immortalized their impressions from their encounters and contact with *the other* in similes, phraseological units, and proverbs and clearly individualized *the strangers* by highlighting or exaggerating some of their characteristics: *fösvény, mint a skót* 'niggard like a Scot' (Bulgarians say that stinginess is typical of Jews: *стиснат като евреин*); *erős, mint a zsidó vallás* 'strong like the Jewish religion'; *erőtlen, mint a tót kaszás* 'powerless like a Slovak mower'; *annyian vannak, mint az oroszok* 'they are as many as the Russians'; *megszokja, mint cigány a verést (~török a pipát)* 'get used to it like a Gypsy to drubbing (~ a Turkish to a pipe)'; *ráncos, mint a szász csizma* 'wrinkled like Saxon boots'; *sovány, mint a sváb lábszár* 'thin like a Swabian leg'; *szemérmes, mint a rác menyasszony* 'shy like a Serbian bride'; *búsul, mint a lengyel* 'bewail like a Polish'; *пуши като дърт циганин* 'smokes like an old gypsy'; *пиян като казак* 'drunk like a Cossack' = *iszik, mint a bécsi német* 'drink like a Viennese German' ~ *iszik, mint a berényi török* 'drink like a Turkish from Bereny'; *дрипава като циганка* 'tattered like a gypsy'; *грък като вълк* 'a Greek is like a wolf'; *кисел като турчин на рамазан* 'in a sour mood like a Turkish during Ramadan = very angry'; *въртя се кат обран евреин* 'cannot find one's place like a robbed Jew = anxiously looking for someone who can help'; *като влашка престилка* 'like a Vlach apron = a person who changes their opinion according to the circumstances'.

Strangers are interesting because they differ from the rest in terms of language, culture, and mentality.

Both the Hungarian and the Bulgarian languages have certain ethnically specific notions due to their speakers' historic, geographic, and cultural experiences, which are built on relationships with other nations or social groups. They express the shock caused by the first collision with otherness or the evaluation of experiences accumulated through being in touch with strangers for a long time.

The different attitudes towards *strangers* manifest themselves in derisive or pejorative usage of ethnonyms: *tót* (Slovak), *oláh* (Vlah/Romanian), *sváb* (Swabian), *ruszki* (Russian), or *polyák* (Polish) are all somewhat degrading and dismissive; *nigger* (a black person) and *jenki* (Yankee) are derisive, *digó* (Italian) is mocking and the word *skót* (Scottish) can actually mean miserly in Hungarian. The words used to name gypsies in Bulgarian have negative overtones, e.g. *мангал ~ манго ~ джипси ~ мангасар*; *византиец ~ фанариот* 'offensive name for a Greek'; *чифутин* 'offensive word for a Jew'; *арнаутин* 'Albanian, figurative meaning = a bad, tyrannical person'; *апаш* 'apacs = thief'; *турчин ~ кръстен турчин* 'Turkish ~ baptized Turkish = tyrant'.

Sometimes the names of ethnic or religious groups that were thought to be hostile were/are used to name diseases as well as harmful or disgusting animals

and plants: *német has* (German stomach) 'diarrhea', *német rák* (German crab) 'frog', *angolkór* (English disease) 'rachitis', *franc* (French disease) 'old vernacular name of syphilis', *svábbogár* (Swabian bug) 'cockroach', *cigánybúza* (Gypsy wheat) 'weed', *cigánygomba* (Gypsy mushroom) 'poisonous mushroom', *cigánytök* (Gypsy squash) 'squash only good for fodder', *zsidócseresznye* (Jewish cherries) 'weed or ornamental plant', *spanyolnátha* (Spanish cold) 'a serious flu', *поганец* 'Pagan – meaning of *rat*'; *арнаутска чушка* 'Albanian pepper = small, very hot pepper', *казашки бодил* 'Cossack thorn = weed (Hantium spinosum)'.

It has to be noted, however, that an ethic name cannot, in itself, be offensive or endearing, pretty or ugly. If there are more than one names for a denotation, they will be split functionally or semantically: *cigány ~ roma ~ gácsi ~ brazil ~ füstös ~ rézbőrű ~ nem a naptól barna...*;[1] *orosz ~ muszka ~ ruszki*; *német ~ germán ~ sváb ~ labanc ~ fritz ~ tokos*; *zsidó ~ bibsi ~ biboldó ~ kóbi ~ egyiptomi székely ~ kajman ~ másvallású ~ izraeli ~ izraelita*; *amerikai ~ jenki ~ amerikánus ~ amcsi ~ ami*; *румънци ~ власи ~ мамалигари* 'a noun formed by the word *mamaliga, puliszka*'; *унгарец ~ маджар(ин)*; *руснак ~ казак ~ мужик ~ рашън*; *евреин ~ чифут(ин) ~ жид* 'Jew'; *циганин ~ ром ~ мангал ~ манго~ джипси ~ мангасар ~ катунар* 'Gypsy'; *византиец ~ фанариот* 'offensive name for a Greek'; *турчин ~ кръстен турчин ~ пискюл ~ фес, рязан пищов* 'Turkish ~ baptized Turkish = tyrant, tassel, tarboosh, circumcised').

Different ethnonyms are used in different situations and contexts, and not only as denominations but as qualifications as well. Certain social, not linguistic processes determine the usage of a particular word. In the chain *германци – немци – шваби – дойчовци – прусаци*, the first two are opposing denominations of formal and informal usage and have equal importance in everyday spoken language, whereas the others are negatively charged.

As time goes by, the names of certain nations or social groups go through semantic changes. They are given positive or negative connotations and thus become tools for stereotyping. By contrasting and comparing *the foreign* with *the familiar*, words and expression are (or can be) born that, on the one hand, reflect the language users' view of the world and summarize their concepts and opinions and, on the other hand, reveal their emotional approach to the phenomena of the world. Stereotypes make it possible to keep one's identity, strengthen the sense of belonging within a group and make it easier to identify with that group and, at the same time, are a component of identity (see Bańczerowski 2007: 76). The identity of a national group is born and shaped through connections and frictions with other groups and neighbours. As an individual's sense of identity can only be formed relative to a certain group, similarly, the identity of a group can only be filled with meaning after constant confrontations with nearer or more distant groups.

1 Attila József Balázsi mentions more than 30 words to denote gypsies (see Balázsi 2001).

It is worth noting the predomination of stereotypes leading to the occurrence of language units, lexical phrases, and expressions with negative connotations: *rút, mint a francia orr* 'ugly like a French nose'; *járkál, mint zsidó (örmény) az üres boltban* 'go about like a Jew (Armenian) in an empty store'; *őrült spanyol* 'a crazy Spanish meaning a person who does absurd things'; *cigányútra megy* 'takes the Gypsy road, i.e. to go the wrong/bad way'; *изпаднал германец* 'down-at-heel German'; *nincs rosszabb a szegény zsidónál* 'there is nothing worse than a poor Jew'*; adj a tótnak szállást, kiver a házadból* 'give shelter to the Slovak, and they will drive you away from home; *мълчи като турско гробище* 'keep silent like a Turkish cemetery'; *гол като арнаутски пищов* 'naked like an Albanian pistol = *meztelen, mint a cigánygyerek* 'naked like a Gypsy kid'; *като влашка престилка* 'like a Vlach apron = a person who changes their opinion according to the circumstances,' etc.

The explanation for that phenomenon is that "there is a fear behind stereotypes that we might lose our identity that is secured by belonging to a 'we' group and, as a result, this fear leads to an attitude against others and strangers"[2] (Bańczerowski 2007: 77).

Evaluation and emotional effect can be made through realia and symbols typical of a given national group or its culture or religion: *egyiptomi székely* 'Egyptian Szekler, i.e. Jew', *пискюл, фес, рязан пищов* 'tassel, tarboosh, circumcised – meaning Turk'; *úgy él, mint egy török basa – живея като бей* 'live like a Turkish pasha' *~ живея като царче Симеонче* 'live like a king'; *meglesz a törökök húsvétján – когато влезе свинка в джамия ~ кога си дойдат евреите от хаджилък ~ у събота, кога взема от евреите ~ на гръцки календи* 'when the pig enters the mosque ~ when the Jews come back from pilgrimage ~ on Saturday when I take from the Jews ~ on the Greek kalends = never'; *барон ефенди султан без гащи* 'effendi baron sultan without pants = poor person who swells with importance'; *fél, mint nagypénteken a zsidó* 'feel like a Jew on Good Friday'; *vár, mint a zsidók a messiást* 'wait like a Jew waits for the Messiah'; *бягам като протестантин от пост* 'avoid like a Protestant avoids a fast'.

Hungarians and Bulgarians sometimes view certain national groups similarly, which proves the universal nature of characteristics. In most cases, however, they use different images to describe the given nations' attributes. The following hostile idioms express the Gypsies' tendency for lying and stealing: *a cigány sem mond mindenkor igazat* 'Gypsies don't always say the truth'; *ritka cigány hazugság nélkül* 'rarely a Gypsy without a lie'; *beillene vajdának a cigányoknál* 'he would make a (good) voivode for the Gypsies'; *hamis, mint a sátoros cigány – лъже като дърт (~ брадат ~ влашки) циганин* 'lie like an old/bearded/Vlach Gypsy'; *amennyi cigány, annyi tolvaj* 'as many Gypsies, as many thieves'; *ahány*

2 The translations from Hungarian and Bulgarian specialist literature are my own throughout the article.

cigány, annyi lopás 'as many Gypsies, as many thefts'; *nem kell a cigányt lopni tanítani* 'you don't need to teach the Gypsy how to steal'; *lop, mint a cigány – крадлив като циганин* 'steal like a Gypsy'.

There are historical reasons for both languages identifying the Turkish (among others) with cruelty and aggression: *úgy bánik vele, mint török a rabjával* 'treat him like a Turkish treats their captive'; *búsul, mint aki török rabságba esett* 'he bewails as if he fell into Turkish captivity'; *jaj, kinek török a szomszédja* 'woe to those whose neighbours are Turkish'; *rossz szomszédság török átok* 'bad neighbours – a Turkish curse'; *турчин и куче все едно е* 'the Turkish and the dog are the same'; *на турчина достлука е на коляното му* 'the friendship of the Turkish is on their knees'; *като в турско робство* 'like under Ottoman yoke'; *по-зле от турско робство* 'worse than under the Ottoman yoke'.

There is, however, an insignificant number of idioms within the analysed material that show semantic or morphologic similarities or sameness: *fekete, mint a szerecsen (~ a cigány) – черен като циганин (~ арапин)* 'black like a Gypsy (~ a black man)'; *minden cigány a maga lovát dicséri – всеки циганин своя кон хвали* 'every Gypsy praises their own horse'; *ravasz, mint a görög – лъжлив като грък* 'lying/cunning like a Greek'; *fél, mint zsidó a kereszttől – бягам като евреин от кръст* 'be afraid of something/avoid something like a Jew of a cross'; *sötét balkáni alak – тъмен балкански субект* 'dark Balkan person'.

The most common participants in idioms and proverbs are Gypsies, Slovaks, Jews, Germans, and Vlachs. In Bulgarian phraseology, it is mainly the Turks, the Greeks, the Gypsies, the Vlachs, the Albanians, and the Jews that are the targets of prejudicial thinking, innocent mockery, and degrading or derisive humour. Some other ethnicities living in neighbouring countries are excluded from this circle. Neither Ede Margalits nor (fifty years later) Gábor O. Nagy list in their comprehensive collections of Hungarian sayings and proverbs any expressions about Croatians or Ukrainians (Rusyns). Similarly, in the Bulgarian phraseological collections (such as Najden Gerov's), only the southern neighbours of Bulgaria are mentioned, and there are no examples of Serbs.

It is to be noted that a certain portion of the phrasemes containing national denotations have faded historically and become obsolete. This process is determined by objective, historical reality as well as by a nation's subjective interpretation of the familiar and known as opposed to the foreign and unknown. The ethnonymic expressions registered in lexicons reflect interethnic relations and approaches dating from one or more hundred years ago and "depend on the spirit of that time, the ideological and religious beliefs and the conditions and tendencies dominating the country" (Bańczerowski 2007: 84). For this reason, beliefs and judgments regarding certain nations and ethnic groups cannot be absolutized for today. Qualifications preserve a given cultural community's collective memory and reflect their traditional beliefs. Since they are solidified in

the social and national consciousness and have been passed on from generation to generation, they have become an organic part of the linguistic and cultural images of national communities and ethnic groups.

In both Hungarian and Bulgarian languages, one will find sayings and proverbs that contain opposites consisting of auto- and heterostereotypes regarding outsiders, strangers, and "us": *az oláhnak tenni, a magyarnak ígérni* 'what doing is for Vlahs is promising for Hungarians'; *franciának hajpor, magyarnak jó bor* 'hair powder for the French, good wine for Hungarians'; *magyarnak kalács, németnek korbács* 'cake for the Hungarians, whip for the Germans'; *българин като забогатее, къща прави, а турчинът – жена зема* 'when the Bulgarian becomes rich, they build a house, the Turkish gets a woman'; *да те пази господ от българин погърчен и от чифутин потурчен* 'God keep you from a Bulgarian who pretends to be Greek and Jew who converted to Mohammedanism'; *гърците ги съсипва салтанатът, а българите инатът* 'the Greeks are spoilt by the splendour and the Bulgarians by the stubbornness'.

When contrasted with characteristics of the strangers, "our" positive or negative characteristics can be better demonstrated.

The Hungarian national self-image is very diverse and sometimes even contradictory. We can find examples of glorifying the Hungarians and the Hungarian nation as well as of criticizing them: *Félni, rettegni nem tud a nagyar.* 'Hungarian cannot be afraid'; *A magyar, ha szépen kérik, az ingét is odaadja.* 'If asked politely, Hungarians give away even their shirt'; *Ha két magyar együtt van, háromfelé húz.* 'If there are two Hungarians together, they pull three different ways'; *Átok fogta meg a magyart, mert az soha együtt nem tart.* 'Hungarians are cursed because they never stick together'; *Csata után okos a magyar.* 'The Hungarian is smart after a battle.'

Bulgarians often express their self-criticism in the form of derisive self-judgment: *У българин инат, у грък салтанат, у френк мурафет.* 'Bulgarians have stubbornness, Greeks splendour, French skilfulness'; *На българина умът иде я кога бяга, я кога ляга.* 'Bulgarians become smarter when they run or when they lie down'; *Хубава работа, ама българска.* 'nice work (job) but Bulgarian'; *Хубаво ли е или българско* 'is it nice or Bulgarian'; *типично българско ~ типично по български* 'typically Bulgarian – said with irony if something was not successful'.

This kind of self-criticism can partly be explained by the Bulgarians' inferiority complex: they tend to underestimate and look down upon what is their own, what is related to their country and regard highly what is different, Western or European, even if it does not fit their own life style or way of thinking.

Defining what is our own and what is foreign is based on mutual evaluation – our disadvantages and deficiencies become the advantages and merits of the other (*като швейцарски часовник* 'like a Swiss watch' means a very precise person).

The foreign appears as the desired place or promise of belonging somewhere else: *чувствам се като европеец* 'I feel European'. However, getting under the influence of what is *foreign* and mimicking strangers evoke negative connotations: *törököt játszik* 'pretends to be Turkish'; *magyar az ízre, német a színre* 'Hungarian to taste, German to colour' (in an abstract sense: Hungarian inside, German outside); *fele magyar, fele tót* 'half Hungarian, half Slovak'; *egy csepp magyar vér nem folyik erében* 'not a drop of Hungarian blood is in his veins'; *да те пази господ от влах погърчен и от шоп потурчен* 'God keep you from a Vlach who pretends to be Greek and a shop (Bulgarian from Sofia area) who converted to Mohammedanism'; *ни турчин, ни българин* 'neither Turkish, nor Bulgarian'; *гърчея се, турчея се, македонея се, американча се, европейча се* 'pretend to be Greek, Turkish, Macedonian, American, European'.

Relations with other nations, ethnic groups, and communities are limited to outside and appearance-related differences and characteristics, and the languages of "*strangers*" are parodied as exotic languages to express aversion. In both Hungarian and Bulgarian phrasemes, *kínai (китайски)*, meaning 'Chinese', symbolizes inconcievable, unexplainable information and incomprehensible speech: *valakinek valami kínai* 'it is Chinese to somebody' *като китайско писмо* 'like Chinese writing'.

Besides Chinese, Hungarians use Arabic, whereas Bulgarians use Indian or Patagonian to express incomprehensibility – that is, languages of geographically faraway countries: *Aki nem tud arabusul, ne beszéljen arabusul* 'if you don't know Arabic, don't speak Arabic'; *тъмна Индия* 'it is dark India for me'.

This approach is completely different from that of other nations. In German, for example, incomprehensible or nonsensical is embodied by names of the closest neighbours of the speakers (*das sind mir böhmische Dörfer*; *das sind mir spanische Dörfer; das kommt mir böhmisch vor* 'these are Bohemian/Spanish villages; this is Bohemian to me').

Idioms that have the speakers' native language in them are the opposites of phrasemes expressing the incomprehensiveness of foreign speech. Naturally, a native language is identified with what is known and understandable: *magyarul/magyarán szólva/megmondva* 'speaking in Hungarian', i.e. understandable; *на чист български* 'in pure Bulgarian language'. Both the Hungarians and Bulgarians consider and call their language "sweet" since it is the bearer of their culture and the most important determinant and conveyor of their identity: *édes anyanyelvünk, родна реч омайна, сладка* 'sweet, enchanting mother tongue'.

Phrases like *Български разбираш ли? ~Не разбираш ли от български?* 'don't you understand Bulgarian?', *Аз на български ли ти говоря?* 'am I speaking Bulgarian to you?' express the speaker's dissatisfaction with their partner in communication, who does not seem to understand what they are trying to say.

Comparing the phrasemes of two structurally very diverse languages made it possible to demonstrate certain universal semantic characteristics of *the foreign* and the difference in their linguistic manifestations. Besides its practical functions, foreign language learning also provides a linguistic prerequisite for broadening our knowledge: it modifies the primary model of the world created by our native tongue and provides new perspectives for us by showing different ways to learn about people and the world in general. The attitude towards *the foreign* coded in Hungarian and Bulgarian phraseological units is of an emotional and judging nature. It expresses distrust for the unknown and also a subjective conviction that when compared to others, the own is superior. Our observation and reasoning support the statement that dividing the world into "I and the other" and "we and the others" "reflect a certain self-defensive mental process" (Bańczerowski 2007: 77). In the linguistic image of the world, the division between the own and foreign is meant to emphasize a given linguistic and ethnocultural community's identity and strengthen its cohesion.

Today, when unified Europe is like an organization consisting of many nations, encountering otherness (other people, objects, flavours, and so on) is an everyday occurrence. Throughout history – and especially in recent years, due to the refugee crisis – we, Europeans (having complex and rich identities), have gained a significant amount of experience about how harmful and destructive the growth of intolerance, the policy of not accepting *otherness*, extreme national pride and aggressive patriotism can be; of how much damage can be caused by artificially induced debates about *the foreign* and by the hidden, smouldering tension. Attempts to violate ethnic or religious identity or to promote covert or aggressive ethnic cleansing will lead nowhere. They are destructive, short-sighted, and irrational political acts that not only prevent every chance of integration but also turn loyal citizens into terrorists, secular personalities into religious fanatics, and humane people into barbarians. They make enemies out of people who have been living together in peace for centuries, lessening the efficiency of social cooperation and condemning certain states and nations to dependency, stagnation, and poverty. It is obvious that the principles of equality, partnership, and mutual respect have to be followed for the sake of the common good, and otherness has to be accepted without judgment and prejudice. The more we know about other cultures and people representing them, the less conflict we will have to be confronted with. For this reason, in today's globalized world, multicultural and multinational communities realize more and more how important it is to have dialogues between different cultures, to protect our identity and to understand and respect others, or, in other words, to have ethnic tolerance and the equality of national cultures.

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The Acquisition of the Communicative Act of Greeting: Language Parallels between Hungarian and Bulgarian

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Abstract. The acquisition of linguo-cultural competence in foreign language learning has its share in the overall process of acquiring the language. In the inter-language contact situation, the speaker has to overcome not only the language but also the cultural barrier. The present paper examines the acquisition of greetings by Hungarian native speakers in the process of learning Bulgarian language, as a result of acquiring linguo-cultural competence. The question of the nation-specific aspect of the communicative act carries an important role in foreign language acquisition, undoubtedly due to the fact that it reveals language-specific features. Furthermore, the "strangeness" of the foreign language seems to be best demonstrated within the frames of a typological analysis of the two – native and foreign – languages.

Keywords: communicative grammar, socio-pragmatics language acquisition, speech act greeting

1. Introductory lines

One route to successful communication is language competence – this is a well-known fact. Within the large field of language acquisition and mastering of lexemes and grammar structures, there is a rather interesting aspect, namely, pragmatic competence. The interaction between native and foreign pragmatic competence in the process of various communicative acts has been attracting the attention of researchers over the past decades with an ongoing vitality. This specific aspect of eliminating the "strangeness" in the acquisition of pragmatic competence is an object of investigation in the present work as well.

We are all aware that the implementation of speech acts plays an important role in inter-language contacts. Undoubtedly, the question of the nation-specific

structure of the communicative act is important since it shows the particular characteristics of the speech etiquette of a given language. Therefore, whenever a foreign language has been taught or learnt, the differences in the verbal means of communication of different peoples should be taken into account.

As Ilieva-Baltova (1990: 52–53) points out, the investigation of the non-equal verbal categorizations, the nation-specific structure of the act of communication, and the nation-characteristic correspondence of verbal/non-verbal components reveal the peculiarity of a given language in a pragmatic aspect – when functioning as a complex system –, which demonstrates and ensures the communicative needs of the members of a given society (see also Markkanen 1985).

The aim of the present investigation is to compare a communicative act in two different languages, as manifested in the process of language acquisition and demonstrated as pragmatic competence in written translations of Bulgarian into Hungarian. The etiquette segment of speech on which the current research focuses is the act of greeting.

1.1. Theoretical considerations

There have been published laborious works on greetings in both languages (among others: Tzankov 1988, Lengyel 1977, etc.). However, a cross-linguistic interpretation of this act is rather hard to find (cf. Banova 2011: 224–238). Due to restricted space, the object in mind of the present paper will not be elaborated on the literature. In turn, the attention is focused on the concrete language data and its analysis. It is worth pointing out that the preliminary observations indicate morphological and socio-pragmatic asymmetry between Bulgarian and Hungarian.

In Bulgarian, *politeness* is expressed with the second person plural verb form and the second person plural pronominal form *Вие* (orthographic difference: the polite form is spelled with a capital letter, e.g. *вие* vie vs. *Вие* Vie ‘you-polite’). In contrast with Bulgarian, in Hungarian, politeness is expressed with specific pronominal forms, both in the singular and in the plural (e.g. *maga, Ön* ‘you-Sg-polite’, *maguk, Önök* ‘you-Pl-polite’) and both in the third person singular and the third person plural verb forms. Right from this starting point, it is expected that Hungarian will have a larger diversity of forms, and, as Lengyel (1977: 215–117) points out, there are twenty etiquette forms of greetings which are commonly used in the language. From a socio-pragmatic perspective, the opposition *familiar–stranger* is relevant for Bulgarian since this is one of the conditions for using the polite form, whereas for Hungarian the opposition *young–old* has to be taken into account as well. Furthermore, for the performing of the speech act of greeting in Hungarian, one should also consider the gender of the interlocutors, an irrelevant factor for Bulgarian. Altogether, the preference of

the interlocutors demonstrated in the translation form they choose is determined by various conditions, characteristic of the specific communicative act. In the course of investigation, I will consider the following base factors (on further factors, cf. Levinson 2000):

– age,
– gender,
– degree of acquaintance,
– social status, and
– formal/informal situation.

2. Language data: the experiment

2.1. Participants

Seven Hungarian native speakers took part in the linguistic experiment: four male and three female subjects. All of them were students, studying Bulgarian philology at the University of Szeged, Hungary. The level of Bulgarian language knowledge was upper-intermediate to advanced. The age of the participants varied between 20 and 26 years.

2.2. Procedure

For the needs of the current investigation, an experiment was carried out: the subjects had to translate nine pre-selected micro-dialogues from Bulgarian into Hungarian. As the participants received the printed Bulgarian-language micro-dialogues, they were told that they were taking part in a language experiment, a sociolinguistic comparison of the speech act of *greeting* in Bulgarian and Hungarian. All students were encouraged to be maximally adequate to the *greeting situations* in Hungarian society while carrying out the written translations. In order to avoid misunderstandings, all micro-dialogues were verbally discussed in regards to the specific situation in which they occurred.

2.3. Micro-dialogues: communicative frames

The micro-dialogues were excerpted from textbooks of Bulgarian language for foreigners (Antonova et al. 1984, Petrova 1993). The selection of the micro-dialogues was governed by the fact that they should contain certain grammatical rules, on the one hand, and represent various communicative situations, on the other hand. All micro-dialogues are part of larger dialogues. Each participant of the experiment was given nine micro-dialogues. The sociolinguistic parameters

of the micro-dialogues are described below, along with the indication of the specific morphological markers.

In the first dialogue, two students – strangers to each other – greet each other. Both interlocutors use the greeting *Добър ден!* 'good day' and a polite form, indicated by the verb form and in the formal use of 2/Pl *Вие* 'you-polite'.

1. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)
– *Добър ден!* 'Good day!'
– *Добър ден!* 'Good day!'
– *Вие студентка ли сте?* 'Are you-polite a student-FEM?'
– *Да, студентка съм.* 'Yes, I'm a student-FEM'
– *И аз съм студент.* 'I'm a student-MASC, too.'

In the second micro-dialogue, a young interlocutor is addressing two or more elderly interlocutors. They all know each other. The informal pronominal *Ти* 'you-SG' is used, along with the *Здравей* 'hello' by the elderly interlocutor, and *Добър ден!* 'good day' by the younger one.

2. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)
– *Здравей, Асене!* 'Hello, Assen-VOC!'
– *Добър ден! Как сте?* 'Good day! How are you?'
– *Благодаря, добре сме. Ти как си?* 'Thank you, we are fine. How are you-SG?
– *И аз съм добре.* 'I'm fine, too.'

In the third micro-dialogue, two male students greet two female students at a meeting. The informal second person plural form *здравейте* 'hello-PL' is used.

3. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)
– *Здравейте момичета!* 'Hello-PL girls!'
– *А! Каква приятна среща! Вие не познавате Яна, приятелката ми.* 'Oh! What a nice meeting! You don't know Jana, my friend.
Тя следва медицина. She studies medicine.'
– *Много ми е приятно, Боян.* 'Nice to meet you, Boyan.'
– *И на мене, Асен.* 'Me too, Assen.'

In the fourth micro-dialogue, two students, who are distant acquaintances, greet each other. They use the more formal *Добър ден!* 'good day' and the pronominal politeness form 2/Pl *Вие* 'you-polite'.

4. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)
– *Добър ден! От лекции ли идвате?* 'Good day! Are you coming from lectures?'
– *Да. Цяла сутрин бях в университета.* 'Yes, I was at the university all morning.'
– *Вие не бяхте ли на лекции?* 'Weren't you at the lectures?'
– *Не, не бях.* 'No, I wasn't.'

In the fifth micro-dialogue, two friends greet each other. The used forms are the informal *здравей* 'hello' and *здрасти* 'hi'.

5. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)

– *Асене, здравей!* 'Assen-VOC, hello!'

– *Здрасти, Бояне! Кое беше онова момиче?* 'Hi, Boyan-VOC! Who was that girl?'

– *Не казвам.* 'I'm not saying.'

In the sixth micro-dialogue, two acquaintances greet each other. There is no information concerning their age. Their greeting forms are *Добър ден!* 'good day'.

6. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)

– *Добър ден! И ти ли си на кино?* 'Good day! You are also at the movies?'

– *Да. Ти сам ли си?* 'Yes. Are you alone?'

– *Да. А ти?* 'Yes. And you?'

– *Аз чакам Яна.* 'I'm waiting for Yana.'

In the seventh micro-dialogue, two students, who are strangers to each other, greet each other. The politeness is explicitly expressed in the verb form. The greeting is the pronominal politeness form 2/Pl *Вие* 'you-polite', used by both interlocutors.

7. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)

– *Здравейте!* 'Hello.'

– *Здравейте!* 'Hello.'

– *Как се казвате?* 'What's your name?'

– *Казвам се Мария.* 'My name is Maria.'

– *Какво следвате?* 'What do you study?'

– *Медицина.* 'I study medicine.'

– *И аз следвам медицина.* 'I study medicine, too.'

In the eighth micro-dialogue, two elderly people, who are distant acquaintances, greet each other. One of the participants is a woman. Both interlocutors use the polite form, the greeting is *Добър ден!* 'good day'.

8. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)

– *Добър ден, г-жа Асенова! Как сте?* 'Good day, Mrs Assenova! How are you?'

– *Благодаря, добре съм.* 'I'm fine, thank you!'

А Вие г-н Петров? 'And you, Mr. Petrov?'

– *Горе-долу, благодаря.* 'So-so, thank you.'

In the ninth micro-dialogue, two elderly people greet each other. They use the more formal *Добро утро!* 'good morning' and the pronominal politeness form 2/Pl *Вие* 'you-polite'.

9. Micro-dialogue in Bulgarian (source language)
– *Добро утро!* ‘Good morning!’
– *Добро утро!* ‘Good morning!’
– *Вие ли сте г-н Марков?* ‘Are you Mr. Markov?’
– *Не, не съм.* ‘No, I’m not.’

In the language data from the experimental texts, we find the following communicative situations: the interlocutors are young strangers, young distant acquaintances, young colleagues and friends, young and elderly acquaintances, young strangers, and elderly distant acquaintances.

As seen from the sociolinguistic parameters of the nine micro-dialogues, the excerpted material does not exhaust all possible communicative situations (a rather difficult task in itself, given the large variation in the socio-factors). For example, there are no examples of greeting acts between elder colleagues, between a boss and an employee, between an adult and a child, etc. Such further extension of this interesting aspect of communicative acquisition would be in the focus of another, following work.

3. Description of the results

The nine micro-dialogues generated 32 translation equivalents in Hungarian (cf. the *Appendix*). The variation was determined by the choice of a greeting form and the choice of the verb form – from the point of view of *politeness/non-politeness* as well. In order to juxtapose the Bulgarian–Hungarian realizations of the speech act *greeting*, some informants were also invited to verify the results, as they were presented in a comparative form linguistic situation by linguistic situation (i.e. following each communicative situation from the micro-dialogues). The need of informants was also provoked by the fact that there are hardly any comparative works dealing with speech act equivalents between Bulgarian and Hungarian, and some translation solutions call for further consideration.

The translation equivalents of *добър ден* ‘good day’ in the first micro-dialogue are by two forms – *szia* ‘hi’ or *jó napot* ‘good day’, among which the first form is preferred by more participants. The polite form is substituted with the informal second person singular.

(1) Bulgarian	→	Hungarian
добър ден		*jó napot*
		szia

In the second micro-dialogue, *здравей* ‘hello-SG’ receives three translation variants – *szia*, *helló*, *szervusz*, where the first two are chosen by an equal

number of participants, three, and the last translation form by one. Furthermore, the Bulgarian greeting *добър ден* 'good day' is translated into Hungarian as four different greeting forms: *jó napot, helló, üdv* (short from *üdvözöllek*) and *adjisten.* As foreseen, the dominating choice is *jó napot,* used by three participants.

(2) Bulgarian	Hungarian
здравей	*helló*
	szia
	szervusz
добър ден	*jó napot*
	helló
	üdvözöllek
	üdv
	adjisten

The greeting form *Здравейте момичета* 'hello-PL girls' in the third micro-dialogue corresponds to the Hungarian *sziasztok* 'hi-PL' and *helló* (with a variant *hellóka*), yet the first one is preferred by the tested subjects. The formal pronominal form *Вие* is translated with the second person singular pronominal form in Hungarian, that is the informal form is preferred.

(3) Bulgarian	→	Hungarian
здравейте		*sziasztok*
		helló (lányok)

In the fourth micro-dialogue, *добър ден* 'good day' receives three different translation equivalents, *helló*, *szia* 'Hi' and *jó napot* 'good day'. The second person singular form is used as the translation equivalent of the formal, polite second person plural form *Вие* 'you-PL'.

(4) Bulgarian	→	Hungarian
добър ден		*helló*
		szia
		jó napot

The language data from micro-dialogue five shows the translation variants of *здравей*, namely the Hungarian greeting forms *szevasz*/*szia* 'hi' appear, while for *здрасти* 'hi', *szervusz* and *üdvözlöm* are preferred.

(5) Bulgarian	→	Hungarian
здравей		*szia*
		hello
		szevasz

здрасти	*szia*
	hello
	szervusz
	üdvözöllek

The translation solutions of the Bulgarian *добър ден* found in micro-dialogue six are *szia*, *helló* (again with a variation *hellóka*), and *jó napot*. Four of the participants chose to interpret the situation with *szia* and one with *jó napot*.

(6) Bulgarian → Hungarian

добър ден	*szia*
	helló
	hellóka
	jó napot

In the seventh micro-dialogue, the polite form *здравейте* receives predominantly the Hungarian greeting translation *szia*, chosen by four participants, and also *helló*, *szevasz*/*üdvözöllek* by one participant each. The polite form of the source text is translated into Hungarian with the informal second person singular form.

(7) Bulgarian → Hungarian

здравейте	*szia*
	hello
	szevasz
	üdvözöllek

In the eighth micro-dialogue, the greeting *Добър ден, госпожа* 'Good day, Mrs' was translated with *jó napot* 'good day', and the word *госпожа* 'Mrs/Madam' was not translated at all. Only one participant used the form *kezét csókolom* 'I kiss your hand', along with the choice of *néni* 'auntie' as an equivalent of *госпожа* 'madam'. The polite verb form was used by all participants.

(8) Bulgarian → Hungarian

добър ден, г-жа	*jó napot kívánok*
	kezét csókolom, néni

In the ninth micro-dialogue, the greeting *добро утро* 'good morning' is translated as *jó reggelt* 'good morning' without exception, and the polite verb form is used throughout the translation variants.

(9) Bulgarian → Hungarian

добро утро	*jó reggelt*

4. Discussion and analysis of the results

The analysis of the data from the language experiment, more exactly the translation of micro-dialogues containing greeting forms from Bulgarian into Hungarian, points out the fact that the choice of translation equivalents in Hungarian is governed rather by the sociolinguistic and the pragmatic factors defining the idiosyncrasy of the target language, and not as much by the text of the source language.

4.1. The age factor

In all the micro-dialogues where the context implies that the interlocutors are young people, the choice of forms are those of second person singular verbal and pronominal forms, regardless of the *strangers*/*distant* or the *acquaintances*/*friends* factors (cf. micro-dialogues 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7). The strategy of the participants is explained by their attempt to adapt the etiquette formulas of greeting to the Hungarian language in the socio-pragmatic frame of the speech act in question. Had the participants chosen to perform an isomorphic translation, they would have probably ended up with a non-natural dialogue and a twisted communicative situation.

The translation solutions found in micro-dialogues 8 and 9 reveal a common point in the two languages: the polite forms are preferred when there are elderly and slightly acquainted people among the interlocutors. Micro-dialogue 2 shows a different picture from 8 and 9, although the communicative situation is similar. The question *Как сте?* 'how are you' posed by a young interlocutor to a group of elderly interlocutors has evoked only one translation equivalent with the polite form. Four participants used the second person form (i.e. the non-polite choice) and one has mistakenly used the second person singular form. One translation equivalent offers the neutral phrase *Mi újság?* 'what's up'.

4.2. Translation variants

The Bulgarian greeting forms *добър ден*, *добро утро*, *здравей (здравейте)*, *здрасти* received the following Hungarian translation equivalents in the above described communicative situations: *jó napot (kívánok)*, *jó reggelt*, *szia (sziasztok)*, *helló*, *hellóka*, *szervusz*, *szevasz*, *üdvözlöm* (*üdvözöllek)*, *üdv*, *adjisten*, *kezét csókolom*, *néni* (cf. the English translations above). This clearly shows and allows us to point out that the Hungarian language has a richer palette of greeting forms, both in formal and informal contexts.

Although the greeting forms *добър ден* and *jó napot* in the two compared languages are in fact isomorphs, there is no indication of preference for any

of these translation equivalents. The results reveal that in the cases when the interlocutors are young (strangers or distant acquaintances), the majority of the participants in the experiment chose a greeting required by the particular communicative situation for the Hungarian language (e.g. micro-dialogue 1, 4, 6) rather than a 'direct' translation of the expressions in question.

Some of the participants offer the same translation equivalents for the Bulgarian forms *здравей* 'hello/hi' *здрасти* 'hi (more informal)'. The language data shows that in the perception of Hungarian speakers these two forms do not have any gradation on the formality scale. It was surprising to observe that the more familiar Bulgarian *здрасти* received the more formal Hungarian equivalent *szervusz* (5) and vice versa: the more formal *здравей* received the more familiar variant *szevasz*. We suppose that this is due to the incorrect acquisition of language material.

The results revealed by micro-dialogue 8 do not confirm the preliminary hypothesis that for *Добър ден, г-жа Асенова* 'good-day, Mrs Assenova' the Hungarian *Kezét csókolom, Aszenova asszony* 'I kiss your hand, Mrs Assenova' will be used as translation equivalent. There is only one participant who chose this particular form. However, the word *asszony* was substituted by the more informal *néni* (cf. *Kezét csókolom, Aszenova néni*). Further realizations in the translations were *jó napot*, where a female speaker was addressed as *asszony* 'Mrs/Madam' (cf. *Jó napot (kívánok), Aszenova asszony* 'good-day, Mrs. Assenova'). Informants were asked to give additional clarification regarding this specific communicative solution in the translation. One of the informants offered the explanation that if a female interlocutor holds a higher position in the hierarchy (i.e. director, boss, etc.) the neutral greeting *jó napot* is preferred.

Here I would like to point out another observation: the participants chose the 'full' version of the time-bound greeting *jó napot kívánok* only in two of the translation forms, while all other forms were *jó napot*. This could be a result of language transfer (given the source language form), on the one hand, or it could also be attributed to a certain tendency in the colloquial Hungarian, on the other hand. However, at this stage, it is not possible to give a unanimous answer to this issue.

5. Conclusions

The results obtained from the translation of etiquette formulas, i.e. greeting forms from Bulgarian to Hungarian, allow for the following conclusions:

1. There is a clear indication that the nation-specific differences in communicative situations in the two languages are taken into account and the language-specific (that is, also nation-specific) realizations are an important factor in language transfer.

2. The thesis that politeness is governed by different requirements in the two languages is confirmed by the data. In Bulgarian, the *degree of acquaintance* factor is relevant, that is, it carries a crucial role, whereas in Hungarian the *age* factor is higher in the politeness hierarchy, while the *degree of acquaintance* factor is not relevant when the interlocutors are young people.

3. The two languages demonstrate similarity in the use of polite forms when the interlocutors are elderly people and they are distant acquaintances/strangers. An expected similarity in the use of second person singular (non-polite) forms expressing informal communicative environment is also observed when the interlocutors know each other (they are friends, colleagues, etc).

4. The demonstrated differences in morphological aspect do not influence the adequacy of the translations.

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Appendix

1.
- Добър ден
- Добър ден!
- Вие студентка ли сте
- Да студентка съм.
- И аз съм студент.

1a.
- Szia!
- Szia!
- Egyetemista vagy?
- Aha
- Én is.

1b.
- Jó napot (kívánok)!
- Jó napot!
- Tanulsz?
- Igen, tanulok.
- Én is.

2.
- Здравей, Асене!
- Добър ден! Как сте?
- Благодаря, добре сме. Ти как си?
- И аз съм добре.

2a.
- Helló, Aszen!
- Helló, Aszen! Hogy vagytok?
- Kösz, jól vagyok. És te?
- Én is.

2b.
- Helló, Aszen!
- Adjisten! Hogy vagytok?
- Kösz, jól. Te hogy vagy?
- Én is jól vagyok.

2c.
- Helló, János!
- Üdvözöllek! Hogy vagy?
- Köszönöm, jól vagyok. És te, hogy vagy?
- Én is jól vagyok.

2d.
- Szervusz, Aszen!
- Üdv! Hogy vagytok?
- Köszönöm, jól vagyunk. Te hogy vagy?
- Én is jól.

2e.
- Szia, Aszen!
- Jó napot! Hogy vagytok?
- Köszönöm, jól vagyok. És te, hogy vagy?
- Én is jól.

2f.
- Szia, Aszen!
- Sziasztok! Hogy vagytok?
- Kösz, jól. És te, hogy vagy?
- Én is jól.

3.
- Здравейте момичета!
- А! Каква приятна среща! Вие не познавате Яна, приятелката ми. Тя следва медицина.
- Много ми е приятно, Боян.
- И на мене, Асен.

3a.
- Sziasztok, lányok!
- ÁÁ! Micsoda meglepetés. Ismered Jánát, a barátnőmet? Orvosis.
- Helló, Boján.
- Helló, Aszen.

3b.
- Helló, lányok!
- Á! Micsoda kellemes találkozás Te nem ismered Jánát, a barátnőmet.
- Szia, Boján!
- Szia, Aszen!

3c.
- Sziasztok, lányok!
- Á, micsoda találkozás! Ti még nem ismeritek a barátnőmet, Janát. Orvostanhallgató.
- Örvendek, Bojan.
- Én is, Aszen.

3d.
- Sziasztok, lányok!
- Áá! Milyen örvendetes találkozás! Még nem ismeritek Janát, a barátnőmet. Orvostanhallgató.
- Nagyon örülök, Bojan vagyok.
- Én is örvendek, Aszen vagyok.

3e.
- Sziasztok, lányok!
- De jó, hogy találkoztunk! Még nem ismeritek Jánát, a barátnőmet. Orvosira jár.
- Helló, Bojan vagyok.
- Aszen.

4.
- Добър ден! От лекции ли идвате?
- Да. Цяла сутрин бях в университета. Вие не бяхте ли на лекции?
- Не, не бях.

4a.
- Helló! Mi újság? Óráról jössz?
- Ja. Egész délelőtt az egyetemen voltam. Te nem voltál?
- Nem, nem voltam.

4b.
- Szia! Hogy vagy? Óráról jössz?
- Igen, egész délelőtt az egyetemen voltam. Te nem voltál órákon?
- Nem voltam.

4c.
- Jó napot! Hogy van? Óráról jön?
- Igen. Egész délelőtt az egyetemen voltam. Ön nem volt órán?
- Nem voltam.

5.
- Асене, здравей!
- Здрасти, Бояне! Кое беше онова момиче?
- Не казвам.

5a.
- Aszen, helló!
- Helló! Ki volt az a lány?
- Mit tudom én.

5b.
- Szia, Aszen!
- Szia, Bojan! Ki volt az a lány?
- Nem árulom el.

5c.
- Helló János!
- Üdvözöllek István! Ki volt az a lány veled?
- Nem mondom meg.

5d.
- Aszen, szevasz!
- Szervusz, Bojan! Ki volt az a lány?
- Nem árulom el.

5e.
- Szia Aszen!
- Helló, Bojan! Ki volt az a lány?
- Nem tudom.

6.
- Добър ден! И ти ли си на кино?
- Да. Ти сам ли си?
- Да. А ти?
- Аз чакам Яна.

6a.
- Hellóka! Te is moziba?
- Aha! Egyedül vagy?
- Igen, és te?
- Én Jánát várom.

6b.
- Helló! Te is moziba mész?
- Ja. Egyedül vagy?
- Egyedül. És te?
- Janát várom.

6c.
- Szia! Te is moziba mész?
- Igen. Egyedül vagy?
- Egyedül. És te?
- Janát várom.

6d.
- Jó napot! Moziba jössz?
- Igen. Te egyedül vagy?
- Igen. És te?
- Én Janát várom.

7.
- Здравейте!
- Здравейте!
- Как се казвате?
- Казвам се Мария.
- Какво следвате?
- Медицина.
- И аз следвам медицина.

7a.
- Szevasz!
- Szevasz!
- Hogy hívnak?
- Mária vagyok.
- Hova jász?
- Orvosira.
- Én is.

7b.
- Helló!
- Helló!
- Hogy hívnak?
- Mariának.
- Mit tanulsz?
- Orvosis vagyok
- Én is.

7c.
- Üdvözöllek!
- Üdvözöllek!
- Hogy hívnak?
- Mária vagyok.
- Mit tanulsz?
- Orvostanhallgató vagyok.
- Én is orvosira járok.

7d.
- Szia!
- Szia!
- Hogy hívnak?
- Merinek.
- Hova jász?
- Az orvosira.
- Én is.

8.
- Добър ден, г-жа Асенова! Как сте?
- Благодаря, добре съм.
А Вие г-н Петров?
- Горе-долу, благодаря.

8a.
- Kezeit csókolom, Aszenova néni!
Hogy van?
- Köszönöm, jól. És Ön?
- Megvagyok, köszönöm.

8b.
- Jó napot (kívánok), Aszenova
asszony! Hogy van?
- Köszönöm, jól vagyok. És Ön?
- Szo-szo. Köszönöm.

9.
- Добро утро!
- Добро утро!
- Вие ли сте г-н Марков?
- Не, не съм.

9. a.
- Jó reggelt!
- Jó reggelt!
- Ön Markov úr?
- Nem, nem én vagyok.

DE GRUYTER OPEN

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Marking the Foreign Word – A Case Study of Recent English Loans in Hungarian

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Abstract. The work examines the most recent English borrowings in Hungarian, and it focuses on their morphophonological integration. By analysing the re-adjustment (if any) that they undergo in order to fit in the phonotactic requirements of Hungarian, it is revealed that the language employs a specific adaptation strategy. The aim is to show that by not obeying certain phonological laws in the process of perception and adapting the newly arrived loanwords, in fact, Hungarian demonstrates a tendency to mark these lexical items as foreign.

Keywords: loanword adaptation, Hungarian, phonology

1. Theoretical background

When a loanword penetrates the lexicon of a given language, it is usually perceived as a "stranger" – from the point of view of phonological shape, to start off with, to the ability to integrate morphologically, syntactically, and also semantically. The process of adaptation, inevitably governed by the system of the receiving language, triggers off language-specific strategies for supplementing the new loan with all the necessary equipment for functioning in the language. In the current paper, I look into a specific adaptation strategy, which – along with the phonotactic adjustment – employs a verbalizing strategy resulting in adapted form with the following structure *loan form* + *verbalizing suffix*. I examine the infringement of one basic regulation in Hungarian grammar which is registered in this process, and I aim to point at the fact that the anti-harmonic realizations are not sporadic or "flaws" in the system, rather, they carry a specific "marker"-like function.

Evidence for the realization of harmonic or disharmonic processes in the words is found by examining a specific layer of the Hungarian lexicon – recent English loans. It is expected that in the course of reception of foreign words into

a language, they are adapted and modified in accordance with the productive phonological regulations, processes, and constraints operating in the borrowing language. Hungarian, as a Finno-Ugric language with a finely developed harmonizing system, offers an appropriate framework.[1] The English loanwords, a large number of which have entered the language only recently, give rich material for investigation of this particular implication of anti-harmonic processes. The data have been excerpted from etymological dictionaries and specialized literature, but due to the idiosyncrasy of the examined material, the main sources are web-based forums and life-style magazines.[2]

It is said that such harmonic systems can be motivated by the penetration of non-native lexical elements containing untypical vowel combinations, thus infringing some constraints in the phonotactics of the language. A general agreement is that loanwords often violate the vowel harmony observed by native roots, especially as far as the inner-root vowel configuration is concerned. Within the framework of generative phonology, descriptions of vowel harmony have predominantly been concerned with the behaviour of affixes attached to roots as opposed to the vowel "destiny" of the adapted loanword (within the stem), assuming, it seems, that it is beyond the reach of the vowel harmony regulations.

1.1. Anti-harmonic parameters

The phonological phenomenon known as *anti-harmony* is usually realized at morpheme boundary. While the combining of front and back vowels within the stem is treated as *non-harmonic* (cf. Siptár 1999: 297–298), if in the process of agglutination the suffix form does not comply with the harmonic feature of the vocal members of the stem, then it is a question of anti-harmonic manifestation, that is, a process opposite to the harmonizing mechanism. Anti-harmony in Hungarian is registered at certain types of stems as well as at a group of words which belong to a specific lexical stratum. This restricted number of realizations is reviewed in the academic grammars of the Hungarian language, and it is usually referred to as an exception rather than an infringement of the phonological law for harmonizing. For example, *híd ~ hídak* 'bridge ~ bridges', *iszik ~ iszom* 'drinks ~ I drink' etc., also polysyllabic *haver-om/*haver-em* 'my friend'. Apart from the previously mentioned non-harmonically regulated suffixation, there are some roots which trigger ambiguity in the choice of front/back vowel

1 Hungarian vowel harmony "hosts" a [+/-back] harmony and also, somewhat disputably, a [+/-round] harmony (for discussions on the status of labial harmony in Hungarian see, for example, Polgárdi and Rebrus 1998). Traditional description can be expressed with the following well-formedness statement:
In a [… V1 … V2] sequence, V1 and V2 agree in frontness or in backness (based on Siptár 1999: 297–298).

2 For more details regarding the language data, please cf. Vishogradska and Banova (2013).

allomorph, e.g. *fotel-om/fotel-em* 'my armchair', where the individual perception determines the use of the front/back form. The conclusion which could be drawn upon these data is that apart from the roots themselves it is possible that the suffixes are also characterized by certain ambiguity. If this stipulation is taken further, it could be generalized that the tendency of ambiguousness/ambiguity is an aspect that concerns the elements which are liable to harmonic processes. The exact constraints which determine the manifestation of ambiguity obviously vary; however, it is not impossible to trace them (which is an interesting matter requiring exhaustive investigation and is not part of the current interest).

2. Linguistic data: manifestations of an adaptation strategy

Apart from the well-known group of anti-harmonic roots (cf. discussion above), some other cases of anti-harmony are registered in recent borrowings from Germanic languages. These "brand new" loans have specific characteristics, which distinguish them in the lexicon strata as rather marginal, maybe still in the process of reception (there is no orthographic rule for their appearance) (Kertész 2003: 68). All this comes to clearly show that we deal with very "unstable" linguistic material from the point of view of future nativization. However, their morphosyntactic presence in Hungarian is a fact, and it reveals an interesting picture.

Anti-harmonic processes – similar to the ones found in the native lexemes – are observed in earlier loanwords from German and new loanwords from English. These anti-harmonic realizations vary in the vocalic scheme: some follow the "native" anti-harmony (cf. the examples above), i.e. a root containing a front vowel receives verbalizing suffix with back vowel, whereas others reveal a more variable picture, for example, regarding the roundness of the vowel, the [±labial] harmonic feature. The present work deals with some of the most recent loanwords from English, and it focuses on the forms which are adapted in Hungarian by employing a verbalizing suffix (which further receive a verbal ending, naturally). The prime interest is to trace those language mechanisms for "mending" the foreign form which do not comply with Hungarian grammar regulations (i.e. vowel harmony) – let me add, at first sight.

2.1. Anti-harmonic schemes

The group of brand new loans from English seems to follow a certain recurring strategy for adapting the borrowed lexemes. They predominately undergo primary or secondary morphophonological marking with the derivational verbalizing suffix *-l (-ol,-el, -öl)*. The process of reception in Hungarian generates forms

which are already morphologically marked as verbs and surprisingly receive an anti-harmonic shape. Instead of just following the powerful morphophonological regulation of root vowel governing the choice of a harmonizing suffix, this loanword adaptation demonstrates a specific "behaviour", in contrast with the rules, as illustrated below.

(1) *Anti-harmonic marking of the "stranger"*

source-language form	Hungarian form
to bleed	blíd-ol
to feed	fíd-ol
to print	print-el
to dance	densz-el
to check	csekk-ol
to flame	flém-ol
to click	klikk-ol ~ klikk-el
to save	szév-ol ~ szév-el

(examples from Nádasdy 2001, 2005 and Kertész 2003: 62–77)

A possible explanation is the analogy mechanism to specific forms in Hungarian, namely the monosyllabic root with neutral vowel. However, there are also loans which do comply with the vowel harmony, as in the following examples:

(2) *No marking of the "stranger"*

source-language form	Hungarian form
to net	net-el
to chat	cset-el

The data from (1) and (2) provoke a number of questions, among which the following interesting ones:

– Does the Hungarian language employ anti-harmony as a marker of foreign – and some still in process of adaptation – lexemes?

