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Crossing Language Borders – as Shown by the Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania¹

Borbála ZSEMLYEI

Department of Hungarian and General Linguistics
Babeş–Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
zsemlyei@yahoo.com

Abstract. Transylvania has always been a space of multiculturalism, which is reflected in the fact that the Hungarian regional standard contains more Romanian and German elements than the central standard. And that is not only peculiar to the present state of the language, but it is a historical phenomenon. During the process of editing the Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania, Attila Szabó T. and his co-workers realized that the language material gathered from Transylvanian archives contains a number of Hungarian words of Romanian origin that the literature has no knowledge of. Thus came the idea of a smaller dictionary which would present the Romanian loan words of Hungarian spoken in Transylvania in the period of the 16th–19th centuries. By the mid-1980s, the editorial work was finalized; however, it has never been published – the material is kept at the Department of Hungarian and General Linguistics, Babeş–Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. In my paper, I will attempt to present the words of Romanian origin listed in the Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania, which the general literature of loan words has no knowledge of in the context of crossing borders, in the sense that neighbouring languages always have a huge impact on each other even if they are completely different genetically.

Keywords: Romanian–Hungarian language contact, loan words, Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania

Introduction. Languages in contact

It is a linguistic commonplace that languages living next to each other in the same geographic region influence each other in various ways. Language interference has been studied for several decades already, one of the earlier definitions being

1 This study was presented at the AHEA Conference in Cluj (July 2015).

“those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact” (Weinreich 1968: 1).

Another linguistic commonplace brings into play the main characteristic of language contact, which is that loan words are usually culture specific to the language they come from (Benč 2008: 60).

These two commonplaces are particularly characteristic to Transylvania, which has always been a space of multiculturalism reflected in the fact that the Hungarian regional standard contains more Romanian and German elements than the central standard. And that is not only peculiar to the present state of the language, but it is a historical phenomenon.

The case of Transylvania – historical background

The population of Transylvania is ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse. In the Transylvania of the XVth–XIXth centuries, the political power was shared among the Hungarian nobility, the German burghers, and the seats of the Székelys; yet, the population – besides Hungarians and Germans – consisted of Romanians as well. The Romanians did not take part in the political life of Transylvania, but they belonged to the lower social classes; thus, the Hungarian–Romanian language contact took place among lower social classes.

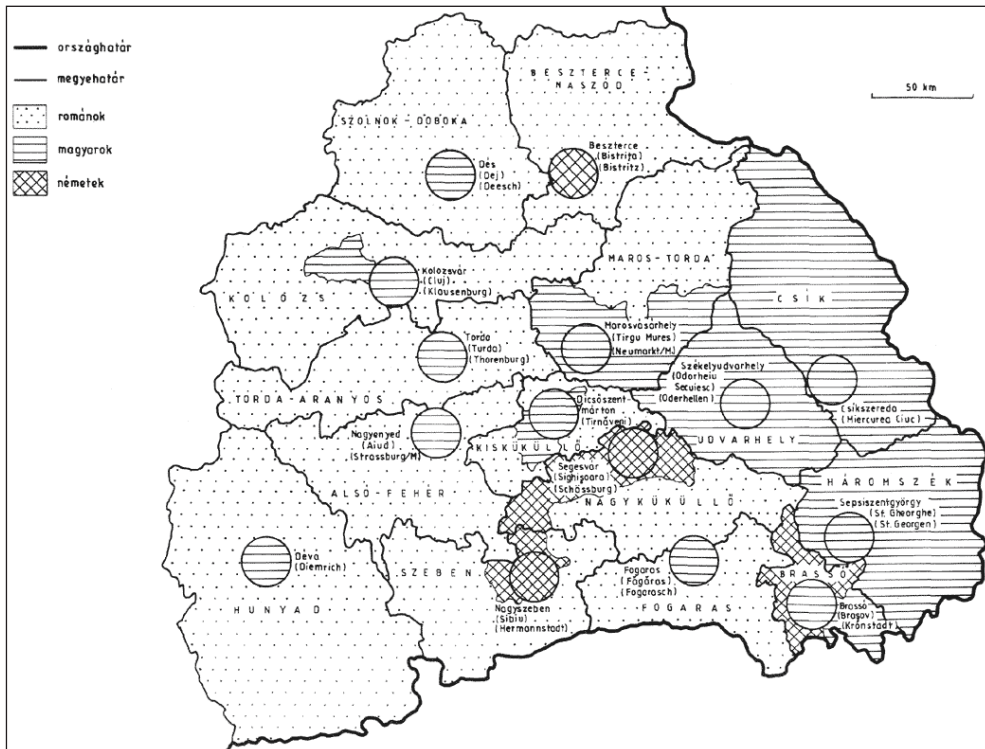
As it can be seen in *Map 1*, by 1850, there were several counties in Transylvania (Arad, Timiș, Caraș-Severin, Hunedoara, Alba, Cluj, Bistrița, Sibiu) that had a majority of ethnic Romanians, while Hungarians were in majority in Bihor, Satu-Mare, Mureș, Harghita, and Covasna. This means that 58% of the population was Romanian, 28.2% Hungarian, and 10.6% German (<http://terkepek.adatbank.transindex.ro/belso.php?nev=78>).

Therefore, it is natural that the Romanian language (purple dots on *Map 2*) was widely spoken on the territory of Transylvania.

Under these geographic, ethnic, and cultural circumstances, the Hungarian language (mainly but not only) used in Transylvania has been largely influenced by the surrounding Romanian language. As the two languages are not genetically related, the lexical system suffered the most influence, whereas other systems, such as the morphological or syntactic system, did not undergo major changes – yet, the effect of Romanian can be detected on all levels of Hungarian used in Transylvania.

It is a linguistic commonplace that the loan words usually are culture specific to the language they come from (Benč 2008: 60); thus, all borrowings reflect the Romanian lifestyle in one way or the other.

At present, there are 122 Romanian elements in the standard register of Hungarian, that is the use of these words is not restricted to Transylvania (e.g.