– Does the trigger for anti-harmony lie in the root or in the suffix form?

– Is it an accidental problem or a tendency in the language?

An additional point is the fact that there are some cases where we find hesitation in the choice of suffix allomorph – cf. the last two examples in (1). Furthermore, a rather interesting manifestation is observed in several cases, namely that harmonic and antiharmonic forms co-exist in the language, but with different semantic implementation. Please, consider the examples provided below.

(3) *Semantic differentiation (on harmonic ~ anti-harmonic level)*

source-language form	Hungarian form	
to check	(be) csekkol	'to check in'
to check	csekkel	'with cheques; fiddle/deal with cheques'

Once verbalized, these recent loans behave according to the rules: they receive suffix forms (verbal endings in their paradigm) as the vowel harmony regulates in Hungarian, i.e. the last vowel in the stem determines the harmonizing feature of the suffix form. Consider the following examples:

(4) source-language form	Hungarian form	1/Sg, Pr.T.Ind.
to bleed	blíd-ol	blíd-ol-ok
to feed	fíd-ol	fíd-ol-ok
to print	print-el	print-el-ok
to dance	densz-el	densz-el-ok
to check	csekk-ol	csekk-ol-ok
to flame	flém-ol	flém-ol-ok
to click	klikk-ol ~ klikk-el	klikk-ol-ok ~ klikk-el-ek
to save	szév-ol ~ szév-el	szév-ol-ok ~ szév-el-ek

This group of anti-harmonic borrowings is rather dynamic, and it is still acquiring, respectively losing members. They are a challenge to describe, even more so due to the fact that the morphophonological adaptation is processed on different paths, leading to various forms after suffixation. As such, they are even more puzzling than the "native" realizations of anti-harmony. This "brand new" layer of the Hungarian lexicon is also an indicator for current phonological, phonotactic, and various other language issues and tendencies.

2.2. Labiality – an additional marker

A certain group of less recent loans from German or English also demonstrates an intriguing form of anti-harmony: the verbalizing process which triggers the suffixation of the lexeme generates a form which has the root and the suffix with opposite labiality features, i.e. if the root vowel is [+labial], then the suffix form is [–labial] and vice versa. Consider the following examples:

(5) *Anti-harmonic marking of the "stranger" on labial line*

Hungarian form
keccs-öl (~ keccsel)
fecc-öl
stír-öl

The labializing suffix is a surprising choice since there is no exact parallel in the Hungarian language of such anti-harmonic realizations elsewhere in the lexicon strata. Rather, a simplification of the [±labial] picture is found: to [+labial] stems [-labial] suffix allomorphs are added, e.g. *könyv* 'book' ~ *könyv-nek* 'book-DAT', *szőlő* 'grapes' ~ *szőlő-nek*, 'grapes-DAT', *füst* 'smoke' ~ *füst-nek* 'smoke-DAT'. Furthermore, a mirror image of [±labiality] is found again among the Germanic verb loans.

(6) *Anti-harmonic marking of the "stranger" on labial line 2*
curükk-ol *curükk-öl
gründ-ol *gründ-öl

The strange vowel configuration from (6) above is marginal, perhaps unstable. However, it does exist as a result of loan adaptation in the language, and thus such phonotactic realizations "precedent" the system. In the relevant literature, data and analysis regarding this "labial anti-harmony" are scarce also due to the fact that some of the loans were with short-term presence in the active language, and they have either disappeared or completely marginalized (Nádasdy 2005).

2.3. The semantic aspect: an additional function?

Among the richness of anti-harmonic realizations resulting from the adaptation strategy for verb loans in Hungarian, one specific, additional function is also registered. It seems that anti-harmony is also semantically loaded as the choice of harmonic vs anti-harmonic suffixations brings about a difference in the meaning of the adapted forms. As a result, two different lexemes are formed, as illustrated in the examples below.

(7) [+harmonic] csekkel < csekk + - ol/el 'with cheques; fiddle/deal with cheques'
[–harmonic] (be) csekkol < csekk + - ol 'to check (in)'

The fact that vowel harmony implementation (by observing the regulation, or by not observing it) is not solely a phonological phenomenon, is revealed by earlier data, again in the adaptation of foreign lexemes. In the early Slavic borrowings (dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth century), we find a different scheme, which, however, again involves the function of harmonizing of the vowel stock (of the source form), in regard to root vocal structure.

(8) [+back harmonic] család 'family' < szl. челядь 'off-spring, child'
[–back harmonic] cseléd 'servant' < szl. челядь 'off-spring, child'

The above data clearly indicate that vowel anti-harmony is not merely an infringement to a Hungarian-language regulation. It is "used" by the language as a tool in the adaptation process.

A far-fetched parallel with similar semantic aspect could be found in the suffixation harmony/anti-harmony in the language (not as a result of adaptation strategy). For example, the monosyllabic *szív* 'to suck' is among the so-called anti-harmonic roots, i.e. *szív* + *-k* '1/Sg, Pr.T.Indef.' > *szívok*, but **szívek* 'I suck', that is, it has anti-harmonic suffixation. In the Hungarian lexicon, we find an absolute homonym of this verb: *szív* 'heart', obviously with a different meaning, which has a harmonic paradigm, e.g.: *szív* 'heart' ~ *szív-ek* 'heart-Pl'. That is, despite the identical sound shape, the two lexemes demonstrate different harmonizing behaviour. This, of course, is explained in terms of historical development of

language laws and tendencies, predetermining the implementation of harmonizing suffixes for certain roots in Hungarian. Yet, nevertheless, the language does have such distinction which might trigger analogy schemes under certain conditions.

3. Concluding lines

As already pointed out above, due to the fact that this is a completely "fresh" addition to the loanword stock in Hungarian, it is more difficult to give an exhaustive definition of the set. With all that in mind, here it was attempted to give pliable answers to the three questions which were marked in the course of the presentation. In sum, it could be stated that in contrast with the native anti-harmonic roots whose description is found in academic grammars, here we encounter a different mechanism of violating vowel harmony in Hungarian.

In addition, this work would like to voice another hypothesis, based on the examination of verb adaptation strategies in the most recent borrowings: the appearance of the anti-harmonic verbalizing suffix in the process of morphophonological incorporation might be treated as a specific marker of the language, indicating the "status" of the borrowings, similar to a "red flag" for the lexicon stratum, signalling that these items have just entered the language, for example. By all means, a further detailed investigation is required in order to give a clearer answer as to whether there is some sort of secondary function of the anti-harmonic realizations.

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Pragmatic Perspectives on Understanding Strangers

Some Methodological Issues

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Abstract. The present paper approaches the theme of "understanding strangers" through discussing some of the methodological issues in interlanguage pragmatics (ILP), with special reference to Hungarian–English Interlanguage (IL) requests. Written discourse completion tasks (WDCT) were used to collect data from 20 English major university students. The CCSARP Project's 9-scale request strategies table proposed by Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) was incorporated into the research, the proposed categories were extended by labels relating to mixed strategies and responses where no answers were provided. The structure of the paper is as follows: after a brief overview of the literature in the field of ILP with a special focus on WDCT, the validity of the methodology is highlighted through the discussion of issues relating to labelling/coding categories as well as inter-annotator (dis)agreements. By analysing and comparing utterances on the basis of our annotation output and validating the results with the aid of ReCal, we have confirmed that WDCT is a reliable and valid tool for testing ILP competence in speech acts performance.

Keywords: interlanguage pragmatics, research methodology, written discourse completion task

1. Introduction

The present paper approaches the topic of "strangers", the theme of this year's (2017) imagological conference, through discussing some of the methodological issues in interlanguage pragmatics (ILP). "Strangers" in ILP terms can be conceptualized as speakers of a language other than one's native tongue, while

"understanding strangers" from an ILP perspective involves developing pragmatic competence, i.e. becoming aware of and applying the norms and strategies that are necessary for successful cross-cultural communication. The relationship between ILP, which is a relatively new field of Pragmatics, and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) has become the focus of research only recently (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Kasper 1995, Bardovi-Harlig 1999, Schauer 2009), and within this field the amount of research carried out in terms of Hungarian–English Interlanguage (IL) requests is minimal. The reason that ILP as a new branch of pragmatics was formed is that a simple contrastive analysis of L1 and L2 pragmatics is not enough in order to take account of interlingual errors that can be associated with pragmatic competence (Selinker 1972, Kasper 1996).

This study was also informed by Bardovi-Harlig (2001: 15), who states that even learners with advanced language proficiency struggle to develop concomitant pragmatic competence, which will result in pragmatic failure (miscommunication with "strangers") and/or non-target-like performance. Even with a good command of grammatical and lexical knowledge, students face difficulty in the successful pragmatic production of speech acts, and misunderstandings can often occur as consequences of this lack of pragmatic awareness.

The purpose of the study is twofold: firstly, we would like to introduce the basic terms related to ILP and give an overview of the literature in this field of pragmatics. Secondly, after presenting the different methods of data collection with their specific advantages and disadvantages, the aim is to prove that Written Discourse Completion Test (WDCT) is a reliable and valid tool when ILP competence in speech acts performance is tested.

Analysis of collected data was done by annotation, which is making a decision for the category of requests in this instance. We want to provide the results of our research on the given dataset with some metric about how certain we are about the annotation. This is where the importance of inter-annotator agreement lies. Inter-annotator agreement is a measure of how well two (or more) annotators can provide evidence for making the same annotation decisions for certain categories. To put it simple, the validity of research can be proven on statistical grounds by using an inter-annotator tool. Two statements can be concluded from the measures – if the annotators agree on most of the cases, then the categories are clearly defined, and it also reveals the trustworthiness of the given annotation from a quantitative point of view.

Hence, the research problem is to find out how much we can trust previous results by single annotators and how the validity of research can be improved if there is more than one annotator. We will establish evidence with the help of an analysis and comparison of data results from two expert annotators. Therefore, this research has produced novel results in the field of ILP – firstly, on account of the fact that previous studies (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Kasper 1996, Bardovi-Harlig

2006, Szili 2002, Szili, Bándli & Maróti 2016) collected and analysed data on the basis of single annotators, and the reliability of the results was not tested with the help of statistical multi-user annotator tools (cf. Furkó: forthcoming); second, to our knowledge, there is no previous study in the field of ILP where ReCal (short for Reliability CALculator) was used as a statistical measure for testing inter-annotator agreement. This online inter-agreement tool calculates the following indices for nominal-level variables: percent agreement, average pairwise percent agreement if three or more annotators upload their results, Scott's Pi, Cohen's Kappa, and Krippendorff's Alpha. See further details in the research section.

As for the number of annotators, it can be observed that multiple annotators were present in many international research studies (cf. Liu 2006); however, in Hungary, this method is rare if present at all (cf. Furkó et al. forthcoming). The majority of studies in Hungary are based on the findings of a single annotator, i.e. researcher who categorizes pragmatic strategies on the basis of a pre-existing taxonomy (cf. Szili et al. 2016). But there are several reasons for having more than one researcher annotating the same data set. First of all, it can easily reveal marginal cases highlighted by inter-annotator disagreements as well as point out fuzzy boundaries between categories. Secondly, when requests are studied, it is important to differentiate between the head act and the supporting move because we cannot be sure with previous cases of the CCSARP project: for example, whether the researcher identified and categorised the head act consistently across the different items in their data sets. In our present study, we have revealed that multiple annotators could also disagree on which element to categorise as head act and which one as the supportive move in some cases (see further details in the results). The CCSARP project (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) involved observations of two speech acts, namely requests and apologies in eight language varieties with data collected from both native and non-native speakers analysed by single annotators. Situational variability, cross-cultural variability, individual, native versus non-native variability were observed back in the days. As opposed, our research focuses on requests in EFL produced by Hungarian–English major university students.

2. Literature review

2.1. Interlanguage pragmatics

Selinker (1972) was the very first to use the term "interlanguage" (IL), and it can be given account of as the L2 learners knowledge of the target language, which features characteristics of L1, L2, and other languages the person speaks; furthermore, autonomous properties can be observed in IL, too. Kasper (1995)

was amongst the first researchers who used and defined interlanguage pragmatics as the convergence of pragmatics and the study of SLA. ILP can be defined as the performance, acquisition, and production of L2 speech acts (Ellis 2003, Kasper and Dahl 1991). Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983) established that pragmatic comprehension is of a double nature: it can be divided into pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. On the one hand, pragmalinguistics is concerned with how the linguistic meaning of conveying illocutionary force and politeness is formed. On the other hand, sociopragmatics deals with culture by observing socially adequate and appropriate linguistic behaviour. L2 language users draw conclusions of utterance meaning with the help of more linguistic cues than contextual information despite the fact that they have access to non-literal pragmatic meaning of utterances. In addition to this, it was observed that different social degrees and approaches are used by native and non-native speakers on a target language (cf. e.g. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Szili et al. 2016), which also shows a variety of cross-cultural differences from a sociopragmatic view.

ILP can give account of the culture-specific variations when observing and analysing interaction during speech acts. The differences amongst cultures can be identified both within the speaker's production and the hearer's reaction. It is wrong then to presuppose that based on traditional pragmatic methodological studies behavioural norms could be linking, the study of cultures and cultural background are essential (Wierzbicka 1991, 2003).

To summarise, ILP is the study of *strangers* "comprehension, production, and acquisition of linguistic action in L2, or, put briefly, ILP investigates how to do things with words in a second language" (Kasper 1995: 184). With its bilateral nature, ILP can be seen as part of IL studies deriving from SLA research and also as a discipline under pragmatics; "ILP is a relatively young area in linguistics that originated from pragmatics theory and developments in L2 pedagogy and research in the 1970s", and, as Schauer (2009: 15) continues, "it uses pragmatic theories, principles and frameworks to examine how foreign/second language learners encode and decode meaning in their L2". ILP, when it is seen as part of the study of L2 use, is concerned with the comprehension and production of speech act in a given second language. ILP, when it is seen as the study of L2 learning, is dealing with "how L2 learners develop the ability to understand and perform action in a target language" (Kasper & Rose 2002: 5).

2.2. Pragmatic awareness

Pragmatic awareness can be defined as awareness of target-language sociolinguistic and sociocultural features or simply as the knowledge about pragmatics underlying appropriate language use. It plays a crucial role when acquiring a foreign language (cf. Takahashi 2005). Takahashi (2005) revealed some relationships between the

pragmalinguistic awareness of Japanese EFL learners and their motivation and proficiency level. His ILP research has proved that implicit pragmatic instruction helped some but not all learners to notice the target pragmalinguistic features. He also tried to identify the individual difference (ID) variables, which may enhance the noticing of pragmalinguistic features. To sum it up, Takahashi's major findings are: 1. there was a great difference among learners in terms of their noticing the TL pragmaliguistic features, 2. motivation is an important factor in this procedure but proficiency is not, 3. intrinsic motivation is in close relation with pragmatic awareness.

Now, let us see the relation between awareness and attention. Furthermore, Tomlin and Villa (1994) maintain that attention involves: alertness (which is general and related to motivation), orientation (which directs input of alertness to the sensory system), and detection (which is the cognitive side of input stimuli). These three are separable, and it can be concluded that awareness is not part of attention. Simard and Wong 2001 (in Takahashi 2005) argue that this model is not relevant to SLA. All in all, direct or indirect awareness is a key element in SLA.

As we could see from the above mentioned studies, motivation, which is one of the ID variables, is a factor highly affecting L2 pragmatic attention and awareness. Furthermore, proficiency as an affective factor can be seen as an independent operator, although it is true that highly motivated learners at a higher proficiency level may be more aware of pragmalinguistic features than learners with lower motivation at a lower proficiency level.

2.3. Pragmatic competence

ILP is concerned with strangers' communication in a second language. Since Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983) redefined the components of Hymes's (1972) communicative competence as opposed to competence being exclusively grammatical as defined by Chomsky (1965), the notion of communicative competence comprises grammatical, pragmatic, discourse, and strategic competence. Studies either examine each particle on its own (in terms of its development), or they examine how these components are related to each other and whether any of them is a prerequisite for the development of the other or others (cf. Hymes 1972, Kasper 1992).

Furthermore, Shauer points out another issue: whether or not there is interdependence between grammatical and pragmatic (also referred to as sociocultural) competence. The findings observed (Schauer 2006) suggest that these two types of competences are independent; furthermore, ILP studies prove that a higher proficiency level does not correlate with better, more native-like pragmatic ability. Kasper (1992) thoroughly examines cases when grammar supersedes pragmatics, and then she gives scenarios where pragmatic knowledge

precedes the grammatical one. As shown by the examples above, pragmatic development can be studied either from the point of view of information processing or from a socio-cognitive theoretical view.

2.4. Assessing IL pragmatic awareness and pragmatic competence

Based on the findings of Schauer's (2006) study, both pragmatic awareness and productive pragmatic competence advance during the time strangers spend in the target-language environment. EFL learners are outperformed by ESL learners in terms of their ability to notice pragmatic violations, and the ESL group scored as high as the native speaker control group. Internal and external modifiers can be differentiated in speech acts, too. Internal modifiers can be given account of "as linguistic and syntactic devices that modify the illocutionary force of the request, such as politeness marker 'please' or the downtoner 'maybe'" (Schauer 2009: 28). If the internal modifier increases the illocutionary force of the request, we can speak about an upgrader, whilst if it decreases the illocutionary force, then it can be referred to as a downgrader. External modifiers can be referenced as supportive moves, which support the request with additional statements. As an example, a grounder is the reason for a request for it to be carried out. The research also confirmed that internal modifiers are acquired earlier than external modifiers, which were the findings of previous studies, too. ILP development is influenced by the duration of stay in a L2 environment and by individual learner differences. Further studies are needed to explore how and to what degree factors such as learners' motivation, time spent with native speakers, educational background, and proficiency level influence pragmatic development. Learner diaries could reveal qualitative data about learners' usage of acquired knowledge. Future studies with focus on the investigation of teaching methods, approaches, activities, and learning goals could also reveal what enhances better pragmatic awareness.

2.5. Pragmatic transfer

"Transfer" as a term refers to influences from languages other than the L2. "The study of transfer involves the study of errors (negative transfer), facilitation (positive transfer), avoidance of target language forms, and their over-use" (Ellis 2003: 341). Pragmatic transfer, as defined by Kasper (1995), comprises all the influences on L2 comprehension, production and acquisition of pragmatic information that are foregrounded by a particular learner's pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 (in this very specific case: English). Moreover, it is proved that contrastive analysis of L1 and L2 pragmatics is not enough to take account of pragmatic transfer, and interlanguage pragmatics is proposed to figure out the possible reasons for this phenomenon (cf. Blum-Kulka 1989, Schauer 2006, Szili et

al. 2016). It is possible to differentiate positive and negative transfer of pragmatic nature. Positive transfer (facilitation) in connection with request occurs when a non-native speaker uses a request strategy which is not a universal one but a pragmalinguistic feature which can be attributed to their mother tongue. Requests in pragmatic universals can be performed directly, conventionally indirectly, and indirectly. For example, when the past tense of the "could/would" modal verbs in the request of "Could/Would you lend me your notes, please?" from L1 Danish (kunne/ville) and L1 German (könntest/würdest) and languages other than English language is transferred, then it is a great example of positive transfers (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). Negative transfer (interference) occurs when the applied structure or expression is applicable in L1 but not perfect in L2. Kasper (1995) observed that the syntactic strategy of modal verb + interrogative + negation used in English for a request "can't you clean the kitchen" is derived from the Danish structural expression.

As far as communicative effect is concerned, negative pragmatic transfer is not equal to pragmatic failure or miscommunication, although it can lead to it. Also, pragmalinguistic divergence, which is often regarded as a linguistic problem, is not as serious as a sociopragmatic one, which can be understood as a means of conveying bad manners or being rude (Thomas 1983, in Kasper 1995). As a conclusion, L1 pragmatic preference patterns greatly influence L2 performance.

3. Data collection

3.1. Options for data collection

In an ideal world, researchers would be able to examine an oral linguistic phenomenon as it appears in the given context within the given cultural environment by taking into account the speaker's intentions and the full process of the interpretation on the part of the hearer. As it is hardly possible, there are quite a few options for different empirical research methods in speech act studies, namely ethnographic fieldwork, role-plays, discourse completion tests, and multiple choice questionnaires (cf. e.g. Brown 2001, Szili et al. 2016).

Data collection can be done in the form of ethnographic fieldwork, when "living and breathing" amongst and with the observed community is part of the everyday life of the researcher, which takes up a long time for a single study. Naturally, it takes long to assimilate into the culture of the observed individuals, if it is possible at all. Further issues related to the field notes method, for example, are recording the speech situation and noting down the exact words from memory, as fieldworkers do not use tapes or video recording in order to ensure a naturalistic setting for the research. Despite the limitations of this method, many speech act

studies have used it – for example, Olshtain and Cohen 1983, Trosborg 1987, and Holmes 1990, who have studied the speech act of apology.

Role-plays (cf. e.g. Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor 2006, Kasper & Dahl 1991) are situations where participants act and behave according to their given script. The best scenario is when they can be themselves and behave as they would normally do in a pre-described situation given by the researcher. Actual spoken data can be produced and observed through the use of this method. Although longer responses are collected in these life-like situations, the participants might not act naturally as they might feel pressured to do so. According to one classification, there are two types of role plays (RPs), namely open and closed ones according to the extent of interlocutors' interactions with each other. A closed RP is usually a one-turn conversation and is set in a specific situation (Martinez-Flor 2006), whilst an open one might take several turns and probably represents a more natural discourse with the help of a full operation of the dynamic turn-taking mechanism and more authentic setting (Martinez-Flor 2006, Kasper & Dahl 1991). On the one hand, the researcher could be in control of specific variables such as gender relationships between interlocutors, situations, power status and distance of participants, and other social factors, too. On the other hand, the observer can also make the interactions rather artificial in nature, especially when the data collection is predominantly motivated by the researcher's goals rather than those of the interlocutors (Kasper 2000).

Tran (2006.) developed his own type of this method and named it the Naturalized Role-Play (NRP), in which the participants are firstly involved in a natural conversation, but in the middle of the conversation the researcher guides the participants to a specific act in which she or he is to produce the required speech expressions – and the respondents are not aware that they are being observed. In this way, the observed speech act can be elicited and observed in a natural-like setting, while the method also involves careful planning and research design.

Another method is using multiple choice questionnaires, which could provide a large amount of data with quick annotation, as the assessed individuals only need to choose their preferred response from a given set of answers. Obvious disadvantages include the fact that spoken discourse is represented in a written form and that the small number of choices mean limited insights for the researcher. As Maróti (2016) concludes, "intralingual research into language behaviour may aim to explore […] the diverse language usage […] as well as to conduct empirical studies […] to analyse […] communicative failure among native speakers".

Finally, written discourse completion tests (DCTs) explain the given situations to the research subjects followed by some space to write their answers. It is an appropriate method for the collection of a large amount of data in a short period of time and the comparison of native and non-native speakers in a highly controlled research design. On the other hand, however, it is questionable if "oral linguistic

reactions could be represented in writing; also, whether the validity of data is … influenced…by…space" (Maróti 2016: 31). Mey (2004), amongst others, criticised the use of WDCTs due to construct validity. However, in the present paper, Kasper and Rose's perspective (2002: 95–96) will be adopted, who state that "when carefully designed, WDCTs provide useful information about speakers' pragmalinguistic knowledge of the strategies and linguistic forms by which communicative acts can be implemented and about their socio-pragmatic knowledge of the context factors under which particular strategic and linguistic choices are appropriate". In sum, WDCT is a pragmatic tool which requires in this case strangers to read a written description of a variety of situations with highly controlled contextual parameters, such as participant roles and the degree of imposition, in order to write down what would be said in that given situation to represent an oral-like SA.

Therefore, in our research, we treat the choices of the speakers being observed as pragmatically appropriate linguistic forms and not as actual discourse episodes. Many researchers have applied this form of data collection [cf. e.g. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Takahashi & Beebe 1993, Kasper & Rose (1999, 2002), and Liu (2006a, b) amongst others]. Kim (2007) also studied DCTs, and based on Beebe and Cummings' (1985) work he concluded that they are highly effective means of collecting large amounts of data, where semantic formulas and strategies could be observed in natural-like speech production and certain social and psychological factors affecting speech act performance can be observed. However, Kim suggests that other methods of data collection, such as roleplays, could reveal more about the pragmatic performance in communicative context in a more near-authentic setting. Also, elicited conversations could be used to observe the targeted speech acts in higher frequency over a limited time. Xu and Wannaruk (2015) analysed the reliability and validity of WDCT based on the Many Facets Rasch Model. Their research results proved that WDCT scored high both on reliability and validity when interlanguage pragmatic competence in speech act performance was tested. Now, let us move onto our research agenda.

4. The research

4.1. Methodology

This paper presents a cross-sectional study (cf. Cook 1993, Rose 2000, Kasper & Rose 2002) providing information on the pragmalinguistic features of advanced English as a Second Language learners' pragmatic performance in 3 different scenarios with 3 different status situations. As far as the timeframe of data collection is concerned, students were given an hour to finalize their answers, which was more than enough time, and they did not feel rushed at all.

4.2. Participants

Data was elicited from 20 respondents in altogether 177 cases in order to investigate L2 linguistic proficiency and the acquisition of pragmatic competence among advanced Hungarian learners of English with the help of WDCT tasks, with a more detailed description to follow. As previously mentioned, WDCT can be recognized as a reliable and very effective, time-efficient method of pragmatic data collection, which will also be proven by results later on (cf. e.g. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Rose & Kasper 2001, Ellis 2003). In this way, the researcher had full control over the language, the context, and the social distance in the individual items of the data set. Participants were between the ages of 18 and 26 with the vast majority of them aged 19–21, who had been studying English as a second language mostly for 10–12 years but had not been exposed to direct pragmatic instruction or courses before the study took place. They are advanced students of English, many of them attained A-Level GCSE and/or C1 accredited language exams, and also all passed the Karoli Gaspar University's advanced yearly yardstick exam in the previous academic year of 2015/2016. The results showed that mood derivable, hedged performative, and preparatory strategies were predominantly used by students in their native Hungarian language, while other strategies were rarely present, which correlates with previous research findings (Szili 2002). However, the negative transfer of these strategies results in more directness in requests during EFL communication than native speakers would have. Szili's (2002) findings provided a good starting point in order to elicit further request strategies used by Hungarians – especially in their native language –, while the frame of reference for the native English data was provided by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989).

4.3. Annotators

The collected data was analysed by two expert annotators, i.e. scholars who each had at least four years of experience with discourse-pragmatic annotation. The male annotator is also a university associate professor, while the female annotator is a final-year PhD student of English linguistics. As for their education around the request categories, they both carried out an extensive research on previous works written by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Kasper (2001), and Szili (2002) and heavily used the CCSARP coding manual, the examples of which served as points of reference. The annotators then uploaded their results onto the ReCal online system to assess inter-annotator agreement (further details to follow below). Knowledge of ReCal has been attained using online resources as well as relying on the annotators' previous experience.

4.4. Materials – the data-collecting tool (based on the CCSARP Project and Szili's previous works)

As we have mentioned previously, the CCSARP project involved observations of two speech acts, namely requests and apologies in eight language varieties with data collected from both native and non-native speakers. Situational variability, cross-cultural variability, individual, native versus non-native variability were observed back in the days. For this present study, the data collecting instrument was an adaptation of Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) request strategies WDCT situations, also used in Szili's works (2002, 2004). The questionnaire situations were slightly changed and adapted to the modern age and tailored for the audience of English major students. When assessing learners' knowledge, different social variables such as power status, distance, and degree of imposition were taken into account and were varied in each of the six different situations. Models of analysis designed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Szili (2002) were combined, upgraded, and complemented with modern generational needs.

Brown and Levinson (1987) differentiated among Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs) as being off record or on record. With regards to on record, it can be done without redressive action, baldly or with redressive action either as a positive or negative politeness strategy. Hence, during the data collection, we have included questions about the informants' sex, age, length of English learning history, etc. The discourse completion task comprised 3 different scenarios: requesting for pen and paper, borrowing a mobile phone, lecture notes requests. The form was designed to elicit on requests at 3 different levels: students were to interact with their best friend, another (less familiar) student, or their teacher/professor; hence different levels of power status were observed (on an equality-inequality scale). After a short description of the situation involving setting the scene, participants were asked to formulate requests in English in 3 different ways based on familiarity and social power relations, respectively. The questionnaire was designed to assess students' pragmatic competence and shed light on differences between native-like and non-native-like speech acts of requests.

The table below shows the coding categories and provides examples.

Table 1. *Request descriptive categories based on Blum-Kulka et al. 1989*

Descriptive category	**Examples**
1. Mood Derivable	Clean up the kitchen.
2. Performative	I'm asking you to move your car.
3. Hedged Performative	I would like to ask you to move your car.
4. Obligation Statement	You'll have to move your car.
5. Want Statement	I would like you to clean the kitchen.

Descriptive category	Examples
6. Suggestory Formulae	How about cleaning up?
7. Query Preparatory	Could you clean up the mess in the kitchen?
8. Strong Hints (A)	
9. Mild Hints (B)	We don't want any crowding (as a request to move the car).
10. Mixed	
11. No answer	

4.4.1. ReCal

ReCal (short for Reliability CALculator) is an online inter-agreement calculator. The greatest advantages of this system-independent operating program are that its data specification is general and that it offers more reliability coefficients than any other competing products. The software manual is also available online and is complemented by research articles and scholarly documentations by the authors on their website, which greatly helps annotators to understand the software and how to interpret results. Intercoder, interrater, or inter-annotator reliability can be given account of as "the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artifact and reach the same conclusion" (Lombard, Synder-Duch, and Bracken 2002). ReCal calculates the following indices for nominal-level variables: percent agreement, average pairwise percent agreement if three or more annotators upload their results, Scott's Pi, Cohen's Kappa, and Krippendorff's Alpha.

In content analysis, reliability is usually estimated using the above-mentioned four estimation tools (Lombard et al. 2002). Percentage agreement is easily calculated as a percentage of agreements (1 – perfect agreement code) and non-agreements (0 – non-agreement code). Chances of agreement (due to its dual variability of 0 and 1 values) were challenged by Krippendorff (2004). To measure the chance of occurrences, Cohen (1960: 96) developed kappa, which "derives the expected agreement by chance using multiplicative terms of the marginal distributions of coders, assuming differences in the distribution of values across the categories for different coders". Scott's Pi is also a statistic to measure inter-rater reliability, which gives an overestimated calculation for cases in which the raters actually had an agreement (Lombard et al. 2002). "While Scott's Pi can calculate the index with two different groups of coders and different numbers of coding items, Cohen's Kappa assumes that two raters each code all content items" (based on Craig 1981, in Lombard et al. 2002). Finally, Krippendorff's Alpha could be seen a more flexible statistic, which "can be used regardless of the number of coders, type of measurement, amount of data, and presence of missing data" (Krippendorff 2004: 13). As we have seen from the involvement of

several statistical measures above, ReCal can be used in research to validate data based on pure statistics.

Another part of the results calculated by ReCal lists number of agreements, disagreements, cases, and decisions. As for the definition of these terms, "N Agreements" (number of agreements) is the nominal for agreements out of all cases, while N Disagreements shows the number of mismatches in the total number of observed cases with the heading of N Cases, and the number of decisions by all annotators are shown under the heading of N Decisions. In the present study, 177 cases (i.e. 177 items coded by both annotators) were observed during the study; thus, the 2 coders made a total of 354 decisions (shown under "N Decisions"). 149 agreements and 28 disagreements were found. Further details will follow later.

5. Results

As we mentioned in the previous section, ReCal was used to calculate inter-annotator agreement, which yielded the values presented in *Table* 2 below. The software allows multiple annotators to work on the same file, and therefore it is able to measure inter-annotator agreement. As the table shows, even though there is no perfect agreement between the two expert annotators (Scott's Pi & Cohen's Kappa < 0.8), the coding scheme appears to be reliable on the basis of the random sample.

Table 2. *Inter-annotator agreement on request strategies*

	Percent Agreement	**Scott's Pi**	**Cohen's Kappa**	**Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal)**	N Agreements	N Disagreements	N Cases	N Decisions
Variable 1 (cols 1 & 2)	84.2%	0.627	0.635	0.628	149	28	177	354

Our observations concluded that most of the cases where inter-annotator disagreements occurred fall into the following categories:

(1) type 1

Annotator 1: strategy 7, Annotator 2: strategy 8

Example:

(a) Excuse me, I happened to hear that you will be late from a meeting. Actually, I'm in the same situation as well, but my battery is dead, so would it be a problem if I made a quick call from your phone?

(b) Hi! We go to the same lecture, but I couldn't attend yesterday. Could you please, lend me the notes you made? (If you don't need them right now.)

(c) Good morning! I'm sorry for being absent yesterday, but something urgent came up. Would it be a problem if I asked for the lecture slides from that lesson? I'd rather learn the material from those.

In these cases, Annotator 2 observed a pre- or post-sequence as the head act or felt that the head act serves as a strong hint rather than a query preparation. As a supposition, in real life, the second part would not be necessary to mention, and the request would be fulfilled after presenting the strong hint part of the speech act.

(2) type 2

Annotator 1: strategy 7, Annotator 2: strategy 8

Example:

I missed a lecture yesterday, so I don't have the notes. Could I borrow them for a few minutes?

Excuse me, Mr Teacher. My phone is dead and I need to make a call. May I use yours?

In these instances, Annotator 2 observed the pre-sequence as the head act and noted that the second part is only a duplicate of the request and not being essential for a request to be completed.

(3) type 3

Annotator 1: strategy 1 or 7, Annotator 2: strategy 8

Example:

(a) Do you have an extra pen and paper?

(b) Do you have a pen and paper for me?

In these examples Annotator 1 either chose mood derivable or query preparatory, while Annotator 2 chose strong hints in both cases. The category chosen by the second annotator agrees with the choice made by Wang in his research (2011), where he categorised "Do you have any spare screw like this one?" as a strong hint.

(4) type 4

Annotator 1: strategy 3, Annotator 2: strategy 8

Example:

(a) Good morning, Professor! I'm in an inconvenient situation. I cannot use my phone, but I really need to make an important phone call. Can I kindly ask you to borrow me your phone, please?

(b) Hi, I'd just like to ask you whether you have notes from yesterday's class? If so, could you give them to me? Thank you.

These cases show that Annotator 1 identified the final part of the utterance as head act and put it into the category of hedged performative, whilst Annotator

2 used the first part of the speech act and categorised it as a strong hint which continued with an additional hedged performative sequence.

(5) type 5
Annotator 1: strategy 1, 3, 7, Annotator 2: strategy 8
Example:
(a) Sorry, madam, the battery of my phone is dead, and I couldn't stop but overheard that you're being late and that's the same situation with me, so could you be so kind to lend me your phone so that I can make a call, please?
(b) Excuse me, sir. The battery of my phone died, and I have to call my schoolmates that I'm being late. Could I borrow your phone, please?
(c) Excuse me! I'm a student at the university you're teaching at, and I'm late from a very important school meeting. I would call someone to inform them about my situation, but my phone is dead. Would you be so kind to let me borrow your phone and make a phone call?
(d) Hi, I'd just like to ask you whether you have notes from yesterday's class. If so, could you give them to me? Thank you.

These examples show that Annotator 1 only used strong hint as a category once, while Annotator 2 identified it 26 times, which is due to the annotators' different points of view on the head act in the instances or the presence of multiple categories at the same time.

The following charts present the request strategies identified by the two annotators, and can serve as points of reference for future research. The categories are based on the CCSARP categories which are listed and described in table 1 above.

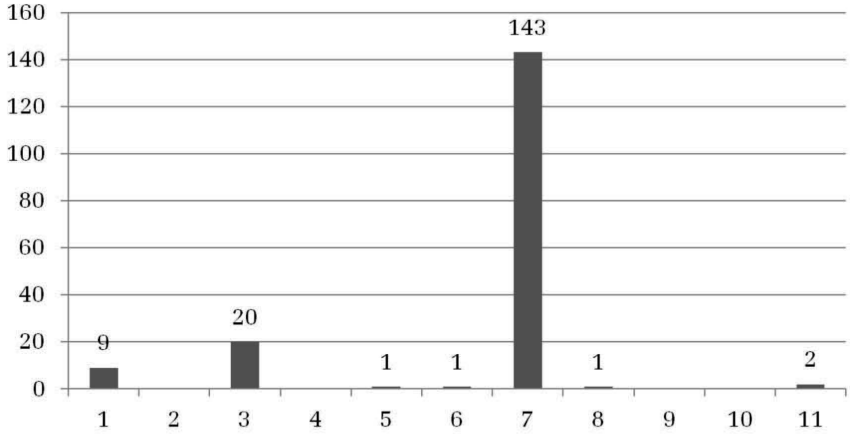

Chart 1. *Output of Annotator 1 (the request descriptive categories are listed and exemplified in table 1 above)*

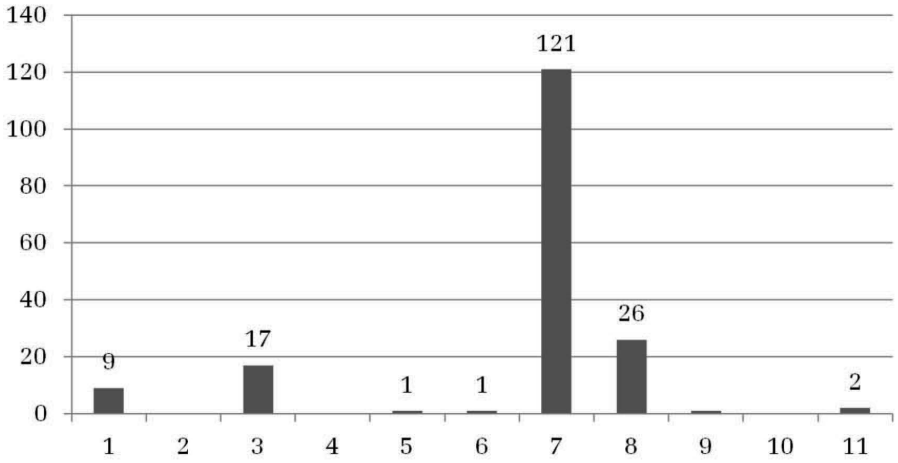

Chart 2. *Output of Annotator 2 (the request descriptive categories are listed and exemplified in table 1 above)*

6. Conclusions

As seen from the annotation and the examples above, the categories used in the CCSARP project (1989) can still be seen as valid; however, they did not contain the sociological variables of social distance, power, and absolute ranking at that time (Brown & Levinson 1987). For the present paper, the CCSARP coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) was used to classify research data, and ReCal was used to validate results. Taking a closer look at the effects of sociological variables is a topic of future research.

Another key element observed from the point of methodology is that it is essential to differentiate between the head act and the supporting move, and it needs to be observed whether the annotator identifies the two correctly or whether there is a disagreement between the annotators with respect to the order of the head act and the supportive move. In many cases, a complex annotation is suggested to categorise the request based on the characteristics identified in both pre- and post-head acts. Also, the final decision on the identification of the head act and the supportive move would be based on a larger context (and co-text), which would provide more understanding of the intentions of the speaker in a real-life situation.

To sum it up with, in the paper, we have first looked at the literature of ILP, and then the different methods available for research in interlanguage pragmatics were presented. Moreover, by way of analysing and comparing utterances on the basis of two expert annotators' output and validating the results with the aid

of ReCal, we have confirmed that WDCT is a reliable and valid tool for testing ILP competence in speech acts performance. The next step for future research would be to compare performance and realization of requests as speech acts with data originating from native speakers. The present paper has also highlighted the importance of the relationship between interlanguage pragmatics and second language acquisition, which has been a recently researched area only. Furthermore, the different data collection methods used in ILP were given account of by exemplifying research carried out in the field and elaborating on the advantages and disadvantages of each method. The overview also highlights the reason why ILP was born: contrastive analysis of L1 and L2 pragmatics is not enough to take account of IL errors in the field of pragmatics.

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On Interruptions in Doctor–Patient Interactions: Who Is the Stranger Here?

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Abstract. Even though interruptions in various areas of spoken interaction have been the focus of research which deals with such issues as power and dominance, more recently, this focus seems to have been on the many functions they can hold. One research area in which interruptions may be given less attention is that of doctor–patient interactions (see, for example, Menz & Al-Roubaie 2008). This paper investigates the issue of interruptions in medical interviews. From a corpus of 26 medical interviews, one was selected for a pilot qualitative context-bound analysis meant to inform the following analysis of the whole corpus at later stages of the study. The findings of the analysis demonstrate that it seems possible to use the existing analytical framework for the identification of types of interruptions characteristic of medical interviews in the Romanian context.

Keywords: doctor–patient interaction, interruption, medical interview, supportive, non-supportive interruptions, failed attempts at interruption

1. Introduction: interruptions in the literature

Although the existing literature on interruptions in real-life verbal interactions is quite extensive, there seems to be much disagreement among researchers in terms of an adequate definition of the term itself. An influential approach to defining interruptions is that of West and Zimmerman (1983), whose definition is the result of empirical research. The authors define interruptions as interruptor-initiated utterances consisting of more than two syllables away from the initial or terminal speech unit of the interruptee. Sometimes equated with overlapping speech, interruptions have been studied from various perspectives, one of which is language and gender research, an area in which the works of Zimmerman and West (1975), Tannen (1990), or Coates (2004) are very much discussed and quoted. The other important perspective from which interruptions have been widely studied is that of power and dominance, even if sometimes research in this area is

criticised for its over-statement of the importance and implications of power (see Goldberg 1990, Wilson 1991). Directly related to power, status rather than gender is sometimes deemed to be responsible for the differences in interruptions. In this line of thought, some research shows that those of higher status interrupt more often than those of lower status (West 1998). This is probably why many would agree with Lakoff (1973), who states that "language use changes depending on the position in society of the language user" (Lakoff 1973: 76).

Before moving onto the discussion of the functions of interruption in medical interviews – the area of research which this paper mainly focuses on –, it seems reasonable to take into account the place of interruptions within the turn-taking mechanism. In this respect, Sacks et al. (1974) or Schegloff (2000), among many other specialists, view turn-taking as the central feature of conversation and state that it is its organization which allows participants an equal distribution of opportunities in conversation. Sacks et al. (1974) discuss the turn-constructional unit (TCU) as a basic unit of what Schegloff (2000: 1) calls "talk-in-interaction". The authors define the TCU as a unit of speech which roughly corresponds to units such as sentences, clauses, phrases, and single words. In real-life spoken interaction, interlocutors are able to interpret the progression of what has been said and manage their participation accordingly. Nevertheless, this fundamental feature of interaction, i.e. that of one person beginning to speak at a point where their interlocutor might have completed their turn, does not prevent participants in any type of spoken interaction from starting to speak at any other point in the course of the current participant's turn (Lerner 1989). These are interruptions, which can take various forms and have different interactional consequences. In this line of thought, Tannen (1990) points out that interruptions are not simple violations of speaker rights, but they may sometimes be reflections of the interruptor's solidarity and involvement.

2. Types of interruptions in the literature

Research in various areas of language in use has demonstrated that formal investigations of interruptions are not effective because such overlapping sequences seem to be polyfunctional. Such studies recommend a functional approach to the analysis of interruptions or overlapping sequences and a more thorough attention to the context of the interaction.

This functional approach to interruptions has also resulted in many researchers' efforts towards classifying them even as early as the late 1960s. For example, Mishler and Waxler (1968) distinguish between two types of interruptions: *successful*, where the interruptor prevents the interruptee from completing their turn, and *unsuccessful interruptions*, where the interruptor does not manage

to take their turn before the interruptee finishes theirs. Almost a decade later, Ferguson (1977) describes an alternative system, which contains four categories: *simple, butting-in, silent*, and *overlaps*. This classification does not seem to provide significant improvement from the one mentioned above and does not represent a substantial modification of Mishler and Waxler's (1968) work. In the 1990s, interruptions and their classification are the focus of such research as the one reported by Murata (1994), who makes a distinction between what she calls *intrusive interruption*, functioning as a topic-changing, floor-taking, and disagreement device, and *cooperative interruption*, which, the author claims, reflects the listener's collaboration in the conversation**.** Other researchers have described three non-mutually-exclusive categories of interruption which are related to dominance. They are: *deep interruptions*, in which one of the speakers interrupts with a change of topic (LaFrance 1992), *successful interruptions*, in which an interruptor causes the speaker to stop talking (Beattie 1981), and *intrusive interruptions* (successful or not), which intrude in the middle of another person's point (James & Clarke 1993).

This brief presentation of trends in the area of research into interruptions in spoken interaction is next followed by a discussion of how the analytical framework detailed by Menz & Al-Roubaie (2008) was applied in a pilot analysis of medical interview data.

3. Interruptions in a medical interview

The investigation of interruptions in medical interviews discussed in this paper relies on two questions:

– What types of interruptions seem characteristic of Romanian medical interviews?

– How suitable is the existing analytical framework for the data collected in the Romanian context?

As one can easily see, these questions are both meant to identify types of interruptions in doctor–patient interaction in the Romanian context and to test an existing analytical framework (Menz & Al-Roubaie 2008) for the pilot data analysis detailed in this paper.

In what follows, I will first briefly describe the data material upon which this investigation relies and then discuss the analysis of the data and findings in my attempt to answer the questions above.

3.1. Data in this study

The data examined in this pilot study consist of one medical interview of a larger corpus of 21 medical consultations collected after obtaining access to the research sites from two physicians who agreed to take part in the larger study. The two participants (an ophthalmologist and a paediatric orthopaedist) were informed about the aims of the research and agreed to use their own recording devices to record some of their consultations and later to send the recordings to the researcher via e-mail. The former recorded 9 medical interviews/consultations and the latter 12. The length of these interviews ranges between 1.51 minutes and 23.33 minutes, leading to a total corpus of 168.58 minutes. All the medical interviews in this corpus were conducted in Romanian and, for the purpose of this paper, the analysed data excerpts were translated into English. The data sample investigated here totals only 3.42 minutes, and the transcription of this instance of doctor–patient interaction is detailed below.

3.2. Transcription issues

The decisions that were made about the form of the transcript discussed here were informed by often quoted writings on transcription issues (e.g. Chafe 1993; Cook 1995; Edwards 1993, 1995; Ochs 1999; Silverman 2000). Edwards (1993), for example, underlines the importance of the transcript in the study of spoken discourse:

> The transcript plays a central role in research on spoken discourse, distilling and freezing in time the complex events and aspects of interaction in categories of interest for the researcher. When well-suited to the theoretical orientation and research question, the transcript enables the researcher to focus efficiently on the fleeting events of an interaction with a minimum of irrelevant and distracting detail. (Edwards 1993: 3)

He adds, however, that "choices made concerning what type of information to preserve (or to neglect), what categories to use, and how to organise and display the information in a written and spatial medium can affect the impressions the researcher derives from the data." (Edwards 1993: 3)

The notion of transcription as *interpretation* is present in most of the writings in this field. In other words, even the very "choice" (see above) that the researcher makes to record (in one way or another) a certain piece of human interaction represents her/his interpretation of "the real world" and can turn "what *is* (…) [in]to what *ought* to be". This seems to be so in terms of the "influence of the observer on *the observed*, a classic concern within the philosophy of science" (Ochs 1999: 167 – emphasis in the original).

As I was aware that how I organised and displayed the information in the interview transcript would be crucial for my later analysis, for, in Edwards' words, "the impressions the researcher derives from the data", I decided that the kind of transcription that would be the most appropriate for my aim – that of understanding why and how the interactants overlap or interrupt each other – was somewhere between "broad transcription" and "narrow transcription" (Edwards 1995: 20). As I was interested mainly in the types of interruption, the level of detail that I would need in order to understand the mechanisms of the spoken text that constitutes my data can be both "similar to that found in scripts of plays and in courtroom proceedings" (1995: 20) and also have some characteristics that can give it the "flavour" of real-life spoken interaction.

Below, I will show my decisions for using various "punctuation marks" in my transcript, i.e. the transcription conventions, and an example from the medical interview. The transcription conventions used in this study are:

[= overlapping sequences/interruptions
(.) = short pause
(..) = longer pause
la(a), de(e), = hesitation
, = before enumeration
. = end of utterance
? = question-like utterance
Capital letter = new utterance
(unclear) = cannot understand
(leafing through documents) = discernable background noises; other details known to the transcriber

Below is an example containing some of the conventions listed above:

(1) 20 D: 23.5. Bun. Un număr de telefon să ne dați [doamna(a) doamna P,
'D: 23.5. Good. Can you give us a phone number [Mrs Mrs P,'
21 P (P): [hai că l-am (unclear)
'P (P): [ok I've got it (unclear)'
22 D: Le aveți? (to the patient)
'D: Have you got them? (to the patient)'
23 P (P): Da.
'P (P): Yes.'

In the example above, D is the doctor and P(P) is the patient whose surname starts with a P. It shows, for example, that the overlapping sequences (lines 20 and 21) are marked '[', details known to the transcriber are placed within round brackets, the question mark is used for question-like intonation, and new utterances are transcribed starting with capitals.

3.3. Interruption types in this study

As already mentioned, the data for this pilot analysis were investigated on the basis of the analytical framework proposed by Menz & Al-Roubaie (2008). The analysis of the interruptions found in the medical interview is discussed below in relation to the following types described by the two researchers.

3.3.1. Supportive interruptions

Menz & Al-Roubaie (2008) define this category of interruptions starting from the works of Yieke (2002) and Coates (1996) and state that they represent "a listener's statement, primarily signalling interest and attention to that being spoken" (Menz & Al-Roubaie 2008: 649), although such an interactive behaviour may not always occur simultaneously. The authors also add that they consider "as supportive only those statements that were expressed simultaneously *and* borne by cooperative and interactional moves" (Menz & Al-Roubaie 2008: 649) meant to support a speaker's approach to the topic. Moreover, in the view of these researchers, supportive interruptions are of three types: "**completing, clarifying or mending**" (Menz & Al-Roubaie 2008: 649 – author's emphasis). The examples from the medical interview discussed below show how the interruptions identified in this type of interaction can be classified according to the analytical framework piloted here.

According to Menz & Al-Roubaie (2008), *clarifying interruptions* are specific for interactions in which the interruptor clarifies the interruptee's statement by specifying "more precisely" (2008: 650) whatever the former has said.

(2) 16 D: Bine. Deci [doamna(aa)
'D: OK. **So [Mrs'**
17 N: [P
'N: **[P'**
18 D: P, da? două er 2000 e pentru single piece şi e 23.5 dioptria.
'D: **P, yes?** two er 2000 it's for a single piece and the lens power is 23.5'

Example (2) contains (lines 16–18) an extract from the data in which the interruption by the nurse (N) appears to be meant to clarify the doctor's hesitation about the name of the patient.

The following two categories of supportive interruptions discussed and exemplified by Menz & Al-Roubaie (2008) are *completing and mending interruptions*. The former show "how the interrupters complement and elaborate on the speaker's statements", and the latter prove that "the speaker's statements are corrected in some detail, without implying a further change of turn" (2008: 650–651). In the medical interview investigated in this paper, these two categories

of supportive interruptions present in the Menz & Al-Roubaie (2008) taxonomy were not identified. This does not mean, however, that they may not be present in the larger medical interview corpus, whose analysis will be informed by the results of this pilot study.

Nevertheless, example (3) below could be a possible addition to the theoretical analytical framework. This may be so because in the kind of interruption in the exchange (lines 40–43) between the doctor (D) and the patient whose name is P (P (P)), the patient appears to be confirming rather than clarifying, completing, or mending the doctor's explanation about the benefits of the eye surgery procedure the latter suggests. Therefore, a new category named "confirming supportive interruptions" could be added to the existing taxonomy in an attempt to adapt it to the analysis of data collected in the Romanian context.

(3) 40 D: n-am voie să mă uit la televizor, că tre' sa stau în pat nu [ştiu cum,
'D: I'm not allowed to watch TV, 'cause I must lie in bed I don't **[know how'**
41 P(P): [asta e foarte bine
'P(P): **[that's very good'**
42 D: deci nu mai e valabil [nimic,
'D: so none of that is true **[anymore'**
43 P(P): [aşa
'P(P) **[true'**

3.3.2. Non-supportive interruptions

Menz & Al-Roubaie (2008) define this category of interruptions "rather narrowly" because, in their view, this type of overlapping speech is "dominance-related speech" (2008: 651). Moreover, the two researchers state that non-supportive interruptions are "simultaneous speech sequences accompanied by a subject's or addressee's change" (2008: 651) and further discuss and exemplify these two subcategories. It seems important to mention here that the authors highlight the significance of the institutional context of the interactions which they analyse. In their research, this is the context of healthcare centres, which, they claim, is "rather restrictive and intimidating for patients" (2008: 651) and obviously is a terrain for the dominance-related kind of interaction mentioned above. Below, I discuss two examples from my data in which the two types of non-supportive interruptions were identified.