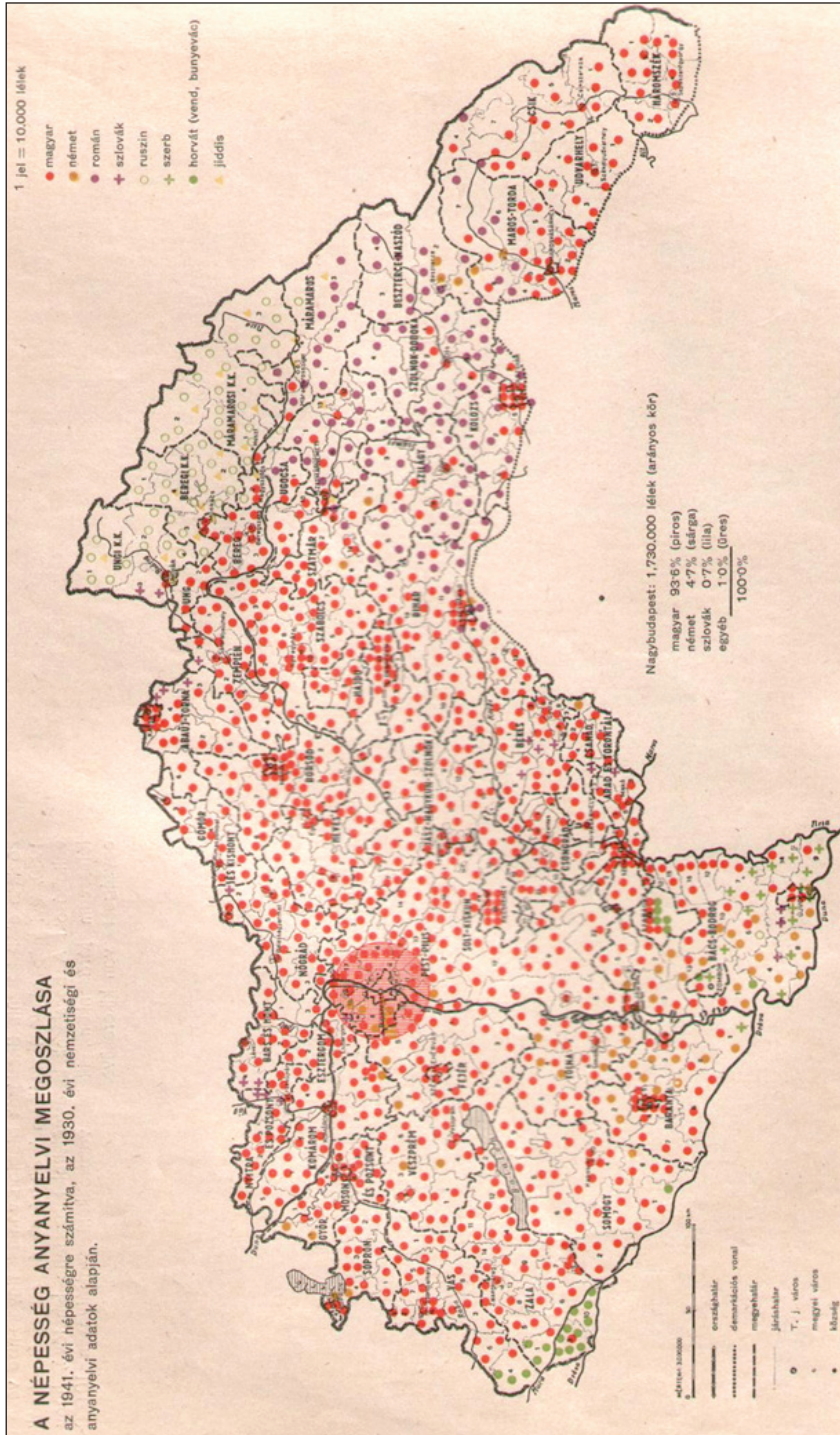
Map 1. The ethnic situation of Transylvania in 1850²

esztrenga ‘primitive fence to keep the sheep in one place’, *cáp* ‘male goat’, etc.). The Hungarian dialects of Transylvania are richer in Romanian loan words: there is a total of 2,300 elements of Romanian origin.

Table 1. Chronological aspects of Romanian loan words (Bakos 1982: 378)

Century	Number of words	Example
14.	4	<i>kosár</i> ‘basket’
15.	10	<i>kaliba</i> ‘hut’
16.	53	<i>cimbora</i> ‘friend’
17.	80	<i>furulya</i> ‘flute’
18.	134	<i>áfonya</i> ‘blueberry’
1800–1871	176	<i>cujka</i> ‘brandy’
1872–1900	383	<i>lej</i> ‘Romanian currency’

2 The dotted area represents Romanians, the striped area Hungarians, and the chequered area Germans.



Source: http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-j68DmoSi3-I/UWF_19FFybl/AAAAAAAAAAHg/nQbvrkW_pk/s1600/12.-1-%C3%A9nk%C3%A9p1.png

Map 2. Languages in Transylvania

The table above shows the number of Romanian loan words appearing in Hungarian in every century, starting with the 14th. It can be very well seen that the number increases from century to century, reaching its peak in the 19th century. The table does not include any data from the period following Trianon, which – due to the political, geographic, and demographic changes – had the strongest Romanian influence, as the status of the two languages in contact changed: Romanian becoming the official language and Hungarian a minority language.

Previous research of the Romanian influence on Hungarian (dialects)

The first steps into the research of Romanian–Hungarian contact date back to the 19th century. In his work *Vocabularium* (1816, Vienna), Sámuel Gyarmathy proved the Romanian origin of several Hungarian loan words. János Gáspár, József Vass, and Pál Hunfalvy dealt with smaller details of the matter. Antal Edelspracher listed 142 words of Romanian origin in his study *Rumun elemek a magyar nyelvben* [Romanian elements in Hungarian] (1876). In the *Magyar Tájszótár* [The dictionary of Hungarian Dialects] (1893–1901) edited by József Szinnyei, a number of 340 words were proved to be of Romanian origin, and the list was later completed by Gergely Moldován with data from Alsófejér County. István Damian in *Adatok a magyar–román kölcsönhatáshoz* [Data to the Romanian–Hungarian influence] (1912, Budapest) added a further 200 words to the existing list. The only Romanian study was written by Géza Blédy, *Influența limbii române asupra limbii maghiare. Studiu lexicologic* [The influence of the Romanian language on Hungarian. A lexicological study], which appeared in 1942 in Sibiu, and it already mentions 570 words. A thorough monography of the Romanian elements in the Csángó dialect, *A moldvai csángó nyelvjárás román kölcsönszavai* [The Romanian loan words of the Csángó dialect in Moldova] was authored by Gyula Márton and appeared in 1972. The most extensive work on this matter was published by Gyula Márton, János Péntek, and István Vöö, *A magyar nyelvjárások román kölcsönszavai* [The Romanian loan words of the Hungarian dialects] (Bucharest, 1977), and it contains 4,243 words.

A field less researched is that of the Romanian and Hungarian language contact from a historical perspective. There are very few studies that attempted to give a chronological analysis of the Romanian influence on Hungarian. György Alexics (1911) put together a list of the words of Romanian origin in the army lexicon. István Takáts in his work *Rajzok a török világból* [Sketches from the Turkish period] (Budapest, 1915) presented words related to shepherding. Ferenc Bakos published the most detailed monography with the title *A magyar*

szókészlet román elemeinek története [The history of the Romanian elements of the Hungarian lexicon] (Budapest, 1982).

The data of the *Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania* as a valuable source of the Romanian–Hungarian interference

The *Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania* contains the complete vocabulary of the Hungarian language used in Transylvania in the period of the 15th–19th centuries. It is unique in the sense that it reflects the spoken language since it was the policy of legal processes in the period mentioned above that the witness accounts had to be registered precisely, word by word, stating the name, age, job, and social status of the witness. Therefore, words of Romanian origin are included either as entry words or appear in the witness accounts of Romanian witnesses.

The borrowings from Romanian can be grouped into the following categories:³

1. the human (body parts, illnesses, cures, life, characteristics, etc.) (*bába* ‘old woman’ 1749: Mítru ... Pop Urszult öszve szidá azért hogy azt monad néki, miért sir mint egj bába, és belé garázdálkodék részegen Mítru Urszulba, tépelődni kezdé(ne)k [Szentbenedek SzD; MvRk]; *muntyán* ‘man living in the mountains’ 1700: Az utrumban Specificalt Személlyeknek az Attyokat hitták Opris Peter(ne)k; és nem Csonokosi örökös jobbágy volt, hanem Havasoly földi Muntyán volt és onnan származat ki [H; Szer. Dumitru Sandon (50) jb vall.].);

2. kinship and other human relations (*fáta* ‘Romanian girl’ 1661: De talám azért nem jutott eszedben, gondolád, nem fiókád, hanem fátád leszen; az is enyém leszen, én fáradságomnak munkája, nem tied [TML II, 176 Teleki Mihály feleségéhez, Veér Judithoz]; *kumnát* ‘brother-in-law’ 1725: Barna Birtolomély... Circiter 8 Esztendeje aufugialt; és most Besztercze székbén egy Sude Paskuly nevű Cumnattyoknál commorál [Körtvélyes SzD; BK. Buta Birtolomej (78) vall.].);

3. clothing (*calcun* ‘a type of boots’ 1802: Nyikuláj Szláva ... fekete Czondrában, fejer harisnyába, és rövid Káltzunba (: Tzöpökbe :) [DLt nyomt. Kl]; *kozsók* ‘a type of coat’ 1619: Tudom azt hogj Gwtteo Peter feyet keote Beczj imreh Vramnak ket rendbelj latorsagaert giapiaknak es kosoknak lopasaert [BLt 3 Debreczj Balas Z.Martonj (70) ppix vall.].);

4. foods and drinks (*hiribigomba* ‘a kind of mushroom that grows in the forest: porcini’ 1855: A jobbágy felesége ... Ősszel fél véka mogyorót, két füzér hiribi gombát, félkupa kömény magot ... ád [ÚjFE 181]; *orda* ‘special kind of cheese’

3 The examples are taken from the *Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania*.

1548: Továbbat ím az kecskéhez majort költem, ki mind sajtját, ordaját, berenczéit uaját megtudja czinálnia [Fog.; NádTLev. 137 Nádasy Tamáshoz].);

5. the house and its surroundings (*kaliba* ‘small hut’ 1570: Brassay Symon, Megh eskwek es ezt valla ... Mykor az vyzztay ember haytia volt Eokreit az Talas Mathe zeleye gepwye mellet ... Az Talas Mathe haygalny kezte feoldel es karo Darabal az Eokreket Az vyztay ember azon keppen Matet ... Mathe az kalibaban fwtot, Zabliat Es egy darab karot hozot ky kezebe [Kv; T]k III/2. 46]; *kilim* ‘colourful carpet’ 1656: Ket tarka viseltes veresses szeönyeg, Edgik az Aztalon ... Ket tarka kilin; Edgik uy, az masik viseltes [Doboka; Mk Inv. 2 néhai Magyarvégyantai Boros János inv.]);

6. stock-raising (*bács* ‘shepherd’ 1569: hitwan baczynak hozasayrt ew maga marazta harmincz keth forinton. Zabo Mathe harmincz keth forintig volt kezes az hitwan baczynak hozasairt [HSzj]; *berbécskirián* ‘young tup’ 1782: Fejer nagy Juh ... Fejér Kirlán ... fekete Kirlán ... Fejer nagy Berbécs ... Fejér berbecs Kirlán ... Fekete berbecs Kirlán [Mezősámsond MT; Berz. 5. Fasc. 42. S. 84]);

7. other rural activities (*kaláka* ‘voluntary work’ 1785: mikor Néhai Sámuel Diák a’ csűrét éptette tudom, hogy kalákát kére é sot vala kalákába szarvazni Réti Csutak István Uram is [Kovászna Hsz; HSzjP Sigismundus Sigmund (32) ns vall.]; *podvoda* ‘compulsory work’ 1780 k.: a’ Borgai Jozság ... két rendben egy esztendőben küldtetett Padvodába [FogE 196].);

8. nature (*lunka* ‘plough-land’ 1617: Abrugifalvi hatarb(an) az meli Lunka ide ala vagion Istuan deaknal szalagb(an) huz forintb(an) egienlokeppen valczia ki es osztozzanak [Abrudbánya; Törzs]; *pojenica* ‘small grassy field in the forest’ 1782: azt tudom hogy égy helyyetskét a Gorbai határon in vályyá Unguruluj nevezetű vőlyben Pojáná Boldizsojénak hívják melly Pojenitzát én tudom, hogy olly kitsiny helyy volt tsak az én emlekezetemre is, hogy alig termett meg rajta égy szekeretske széna... de ezen Pojenitzát miért hívják annak, nem tudom [Paptelke SzD; JHbK VIII/18 Petrán Togyér Senior (72) jb vall.].);

9. industry, trade, money, and measures (*izlot* ‘old money’ 1636: az mi kegyelmes urunk eö nagysaga kegyelmesen engette megh hogi Moldvaba be küldhessek egi Konztantin nevü bojer baratomhoz ... az melly Bojer Konztantin nevü nekem ados volt ... es marattam adossa neki eötven eöt zlottal [Gyeke K; Hurm. XV/II, 1021 Vesselenyi Boldizár Beszt-hez]; *patrarica* ‘a quarter of a given money’ 1836: Rettegi Sándor Urnak Cselédgyei a malombol menet Haza felé meg állottak, az Uttzán ... a kik én hozzám bé jővén pálinka innya, bé jövetellekkel egy Tébujéztban egy vékányit hoztak bé Gabonával ... az édyik Cseléd ... azt a Tébujéztot a Szekérhez ki vitte, és Törők buzát hozott osztán bé, pálinkáért mit egy Patraritzát fizettek Szemeim előtt [Kendilóna SzD; RLt Zsimán Silipp (52) vall.].);