(4) 1 D: Doamnele sunt surori. Au cataracta amândouă că aşa sunt surorile. [Aşa (.)
'D: The ladies are sisters. They both have cataract because that's what sisters are like. **[Ok (.)**

2 N: (unclear) [le povestim tot programul
'N: **[we'll tell them about the whole programme'**
3 D: aşa (..) trebuie programate, am făcut şi biometriile ele s-au şi er hotărât la(a)
'D: ok (..) they need an appointment, we've also done the biometrics and they have decided for'
4 operația de(e) 25 er 2500 de lei.
'the operation of 25 er 2,500 lei'.

Data extract (4) is an example of *non-supportive interruption with subject change* (lines 1–2). Here, the doctor appears to remind both herself and the nurse who the patients are. The nurse, however, seems to have a different agenda, due to the pressure of time presumably, and interrupts by changing the subject which the doctor picks up and continues the new subject/topic. This example of non-supportive interruption, however, does not seem to have the "dominance" characteristic because in the particular context of this medical interview the relationship between the doctor and the nurse is one of friendship (and therefore one of solidarity) rather than one of subordination. The following example instead shows dominance-related speech.

(5) 47 D: care era(a) erau în pericol să se rupă dacă ridicai (.) bagaje şi [mhm plase şi
'D; which were in danger of breaking if you carried heavy luggage **[mhn bags and'**
48 P(P): [ştiu de la sora mea, că mai avem o sora şi (a) a fost [operată
'P(P): **[I know from my sister, that we have another sister who was [operated'**
49 D: [operațiile mai vechi aşa erau, şi trebuia să stai extrem de liniştit
'D: **[older operations were like that, and you had to be extremely careful'**

Even though the topic change in the interruption in example (5) is not detectable, it can still be classified as non-supportive because the dominance relationship is obvious in this spoken exchange between the doctor (D) and the patient (P (P)). This, however, may be considered an example of non-supportive interruption (lines 47–49), in which the interruptor (D) does not change the topic but continues their idea and seems both not to take into account the attempted interruption by the interruptee (P (P)) and interrupt them to continue on their own topic. This type of interruption could be a *non-supportive interruption with topic continuation* by the interruptor.

Menz & Al-Roubaie (2008) treat their second category of *non-supportive interruptions* as one in which the interruptor does not only change the topic but also turns to a third party in the conversation, and therefore this is an interruption *with addressee change* (2008: 252). The following data excerpt shows this type

of interruption. In it, the doctor mainly wants to know if the patients' phone numbers are available.

(6) 22 D: [Le aveți? (to the patient)
'D**: [have you got them? (to the patient)'**
23 P (P): [Da
'P (P): **[Yes'**
24 D: [le ai? (to the nurse) aşa, şi doamna(a) B, er vrea IQ care este
24.5. 24.5. Bine.
'D: [**have you got them? (to the nurse) ok, and Mrs B, er wants IQ which is 24**.5. 24.5. Good.'

In example (6) above, lines 22–24, the doctor (D) introduces the topic of phone numbers and when the patient (P (P)) answers, she interrupts and does not give this patient a chance to develop and then turns to the nurse to ask about the same phone numbers.

3.3.3. Back channels

When researching into interruptions, back channels can be documented by recording "back-channel behaviour" in the sense of the listener's active participation in the conversation. In the data I am investigating, they seem to be worth "encoding even if they are normally shorter than two syllables and hence do not fit the current definition of simultaneous speech" (Menz & Al-Roubaie 2008: 652). In my Romanian data, such listener's signals are normally expressed by "mhm" and "aha", and most of the time they seem to lead to a change of topic and/or a change of addressee.

(7) 68 P: Poate că-i şi mai de mult, că eu nu prea mai vedeam, puneam nişte ochelari care
'P: It may have happened earlier, 'cause I couldn't really see, I would use some glasses which'
69 vedeam eu aşa [când mai lucram
'I could somewhat see **[when I was working'**
70 D: [mhm. Da, bine, bine. Atuncea ne er o să vă auziți cu fetele şi noi ne vedem în er (to the nurse) când le-ai programat?
'D**: [mhm. Yes, ok, ok. Then we you're going to hear from the girls and we'll meet on the er (to the nurse) you made the appointment for when?**

Here the doctor's "mhm" is apparently not only a signal of active listening but also leads to a change of topic and a change of addressee again seemingly prompted by the need to conclude this consultation.

3.3.4. Failed interruption attempts

These attempts at interrupting "apparently qualify as a proper criterion for asymmetrical conversational relations because they reflect a certain dominance divide in cases in which someone attempts in vain to attain the right of speech by interruptions in a conversation" (Menz & Al-Roubaie 2008: 652).

(8) 26 D: chestionarul pe anestezic şi cu informații acuma? [De-acuma?
'D: the questionnaire on the anaesthetic and information now?
[should we give it now?'
27 N: [ăla a fost (unclear)
'N: **[that one was (unclear)'**
28 D: De-acuma?
'D: Now?'
29 N: Să-l dăm, sau nu?
'N: Should we give it or not?'

In example (7), the nurse (N) fails to interrupt (line 27) and give details about the questionnaire in question, and the doctor keeps the topic which the nurse herself picks up (line 29), thus abandoning the one she wanted to interrupt for.

4. Conclusions

The pilot analysis of medical interview data presented here firstly seems to show that it is possible to use the existing analytical framework for the identification of types of interruptions characteristic of medical interviews in the Romanian context. However, due to context and cultural differences, some categories of interruptions may be absent, and new categories may be documented (see subsections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2). Moreover, the analysis of the larger corpus of medical interviews may result in the identification of independent variables which can lead to a better understanding of this type of discourse. In the examination of the data in the larger corpus, status and gender as independent variables are obviously worth investigating.

And, finally, in answer to the question in the title of this paper, neither the interruptor nor the interruptee are strangers in their spoken encounters because they both appear to have good reasons for interrupting and/or for resisting, accepting, or counteracting interruption.

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Taming the Stranger: Domestication vs Foreignization in Literary Translation[1]

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Abstract. The translator's task is to bridge the gap between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT), to mediate between the source culture (SC) and the target culture (TC). Cultural mediation is always more than linguistic mediation: it facilitates understanding between cultures. Cultural mediators need to be extremely aware of their own cultural identity, understanding how their own culture influences perception (ethnocentric attitude). While foreignization introduces the TT audience to the ST culture as much as possible, making the foreign visible, domestication brings two languages and two cultures closer, minimizing the foreignness of the TT, conforming to the TC values, and making the unfamiliar accessible (Venuti 1995, Munday 2016). This paper investigates different ways to find the balance between these two tendencies, offering examples from literary translation.

Keywords: cultural mediation, foreignization, domestication, source culture, target culture

Introduction

A nation's identity is partially defined by what others think of this community, what image is perpetuated about them in public consciousness. To a great extent, this image is facilitated by what is translated from that nation's literature into another and what the quality of these translations is.

As Antoine Berman famously states, a "translation is 'the trial of the foreign'" (Berman 2012: 240). This paper addresses the topic of the "Stranger"/"Foreigner", the key idea of this year's imagological conference, from the perspective of translation studies, specifically the domestication (taming) of a foreign literary source text through translation. In Lefeverian terms, it is claimed that translation is the "act of rewriting" of an original text to conform to certain purposes instituted

1 The study was conducted within the project entitled *Stranger. Imagological Research*, supported by the Institute for Research Programmes, Sapientia Foundation, Cluj-Napoca.

by the receiving system, rewriting it in the language of the target culture (Lefevere 1992). In the first part of the paper, the approaches towards a literary text through domestication or foreignization will be discussed, highlighting the two major kinds of translation strategies which the translator, in actual fact, a mediator between two cultures, might rely on when trying to "tame the stranger". The second part of the paper brings up several examples of literary translation from English into Hungarian where this kind of domestication or foreignization proved to be more or less successful. The text that lies at the focus of our attention is G. B. Shaw's *Pygmalion* and its Hungarian translation by Dezső Mészöly as this translation provides us with all the necessary examples to illustrate those linguistic and cultural issues to be analysed when discussing domestication vs foreignization strategies.

1. Domestication vs foreignization in translation studies

Paul Ricoeur considers translation as an act where "two partners are connected through the act of translating, the foreign – the term that covers the work, the author, his language – and the reader, the recipient of the translated work. And, between the two, the translator who passes on the whole message" (Ricoeur 2006: 4). Ricoeur cites Franz Rosenzweig, who claims that "to translate […] is to serve two masters: the foreigner with his work, the reader with his desire for appropriation, foreign author, reader dwelling in the same language as the translator" (Ricoeur 2006: 4).

Translation is considered by Ricoeur as an ethical model for the hospitality of otherness. In his view, translation is "linguistic hospitality … where the pleasure of dwelling in the other's language is balanced by the pleasure of receiving the foreign word at home, in one's own welcoming house" (Ricoeur 2006: 10). "In other words, for successful translation to the local, we must place ourselves in the foreign other's shoes, acknowledging the other's existence as a thinking, feeling, constructing being and, simultaneously, our inability to understand these constructions" (Maitland 2017: 6).

In this paper, the idea of domestication vs foreignization is addressed in literary translations, highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of both strategies. It should be emphasized that – vis-à-vis the translation of texts written for special purposes, where their evaluation can be based on their usefulness – literary translations are much more difficult to assess: the subjective factors greatly influence their reception. This is also emphasized by Koskinen (2012), who claims that:

> regardless of translation strategies […], we experience the translations as either affectively positive (familiar, pleasant, aesthetically pleasing) or

> negative (strange, confusing, aesthetically unpleasant or uninteresting), depending on what our tendencies are, what kinds of previous experiences we have had, and how our acculturation has predisposed us towards particular aesthetic solutions. (Koskinen 2012: 21)

In their attempt to mediate between different languages, values, or cultures, translators try to naturalize the different cultures to make them conform more to what the reader of the translation is used to (Lefevere 2012: 207). Among other constraints, this naturalization is carried out within the constraints of "natural languages in which a work of literature is written, both the formal side of that language (what is in grammars) and its pragmatic side, the way in which language reflects culture" (Lefevere 2012: 206). Therefore, along with the theory of linguistic relativity (the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis), it can be claimed that the structure of a given language itself determines the way in which the speakers of that language view the world, in other words, different languages reflect different values and cultures.

Domestication is defined in translation studies as a translation strategy in which a transparent, fluent style is adopted in order to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for the target language reader (Venuti 1995: 15), i.e. it assimilates texts to target linguistic and cultural values. The source of this thought derives from Schleiermacher, who states that the translation "leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him" (Venuti 1995: 19–20). In actual fact, the strategy of domestication "brings the reader to the author"; it is the case "when the text is accommodated to the reader" (Paloposki & Oittinen 2001). By domestication, the source text becomes more accessible for the target-language reader, it reads more fluently; thus the translator remains "invisible" (Venuti 1995) and offers the reader the impression as if it were written in the target language, as if the translated source text were part of the target culture. In Venuti's view, this is rather dangerous as it provides the target-language reader with the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural "other" (Venuti 1995: 15). In this sense, domestication has acquired negative connotations as Venuti identifies it with a policy common in dominant cultures which are "aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign". Therefore, in cultures where domestication is predominant and standard (e.g. British and American cultural tradition), the translator's role is to remain invisible and to prepare a target text which is likely to be acceptable in such a culture. This idea is closely linked to the fact that domesticating translation (along with explicitation) characterizes mainly translations from less widely spoken (minor) languages into more widely spoken (major) languages (e.g. from Hungarian into English) (Klaudy 2012: 45).

Among the most frequent domestication strategies, the following can be enlisted:

– the careful selection of texts which lend themselves to being translated in this manner (see the powerful translation and publishing industry, cf. Munday 2016: 223–224);

– the conscious adoption of a fluent, natural-sounding TL style;

– the adaptation of TT to conform to target discourse types;

– the interpolation of explanatory material;

– the removal of SL realia (e.g. SL archaisms, units of measurement, or Latinisms);

– the general harmonization of TT with TL preconceptions and preferences (cf. Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 44).

On the other hand, there is the possibility of employing the strategy of foreignization, where, in Schleiermacher's terms, "the translator leaves the writer in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader toward the writer" (Venuti 2008: 15–16). It is the case "when a reader is taken to the foreign text" (Venuti 1995). Foreignization "means using translation strategies which retain the foreign flavour of the original". I agree with Venuti's view in that foreignization is an acceptable strategy as it allows the reader to experience the "otherness" of a foreign text, where "some foreign significant traces of the original text are retained". In this case, translators act as agents who deliberately become visible and emphasize the text's otherness from the point of view of the target culture. Through a visible translator, the readers realize they are reading a translation of a work from a foreign culture (Venuti 1998, Munday 2016: 226). The cumulative effect of such features would be to provide TL readers with an "alien reading experience" (Venuti 2008: 16). The foreignizing translation of a ST results in a non-fluent style, which deliberately breaks the TL conventions and retains SL realia in the TL text, requiring more effort on the part of the reader in processing the incoming information (Klaudy 2012: 41).

As opposed to domestication, foreignizing (non-domesticating) strategies are also culture-specific, being mainly employed in various non-globalized language cultures, as observed by Tymoczko (2000). She also stresses that "the textual and cultural deformation of translated texts is not the result of particular translation strategies, but rather of cultural dominance itself" (Tymoczko 2000: 35).

All in all, translators act as mediators who, in a visible or invisible guise, can emphasize or stress the text's foreignness or familiarity from the target culture's point of view. As a result, depending on the degree of visibility (as a result of foreignization) or acceptability (as a result of domestication) with which they wish to endow a text, they will employ these two diverging strategies.

Based on my experience as a reader of foreign literatures, I cannot but agree with Mesterházi (2008) in that literary translators do their job well if the target text, the result of their hard work, proves to be light and transparent, if the mediator's transpiration does not transpire in the resulting text(ure). The result will be easily perceivable if the text is linguistically transparent, if translators do

not draw the reader's attention on themselves with their clumsiness, with several extra footnotes, or with exceeding virtuosity, in other words, if the reader of the target text forgets that they are reading a translation. A literary translation can be considered acceptable if the translated text is as faithful to the original as possible. However, there are situations where the price of faithfulness is unfaithfulness (Mesterházi 2008: 533). In the following, such situations will be analysed.

2. The foreignness of an English text and its (re)solution through domestication or foreignization in its Hungarian translation

As we discuss the "taming of the foreign" through domestication, the question inevitably arises: what makes an English text foreign to a Hungarian reader? If one approaches an English literary text to be translated into Hungarian, the first obstacle that might puzzle a foreign reader is the language itself, its vocabulary and grammar. Among the vocabulary items difficult to tackle with are the culture-specific items (Nord 1997, Aixela 1997), also called realia (Klaudy 2007b, Tellinger 2003, Leppihalme 2011, Ajtony 2015), or ethno-culturemes (Tellinger 2005). In the case when the English source text contains such vocabulary items, the translators usually resort to different types of solutions, sometimes domesticating the "foreign" cultural term, sometimes retaining it in the TT:

2.1. Translation of culture-specific vocabulary

a. food names:

(1) Colonel Pickering prefers double *Gloucester* to *Stilton*. (Shaw 133)[2]
Pickering ezredes jobban szereti az *ementálit*, mint a *trappistát*. (Mészöly 111)

While both Gloucester and Stilton are two well-known British cheese names, they might not be so well-known to the Hungarian audience. Therefore, the translator resorted to their replacement with cheese names that the target audience might be more familiar with (*ementáli* and *trappista*).

b. British cultural notions:

(2) May I ask, sir, do you do this for your living at a *music hall*? (Shaw 25)
Szabad kérdeznem: *varietékben* szokott fellépni ezzel a tudományával? (Mészöly 14)

2 The page numbers refer to Shaw (1984) and to the Hungarian translation by Dezső Mészöly (Mészöly 1971).

The music hall is a type of typical British theatrical entertainment popular from the early Victorian era up to 1960, where a mixture of popular songs, comedy, and variety entertainment were presented to the public. The Hungarian term *varieté* covers a similar form of entertainment, as it denotes an entertaining show with lots of music, dancing, and elements of cabaret, that form part of city life.

c. geographical names (toponyms):

(3) I've been to *Charing Cross* one way and nearly to *Ludgate Circus* the other (Shaw 15)
El voltam egész fel *Charing Crossig* és le a *Körtérig* (Mészöly 8)

(4) Did you try *Trafalgar Square*? (Shaw 15)
Próbáltad a *Trafalgar téren* is? (Mészöly 8)

(5) I tried as far as *Charing Cross Station*. Did you expect me to walk to *Hammersmith*? (Shaw 15)
Mindenütt próbáltam egész a *pályaudvarig* – azt nem várnád, hogy kisétáljak *Hammersmith*be? (Mészöly 8)

As the above examples show, the highlighted London place names are either retained in the TT (*Charing Cross*, *Hammersmith*) or partially retained – partially translated (*Trafalgar Square* – Trafalgar tér), as this is how it is familiar to the Hungarian audience, or eliminated and replaced through generalization (*Charing Cross Station* – pályaudvar). All three solutions are adopted to be maximally accessible for the receptor.

(6) You were born in *Lisson Grove*. (Shaw 23)
Hiszen *Doverben* született. (Mészöly 13)

Lisson Grove is a district and a street of the City of Westminster, London, which is described as the capital's worst slums at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The translator resorted to the full replacement of this toponym with *Dover*, a name of a city lying on the south-east coast of England, one which is better-known to the Hungarian audience.

(7) Men begin in *Kentish Town* with 80 pounds a year, and end in *Park Lane* with a hundred thousand. (Shaw 27)
Az emberek valahol a *zsibpiac* táján kezdik évi nyolcvan fonttal és a *villanegyed*ben végzik évi százezerrel. (Mészöly 16)

In this context, the toponyms are used in their metaphorical meaning, referring to the financial status of the region. Kentish Town is historically recorded as a very poor area of northwest London, while Park Lane is a major road in the City

of Westminster, which, after the nineteenth century improvements, attracted the *nouveau riche* to the area, thus becoming one of the most fashionable roads to live on in London. Due to the fact that the English toponyms do not reveal the above mentioned connotations for the Hungarian audience, the translator resorted to the elimination of the names and replaced them with two generalizations referring to the poor slums as "zsibpiac" (rag fair, junk yard) vs the neighbourhood of the rich upstarts as "villanegyed" (villa area).

d. British currency names:

(8) Have you *any pennies*? (Shaw 17)
Van *aprópénzed*, Klára? (Mészöly 9)

(9) No. I've nothing smaller than *sixpence*. (Shaw 17)
Nincs. *Hat penny* a legapróbb. (Mészöly 9)

(10) I can give you change for a *tanner*, kind lady. (Shaw 17)
Tudok visszaadni, van annyi apróm, kedves naccsága. (Mészöly 9)

(11) For *a sovereign*? I've nothing less. (Shaw 19)
Egy aranyból? Nincs kisebb pénzem. (Mészöly 10)

(12) I can change *half-a-crown*. Take this for *tuppence*. (Shaw 19)
Egy félkoronást fölváltok. Ehun-e: ez csak *két penny*. (Mészöly 10)

The British currency names are translated in different ways, again adapted to the assumed general knowledge of the Hungarian public. "Pennies" are naturally rendered as "aprópénz" (coins of small value, change), "sixpence" as "hat penny" (six pence) (although this was one single coin), "tuppence" (two pence) as "két penny" (again referring to one coin), "half-a-crown" as "félkoronás", while the one with the largest value is the "sovereign", a gold coin worth £1, which is simply translated as "egy arany" (one gold coin), avoiding any further explicitation. As it can be seen, in some cases, the translator retains the original name of the English change, i.e. he applies the strategy of foreignization, as these are known to the Hungarian average audience (e.g. "két penny"), but in the case of "sovereign" or "tanner", when the exact meaning of the currency is not so obvious to the target reader, he resorts to the strategy of domestication in order to make the value of the coins more perceptible for the readers.

e. Poems, lyrical texts

Children's nursery rhymes may also be enlisted as ethnocultural items. In *Pygmalion*, this appears in the following rhyme, through which Higgins and Pickering tease Eliza Doolittle because of her name:

(13) *Eliza, Elizabeth, Betsy and Bess,*
They went to the woods to get a birds nes',

They found a nest with four eggs in it,
They took one apiece, and left three in it. (Shaw 39)

In the Hungarian version of the play, the translator took the freedom to slightly alter and domesticate the lines, as follows:

Liza, Lizi s Lizike	[Liza, Lizzie and young Lizzie
Fészket szednek izibe…	Make a nest therewith…
Nem találnak semmi mást,	They find nothing else
Összevissza négy tojást. (Mészöly 25)	But four eggs.]

It is obvious that the translator retained the four-line format but did not follow the ten-syllable lines: the Hungarian verses contain only seven syllables, shorter lines being more common in Hungarian children's poems. The topic is very similar to the ST rhyme, the only difference is that – due to the shorter line – in the Hungarian version three girls are mentioned, while in the English one there are four.

2.2. Phrases, phrasal verbs, idioms

It soon becomes obvious that even if one transfers the words from the English SL into the Hungarian TL, also considering the grammatical rules of the TL, in most of the cases, the resulting text will still not make sense due to the fact that the ST might contain phrases, proverbs, or idiomatic expressions whose literal translation produces nonsensical or even humorous equivalents. Speaking proof of this failure are the phrases that Google Translate "produces". Therefore, further clarifications must be made. A very common strategy that translators employ is to find the semantically similar phrase or idiom in the TL or to translate by paraphrase (see also Kovács 2016). Through this strategy, the text becomes more acceptable to the TL reader.

(14) I'm *getting chilled to the bone*.[3] (Shaw 13)
Csuromvíz vagyok. (Mészöly D. 13)
[I am soaking wet.]

(15) He won't get no cab not until half-past eleven, missus, when they come back after *dropping their theatre fares*. (Shaw 14)
Nem kap az, kérem, fél tizenkettőig… Majd ha *a színházból hazafuvarozzák a népet*, aztán. (Mészöly 7)

3 The examples in point are italicized by the author.

[He won't get one until half past eleven… Later, when they drive the people home, then.]

(16) *If Freddy had a bit of gumption*, he would have got one at the theatre door. (Shaw 14)
Kaphatott volna kocsit a színház előtt, *ha nem volna olyan mafla*. (Mészöly 7)
[He could have got a cab in front of the theatre if he were not so sheepish.]

(17) *There's not one to be had for love or money*. (Shaw 14)
Semmi pénzért. Ezeknek rimánkodhat az ember! (Mészöly 8)
[For no money. These may be implored by man.]

(18) I shall simply get soaked for nothing. (Shaw 15)
Bőrig ázom, és semmi értelme! (Mészöly 8)
[I shall get soaked to the skin and there's no use.]

(19) I can give you change for a tanner, *kind lady*. (Shaw 17)
Tudok visszaadni, van annyi apróm, *kedves naccsága*. (Mészöly 9)

(20) *Thank you kindly, lady*. (Shaw 17)
… *csókolom, naccsága*. (Mészöly 9)

(21) *Oh, thank you, lady*. (Shaw 17)
… *csókolom*. (Mészöly 9)

(22) If you're going to be a lady, you'll have to give up feeling neglected if the men you know don't spend half their time snivelling over you and the other half *giving you black eyes*. (Shaw 130)
Ha művelt nő akar lenni, akkor ne nyavalyogjon, hogy elhanyagolják és mellőzik, csak azért, mert a férfiak nem töltik fele életüket azzal, hogy a keblén pityeregnek, fele életüket meg azzal, hogy *kékre verik*. (Mészöly 108)

In the latter examples, the literal translation of the English idiom would sound quite hilarious (i.e. "fekete szemeket ad"), therefore the translator applies a Hungarian idiom with a similar meaning. While the ST idiom refers only to one single body part (the eye) which becomes black after a punch, the TT idiom expands it to the whole body which will turn blue.

2.3. Word order

Last but not least, the problem that should also be solved is the "strangeness" of the English word order for the Hungarian ear. This has been discussed by translation scholars (Klaudy 2006, 2007a, for instance) regarding the "translational behaviour" of certain language pairs, explained by their typological difference. While English forms a friendly pair with e.g. German (both being Indo-European, Germanic languages), having an analytical sentence structure and a rigid

(dominantly SVO) word order, it forms an "unfriendly language pair" with Hungarian, the latter belonging to the Finno-Ugric family of languages, having synthetic sentence structure, with a flexible, but dominantly SOV word order. Therefore, while in English nominal structures are expanded to the right, and there is subject prominence, in Hungarian nominal structures are expanded to the left, and there is topic prominence. For this reason, English texts lend themselves much more easily to translation if translated into a cognate language (e.g. Romanian, French, or German) but resist to translation in the case of their translation into a non-cognate language pair (e.g. Hungarian).

Placing stress on the desired item in the sentences is carried out through intonation in the English ST: the emphasis is laid on the verbs in both remarks (*came* vs *was going*). The Hungarian translation preserves the same sentence structure, the stresses falling similarly on the verbs (*jövök* vs *készültem*):

(23) PICKERING. I *came* from India to meet you.
HIGGINS. I *was going* to India to meet you.
PICKERING. Indiából *jövök*, hogy önnel találkozzam!
HIGGINS. Indiába *készültem*, hogy önnel találkozzam!

It is noteworthy, however, that while the English sentences have the obligatory subject + verb + adverb word order, the Hungarian word order is much more flexible: as verbs carry the reference to the subject in their ending, there is no need for an explicit subject at the beginning of the sentences; therefore, it is a natural phenomenon of the Hungarian language to start a sentence with an adverb.

2.4. Accent, dialect

Probably the most difficult task of the translator in the case of *Pygmalion* was the rendering of Liza Doolittle and other characters' Cockney accent.