10. culture, traditions, customs, entertainment, games, and superstitions (*batuta* ‘a kind of Romanian folk dance’ 1775–1806: Kótyászó szerelmü szép Fátákat láttam ‘S Tráján’ jobbágyival batutát is jártam [(Révai Miklós) Két nagyságos elme 91]; *kolindálás* ‘Christmas carolling’ 1752: Tudgyaé a Tanu nyilván, és bizonyoson

... hogy ennek előtte Cir(citer) hat esztendővel Ns Hunyad v(árme)gyéb(en), All Gyogyon ... Alb Opra nevű Jobbágya Házához, az oláhok szokások szerint Karátson bőjtin, kik szoktanak volt kolindilás (!) véget északánként Conflualni, nevezze meg a Tanu [BK vk.);

11. politics, administration, army, religious life, and church (*beszerika* ‘church’ 1645: It Kis Budako(n) liuei olah attjafiak ez el mult üdökb(en) az Beszerikajokbul ugan alkalmas kart valuan, az mely Papiok akkor tayba(n) itt lakot az Vejuel eggiüt arra vagio(n) minde(n) erős Gjanosagok [Kisbudak BN; RLt Rettegjh István lev.]; *kununáltatja magát* ‘gets married’ 1762/1845: köszönje a’ Leány is, hogy Apjával vagy oláh Pappal nem kununáltatta magát [Hermányi, EDem. 316–7].).

As the *Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania* contains such a great number of valuable data regarding the Romanian–Hungarian language contact, the idea of another dictionary occurred during the process of editing: a dictionary that would contain all the words of Romanian origin in the Hungarian dialects of Transylvania: *A magyar nyelv feudalizmuskori román kölcsönszavai* [The Romanian loan words of Hungarian in the feudalist period]. The editorial work of this dictionary was completed by the mid-1980s by Piroska B. Gergely, Ferenc Kósa, Zoltán Szabó, Márta Vámszer, and János Zsemlyei, but it has never been published. It followed the editorial principles of the *Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Transylvania* except that the words were grouped in lexical families. For example: *berbécs* – all words containing *berbécs* either in compounds or derivatives can be found in the same place: *berbécs/berbécsbárány*, *-bőr*, *-bőrirha*, *-címer*, *-gyapjú*, *-forma*, *-hús*, *-juh-bőr*, *-kirlán*, *-láb*, *-mióra*, *-orrú*, *-pásztor*, *-pecsenye/diszkeberbécs*, *diszkeberbécs-bárány*, *diszke vert berbécs*, *juhberbécsbőr*, *kirlánberbécs*, *kos*, *majorság*-, *mióra*-, *-nótin*-, *vert berbécs*.

Project for the future

The edited material is kept at the Hungarian and General Linguistics Department, Babeş–Bolyai University. The dictionary contains around 1,255 entry words. It would be necessary to revise the material in the light of new bibliography and prepare it for publishing.

The dictionary would be a great source for researchers studying contactology, historical linguistics, historical sociolinguistics, historical pragmatics, etc.

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Critical Reception of William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* in America and in Romania

Aliz FARKAS

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania
Institute of Humanities
farkasaliz@yahoo.com

Abstract. The history of reception of William Faulkner's most cherished work, *The Sound and the Fury*, tellingly reveals the changes that have occurred in reader attitude toward the novel since its first publication in 1929. The main purpose of this paper is to explore the modalities of interpretation employed by three, culturally and historically distinct "interpretive communities" (Fish 1980): American literary critics and reviewers evaluating the novel upon its first publication, Romanian literary critics and reviewers expressing their opinion on the Romanian translation of the novel published in 1971, and contemporary Internet bloggers and commenters discussing their reading experience with the novel.

Relying on Hans Robert Jauss's notions of "aesthetic distance" and "horizon of expectation" (Jauss 1970, 1982), I have raised two questions that I will try to answer at the end of this paper. First, I would like to see whether the literary career of *The Sound and the Fury* follows the trajectory from initial rejection to wide acceptance with increasing aesthetic value, as predicted by Jauss's theory. Second, I am interested in finding out whether those features of the novel that were initially perceived as unfamiliar and incomprehensible were indeed incorporated into the later readers' horizon of expectations, so that they no longer pose problems for the readers.

Keywords: William Faulkner, *The Sound and the Fury*, aesthetic of reception, interpretive communities

Introduction

Benjy's narrative, the introductory section of William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* is a challenging text for both the simple reader and for the translator. It is conceived as a discourse produced by a mentally disabled person, who at the age of 33 is considered by the people surrounding him to be stuck in his intellectual development at the stage corresponding to that of a three-year-old child. All this

information about Benjy's state is not made clear from the beginning, but as the narrative unfolds the reader comes across some hints and clues that guide him to the conclusion that the narrator is an "idiot". In spite of its apparent simplicity, the text reveals an intricate system of cognitive and linguistic stimuli to the reader, which all converge in the direction of triggering an affective response. These cognitive and linguistic stimuli include such devices as the use of perception verbs for triggering temporal shifts in the discourse (from the time of the narrated events to a more distant past or the other way round) instead of using appropriate temporal or spatial deictics – an apparently emotionless, precise, camera-like record of the physical and social environment and of the events through the eyes of the narrator. The whimsical juxtaposition of the story details that appeal to the reader's instinctive pursuit to complete and organize the fragments into a coherent and logically interpretable story.

In Hans Robert Jauss's aesthetic of reception (1970, 1982), the effects of the reader's reception of a particular literary work are twofold: aesthetic and historical. In Jauss's words:

The aesthetic implication is seen in the fact that the first reception of a work by the reader includes a test of its aesthetic value in comparison with works which he has already read. The obvious historical implication of this is that the appreciation of the first reader will be continued and enriched through further "receptions" from generation to generation; in this way, the historical significance of a work will be determined and its aesthetic value revealed. (1970: 8–9)

By pushing this train of thought a bit further, I assume that the first readers of a literary work are more prone to misjudge its aesthetic value if it fails to satisfy their expectations shaped by earlier literary experiences. Another implication of Jauss's idea would be that the appreciation of a particular work adds up in a cumulative fashion, so that the further it moves in time the more aesthetic value it gains.

Another point made by Jauss is that once the aesthetic distance between reader expectation and literary work starts to shrink, the original negativity of the work fades away, and what was initially perceived as a "pleasing alienating new perspective" (1982: 25) builds into the reader's horizon of expectations.