(24) THE SARCASTIC BYSTANDER I can tell where you come from. You come from Anwell. Go back there.
THE NOTE TAKER *H*anwell.[4] (Shaw 26)
II. ÁCSORGÓ Én is megmondom magának, honnan való: a diliházbul. Menjen vissza, oszt kérjen egy csillapító inekciót.
A NOTESZES In*j*ekciót.[5] (Mészöly 25)

The English place name Hanwell is known for its asylum opened in 1831 for mentally ill paupers. The Hungarian translation reveals that the translator

4 The italicized "H" is emphasized by Shaw.
5 The italicized "j" is emphasized by the translator.

intended to retain the meaning of the original sentence, i.e. that the bystander ironically sends the note-taking Professor Higgins to a lunatic asylum, and Higgins corrects his Cockney accent typically known for dropping the word-initial 'h' sounds. The ingenious solution for rendering this toponym was to generalize it to "diliház" (lunatic asylum), thus deleting the original place name. However, in order to compensate the reader, he employs a similar phonetic trick, the missing and replaced sound in the Hungarian text being "j".

(25) Ow, eez ye-ooa san, is e? Wal, fewd dan y' de-ooty bawmz a mather should, eed now bettern to spawl a pore gel's flahrzn than ran awy atbaht pyin. Will ye-oo py me f'them? (Shaw 16)[6]
Ez a manusz a maga fia? No iszen, szép kis mamuska az ilyen, csak bámulja, hogy a fiatalúr a virágomon tiprakodik, osztán – alásszolgája – olajra lép! Maga fogja megfizetni! (Mészöly 9)

There are further solutions to render a character's Cockney dialect – reference is made to a typical feature of this accent: dropping the word-initial "h" sounds. As the literal translation of this language shift would be uninterpretable by the Hungarian audience, the translator resorts to another solution, indicating that by dropping her aitches, Eliza actually starts "speaking in an ugly way":

(26) Purposely *dropping her aitches* to annoy him. (Shaw 131)
Szándékosan *beszél csúnyán*, hogy bosszantsa Higginst. (Mészöly 110)

Conclusions

The examples taken from G. B. Shaw's *Pygmalion* and their Hungarian translation by Dezső Mészöly have proved that the translator managed to "tame" the foreign text in a visible yet acceptable way. The visibility of the translation (as a result of foreignization strategies) and, at the same time, its acceptability by the target audience (as a result of domestication) are detectable through the simultaneous employment of these two diverging strategies, and they account for the long-lasting success of the translated text on Hungarian stages. The strategy of domestication has been chosen in the cases when the culture-specific element is not emphasized by the author as the term may not be essential in the given situation, and its translation through explicitation might overburden the recipient. On the other hand, through the employment of foreignization strategies (retention of English proper names or currency names), the Hungarian text manages to preserve the

6 Oh, he's your son, is he? Well, if you'd done your duty by him as a mother should, he'd know better than to spoil a poor girl's flowers and then run away without paying.

foreign atmosphere of London at the beginning of the twentieth century. The combination of the two strategies demonstrate that the Hungarian translator managed to find the golden mean between domestication and foreignization.

The "taming" of the English text proves that this translation can also be considered a model for the hospitality of "strangeness" or "otherness" and that this hospitality can serve as a model for other forms of accommodating the "other" in one's own culture.

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Passive Constructions – Strangers among L1 Speakers of Hungarian?

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Abstract. Does knowledge of Romanian, more exactly of Romanian passive voice, help learning the English passive construction? Or is it the other way round: knowledge of English helps students learning Romanian? Perhaps L2 and L3 mutually influence each other in the case of Hungarian students from Miercurea Ciuc?
In previous studies addressing the problems encountered by L1 speakers of Hungarian in the acquisition of the English passive voice (Tankó 2011, 2014), I presumed that possessing Romanian to various degrees represented a facilitating factor in the acquisition of the passive given that Romanian, like English, has a well-developed, explicitly-taught passive construction. Of course, speakers of Hungarian living in Romania might be influenced to some extent by their knowledge of Romanian when learning the English passive voice – yet, the question is to what extent. Thus, an important element of this study represents identifying students' level of Romanian and their production of Romanian *BE*-passive and *SE*-passive.

Keywords: SLA, L3 acquisition, passive voice, bilingualism

1. Introduction

In previous studies, I have addressed the problems encountered by L1 speakers of Hungarian in the acquisition of the English passive, having identified various Hungarian equivalents for the English passive construction (Tankó 2011, 2014, 2016). Among these equivalents, the one which resembled the English and Romanian passives was the predicative verbal adverbial construction. Based on empirical research described in the above mentioned studies, I reached to the conclusion that possessing Romanian to various degrees facilitated the acquisition of the passive in English. As some of the obtained results were only partially relevant, a more detailed analysis needed to be carried out, focusing more thoroughly on the actual level of Romanian of the subjects involved.

In the present paper, I briefly describe the resemblance between the English and Romanian canonical passives, then point out the differences between the two languages with respect to the *get*-passive and the *SE*-passive. I also highlight the similarities between the various English and Romanian passive structures and the Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction, which is the closest equivalent of the aforementioned passive structures. Furthermore, I propose to analyse the production of Romanian *be*-passive and *SE*-passive in an empirical study and, based on the data obtained, to determine whether Romanian really functions as a facilitator in acquiring the English passive by native speakers of Hungarian.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. On the English passive

English has a periphrastic passive structure; it is made up of an auxiliary and the past participle of the main verb. The most common auxiliary is *be*, yet *get* appears fairly frequently, especially in spoken verbal production (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1442).

(1) a. *The van **was** stolen last night.*
b. *Tim **got** himself arrested last week.*

It has been observed that *be* has a stative reading, while *get* denotes a process. The latter is punctual, and it carries an inchoative meaning (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252), as illustrated in example (2) below.

(2) *The data is getting transferred.*

Comparing the two structures, we can notice that *get*-passives are fully grammatical with result-oriented adverbials. In contrast, *be*-passives cannot be used with these result-oriented adverbs (Alexiadou 2005: 18). Compare the examples provided below:

(3) a. *Jenny got sloppily dressed.*
b. **The document got carefully destroyed.*

What is more, *get*-passives can be used with the agent BY-phrase, while *be*-passives do not license agent BY-phrases (Alexiadou 2005: 19).

(4) a. **John is arrested by the police.*
b. *John got arrested by the police.* (Alexiadou 2005: 19)

In this paragraph, I have pointed out two very distinctive differences in the use of the two types of English passive constructions regarding the agent phrase and adverbial modification. These differences between stative and dynamic reading seem to appear in the Romanian passive as well as in the Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction, as it will be shown in what follows.

2.2. On the Romanian passive

As well as in English, in Romanian, there are two kinds of passive structures: there is the copular passive, also called the *be*-passive, which clearly has a stative reading, and there is the impersonal passive, or *SE*-passive, with a more dynamic reading. Consider the examples in (5) below.

(5) *a. Cărțile* ***au fost*** *plătite* *(de Ioana).*
books$_{\text{Nom}}$-the were paid (by Ioana)
'The books were paid for (by Ioana).'
b. *Cărțile* ***s****-au plătit.*
books$_{\text{Nom}}$-the SE paid
'The books have been paid for.'

As opposed to English, there is a very important difference concerning the variable form of the participle in Romanian canonical passives, which agrees in number and gender with the grammatical subject, as illustrated below.

(6) a. *Ziar****ul*** *a fost* *citit****Ø*** *(de Ion).*
newspaper.$_{\text{N.SG}}$-the has been read.$_{\text{N.SG}}$ by John
'The book has been read by John.'
b. *Carte****a*** *a fost* *citit****ă*** *(de Ion).*
book.$_{\text{F.SG}}$-the has been read.$_{\text{F.SG}}$ by John
'The book has been read by John.'

As Manoliu Manea (1993: 95) notices, the two kinds of Romanian passive structures behave differently if we consider adverbial modification. Manner adverbials used with Romanian *SE*-passives refer to the manner of the action named by the passive verb in general, without having in mind a certain agent BY-phrase. The same type of adverbials used with *be*-passives refer to the manner of the action performed by the particular agent in a particular context.

(7) a. *pantalonii* *s-au vândut* *bine*
trousers-the SE sold well
'The trousers sold well.'
(*Trebuie să mai comanzi alții.*
'You have to order some more.')
b. *pantalonii* *au fost vânduți* *bine*
trousers-the were sold well
'The trousers were well sold.'
(Ai vânzători vrednici.
'You have worthy salesmen.') (Manoliu Manea 1993: 95)

Looking at agent-phrases, we can notice that with *SE*-passives the logical subject is completely suppressed (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998: 407). Thus, we have a generic reading in the case of *SE*-passives. Sentences with *be*-passives do not suppress their logical subjects.

(8) a. *Se vine târziu.*
SE come late
'It is usual for everyone to come late.'
b. *Se ştie adevărul.*
SE know truth-the
'The truth is known.' (GLR, I)

In the present subsection, I have focused on the agent phrase and adverbial modification in the case of the two types of Romanian passive constructions. The differences between stative and dynamic reading appear to be very similar to what has been pointed out in English and what will be highlighted in Hungarian in what follows.

2.3. On the passive in Hungarian

In Hungarian, the first passive structure to be mentioned is the synthetic (verbal) passive, which is formed with the suffix *-tat / -tet*, and which is considered archaic. This type of structure appears frequently in the codices (Tóth 2000: 253), yet in contemporary Hungarian it occurs rather rarely and only with certain verbs, e.g. *születik* 'be born', *adatik* 'be given', *viseltetik* 'owe somebody certain feelings', *foglaltatik* 'be included'.

Instead of the synthetic passive, Hungarian uses a structure called the predicative verbal adverbial construction in the literature (de Groot 1987, 1989; Alberti 1996, 1998; Laczkó 1995, 2000, 2005; Tóth 2000; Bene 2005; Kertész 2005; Németh 2007; Bartos 2009; Márkus 2008). Though some linguists claim it is a passive structure, the predicative verbal adverbial construction is not as productive as the passive in English or Romanian. What is more, as we will see in what follows, only certain classes of verbs are compatible with the mentioned construction. However, in certain dialects of Hungarian, these restrictions are not as strict as in the standard Hungarian (cf. Kádár & Németh 2010).

Interestingly, the Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction displays two kinds of auxiliaries. The structure with *van* 'to be' results in a stative reading, while the structure with the auxiliary *lett*/*lesz* 'to become' allows a more dynamic reading. In both cases, the auxiliary is followed by the adverbial participle form of the verb (ending in *-vA)*.[1]

(9) *Az ajtó* *be* ***van*** *csuk-va.*
the door perf$_{in}$ is close-adv.part
'The door has been closed.'

1 The capital letters of the vowels signal that they have variable forms according to the vowel harmony: *-va/-ve* and *-ván/ -vén*; the choice depends on the phonological properties of the vowels of the stem (Bartos 2009: 75).

b. *Az ajtó* *be* ***lett*** *csuk-va.*
the door perf$_{in}$ became close-adv.part
'The door has been closed.'

As already mentioned, the Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction is not fully productive. It is compatible only with certain classes of verbs. Accomplishments and achievements may be freely used with the PVAC, yet states or activities are incompatible with them (Kertész 2005: 16–17). Notice that in the examples provided below the statement in (10a.) containing an accomplishment is compatible with the predicative verbal adverbial construction, while the state verb in (10a.) is perceived as ungrammatical.

(10) a. **Mari* *szeretve* *van.*
Mary love-adv.part is
'Mary is loved.'
b. *A szoba* *ki* *van* *takarítva.*
the room out is clean-adv.part
'The room has been cleaned.'

As Kertész (2005: 2) remarks, transitives and ergatives are compatible with the predicative verbal adverbial construction (see example 11a.), yet unergative verbs are not acceptable, as illustrated in sentence (11b.) below.

(11) a. *A tó* *be* *van* *fagyva.*
the lake perf$_{in}$ is freeze-adv.part
'The lake is frozen.'
b. **Mari* *énekelve* *van.*
Mary sing-adv.part is
*'Mary is sung.' (Kertész 2005: 2)

Just as in the case of English and Romanian passives, one of the two types of Hungarian structures, namely the Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction with the auxiliary *lett*/*lesz* 'to become', has a more dynamic reading (Laczkó 1995: 190). Furthermore, it is also compatible with the agent phrase, while the same construction with the auxiliary *van* 'to be' does not license the presence of an overt agent BY-phrase.

(12) a. *A fal* *a fiú által* *lett* *le-fest-ve.*
the wall the boy by became perf$_{down}$-paint-adv.part
'The wall got painted by the boy.' (Laczkó 1995: 190)
b. **A fal* *a fiú által* *van* *le-fest-ve.*
the wall the boy by is perf$_{down}$-paint-adv.part
'The wall is painted by the boy.'

As Bartos (2009: 90) remarks, event-related modifiers are acceptable with the auxiliary *lett*/*lesz* 'to become', yet the same event-related modifiers are incompatible with the auxiliary *van* 'to be'. Compare the examples provided below.

(13) **könnyen* *el* *van* *törve*
easily perf$_{away}$ is break-adv.part
'is broken easily'
b. *könnyen* *el* *lesz* *törve*
easily perf$_{away}$ will.become break-adv.part
'is broken easily' (Bartos 2009: 90)

As I have illustrated in this paragraph, in Hungarian, the two types of structures of the predicative verbal adverbial construction seem to follow the same kinds of patterns as have been pointed out in English and Romanian. Namely, there are distinct structures for stative and dynamic reading, which display very similar characteristics when it comes to the presence of the agent phrase or adverbial modification.

2.4. Partial conclusions

Comparing the two types of passive structures in the three languages under discussion, we may notice that the English *be*-passive mainly corresponds to the result state reading of the PVAC with *van* 'to be' and the Romanian *be*-passive. The English *get*-passive, the Romanian *SE*-passive, and the Hungarian PVAC with *lett* 'become' allow a more dynamic reading. What is more, the latter types of passives are also compatible with overtly expressed agent phrases and adverbial modification.

(14) a. *The window is broken.*
b. *Fereastra* *este* *spartă.*
window-the.$_{FEM}$ is broken.$_{FEM}$
'The window is broken.'
c. *Az ablak* *be* *van* *törve.*
the window perf$_{in}$ is break-adv.part
'The window has been broken.'

(15) a. *The wall got painted.*
b. *Peretele* *s-a văruit.*
wall-the SE painted
'The wall got painted.'
c. *A fal* *le* *lett* *festve.*
the wall perf$_{down}$ become paint-adv.part
'The wall got painted.'

Consequently, native speakers of Hungarian learning Romanian as their L2 and English as L3 should be able to learn and use the English and Romanian passive structures easily due to their shared characteristics. However, the empirical research described in previous studies revealed a series of difficulties in using the English passive (Tankó 2011, 2014, 2016). This is what triggered us into having a closer look at the issue.

3. The main question

The main research question to be answered in the present study is whether knowledge of Romanian passive voice really helps L1 speakers of Hungarian from Miercurea Ciuc learning the English passive construction. The Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction, which resembles the English and Romanian passive construction the most, is not frequent in the written verbal production, and it is not taught in schools. Yet, Hungarian is still students' L1, and thus these students possess some knowledge of the notion of passive, whether consciously or not. Furthermore, Romanian and English passive are part of school instruction and the passive/passive-like structures under discussion share a number of common traits, such as productivity, as well as quite a resembling structure. The main question might be answered by shedding light upon the existence of a thorough knowledge of the Romanian passive by L1 speakers of Hungarian.

4. The hypothesis

Our main hypothesis is that L1 speakers of Hungarian from Miercurea Ciuc and its area possess a certain level of Romanian which includes the passive structures. Thus, knowledge of the Romanian passive has a positive influence on the acquisition of the English passive. This hypothesis has been tested in previous studies on Hungarian-Romanian bilingual speakers from Braşov (see Tankó 2011, 2014). However, the results obtained from subjects from Miercurea Ciuc were not conclusive enough as the actual level of Romanian knowledge of the subjects involved in the empirical research had not been determined.

5. Research methodology

In order to determine the knowledge of Romanian passive in the case of L1 Hungarian learners from Miercurea Ciuc, a number of 372 subjects, students in the 9th and 10th grades from four different secondary schools in the town, have been tested. We have chosen the four secondary schools according to their students' results at the national baccalaureate exams in the last four years. As such, we have chosen two theoretical secondary schools with the highest scores and two secondary schools with a technological profile displaying more humble results at the mentioned national tests. Actually, the test was part of a larger project which aimed at testing students' level of Romanian.[2] To this purpose, we have used a

2 Special thanks goes to my brother, József Tankó, whom I have worked with in testing students' level of Romanian. Part of the results have been included in his study, *Strategii de diminuare a*

test designed by the Department of Romanians from Everywhere[3] and used for foreign students, respecting the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL).[4]

As a second step, students who had reached the B1/B2 level were administered a short test involving the English passive. Their task was to finish six sentences beginning with the direct object, based on some pictures, and furthermore to translate six Hungarian sentences into English. Among the sentences to be translated, there were two active sentences with the direct object in topic position, two sentences with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position, and two sentences with the predicative verbal adverbial construction.

6. The collected data

Testing has been carried out during school hours. Students had to complete the Romanian level test in 50 minutes. The results of the level tests turned out to be surprising: 140 students did not even reach A1 level (38%), 105 of them achieved A1 level (28%), while 69 subjects attained A2 level (19%). In other words, more than two-thirds of the tested subjects were below the A2 level, while the official point of view (i.e. national curriculum) requires at least B1 level, which would allow students to understand and analyse literary texts.[5] It seems that only 15% of them possess the proper level (B1/B2) of Romanian (49 students at B1 level and 9 subjects at B2 level of Romanian), as shown in the chart below.

In the present study, I have considered only a part of the level tests, which implied dealing with Romanian passive constructions. The task was simple: the students had to rewrite five active Romanian sentences in the passive. In fact, they had to complete the passive sentence with the appropriate verb form and agent phrase, as illustrated in the example below.

(16) *Alex a câştigat consursul de înot.* 'Alex won the swimming race.'
Concursul de înot ***a fost câştigat/s-a câştigat*** *de* ***către*** *Alex.*
'The swimming race was won by Alex.'

barierelor lingvistice în analiza şi interpretarea textelor literare – unpublished.

3 Test available at: http://www.dprp.gov.ro/elearning/ (last visited on: 16 September 2017).

4 Further details on CEFRL are available online at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Common_European_Framework_of_Reference_for_Languages.

5 The national curriculum of Romanian language and literature does not distinguish between native and non-native speakers of Romanian and requires students to understand and analyse literary texts/excerpts of C1 or C2 level during Romanian classes as well as for their final examination. The programmes for 9th and 10th grades are available at: http://programe.ise.ro/ (last retrieved on: 16 September 2017).

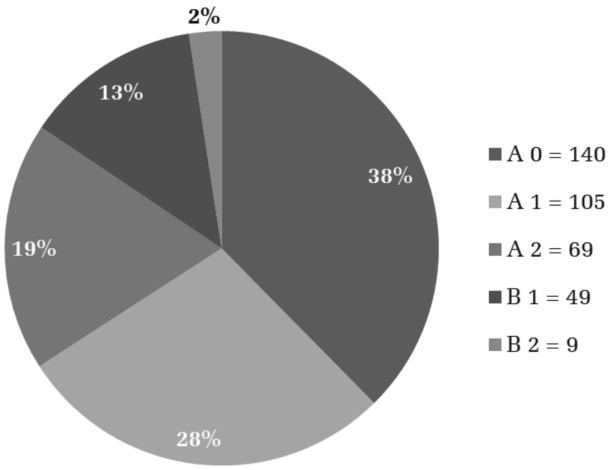

Chart 1. *The results of the Romanian level tests*

Among the examples provided, there were instances of *SE*-passives and *be*-passives as well. The data analysed shows that in fact only about 1/3 of the subjects completed the task. These were the subjects who had reached the A2, B1, or B2 levels. This is the case because the passive voice is addressed only at A2 level.

Table 1. *Data obtained on the use of Romanian passive*

Number of students	Tests completed	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4	School 5	Average
372	125	46 (**7**)	28 (**4**)	49 (**13**)	39 (**1**)	57 (**21**)	43.8
	33.6%	36.8%	22.4%	39.2%	31.2%	45.6%	35.04%
	-	12.36%	7.52%	13.17%	10.48%	15.32%	11.77%

The percentage of the correct answers, as compared to the total number of subjects involved in the test, is relatively low (see percentages displayed in the last row in *Table 1* above). It seems that the knowledge of Romanian passive is quite poor among students from Miercurea Ciuc, L1 speakers of Hungarian (11.77% of correct answers as compared to the total subjects involved in the test and 35.04% as compared to the number of students who actually completed the test).

As it turned out, Romanian *be*-passive is more commonly used among the subjects tested as opposed to *SE*-passive. This could be explained by the resemblance between the Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction with *van* 'to be' and the Romanian be-passive. Around 1/3 of the subjects managed to provide correct passive structures (28% *be*-passives and 8% *SE*-passives),

while 61% of them committed some type of mistake and another 3% failed to provide any answer whatsoever. The results are displayed in *Chart 2* below.

The main types of mistakes observed include: agreement in gender or number, problems in preserving the original tense/aspect, errors in both tense/aspect and agreement, erroneous use of the agent BY-phrase ('*de*'/'*de către*') or multiple problems (several types of problems occurring simultaneously). There were also a number of students who did not provide any answer whatsoever.

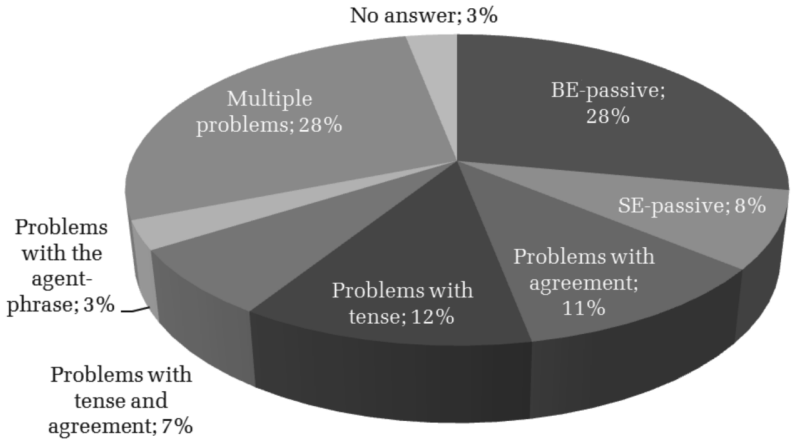

Chart 2. *Results of the task involving the Romanian passive*

In what follows, I will discuss each type of mistake in details, providing examples and offering possible explanations for each situation.

6.1. Problems with agreement

Around 11% of the tested students encountered problems of agreement between subject and predicate in number and/or gender. Note that the participial form of the main verb in the Romanian be-passive construction has to agree in number and gender with the subject. The auxiliary also has to agree in number with the subject of the sentence. Some of the erroneous examples are illustrated in what follows.

(17) *Nota 10* *a fost* *luată* *doar* *de (către)* *doi studenți.*
grade.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$-the 10 was taken.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$ only by two students.
'Only two students got A.'
**a fost luat*
was achieved.$_{\text{MASC.SG}}$
**a fost luate*
was achieved.$_{\text{FEM.PL}}$

**au fost luat*
were achieved.$_{\text{MASC.SG}}$
**au fost luați*
were achieved.$_{\text{MASC.PL}}$

(18) *Maşina* *este* *condusă* *doar* *de (către)mine şi Mihai.*
car.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$-the is driven.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$ only by me and Mihai.
'The car has been driven only by Mihai and me.'
**este condus*
is driven.$_{\text{MASC:SG}}$
**este conduse*
is driven.$_{\text{FEM.PL}}$

(19) *Ieri* *s-a căutat* *un magazin* *de electronice.*
yesterday SE looked.$_{\text{N.SG}}$ for a shop.$_{\text{N.SG}}$ of electronics
'Yesterday they looked for a shop of electronics.'
**s-au căutat*
SE looked.$_{\text{N.PL}}$ for

The aforementioned type of agreement does not exist in the Hungarian predicative verbal adverbial construction. Consequently, it is not a surprise that L1 speakers of Hungarian committed a number of mistakes when using the Romanian passive, most probably due to negative transfer.

6.2. Problems with tense and/or aspect and agreement

Around 7% of the tested subjects had problems with agreement but also with maintaining the tense and/or aspect of the original active sentence. Compare the examples provided below.

(20) *Nota 10* *a fost* *luată* *doar* *de (către)* *doi studenți.*
grade.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$-the 10 was taken.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$ only by two students
'Only two students got A.'
**este luat*
is achieved.$_{\text{MASC.SG}}$
**e luat*
is achieved.$_{\text{MASC.PL}}$
**s-a luat*
SE achieved.$_{\text{MASC.PL}}$
**era luată*
was.$_{\text{PROGR}}$ achieved.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$

(21) *Merele* *se culeg* *toamna.*
apples.$_{\text{N.PL}}$-the SE pick.$_{\text{N.PL}}$ autumn
'Apples are harvested in autumn.'

**a fost cules*
was harvested.$_{\text{MASC.SG}}$
**e culese*
is harvested.$_{\text{FEM.PL}}$
**o să fiu culese*
I am going to be harvested.$_{\text{FEM.PL}}$

(22) *Ieri* *s-a căutat* *un magazin* *de electronice.*
yesterday SE looked.$_{\text{N.SG}}$ for a shop.$_{\text{N.SG}}$ of electronics
'Yesterday they looked for a shop of electronics.'
**era căutată*
was looked.$_{\text{PROGR}}$ for.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$
**este căutată*
is looked for.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$

As already mentioned in the previous subsection, mistakes involving agreement can be easily accounted for by negative transfer. There is no category of grammatical gender in Hungarian. Thus, at least on a lower level of Romanian knowledge, it is difficult for L1 speakers of Hungarian to avoid mistakes of such kind.

6.3. Problems with the agent BY-phrase

Another type of mistake is connected to the agent BY-phrase. If we consider the examples provided in (23), it becomes clear that some of the subjects of the empirical research have difficulties in choosing the appropriate preposition for the agent.

(23) Nota *10* *a fost* *luată* *doar* *de (către)* *doi studenți.*
grade.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$-the 10 was taken.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$ only by two students
'Only two students got A.'
**de la doi studenți*
from two students
**de numai doi studenți*
by just two students

(24) *Concursul* *a fost câştigat* *de (către) Alex.*
race.the was won by Alex
'The race was won by Alex.'
**de la Alex*
from Alex
**de numai Alex*
by only Alex
**de doar Alex*
by just Alex

(25) *Maşina* *este* *condusă* *doar* *de mine* *şi Mihai.*
car.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$-the is driven.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$ only by me and Mihai.
'The car has been driven only by Mihai and me.'
** pe*
on
**către*
towards
**cu*
with

The types of mistakes displayed above can only be explained by some students' poor level of Romanian. The choice of an inappropriate preposition leads us into concluding that some of the tested subjects do not possess a thorough knowledge of the Romanian passive. Of course, this conclusion cannot be generalized as around 1/3 of the subjects managed to provide correct passive structures.