The main goal of this paper is to test the relevance of Jauss's hypothesis regarding the reception and acceptance of a literary work of art that apparently flouts the literary conventions of the time of its first publication. I would like to find out whether it is the case that – as Jauss predicts – subsequent reading communities become more receptive to the innovative aesthetic aspects posed by Faulkner's novel. And, as a corollary to this, I would also like to see if those features of

the novel that were initially perceived as unfamiliar and incomprehensible were successfully incorporated into the later readers' horizon of expectations. From a sociological perspective, the question can be reformulated by making use of Stanley Fish's concept of "interpretive communities": does the reception of the novel vary according to the social and aesthetic norms held by different interpretive communities? To put it another way: do interpretive communities separated by temporal and geographical distances (or both) display differing aesthetic and thematic sensibilities leading to significant differences in the reception and appreciation of the novel?

In search of answers, I will survey the book reviews, critical works, and comments of three, culturally and historically distinct reader communities, namely: American first readers evaluating the novel upon its first publication, Romanian literary critics and reviewers expressing their opinion on the Romanian translation of the novel published in 1971, and contemporary Internet bloggers and commenters discussing their reading experience with the novel.

Discussion

1. Early American reviews

In my attempt to gain general insight into the early American reception of the novel, I relied heavily on a number of works that reproduced either entirely or in part some of the original book reviews. I am indebted to Thomas M. Inge for his book *William Faulkner: The Contemporary Reviews* (1995), Nicholas A. Fagnoli, Michael Golay, and Robert W. Hamblin for their *William Faulkner: A Literary Reference to His Life and Work* (2008), O. B. Emerson for *Faulkner's Early Literary Reputation in America* (1984) as well as to John Bassett for his two important books, *William Faulkner: An Annotated Checklist of Criticism* (1972) and *William Faulkner: The Critical Heritage* (1975).

With regard to the main topics of the reviews, two patterns seem to emerge: some of them focus on the local and universal significance of the Compson family's tragedy as well as on ethical and moral interpretations, whereas some others raise questions of text intelligibility and reader attitudes. Since the purpose of the present paper is to reveal the changes occurring in reader attitudes over time, I have selected for discussion reviews falling into the latter group.

Clifton Fadiman chose a telling title for his book review: *Hardly Worth While* (1930). He appreciates Faulkner's technique but dismisses the content of the novel: "The theme and the characters are trivial, unworthy of the enormous and complex craftsmanship expended on them" (Inge 1995: 38). The review addresses

other questions too, which I regard as important. First, there is the question of intelligibility, a problem raised by many early readers. According to Fadiman, the confusion the novel creates in the reader is symptomatic to the whole contemporary “revolutionary” trend of novel writing: “Frequently the intelligent reader can grasp the newer literary anarchies only by an effort of analytical attention so strained that it fatigues and dulls his emotional perception. He is so occupied in being a detective that by the time he has to his own satisfaction clarified the artist’s intentions and technique he is too worn out to feel anything further” (id. 38).

These words reveal a reading strategy that gives primacy to the analytical level of comprehension over any other levels (e.g. emotional). This strategy seems to be based on the assumption that one has to arrive at a rational understanding first in order to be able to experience emotions. This is an expectation that *The Sound and the Fury* refuses to satisfy bringing about a lot of criticism from readers who employ this reading strategy.

Curiously enough – and this is another equally relevant observation made by the reviewer –, it is precisely the unintelligibility of Benjy’s monologue that elicits Fadiman’s appreciation, the only objection being that it goes on for too long: “I admit that the idiocy of the thirty-three-year old Benjy is admirably grasped by Mr. Faulkner, but one hundred pages of an imbecile’s simplified sense perceptions and monosyllabic gibberings, no matter how accurately recorded, are too much of a good thing” (id. 39).

In many reviews, the problem of unintelligibility is closely associated with Benjy’s section, which is also praised by others for its high artistic value, a thing that sometimes gives rise to contradictory evaluations. Howard Rockey’s review entitled *Fiction, Largely European and Very Good in Average* (1929) is a perfect example in this respect: despite the positive title, the writer can hardly conceal his irritation over this “example of perfection in idiotic expression”, even confessing his compelling urge as a reader of Benjy’s section: “After reading a few pages the reader feels tempted to apply for admission to the nearest insane asylum” (Fagnoli et al.: 292).

In his review *Southern Family Sinks into Dark Mental Decadence* (1929), Harold W. Recht praises Faulkner’s performance of genuinely grasping the way Benjy perceives the world around him: “The first day is presented through the eyes of Benjy, the idiot son, and here, unless I am misled by the novelty of the idea, Mr. Faulkner has done a brilliant piece of writing. No tale heretofore told by an idiot was nearly so sad or so beautiful” (Inge: 34).

However, he accuses the writer of disrespect towards his readers for deliberately driving them into confusion. He objects to Faulkner’s careless selection of the kind of information that he wishes to communicate to the reader: his withholding of crucial information on the one hand and divulcation of unimportant details on the other (Id.: 34–35).

Nevertheless, Recht claims that the merits of the novel richly compensate for such annoying features, and he even considers the possibility of a second reading – a suggestion made by several other reviewers as well: “However, these are minor matters which need not detract from the merit of a novel much above the average, and if they inspire a second reading, so much the better” (Id.: 35).

The idea of multiple reading mentioned by the reviewers and repeated by later critics reveals one of the basic effects of Benjy's section: in an unusual way, once it is read, it is not exhausted as would be the case with many other most conventional narratives: rather it invites the reader to a second and third reading after he has read the whole novel. It leaves a kind of unsatisfied curiosity in the reader, a kind unsettling feeling comparable to that one which might urge one to turn around and look back on something he has passed by earlier so that he can see it from a different angle and in a different light.

This confusion inviting to a second reading is exactly what Ted Robinson remarks in his review *Full of Sound and Fury, Horror Tale Sinks Spurs into Snorting Nightmare* (1929). After stating that he “was sadly confused” during “the first part of this horrid story” (Inge: 37), he goes on to explain how he would have proceeded unless prevented by lack of time: “If I had had time I should have gone back and read the first part again, after I finished the book, just to get the chronological order straightened out” (Ibid.). Robinson even credits Benjy with the performance of successfully conveying his story in spite of all appearances suggesting utter chaos. In doing so, Benjy contradicts the title of the novel since “from the standpoint of plot and atmosphere, this idiot's tale signifies a good deal. The confusion referred to results from the fact that in the idiot's consciousness there is no sense of time, and any chance smell, sound, or other physical stimulus will take him back to some past event that impressed him” (Ibid.).

Admitting that the “manner” of the novel might prevent many readers from accessing the book, the reviewer concludes that: “I shall credit its author with a large share of that proper proportion that constitutes what we call genius” (Ibid.).

As opposed to this, in a review entitled *Two Aspects of Telemachus* (1930), Dudley Fitt points out the style as the main strength and attraction of the book: “It is the study of Mr. Faulkner's style, the consideration of the book as a rhetorical exercise, as a declamation, that repays the reader”, specifying that “Joyce is the ultimate source” (Fargnoli et al.: 292).

However, not all critics find the confusion created by Benjy's narrative so inspiring. In his review entitled *Of Making Many Books* (1929), Walter Yust voices his discontentment about some “tricks” played by Faulkner at the expense of the reader, such as the confusion created by the use of the same proper name for different persons (see also Harold W. Recht's objection, already discussed): “he descends to the rather unforgiveable trick, or so it seems to me, of delaying the identification of personalities. (It's a tossup, for the greater part, which of two

Quentins you are reading about, or which Jason, and whether Quentin is a girl or a boy.)” (Inge: 35). Yust, too, considers that the technique used by Faulkner creates too much confusion, and in this way he is unfair on the reader (Id.: 35–36).

He identifies Benjy as the culprit with whom everything goes wrong right at the beginning of the novel, and as a final argument he questions the plausibility of the character: “The impress on the idiot’s mind starts the confusion. I can’t say that Mr. Faulkner has actually given us an idiot’s mind; the matter’s sort of hit and miss; who knows, anyway, what a deaf mute idiot sees?” (Id.: 36).

In her review *Literature and Less* (1930), Julia K. W. Baker hails the dream-like inconsistency of the novel as an improved version of James Joyce’s stream of consciousness technique: “But the style and method of approach—fluid and fragmentary and inconsequent as dream—represent something new in the world of letters that James Joyce more than any other one person brought into it” (Inge: 39).

In opposition to the analytical reading strategy proposed by Fadiman, which the novel refuses to comply with, Baker thinks that the text requires a more delicate approach in order to be comprehended, and that it is likely to necessitate subsequent readings: “No doubt two careful readings are necessary merely to clarify the simple outline of the history” (Ibid.).

With regard to Benjy’s confused narrative blamed by so many reviewers, Baker claims that it is a designed confusion compatible with the content, which completely fulfils its role of initiating the reader into the events and the story (Ibid.).

Many critics acknowledge the universal validity of *The Sound and the Fury* by comparing it to masterpieces of world literature. The name associated most often with that of Faulkner after the appearance of the novel is James Joyce (Julia K. W. Baker, Abbott Martin, Arnold Bennett, Dudley Fitt), but he is also compared to Dostoevsky (Lyle Saxon, Ted Robinson), and his novel to Greek tragedy (Abbot Martin, Evelyn Scott). The grounds for such comparisons seem to reside in the fact that in Abbot Martin’s words: “His analysis of mood and emotion is very subtle” (Bassett 1975: 83).

Abbot Martin’s review *Faulkner’s Difficult Novel Has Sin and Decay as Theme* (1929) is relevant to this discussion about the reception of the introductory section of the novel for two main reasons. First, the author confesses in it that the reading of Benjy’s section made a great impression on him: “Never had I adequately known the meaning of pathos until I read the first part of this book” in which “an idiot utters with simplicity and pathos and beauty its imperfect understanding of the life that goes on about it” (Id.: 84). Second, he addresses the reader directly, suggesting the best way to read this book is to surrender oneself entirely to it (Ibid.). The strategy of reading proposed by him is very different from the one employed by Clifton Fadiman discussed above. While Fadiman’s rational approach to the text resulted in fatigue and frustration, a more relaxed, trustful approach could bring about genuine pleasure.

Apparently, Faulkner's text requires a special kind of reading, which differs from that of reading more conventional literary works. Readers who are less predisposed to tolerate ambiguity and feel secure only if they can rationally understand and follow the plot are more likely to become frustrated and stop reading. In a later review, Abbot Martin does not predict a hopeful future for the novel in terms of popularity, but he considers that it is imbued with Greek tragedy and beauty despite its dealing with such depressing topics as madness, poverty, and decay (qtd in Emerson 1984: 7).

2. The reception of the Romanian translation of the novel

The circumstances of the reception of the novel by the Romanian public was completely different from those of the early reception which took place in a critical vacuum. First, the time lag between the original publication (1929) and the Romanian translation (1971) was more than four decades – therefore, long enough for the aesthetic distance between the readers' horizon of expectations and the aesthetic novelties represented by the novel to diminish significantly. Besides, the readers and the literary critics had to do with an already acclaimed novelist, a Nobel Prize winner, whose works had become the subject of a consistent amount of literary criticism. Moreover, the Romanian literary scholars and writers had also vastly contributed to the dissemination of Faulkner's work by then. During the sixties, Eugen Barbu and Andrei Ion Deleanu translated no less than four novels in four years: *Intruder in the Dust* and the Snopes trilogy consisting of *The Hamlet*, *The Town*, and *The Mansion*. Sorin Alexandrescu published an impressive monograph in 1969, and a number of critics were involved in writing book reviews and articles about Faulkner. So, when Mircea Ivănescu's translation of *The Sound and the Fury* appeared in 1971, it was expected by an appreciative reading audience.

In this section, I will discuss some critical reactions to the translated novel as well as further developments of the American author's reception in this country. In order to gain insight into the Romanian reception of the novel, I surveyed the 1971 editions of the following periodicals and magazines: *Amfiteatru*, *Convorbiri literare*, *România literară*, *Steaua*, *Viața românească*, and various issues of *Cronica*, *Revista bibliotecilor*, *Ramuri*, and *Secolul 20*, looking for book reviews and articles about Faulkner. I also looked for essays and studies on Faulkner's novels, especially those on *The Sound and the Fury*, in collections and volumes, prefaces and postfaces in more recent editions written and edited by Romanian literary scholars.

In his review on the translated novel, Aureliu Goci describes Benjy as "decrepit", "incapable to discern the importance and the tension of the events"; his narrative appears to be "chaotic at first sight" (1971: 2). However, as a compensation for his lack of verbal expression, he possesses "an exceptional

acuteness of perception” (Ibid.). The reviewer appreciates Faulkner’s refusal to analyse, his method of introducing his characters through their behaviour as well as the way in which identities and consciousnesses overlap. With regard to the translation, he describes it as “easy to understand” and “in line with Faulkner’s spirit” (Ibid.).

Virgil Stanciu also emphasizes that the book is “chaotic at first sight, fragmentary, and deliberately labyrinthic”, but defends Faulkner’s technique by arguing that it only reflects the “unselective character of life itself” (1971: 33). In Stanciu’s view, Faulkner’s professional conscientiousness as an artist compelled him to search for an adequate narrative structure through which he could render the “complex, often contradictory nature of the human personality” (Id.: 32). He appreciates Faulkner’s technical performance, which – he admits – sometimes leads to “obscure meanings if one does not read very carefully” (Id.: 33). The novel is the chronicle of the Compson family, which shares a lot in common with Faulkner’s own family (Ibid.). Benjy’s memory reconstructs for the reader a world that he grasps on a primary, spontaneous level, “the biological level of sensations” (Ibid.). Stanciu concludes that the novel is “a strange and fascinating novel” (Id.: 32).