6.4. Multiple problems

Around 28% of the subjects of our empirical research committed several types of mistakes in the same sentence. In the examples provided in (26) below, for instance, there is no agreement between the subject of the sentence and the participial verb form and, at the same time, the tense of the original sentence is not maintained. Some of the participial verb forms are erroneous (for instance, **este luă* 'is took' is a difficult type of mistake to illustrate in English as it is the simple past form of the indicative used instead of the participial form).

(26) Nota *10* *a fost* *luată* *doar* *de către* *doi studenți.*
grade.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$-the 10 was taken.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$ only by two students
'Only two students got A.'
**este luă*
is took
**este au luat*
is had took
**s-ar luat*
SE would take

(27) *Maşina* *este* *condusă* *doar* *de (către)mine* *şi Mihai.*
car.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$-the is driven.$_{\text{FEM.SG}}$ only by me and Mihai.
'The car has been driven only by Mihai and me.'
**sunt conducat*
am drove
**este conducem*
is are driving

**m-am condus*
I driven myself

Certain participial forms of the passivized verb proved to be impossible to translate into English, as they are inexistent verb forms in Romanian, as illustrated in the examples below. The verb *a culege* 'to pick' does not have any of the forms enlisted in (28).

(28) *Merele* *se culeg* *toamna.*
apples.$_{N.PL}$-the SE pick.$_{N.PL}$ autumn
'Apples are harvested in autumn.'
**este culegată*
**este culesă*
**să culesem*
**sunt culegă*

Summing up, it can be stated that, according to the test results, the level of Romanian turned out to be under expectations. As displayed in *Chart 2*, around 30% of the tested subjects committed several types of mistakes in the same sentence.

6.5. Data on the English passive

Following the test in Romanian, subjects who had attained levels B1/B2 were further administered a short test involving the passive in English. Consequently, this second part of the test was completed by a total of 58 students. Their first task was to complete a set of six sentences beginning with the direct object. They also had pictures for each sentence to guide them. In the second task, they had to translate six Hungarian sentences into English: two active sentences with the direct object in topic position, two more active sentences with the direct object in topic and the subject in focus position, and two sentences with the predicative verbal adverbial construction. They were expected to use the short or the long passive in all contexts, though this requirement was not stated in the task.

Around 68% of the tested subjects provided correct passive sentences in English in both tasks, while another 13.79% preferred active sentences. Around 6% of the students had problems with the main verb, i.e. the irregular third forms, and another 6.61% encountered problems in maintaining the tense and/or aspect of the original Hungarian sentence. Some of the erroneous examples are illustrated in what follows.

(29) *A fagyit* *a barátom* *fizette* *ki.*
the ice cream.$_{Acc}$ the friend.my.$_{N}$ paid perf$_{down}$
'The ice cream has been paid for by my friend.'
**The ice cream is paid for by my friend.*

Another type of mistake was connected to the agent phrase. More exactly, approximately 3% of the subjects used the nominative form of the pronouns in the agent BY-phrase, as illustrated in (30). Another 2.87% of the subjects of our empirical research committed several types of mistakes in the same sentence; for instance, they failed to maintain the original tense and/or aspect of the Hungarian sentence and used the incorrect past participle form of the main verb, as illustrated in (31) below.

(30) *Az ablakot* *ők* *törték* *be.*
the window.$_{Acc}$ they.$_{N}$ broke perf$_{in}$
'The window has been broken by them.'
**The window has been broken by they.*

(31) *A tolvajt* *elkapta* *a rendőrség.*
the thief.$_{Acc}$ perf$_{away}$.caught the police.$_{N}$
'The thief was caught by the police.'
**The burglar is chaught by the police.*

Comparing the results obtained in Romanian and English, we can easily notice that subjects scored better in English. They had fewer mistakes when using the English passive and provided answers for each task, as displayed in *Chart 3* below.

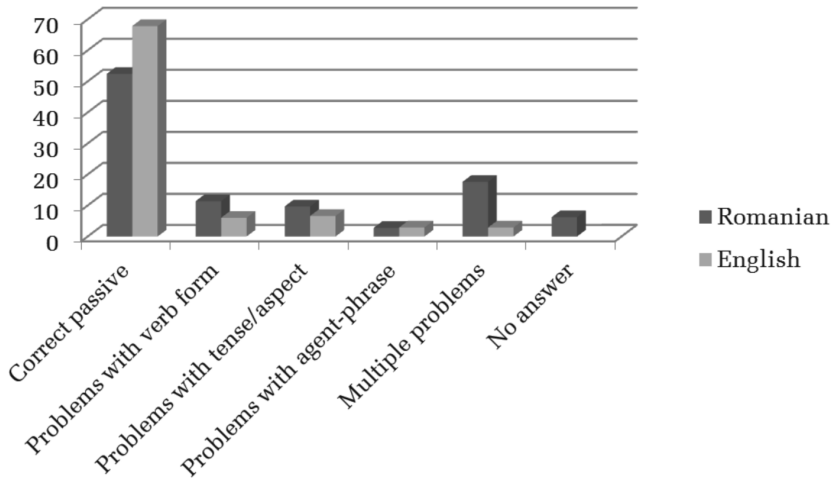

Chart 3. *Results comparing the empirical data on Romanian vs English passive*

In Romanian, agreement seems to be a problematic area since both the auxiliary and the participle verb form need to agree with the subject. At the same time, agreement concerns gender, as well, in addition to number and person. Since there is no grammatical gender in Hungarian, mistakes of this type can be explained by negative transfer from L1.

7. Conclusions

In the present paper, I have analysed the production of Romanian *be*-passive and *SE*-passive, and, based on the data obtained, I have outlined students' knowledge of the Romanian passive voice. Having in mind students' scores in the Romanian proficiency test (85% reached only levels A1/A2 or below), the percentage of correct answers (only 36%), and the types of mistakes that occurred, it can be concluded that the majority of students, native speakers of Hungarian from Miercurea Ciuc involved in our study, do not know Romanian properly, and as such Romanian can hardly be considered a facilitator in acquiring the English passive in their case.

Only a small percentage (around 15%) of the tested subjects can use correctly both English and Romanian passive structures. In their case, it is not clear whether Romanian influences their acquisition of the English passive, or it is the other way round, i.e. knowledge of English enabled the acquisition of Romanian passive. If we consider that some of them are Hungarian-Romanian bilinguals who grew up with both languages being spoken in their homes, we might conclude that in their case knowledge of Romanian facilitates the acquisition of the English passive. Yet, for the majority of L1 speakers of Hungarian from the area of Miercurea Ciuc, it seems that our hypothesis cannot be confirmed: it cannot be stated that Romanian really functions as a facilitator in the acquisition of the English passive.

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A Logical Approach to Modal Verbs 1 *Can* and *Could*

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Abstract. The article aims at a logical approach to discussing *can*, *could*, and *be able to*, organized around core meanings such as possibility, ability, and permission. We argue that the concept of "remoteness" proposed by Lewis in 1986 may simplify enough the explanation regarding the relationship between *can* and *could*, and their presentation relies on authoritative sources published for international (English), Hungarian, and Romanian students. The conclusion discusses both the importance and relativity of a number of occurrences (depending on different text types), trying to offer a possible teaching option for modals stemming from practice. The article is connected to the international conference in Miercurea Ciuc, entitled *Idegen – Străinul – Stranger*, focusing on English as a foreign language through the eyes of non-native speakers.

Keywords: modality, speech acts, remoteness, frequency, teaching modal verbs

1. Introduction

There are many warning statements about modal verbs, ranging from "problematic" or "complicated" to "messy" (Palmer 1990: 49), leading to a certain modal "abyss": whatever grammar book we consult in this respect, the approach is different, ranging from considering modals as irregular verbs (cf. some dictionaries) to the "ultimate" list of modal verbs, including or excluding certain entries (*used to*, *have to*, *be to*).

However, one of the grammar books highlights the importance of two rules regarding modal verbs, which may serve as a starting point: "modal auxiliaries occur in the first place in the verb phrase", and it is "not possible for them to co-occur with the others" (Lewis 1986: 100). These are very useful observations, but first we have to differentiate modal verbs from auxiliary verbs (*be*, *have*) or the emphatic *do*, as all these may occur in the first place in a verb phrase:

– *be* and *have* bear no meaning as auxiliary verbs, while modal verbs have their own meaning; *do* is basically the synonym of *really* or *indeed*, when used emphatically (*I **do** love you.*);

– as co-occurrence with other modal verbs is impossible, auxiliary verbs are not modal verbs:

*You **are being** naughty today. He **has had** breakfast. I **don't do** that anymore.*

– along the same line, few verbs may be considered modals; thus, they form a closed class with well-identifiable members;

– the membership of modal verbs may be extended to other verbs and constructions bearing certain modal forms and functions, which are considered *marginal* members.

There are more ways to refer to modal verbs: *modals*, *modal-auxiliaries*, *defective modal verbs* (lacking the majority of forms), *anomalous or special finites*, *mood formers* (Bădescu 1984: 383), even *secondary auxiliaries* (Greenbaum 1996: 153), although the term is not very logical, as they are always "first" in a string of verbs (cf. Greenbaum 1996: 260–266).

Even if modals express the "attitude of the speaker" (Palmer 1990: 2) in the form of specific *concepts* (possibility, necessity, politeness, etc.), a formal division is necessary (Quirk et al. 1980: 69; Quirk et al. 1985: 3–6; Swan 2005: 325–327), leading to:

1. central or *core* modals: *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*, *must*;

2. marginal, *peripheral*, *quasi-* or *semi-modals*: *dare*, *need*, *ought to*, *used to*; *have to*, and *be to* may be listed here;

3. semi-auxiliary (*modal*) verbs and constructions are formally "outside the [modal] system" (Palmer 1990: 3), such as *be able to* or *be going to*;

4. modal idioms: *had better*, *would rather*, *would sooner*, *have got to*, *could possibly*, *may well* (Quirk et al. 1985: 137);

5. catenative constructions: *appear to*, *come to*, *fail to*, *manage to*, *seem to*, *tend to*, etc.

The extended view of modality makes it difficult to set boundaries for modals, making it virtually impossible to delimit them (Murvai 2001: 59). In the present article, we deal with *can* and *could* – so, it is important to briefly discuss features of central modals.

2. Central modals. Form, function, and meaning

Central modals have a single form for all persons and numbers, whatever the time reference, and so they violate the rule of "concord" between the subject and predicate (Quirk et al. 1985: 149). Furthermore, they take over major auxiliary

functions:[1] they help forming the interrogative and negative forms – including question tags, also making it possible to delete the lexical verb in short answers –, being always first-positioned in a verb phrase, which entails that modals are all considered transitive, whose direct object is the weak verb following them (Bădescu 1984: 403):

*Jane **might be watching** the cranes flying over the city.*

A most important remark is that there is no co-occurrence of modal verbs, meaning that it is not possible for two central modal verbs to follow each other in a verb phrase (Quirk et al. 1980: 75); however, a marginal modal verb may be preceded by a central modal verb:

*You **must** be joking.* (modal verb)

*You will **have to** explain this.* (not a central modal verb, as preceded by a modal verb)

Central modals are followed – exclusively – by either the short (bare) infinitive (I. verb form) or a perfect infinitive construction (modal + *have* + III. verb form): *can breathe*, *must have arrived*.

As categories tend to be fuzzy in the majority of cases (cf. Eleanor Rosch's prototype theory), even central modals lack minor features. For instance, *can* has no perfective construction in the affirmative, while *may* cannot be contracted with *not* (**mayn't*), or *must* has no distinctive "past" form. Although formal features are important, the meaning of modals is of utmost importance as they are connected to *modality* and *speech acts*. A thorough description of modal verbs should mention both form and (communicative) function, but it should include inter-linguistic discussion as well, such as their possible translation(s) into other languages. In this respect, the English modals are rather complex as they may lead to three possibilities (for instance, Hungarian or Romanian):

1. they may have their "accepted" equivalents (word for word): *can ~ tud* (Hu. 'able to'); *can ~ poate* (Ro. 'able to', 'it is permitted');

2. they may be "represented" by a verb suffix: *can ~ -hat, -het* (Hu. suffix to express possibility) or *-na, -ne, -ná -né* (Hungarian conditional suffixes); *s-ar putea* (Ro. 'it may be possible', which is the conditional mood in Romanian);

3. they may "disappear" in less polite translations: *Can you help me? ~ Segítesz?* (Hu. 'Do you help me?'); *Mă ajuți?* (Ro. 'Do you help me?'), although conditional/polite formulations are still possible (Hu. *Segítenél?*; Ro. *Ai putea să mă ajuți?*).

A justified question is whether modal verbs are "possible" to describe in a satisfactory (effective) way, as non-native speakers do need them in order to communicate successfully as modality is a natural companion to factual information. In fact, not much hope arises from Palmer's approach: "There is no doubt that the overall picture of the modals is extremely 'messy' and untidy and that the most the linguist can do is impose some order, point out some regularities,

1 See, for instance, the NICE properties in Huddleston (1976: 333).

correspondences, parallelisms. But there is no single simple solution…" (Palmer 1990: 49).

A possible starting point is the native language, which may be rather different form English; for instance, Hungarian is a Finno-Ugric language, thus synthetic, with many suffixes and few tenses, while English belongs to the Indo-European branch, it is analytic with hardly any suffixes and a well-developed system of tenses, resulting in a string of even four verbs. These differences are immediately obvious when Hungarian students try to formulate their sentences in English:

Hu. *Megehettük volna.*

En. *We could have eaten it.*

The example clearly shows that the perfective combination with modal verbs belongs to the "realm" of intermediate, upper-intermediate, or advanced levels, as the first Hungarian word encapsulates a verbal prefix (*Meg-*), the root verb (*e* for *enni*), the suffix expressing possibility (*-het*), followed by the past tense marker (*t*) and the first person plural marker (*-ük*); this is synthetic enough, but it is also completed with a perfective word referring to the past, suffixed by a hypothetical marker. While beginners can handle well conditional sentences type I (*If you love me, I will marry you.*), they will refrain from using conditional sentences type III (*If you had loved me, I would have married you.*), especially when the modal verb is different than *would*. Thus, it is plausible to discuss modal verbs after verbs, tenses, conditionals, and hypotheticals have been tackled with, although modal verbs pervade the entire English grammar, and the natural need of non-native speakers drive them towards basic uses of central modal verbs, at least in "present"-case scenarios.

On the one hand, it is not only linguists who are interested in language, while on the other hand it is our firm belief that linguists do not have to "impose" anything, as rules of a language are not created by linguists, leading to further complications, beyond the range of the present article.

After having formally separated modal verbs from non-modal ones, their meanings must be also dealt with. It is also clear that *objectivity* and *subjectivity* must be included in the explanations, together with "basic" meaning and meaning deriving from the "context". Thus, rather subjective categories, such as *politeness*, may be discussed in terms of degrees instead of absolute rules, offering the chance to compare, for instance, *can*, *could*, *may*, and *might*. Some might accept *can* as perfectly polite (possibly completed with *please*), while others would prefer *could*.

The relationship between them and non-modal verbs may overlap in form, function, and meaning, leading to a desperate attempt to tackle them either individually, with a special focus on their form (affirmative, interrogative, and negative) and meaning (past, present, future reference), or constantly comparing them to each other to reveal (hidden) shades of meaning. As a full and systematic

approach is near-impossible, we will try to follow a "personalized" approach in pairs, as modals represent "one of the most complicated problems of the English verb" (Lewis 1986: 99).

The time reference of modals is "now", more precisely when the speaker's utterance is voiced, paraphrased as "in the present circumstances, my judgment is that it is possible / necessary / desirable that …" (Lewis 1986: 102) – so, their meaning is context-based, which is at least the length of an entire clause or sentence, if not a paragraph. The fact that not all modals have remote pairs further strengthens the idea that modals are not "designed" to express only temporal relationships. When used in interrogation, only the modality and not the entire proposition is questioned (Palmer 1990: 41), and the special meaning of modal verbs is reflected even in question tags:

John must not fail, mustn't he?

The example shows that the tag is meaning-based, as formally it would have required *must*.

3. Modality and speech acts

Modality is a semantic term taken from logic (Murvai 2001), dealing with judgements originating from the speakers' opinion and "attitudes" (Greenbaum 1996: 80) or the "speaker's assessment of probability and predictability" (Greere & Zdrenghea 2000: 29), referring to (non-) factuality (truth value of utterances: certainty, probability, possibility) or reflecting "the speakers' judgment of the likelihood of the proposition it expresses being true" (Quirk et al. 1985: 219); the other option is "human" control over the situation (obligation, permission, intention, and the marginal ability).

These are readily expressed by modal verbs, although other verbs (*hope*), nouns (*suggestion*), adverbs *(perhaps*), and adjectives (*able*) also contribute to the full palette of modality. The shortest possible definition is that modality deals with *non-factual* or *not actualized* things, actions, or events (Aarts 2011: 275), while a well-summarized definition is that modality "refers to a speaker's or a writer's attitude towards, or point of view about, a state of the world. In particular, modals are used to say whether something is real or true, or whether it is the subject of speculation rather than definite knowledge" (Carter & McCarthy 2006: 638).

Although there are many types of modality (e.g. *alethic*, *buletic*, *axiological*, *temporal*, *rational*, *existential*), grammar basically deals with three types:

– *epistemic* possibility is "concerned with knowledge and / or inference based on some evidence" or drawing conclusions (Aarts 2011: 276); as such, it is often arbitrary, subjective, referring to the *possibility*, *prediction*, or *necessity* of the situation; "something is or is not the case" (Palmer 1990: 50);

– *deontic* obligation is connected to necessity, permission, or prohibition, "getting people to do things or (not) allowing them to do things" (Aarts 2011: 276) or "what is required or permitted" either by authority or judgement (Huddleston & Pullum 2005: 54), supposing that there is "some kind of human control over the situation" (Greenbaum 1996: 80);

– *dynamic* volition, ability, and courage (Huddleston & Pullum 2005: 55), although these are neutral and circumstantial meanings (Aarts 2011: 277), as – for instance – ability has little to do with subjective judgements, and it cannot be imposed.

The semantic and pragmatic value of these types of statements is definitely subjective (filtered through the "eyes" of the speaker), but there is an undeniable communication gain in the extended modal meaning (Murvai 2001: 68).

As our primary aim is *can* and *could*, we have to premise that all sources agree that these are connected to possibility, which makes it necessary to discuss *speech acts*.

The intricacy of *speech acts* derives from at least two various sources: first, how they may be expressed and secondly because they are highly subjective, resulting in ambiguous and overlapping semantic and pragmatic meanings and values. Speech acts may be expressed by the following options: declaratives as questions, modal verbs, interrogatives, and imperatives (Carter & McCarthy 2006: 679–713). In our opinion, one of the most comprehensive summarizing table of speech acts belongs to Leech and Svartvik (2002: 128–151).

As speech acts are subjective, there are overlaps; for instance, *expectation* may be connected to both necessity ("I expect something because it must be done") and possibility ("I expect it because it can be done"); *obstinacy* may stem from *volition refusal* ("although I have to do it, I won't"), *ability refusal* ("I am able to do it, but I won't"), or *logical deduction refusal* ("I know this is going to happen, but I won't change anything about it"); *advice* may have multiple implications, depending on the social status of the speakers involved.

Table 1. *Leech & Svartvik's speech acts*

A. LIKELIHOOD	B. ATTITUDES TO TRUTH	C. MOOD	
1 possibility (+ tentative) 2 ability (theoretical possibility 3 certainty/logical necessity 4 prediction/predictability 5 probability (degrees of likelihood)	1 certainty 2 doubt/uncertainty 3 belief/opinion (assumption, appearance)	Volition 1 willingness 2 wish (neutral, hypothetical) 3 intentional 4 insistence	Emotions 1 (dis)like 2 preferences 3 hope (tentative) 4 regret 5 wish 6 (dis)approval 7 surprise 8 concern 9 worry
D. PERMISSION		E. INFLUENCING PEOPLE	
1 permission 2 obligation/compulsion 3 "other" obligation a. "internal" obligation b. "strong" recommendation c. "insistence" obligation (official regulations, formal documents) 4 involving future a. warning b. promise c. threat d. regret e. offer	1 prohibition (negating permission) 2 "weakened" prohibition (negative advice)	1 command a. direct, imperative b. "politer" c. using downtoners 2 request a. direct b. "indirect" 3 advice a. advice b. suggest c. invite	

We have also collected concepts of *possibility*, ranging from near-factual ("this is the case") to close to non-factual ("this is not the case") ones:

Table 2. *Possibility, ability, necessity*

inability lack of ability	impossibility lack of possibility		unnecessary lack of necessity
opportunity **ability** choice	**POSSIBILITY**		
	speculation suspicion doubt hesitation uncertainty	likelihood belief, conjecture supposition educated guess confidence presumption inevitability	**logical necessity** probability assumption inference deduction prediction conclusion certainty

Although the degrees are subjective (e.g. *near-impossibility/uncertainty – probability – certainty*), these concepts are typically associated with possibility. Modal verbs are often arranged on a scale of possibility (or synonymous terms such as *likelihood*): *must*, *can't*, *could*, *may*, *might* (cf. O'Connell 1999: 142–144).

Remoteness (cf. Lewis 1986: 102) highly simplifies the way modal verbs are discussed as it offers a logical solution how the modal "pairs" should be treated: although we know that they are not the "present" and "past" pairs (*can-could*, *may-might*, *will-would*, *shall-should*), contradictions are used to prove it:

I'm lost now. ***Could*** *you help me?*

She ***can't*** *have seen my brother yesterday, as he is in Darjeeling now.*

The best explanation we have found so far is that each and every modal verb "is fundamentally grounded in the moment of speaking, at the point of Now" (Lewis 1986: 102), and so the concept of "remoteness" describes the relationship between the pairs, understood on multiple levels:

– remote in time: *can* "present/future" *could* "past"; when either *can* or *could* is followed by the perfective *have* + III. verb form, the context is past;

– remote in possibility/from facts: *tentative*, *conditional*, *hypothetical* constructions (*If you can show me…*; *If you could just show me…*);

– remote in volition/emotion: *insistence (will) – indifference (could as well)*;

– remote in relationship: *politeness* (*Can you tell me…? Could you tell me…?*).

4. CAN

Can is arguably one of the most widely used modal verbs (the most frequent – cf. Carter and McCarthy 2006: 642), following *will*[2] or even *would*[3]; however, it is sure that its importance cannot be neglected.

The core meaning of *can* is associated with objective *possibility* (Lewis 1986: 104) or perceiving the existence of possibility (Lewis 1986: 113), within which we can highlight *ability*, even if it is considered to be a marginal modal concept, because the speaker's judgement is of little importance. A more "diplomatic" view is that *can* represents a "semantic merger" of ability and possibility, as in case there is ability, then it is generally possible (Aarts 2011: 313).

Ability is an important concept (Newbrook & Wilson 2001: 215–217), which is "best considered a special case of possibility" (Quirk et al. 1985: 221) or labelled as "extrinsic", "theoretical possibility" (Leech & Svartvik 2002: 129); this probably means that it can be "activated" anytime. This is possible because *ability* is defined in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Trumble & Stevenson 2002: 5) and online[4] as:

– "suitable or sufficient power" → strength;

– "capacity to do something" → inherent capacity, capability, possibility;

2 Cf.: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/projects/verb-phrase/modalfindings.htm, retrieved on: 26.02.2017.

3 Cf. the top 3,000 English words [A 3000 leggyakoribb angol szó 2007].

4 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ability, retrieved on: 24.02.2017.

– "legal competency" → talk about permission;
– "a special power of the mind, a faculty" → knowledge, know-how, natural;
– "possession of the means or skill to do something" → skill, know-how;
– "talent, skill, or proficiency in a particular area" → learned, natural.

Although *ability* may be expressed by various verbs and expressions (*be capable of*, *knows how to*, *manage*, *succeed*, *fail*), it is most typically associated with *can*, *could*, and *be able to*, including their negative versions as well (*can't*, *couldn't*, *be unable to*), which usually express lack of ability. These may refer to past, present, or future, displaying a wide range of subtypes discussed within *can*, *could*, and *be able to*.

Can may express the following ability types (possibility of non-restriction, basically durable ones (Bădescu 1984: 407):

– Physical ability: *John* ***can lift*** *a sack easily.*

– Mental (cognitive, linguistic) ability or competence: *John* ***can remember*** *all the missions. Jane* ***can understand*** *the importance of missions.*

– Moral ability: *You* ***can do*** *some good, for a change.*

– Instrumental ability: *Jane* ***can't scythe****, but she* ***can play*** *the guitar.* (lack of ability, skill, competence)

– Sporadic, occasional ability (Gălățeanu-Fârnoagă 1995: 204), also referred to as existential (Aarts 2011: 291), circumstantial, or contingency ability: *If cornered, Jane* ***can be*** *very dangerous. You* ***can meet*** *famous people at Cafe Blikle in Novy Świat. Bad things* ***can happen*** *very easily.* (these are usually non-durable)

The interrogative form is rather puzzling as the ability in fact refers to a request (cf. Palmer 1990: 23):

Can *you* ***reach*** *for the knife?* (~ I think you can; so, do it, please.)

– *Sense verbs* are typically associated with *can*: non-native speakers tend to omit the modal verb, overlooking the fact that the meanings are obviously different:

We ***can't hear*** *as faint noises as dogs* ***can****.* ("general" ability)

I ***can't see*** *anything in this darkness.* (impossibility to distinguish anything in a particular situation)

I ***can see*** *you now.* (non-durable possibility, similar to Present Continuous – cf. Gălățeanu & Comişel 1982: 60)

I ***can't see*** *why you're crying.* (metaphorical impossibility: "I don't understand it.")