In his review, Valeriu Cristea focuses on the way consciousnesses are represented in the novel for – he states – “Faulkner does not operate with characters any more, but rather with consciousnesses” (1971: 13). In doing so, he draws attention to the old epistemological problem that humans have faced, namely that consciousness is always interposed between the observer and the events. As Cristea aptly notices, “it is curious how hard it is for us to adapt ourselves to our own mode of contemplating the world when it is transposed into literature” (Ibid.). For this reason, he easily predicts that “the common reader of novels will certainly be confused by *The Sound and the Fury*” (Ibid.). Instead of analysing these consciousnesses, Faulkner tends to state who they are, and in this way he paradoxically applies the technique of behaviourist representation to the domain of traditional analysis of the psyche (Ibid.).

What prevails in Benjy’s section is the mechanical recording of the external sources of excitement since the half-witted narrator has very few ideas to communicate. And still, “how majestically the author cuts out from a damaged brain the film of a day” (Ibid.) Cristea concludes that in spite of all the obstacles it poses to the reader at almost every step, “*The Sound and the Fury* leaves an extremely strong impression on the reader” (Ibid.).

The 100th anniversary of William Faulkner’s birth was commemorated in Romania by a new edition of the Romanian translation of *The Sound and the Fury* to which Ștefan Stoenescu’s thought-provoking postface “Dincolo de patimă și mînie” [Beyond Passion and Fury] is added. The author contends that the successful reading of the novel is comparable to obtaining an experimental pilot licence (1997: 275). According to Stoenescu, the modernist writer in general

“does not seem interested to captivate his readers’ benevolence” (Id.: 276). It could even be postulated that this is an authorial strategy meant to discourage unprepared readers and to select the experienced ones “capable of constructing a plausible interpretation on their own from the disparate and dispersed data offered to them” (Ibid.).

With regard to the first narrator, Stoenescu highlights the paradox noticed by other critics as well that despite his incoherence Benjy provides the most objective and most credible account of the events: “Benjy’s mind is a machine that restores the recorded reality without any gaps or interpretive distortions” (Id.: 286). For Benjy, Caddy represented “the quintessence of the harmony in nature” to whom he transferred “a baby’s innocent confidence” – a state from which Benjy was never able to escape (Id.: 287). The perplexity induced by the final scene of the novel almost compels the reader to go back to the beginning and start reading the novel again with a different attitude (Id.: 294).

Four decades after Sorin Alexandrescu’s monograph, Mircea Mihăieș published a new one in 2012 entitled *Ce rămâne. William Faulkner și misterele ținutului Yoknapatawpha* [What Is Left: William Faulkner and the Mysteries of Yoknapatawpha County]. This insightful book proves that the proliferation of Faulkner criticism has not dried up the subject matter: there are still undiscovered paths leading to a better understanding of Faulkner’s novels.

The chapter about *The Sound and the Fury* is ambiguously entitled *The (Lack of) Logic of Tragedy*, part of which was published as the foreword to a 2003 edition of the novel. The reader’s plight is largely discussed by Mihăieș. He sees Faulkner’s act of assuming the failure of an unsuccessful narrative as a gesture meant to “soothe the stupefaction of the unsuspecting reader, adherent of classical narratives and fluent plotlines” (2012: 467). His judgment of the intelligibility of the text is somehow contradictory. First he claims that “the temporal distortion does not represent a major difficulty in reading” (Id.: 468) since the sequence of the events can be established with varying degrees of precision after the first reading clues have been detected. Later on, however, after calling Benjy’s section “the most spectacular chapter of the novel” (Id.: 472), Mihăieș considers that this part poses most problems for the reader (Ibid.). The problems are not caused by the scrambled chronology but reside in the narrator’s mind: the reader’s confusion is generated by his/her being thrown into “the autistic world” of a narrator with an atrophied body whose only intact organs are his eyes, described as “cold, incapable of discrimination” (Ibid.), “the impersonal eye of this human camera” (Id.: 473).

Mihăieș takes up and extends earlier characterizations of Benjy as a machine-like, camera-eyed creature: his visual organ is a “camera obscura” within which photocopies selected by the unrelenting camera lenses are continuously being developed (Id.: 472) (cf. Kartiganer 1979: 8, Mellard 1980: 59, Reed in Minter 1987: 354). But unlike many other critics, he does not think that Benjy’s language

is a faithful reflection of his way of perceiving the world. Mihăieş insists that Faulkner's characters are literary conventions and Benjy is an idiot for the simple reason that we are told so, but "his text is not that of an idiot's" (Id.: 474). If "the subjective slippages from one sentence to another" are not taken into consideration, "the text itself does not bear the mark of idiocy" (Ibid.). In Mihăieş's view, Benjy's part is the most obscure of all, but at the same time it is the most suggestive not because it is the first narrative of the novel, but because it is the most elliptical, "a masterpiece of minimalism" (Id.: 476).

3. Reader attitudes towards the novel expressed in digital genres: blog posts and comments

As I was collecting material for this paper, I came across several webpages on which *The Sound and the Fury* was discussed from the "average" reader's perspective. Since I consider these channels as carriers of spontaneous and genuine opinions, I decided to conduct an informal pilot survey about the way the novel is discussed on these pages. The time span within which these blog posts and the comments accompanying them were posted covers about ten years, the first opinion being posted in 2006 and the last one in 2016.¹

I focused on the bloggers' and commenters' general appreciation of the novel and on the terms they used in describing their reading experience. According to these criteria, two categories of opinions emerged.

The first category of bloggers/commenters describes the book in negative terms: they all complain about the (considerable) reading difficulties raised by Benjy's section. They find it "a bit discouraging" [3], "hard to follow" [5], "troublesome, almost tormenting" [3], even "nerve-wrecking" [1] because it is difficult to figure out who narrates and about what. Blogger Cristian Teodorescu suggests that being confused is an indication that the reader is on the right track [1] and encourages the readers to go on. The majority reports several reading attempts [2], [3], [4], [7]. Some readers [3], [7] share the tricks and strategies they used in order to "connect" to the novel. A commenter, for instance [3], started with the character list at the end of the book and then went on to the third and fourth sections, leaving Benjy and Quentin to the end. Another one [7] sought help in book reviews, and she was able to proceed with the reading after finding out that Benjy was mentally ill.