These types of ability are clearly part of *possibility* (cf. lack of "visible" evidence in case of ability versus evidence-based possibility), as – depending on the circumstances – these utterances may turn to tentative, hidden (im)polite requests and commands (*She* ***can be*** *very fast [if she wants to]. She* ***can be*** *the chosen one.*). Tentative (or conditional) ability is associated with *opportunity* or *free choice* (types of possibility connected to future), expressed by modal verbs

(*can*, *could*) or certain phrases: *If you want/would like/decide to …, It's up to you (to decide), It's your call/choice/decision, Nobody will stop you if …, The choice is yours. You will have the opportunity/possibility to …, You're free to anything.* The temptation (financial, moral, ethical, social, etc.) may remain theoretical or become strong enough anytime to trigger an event or reaction; hence the ability/possibility aspect, leading to further uses:

– logical, objective, neutral, "generally and all time true" (Soars 2008: 153), dynamic possibility or impossibility, mostly referring to a single event: *It's very cloudy. It* ***can rain*** *any time.*

Possibility may have varying degrees (Budai 2007: 182), such as hypothetical solutions (*It* ***can be solved****…*) or imminent possibilities (*If you turn right, you* ***can see*** *the castle.*), connected to ability.

– temporary, "sporadic" possibility may lead to criticism (Vince 2009: 66): *John* ***can be*** *lazy sometimes.*

– (im)possibility may be decided by the law or rules (Preda 1962: 320): *Say it quickly, as I* ***can*** *only* ***talk*** *on the phone for three minutes.* (leading to permission)

– supposition, logical deduction combined with distrust, doubt or amazement (Preda 1962: 320): ***Can*** *he* ***behave*** *like that in front of ladies? That pale guy* ***can suffer*** *from a serious disease.*

– physical, moral, mental or legal impossibility (Lewis 1986: 104) associated with epistemic necessity (knowledge-based conclusion (Aarts 2011: 294)) expressing the confidence of the speaker (even if he may be wrong): *You* ***cannot be right*** *about that. John* ***can't pass*** *the exam; he hasn't learnt an iota.*

Past impossibility is expressed by *can't* + *have* + III. verb form:

Jane ***can't have met*** *John in 2001.* (I just don't believe it.)

The negative form may be part of a construction referring to impossibility stemming from personality or characteristic (Palmer 1990: 131): *I just* ***can't help*** *smiling.* ("It is just impossible for me not to smile.")

Another extended use of *can* is associated with *permission*, which is on the borderline between *possibility* ("once you are permitted, it is possible") and *obligation*: "an external authority" grants or refuses permission (cf. prohibition), while the person involved asks for the possibility of permission, without violating Fillmore's "sincerity" by disrespecting the social relationship between the interlocutors (1975: 224). This is an important observation as the possibility and permission senses of *can* overlap when used instead of *may* (Aarts 2011: 293):

– (rather impolite) asking for permission or requests may be associated with *can*, which is the spoken or informal (colloquial) alternative to the more polite and formal *may*: ***Can*** *I take it?* This is usually addressed to very close acquaintances although not recommended unless softeners are used (***Can*** *I take it,* ***please****?*), or the verb is replaced (***Can*** *I* ***have*** *it?*, ***Can*** *I* ***have*** *it,* ***please****?*).

– a specific use is connected to courtesy (Palmer 1990: 78), which asks for permission:

***Can** I **get** you a drink? **Can** I **ring** you back?*

– in case permission is granted, the dividing line between expressing permission (granting a request) and giving an order may be thin:

*You **can leave** now.* (1. That's not a problem. 2. You are let go.)

*You **can help** your sister with her homework.* (1. permission granted 2. reproach 3. order)

– talking about permission (Swan 2005: 100–102): *We **can bring** anyone to the party. According to the law, you **can defend** your property. Passengers **can have** refreshments any time.*

Can is also mentioned as expressing "freedom of constraint" against the constraint of *can't* (Wierzbicka 1996: 104–107), arguing that these are connected to fundamental human experiences, such as physical, moral, and social rules, power, opportunity, ability, skill, freedom, and wanting (*God **can do** anything.*), which corroborates the meanings of *can* presented so far. Further *speech acts* may be associated with *can*:

– *order* or command, which may be concealed (request) or not: *Now you **can** both **leave**, I have heard enough. **Can't** we **turn over** a new leaf?*

– the tentative ability or possibility may lead to mild *suggestion* or *advice* for future (Bădescu 1984: 419) instead of using the imperative, including even polite refusal or postponement (promise, possibility): *I'm sure you **can become** a successful lawyer. We **can talk** about it later. **Can't** we (just) **stop** now for a break?* (the negative-interrogative form is used when expecting confirmation)

– *offer* to help (Budai 2007: 184), as a special type of suggestion (*can* combined with *if*): *I **can clean** your glasses if you want me to. If need be, we **can raise** money for the cause.*

– *agreement* may be expressed with the help of an idiomatic expression: ***You can say that again.***

– uncertainty or *doubt* (interrogative and negative forms): *Now honestly, **can** you **believe** that he is in love with you? **Can** Jane **have hidden** the weapon in the attic?*

– strong *prohibition*, in which case *can't* is an alternative to *mustn't*: *You **can't bring** in weapons.*

– *can* is emphasized in various (typically negative) feelings:

1. impatience, annoyance, surprise:

*What **can** the colonel **mean** by "collateral damage"?*

*Now, what (on earth) **can** you **tell** about all your blunders?*

2. irritation may be felt for typical, habitual actions (Budai 2007: 184):

*You **can be** so rude sometimes.*

*The life and times of your neighbour **can be** boring, indeed.*

5. COULD

At this stage, we know that *could* is the remote pair of *can* (Lewis 1986: 112) regarding time (cf. reported speech or past ability), possibility and impossibility (less probability, more tentative and hypothetical, unfulfilled conditionals), criticism for not fulfilling expectations (*could have* + III. verb form), volition, and social relationship (polite formulations).

This approach makes way to various options for *remote ability*:

– Physical or general ability in a context-based past (cf. Murphy 1994: 52): *John* ***could lift*** *two sacks of sand yesterday.* However, the context may express actuality, referring to present (Palmer 1990: 96): *John, how* ***could*** *you* ***make*** *it in time?*

The grammatical past ability does not necessarily mean that it is fulfilled: *John* ***could have lifted*** *two sacks of sand yesterday.* (grammatical past)

– mental ability in the past: *Jane* ***could write*** *at the age of five.*

– "tentative" (present or future) ability (*could* combined with *if*), expressing various concepts: *She* ***could help*** *you if you asked her.* (advice)

– sense verbs associated with *could* refer to the past: *Jane* ***couldn't hear*** *the orders clearly due to the heavy gunfire.*

– hypothetical past ability (or possibility) which may turn to criticism on two reasons:

1. it is unfulfilled (Greenbaum 1996: 274), so the criticism is for not doing things (Swan 2005: 102): *She* ***could have helped*** *you if you had asked her.* (Why didn't you ask her?)

2. negative comparative structures with *could* suggest fulfilment above or below expectations (cf. Budai 2007: 187); Vince 2009: 65): *Jane* ***couldn't be*** *more effective. Look around! I know, but she* ***could be*** *even* ***better****... John* ***couldn't have been*** *luckier (than meeting Jane).*

Remote possibility is exemplified below:

– remote present possibility or mild suggestion (less certain, more tentative than *can*): *John* ***could be*** *right* ('I don't know better.'). *I'm sure you* ***could become*** *a successful lawyer.* ("one day")

– remote possibility (more distant from real possibility) may take the form of spontaneous asking for help: *You* ***couldn't lend*** *me €150,467 for that Ferrari,* ***could*** *you?*

– supposition, deduction combined with distrust, doubt, or amazement (Preda 1962: 321): ***Could*** *he* ***behave*** *like that in front of ladies? That bleeding guy* ***could be telling*** *the truth.*

– impossibility with the negative form of *could* (at least the speaker is sure about that) or unwillingness (Vince 2009: 66): *John* ***couldn't be*** *right about that. John* ***couldn't*** *possibly* ***leave*** *his comrade behind.*

An important remark is that when *could* is combined with *all*, *the only one*, *nearly*, and *almost*, it is associated with semantic negation (Palmer 1990: 95), which is only partially true for *can*: ***All*** *Jane* ***could do*** *was to call for John. She knew that John was* ***the only one*** *who* ***could negotiate*** *successfully. John* ***could almost wash*** *all the dishes before Jane arrived home. Jane* ***could nearly be taken*** *by surprise during the first day of the mission.*

– context-based past possibility: *John* ***could be*** *there when the incident happened.*

– past (im)possibility (Pawlowska & Kempinski 1996: 121) or unfulfilled suggestion (*could* combined with *if*); *could* is less categorical than *can* (Preda 1962: 322): *The colonel* ***could have helped*** *John. The colonel* ***couldn't have known*** *about his desperate situation. If she* ***could have been*** *the lead actor, she would have played in the film. You* ***could have helped*** *me if you had really wanted to.* (unfulfilled possibility, reproach).

– past (im)possibility deriving from logical deduction: *John* ***could have arrived*** *in Venice by now. Jane* ***couldn't marry*** *John because he was nowhere to be found. Now honestly,* ***could*** *she* ***have eaten*** *all the candies in five minutes?*

Remote permission is also associated with *could*:

– "tentative" present/future permission (*could* combined with *if*): ***If*** *Jane* ***could be*** *the lead actor, she would play in the film.* (much more remote ask for permission than *can*)

– past permission: *I* ***could take*** *only two candies from the tray.* (I was allowed to ...) *He* ***couldn't use*** *his fingers to count.* (He wasn't allowed to…)

This case is connected to reported speech as the sentences above can be easily headed by an introductory sentence in the past: ***My mum said that*** *I* ***could*** *take only two candies from the tray.* ***The teacher told him that*** *he* ***couldn't*** *use his fingers to count.*

– remote permission results in an elevated degree of politeness (compared to *can* or *would*):

Could *I* ***take*** *your pen?*

Could *I* ***take*** *your pen,* ***please****?*

Could *you (****possibly****)* ***give*** *me your pen,* ***please****?*

I ***don't suppose*** *you* ***could give*** *me your pen,* ***could*** *you?*

Could *I (****possibly****)* ***have*** *your pen,* ***please****?*

The answer needs *can* or *may* (Zdrenghea & Greere 1999: 258):

Yes, you ***may****. No, you* ***may not****.*

Yes, you ***can****. No, you* ***can't.***

Further speech acts are also possible with *could*:

– *doubt*, uncertainty with various overtones (such as suspicion) or options (such as thinking aloud, internal monologue, or demonstrating it to someone):

*John **could have arrived** in Venice by now. Jane **couldn't marry** John because he was nowhere to be found. **Could** she **have eaten** all the candies in five minutes?*

– utmost (bombastic) desire, impulse, ardent *wish* (Budai 2007: 188); Gălățeanu-Fârnoagă 1995: 206): *I **could die** for you. I **could kill** for a fag. John is so happy that he **could promise** the moon and the stars to Jane.*

A ramification of this sense is connected to hypothetical (analytical subjunctive) constructions (Bădescu 1984: 409): ***If only** you **could understand** my situation! **Suppose** we **could obtain** a lot of money easily, what would you buy? I **wish** you **could have met** the Does last night!*

– *suggestion* (Vince 2009: 66): *I **could** do you a favour.* ("Just in case, you know.")

– various (typically negative) feelings, possibly leading to extreme behaviour:

1. impatience (more express than *can*): *How **could** he **shoot** like that? How **could** you **do** that to me? How (on earth) **could** John **have sorted** this out?*

2. irritation, reproach, or criticism (for non-performance – Thomson & Martinet 1986: 136): *You **could have helped** me. **Couldn't** John **have told** us that he was going to get married? Why **couldn't** the colonel **send** more support?*

3. mild *reproach*, scolding (also *suggestion*, *advice*): *John **could be** a bit more attentive to details. You **could stop** presenting more examples.*

The negative form is more explicit: ***Couldn't** you **stop** treating her like a queen?*

At this stage, a certain "urban legend" should be demystified, namely the issue of addressing to someone formally or informally ("thouing"). Although English is often regarded as a language which makes no difference between formal and informal way of addressing to people, modal verbs do reflect social closeness or remoteness, especially combined with first names or polite titles: *Mr*, *Ms*, *Sir*, *Madam*, etc. In this respect, *can* is used for friends, being "closer" than *could*, which should be used with strangers or politer ways of addressing people. However, *could* is not the only option for distancing, as verb choice (*give* versus *have*), adverbs *(possibly*, *well*), or the choice of first name or family name all contribute to the overall effect.

6. BE ABLE TO

Modal alternatives (modal paraphrases, alternative constructions, marginal modals, semi-modals) are needed to refer to more explicit past, present, or future reference as central modal verbs have only one form, and they may offer interesting shades of meaning compared to central modal meanings.

Be able to is a construction expressing ability, possibility, and necessity, gaining a more formal status (Palmer 1990: 90); so, it is "much more common in writing

than in speech" (Palmer 1990: 103). Time reference is much easier to follow, and its future form is rather frequent (Budai 2007: 189), which also demonstrates that it is not a central modal verb (being preceded by *will*):

*Jane **was able to handle** the situation alone.*

*I'm sure John **will be able to carry out** the mission successfully.*

*The colonel was sure that John **would be able to carry out** the mission successfully.*

However, it should be noted that no modal alternative can fully replace the full set of a modal verb meanings. In this case, *can* and *could* typically refer to general ability or possibility (happening many times), while *be able to* is used to express:

a. single, specific, particular, and surprising ability (Dohár 2004: 81);

b. involving (overcome of) difficulty (Bădescu 1984: 411);

c. opposition (Gălățeanu-Fârnoagă 1995: 208);

d. becoming more stressed (Budai 2007: 188), especially that it can have degrees of comparison.

Possible alternatives are *managed (to)*, *succeed (to)*, while the negative scale is represented by *fail (to)*, *unable (to)*, *couldn't*:

*I'm sure that Jane **is able to understand** this cryptic message.*

*John **was able to do** it again.*

*Jane is a person **more able to handle** the situation.*

*John is the person **most able to negotiate** with the rebels.*

There are two options to construct the negative form (Budai 2007: 188): *The colonel **is not able to handle** the situation. The colonel **is unable to cope** with stress.*

A most interesting combination of grammar and culture is revealed by comparing *can* and *be able to*. While Palmer (1990: 90–99) argues that *can* means "can and will do" ("timeless" *can*) and *be able to* means "can and does", this is in fact the *Miranda* warning:[5]

*Anything you say **can and will be used** against you in a court of law.* ("anytime")
*John **is able to handle** the (this specific) situation.*

7. Conclusions

As countless books and articles have been written on modality, we cannot claim that the present article brings too much novelty to the issue of modality and modal verbs. Nevertheless, the way we approach them tries to offer a wider perspective of *can*, *could*, and *be able to*, and, hopefully, a more logical one. Although the references come from authoritative native speaker authors (Cambridge and Oxford

5 Cf. non-violation of the Fifth Amendment to US Constitution: http://mentalfloss.com/article/86769/10-facts-about-miranda-warning-you-have-right-know, retrieved 09.03.2017.

publications), they still lack an important feature: why and how these modal verbs represent a problematic category for specific non-native speakers. This is why we checked important Hungarian, Romanian, and Polish publications, trying to summarize all relevant information regarding these modals.

We agree with Lewis that neither an over-simplification of the problem nor offering minor examples is the best solution; so, we have tried to succinctly collect uses of these modals and arrange them with the central organizing concept of remoteness. Thus, *can* and *could* may be described in a logical pair with modal concepts of *possibility*, *ability*, *permission*, etc.

Teaching modal verbs is an eternal challenge, but this does not mean that there are no successful options, starting from theory followed by practice, or concepts first and then exemplified with modal uses. A newer alternative might be facing the students with well-chosen samples, enabling them to formulate possible rules. In this respect, we can recommend a set of quotes and proverbs with *can* as a lead-in activity:

*If you think you **can** do it, you **can**.* (John Burroughs)

*Whether you think you **can**, or you think you **can't** – you're right.* (Henry Ford)

*Any customer **can** have a car painted any colour that he wants so long as it is black.* (Henry Ford)

*In this world nothing **can be said** to be certain, except death and taxes.* (Benjamin Franklin)

*You **can't** make an omelette without breaking a few eggs.*

*You **can't** judge a book by its cover.*

*You **can** lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink.*

*You **can** catch more flies with honey than with vinegar.*

*You **can't** have your cake and eat it too.*

*You **can't** teach an old dog new tricks.*

Learners may wish to discuss and translate them, but it is obvious that this must be completed with "real-life" situations. TV series may be motivating enough to watch and check modal verb occurrences and frequency. One of our favourites is *Castle*,[6] having 8 seasons with 173 episodes (combined) of at least 40 minutes' length each, that is 6,920 minutes, or more than 115 hours. It may be shocking to realize that the first season alone contains a multitude of *can* and *could* uses:

6 http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1219024/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1, retrieved 26.02.2017.

Table 3. *Can, could, be able to in* Castle

***Castle,* S1 E1–10**	***CAN***	***COULD***	***be able to***
affirmative	119	83	7
affirmative with negative meaning	1		
affirmative with interrogative meaning		2	
negative	62	30	3
negative with negative-interrogative meaning	2	1	
negative-interrogative	2	1	
interrogative	46	12	1
present/tentative	all	63	6
past (modal + I.)		45	5
past (modal + *have* + III.)		20	
TOTAL	**226**	**128**	**11**
		365	
Similar meaning: *capable* 1, *manage* 7, *succeed* 1			

The table clearly shows some interesting cases:
Unless *you* ***can break*** *his alibi on this one, he's a dead end.*
You ***can't just say*** *"night"****?***
What's the matter, sweetie? You ***can't hack*** *it out there alone****?***
Why can't *you just* ***admit*** *I was right?*
Why can't *they* ***find*** *bodies between 9:00 and 5:00?*
I ***was wondering if*** *I* ***could take*** *a moment of your time.* (at a funeral)
So I ***could make*** *the front page of "the ledger"?*
Why *couldn't we* ***stick*** *around?*

However, the first season is a meagre 5.78% of the entire series, and so the potential number of *can* and *could* cases may be more than 6,000, offering a wonderful opportunity to collect interesting cases, leading to the importance of frequency. The importance of choice may be connected to the number of occurrences, especially when studying a foreign language at different levels. Although data may differ in various sources, it is worth looking into the statistics regarding modal verbs.

It is clear that the higher the frequency, the more situations are possible for a particular modal verb to be used, but non-modal factors still have to be considered. *Will*, for instance, is a suitable modal to function as the future *operator* (a term which may be applied, by and large, to the majority of auxiliaries and modals, involved in forming the negation and interrogation, although "imported" from logic). Aarts frequency table per million words (2011: 280) shows a high frequency for *can* (2,652 spoken + 2,533 written), *can't* (792 + 222), and *cannot* (80 + 316),

while *shall* has slightly over 400 occurrences. Yet, text type is relevant, as in one single EU document (146 pages) we found 616 (!) *shall* occurrences, while this number was only 2 for *can*, 10 for *cannot*, and not a single example was found for *could*.[7] This is why the target audience must be considered, as – for instance – language exam students have different needs compared to translation and interpretation students.

While the use of *can*, *could*, and *be able to* referring to "present" circumstances is suitable for beginners and lower age-groups (*Can you help me, please?*), more advanced students can already distinguish the shades of politeness between *can* and *could* (cf. remoteness in social relationships) in the present (*Could you do me a favour, please?*), it takes much more time and practice to successfully use these modals in past contexts, especially when Hungarian or Romanian source sentences contain only suffixes that may indicate modal interpretations in English. This gradual shift from beginner to more advanced level is actually reflected when the word-for-word translation (Hu. *tud*, Ro. *poate* – En. *can*) turns to a suffix-for-word translation (Hu. *-na, -ne, -ná, -né* – En. *could*) in present conditionals. Anything beyond that (past context, passive, past unfulfilled conditionals, reported speech involving modals) is worth discussing at more advanced levels, making the students aware of the grammar areas they can handle whenever a new subject is dealt with.

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7 Cf. www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/itre/draftreports.html?linkedDocument=true&ufolderComCode= ITREufolderLegId=7&ufolderId=06804&urefProcYear=&urefProcNum=&urefProcCode; retrieved on: 12. 04. 2012.

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Book Review

DE GRUYTER OPEN

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Fabrizio Macagno, Douglas Walton *Interpreting Straw Man Argumentation. The Pragmatics of Quotation and Reporting*

Cham: Springer Publishing House, 2017

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The interdisciplinary field of pragmatics and argumentation proves to be a very thought-provoking area. One of the latest achievements of the domain is a book authored by two distinguished scholars in language philosophy, pragmatics, and argumentation theory, Fabrizio Macagno and Douglas Walton, and is entitled *Interpreting Straw Man Argumentation. The Pragmatics of Quotation and Reporting*. The volume addresses one of the most current topics of our age, the issue of applying a special kind of strategy in political arguments.

In recent political debates, it is frequently very difficult to decide whether the opposing candidates' position is correctly interpreted and presented, or it is distorted and manipulated. Due to the fact that the latest US presidential debates were often characterized by "misquotations, attacks based on incorrect quotations, and accusations of misquotations" (Macagno–Walton 2017: xiii), the authors of the book propose to analyse these linguistic and argumentative issues, especially concentrating on a strategy called in the literature "the straw man fallacy", which best illustrates the wilful alteration of one's opponent's words or communicative intentions. The "straw man fallacy" was originally referred to as the Aristotelian sophism, a clever but false argument called *ignoratio elenchi*, i.e. ignorance of what must be proved against one's adversary, proving something other than what is at issue. As the authors define it, "the straw man in the attack on (or refutation of) a view that the speaker attributes to his adversary, but that does not correspond to the adversary's actual position, but rather to a distorted (misrepresented) version of it" (Macagno & Walton 2017: xiii). Attacking a view that only resembles the one advocated by the adversary presupposes several

strategies of distortion and misrepresentation (Walton 2003: 42–44). These strategies are investigated and mapped in the book.

The authors propose to provide instruments from pragmatics and argumentation theory to assess whether a quotation is correct and whether the original speaker has been correctly interpreted. The book also investigates how quotations can be distorted and used for manipulating the original speaker's commitments. Finally, it also aims at describing the dialectical and rhetorical strategies based on misquotations (in doing so, the argumentation theory hallmarked by van Eemeren and his research group is heavily referred to). They propose to show how these strategies can be analysed and diagnosed, offering the misquoted party tools for countering and rebutting the quoting person's move.

Due to the fact that semantic ambiguity frequently characterizes natural communication, the line between interpreting one's words correctly and purposely altering a speaker's commitment is often blurred. In several cases, speaker meaning is simply implied (not explicitly uttered), i.e. it is simply taken for granted. In order to properly infer (retrieve) what our interlocutor meant, the tacit dimension of communication needs to be taken into account, i.e. the implicit aspects of an utterance, the presuppositions related to it, and the assessment of the interpretation that can be considered acceptable. This is the process of pragmatic inference. It includes taking into account the purpose of the dialogue, the co-text (the linguistic environment in which an utterance is used within a discourse), the context (the entirety of circumstances that surround the production of language), and the mutual contextual beliefs (encyclopaedic facts and habits) that surround a dialogue. When doubts arise concerning the meaning of an utterance, interpretation becomes of utmost importance. Interpretation is a critical process in which the interpreter needs to find the meaning grounded on the most acceptable reasons, "arguments, evidence, and presumptions, supporting an interpretive conclusion that can be compared with the alternative ones" (Macagno & Walton 2017: xvi).

The most evident areas in which quotations are crucial are communication, rhetoric, and public discourse. In order to prove their point, the authors use examples from famous speeches from American political life, speeches delivered by former and current presidents like Nixon, Obama, Bush, Clinton, and Trump, political debates but also defamation cases and legal discussions. They examine 63 examples of uses of quotations and misquotations and 20 legal cases through which they provide not only an analytical and normative framework but they also offer practical methods to apply this framework to real-life arguments.

The book is structured into five main chapters, each one containing several subchapters and ending with conclusions. The first chapter discusses the argumentative use and manipulation of quotations by referring to how the quoter uses the original act of the Original Speaker (OS) to pursue his own dialogical or communicative goal.

The second chapter is entitled *Communicative Intentions and Commitments*, and it focuses on the problem of direct or indirect reporting of a point of view, pinpointing the fact that no reporting can be analysed by disregarding the context in which it appears and the intention of the speaker. Reports are related to the relevance of the quotation; they are always dependent on the purpose the quoter is pursuing in his/her discourse. In terms of argumentation theory, both quotations and reports can be approached according to whether they support or refute the interlocutor's viewpoint, i.e. they can be evaluated as pieces of evidence to be used as arguments for or against the opposing party's stance.

The third chapter focuses on the issue of *Establishing Commitments between Ambiguity and Misquotation* and examines quotations and misquotations from an argumentation perspective, clarifying the relation between quotations, interpretations, and commitments. This chapter also shows the existence of different kinds of ambiguity and how this ambiguity can create presuppositions to be properly identified by using the so-called Gricean implicature. The authors draw attention to the fact that "a potential ambiguity can be used as a strategy for manipulating commitments for holding the quoted party responsible for positions that he never advocated" (Macagno & Walton 2017: xviii).

Chapter four turns to *The Strategies of Misattribution of Commitments*, investigating the argumentative mechanism that can be used for interpreting ambiguous or potentially ambiguous utterances. It is here that the different types of straw man are discussed. As mentioned above, the straw man is a weaker, distorted version of the original speaker's claim or argument, and, according to the authors, this can be carried out via meta-dialogical strategies (directly or indirectly attacking the original speaker) and dialogical strategies (rejecting the claim or argument of the OS by exclusion, rebuttal, or undermining).

Last but not least, chapter five, entitled *Evaluating Relevance and Commitments in Rhetorical Straw Man,* summarises the results obtained through the analyses carried out in the first four chapters and clarifies the interrelation between the various aspects of the fallacy of straw man. The final conclusion is that the straw man fallacy is a failure of relevance, thus arriving at a new definition of relevance (originally proposed by Sperber & Wilson 1995 [1986]), this time appropriate for argumentation. In this sense, "relevance can be used as a criterion for assessing the reasonableness of an interpretation or report" (Macagno & Walton 2017: xviii).

Through the use of numerous examples and very clear explanations, the book *Interpreting Straw Man Argumentation. The Pragmatics of Quotation and Reporting* is a useful resource book not only for specialists, scholars in the field of communication in general, and political communication in particular, in argumentation theory, rhetoric, and pragmatics but also for students and non-specialists who would like to get an insight into the identification and repair of

the defects of argumentation arising from the misquotation and misrepresentation of an arguer's position.

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