The bloggers and commenters falling into the second category [3], [4], [6] acknowledge the reading difficulties triggered by the unusual technique, but they consider the reader's confusion as a necessary part of the experience. A commenter [3] points out Faulkner's and Joyce's method of subverting the

1 In view of the specificity of the genre, the author of the blog or comment can only rarely be identified by name – so, I decided to categorize the opinions mainly by their content. The numbers in the square brackets send to the counted website references at the end of the paper.

author–reader relationship, which leads to a selection of the “readers’ profile”. According to this commenter, the first part of the novel forces the reader to connect to the novel. Several bloggers and commenters (e.g. [3], [4], [6]) single out Benjy as the most important character, an “epitome of sensitivity” [4] whose way of seeing and feeling the world is impressive. One of them [4] considers *The Sound and the Fury* a “masterpiece”, while another one [4] confesses that this book propelled Faulkner to the top of the list of his favourite writers.

Conclusions

As the contemporary reviews show, *The Sound and the Fury* generated puzzlement, incomprehension, frustration but also aroused interest, curiosity, and delight. Many reviewers singled out Benjy, the first narrator of the novel, as the main reason for their incomprehension or even bewilderment, and thus Benjy soon became either the embodiment of artistic storytelling or the scapegoat ruining the reading experience of the unsuspecting readers. Most of the contemporary reviewers were concerned with the difficulties the readers of the novel had to face in Benjy’s section of the book – a concern that prevailed throughout the many decades of criticism on *The Sound and the Fury*. Benjy’s narrative was either qualified as the incomprehensible “gibberish” of an idiot or as the linguistic version of a child-like vision, depending on the personal preference of the readers. But the fact that the narrative was unsettling and intriguing and that it was likely to trigger emotional reactions were aspects that even the most vehement critics had to agree about.

Romanian critics and writers had publicly discussed the novel even before it was translated. The reception of the book in our country was significantly smoother than in the United States. By the time it appeared in Romanian, Faulkner was a Nobel Prize winner, and the novel had earned its place in the literary canon. None of the critical works that I have consulted object to the fragmentariness of Benjy’s section, which caused so much irritation with American early readers. But all the critics anticipate the problems looming over the reader, and they try to dissipate them by explaining the aesthetic effects of Faulkner’s technique: some of them even give clues beforehand to ease the reader’s task.

While reading the Romanian critical works, I had the impression that Faulkner found a genuinely appreciative reading public in this country. Reviewers and critics approach Faulkner’s works in a very subtle way, always discussing them in a larger context, looking for and finding analogies and common points of discussion with other great works of world literature. No doubt, Faulkner criticism has been enriched by the contribution of the Romanian scholars. Literary critics, especially if they come from a different cultural milieu or a different historical

era, can discover new perspectives and yield new insights into the interpretation of issues that appeared to have been sorted out long ago.

I would like to conclude this chapter by turning back to the questions formulated in the introduction: Has the literary trajectory of *The Sound and the Fury* followed the stages in Jauss's reception theory, i.e. from initial rejection to wide aesthetic acceptance by specialized readers? According to the survey presented above, this seems to have been the case. While at the time of its publication many reviewers and critics contested the artistic value of *The Sound and the Fury*, the appreciative voices became much more numerous with the passing of time. However, I have to add, my research does not confirm the claim made by some critics that it once was a unanimously rejected work. There were literary voices who recognized from the very beginning the fingerprints of a genius on it.

As for the second question, on whether the fragmentariness of Benjy's section has been incorporated in the horizon of expectations of later ("common") readers, so as not to pose reading problems anymore, the answer is more ambivalent. If we look at the critics' response, it seems to be a mainly positive one. On the other hand, according to the "common" readers' opinions, as expressed on their websites, the answer is a predominantly negative one.

Stanley Fish's sociological explanation of meaning construction with repercussions on critical reception is also partially confirmed by my investigation. While generally it is true that the reception of the novel varies according to the aesthetic and social norms held by the different interpretive communities, it is also true that there is a certain degree of overlap in the sense that some aspects of the novel are perceived and appreciated similarly by interpretive communities separated by significant geographical and temporal distances (e.g. the fragmentariness of Benjy's narrative presents a challenge for both early American literary critics and modern-day Romanian common readers).

Apparently, eighty years of reception of a literary piece were not enough for uncertainty of meaning and tolerance of ambiguity to become part of the average readers' expectations.

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List of webpage addresses used for writing the *Reader attitudes towards the novel expressed in digital genres: blogposts and comments* section:

1. <http://www.catavincii.ro/cartea-zilei-zgomotul-si-furia/>
2. <https://cesafaciintimpulliber.blogspot.ro/2011/10/william-faulkner-zgomotul-si-furia.html>
3. <http://www.bookblog.ro/literatura-contemporana/zgomotul-si-furia/>
4. <http://www.isuciu.ro/2009/09/zgomotul-si-furia-de-william-faulkner.html>
5. <http://www.ghenea.ro/2007/10/15/zgomotul-si-furia-de-william-faulkner/>
6. <http://citestealtfel.ro/gandeste-altfel/carte/william-faulkner-zgomotul-si-furia>
7. <http://lorellei.com/2016/09/18/recenzie-zgomotul-si-furia-de-william-faulkner/>



Travelling into the World of Bilingual (Code-Switching) Concrete Poetry

Márta TÖRTELI TELEK

Jovan Jovanović Zmaj Primary School
Magyarkanizsa, Szerbia
ttmarta76@gmail.com

Abstract. The paper examines the complex phenomenon of intermediality, “multimedial transgression”, and “culturally agitating hybridity” resonating and flashing over ages and cultures. It reviews concrete poetry, which may be considered as a real multimedial text with linguistic and pictorial coded aesthetic message, the poetic intention evolving from the mixture of verb and picture. Examining from the aesthetic of reception, code-switching of concrete poetry comes into the focus of the research. We may feel that for a recipient knowing both languages (for the recipient of concrete poetry), it is more advantageous for the speaker combining the expressions of the two languages since one with a mixed language always relates what he would like to say in the language he can express his thoughts more properly. In fact, this is such a code-switching that the recipient may perceive as a single code on the basis of simultaneity of text and picture.

The study highlights reading alternatives that concrete poetry offers us as well as the travel it takes us on. By analysing the mode of interpretation, we can observe how visual poems overbalance the conventional linearity of writing, how figurativity becomes equivalent to the text in the course of creating meaning, while reading is guided by the sight of picture, which confirms the sight as well. Thus, language and picture are practically trapped by the calligram. Text (concrete poetry) understanding is described as integrative by the paper, coming into existence as a result of the constant correction and supplement of situational and ephemeral understandings. It considers the hermeneutical circle/spiral of understanding as a travel, which is always unique and not to be repeated.

Keywords: multimediality, concrete poetry, code-switching, reception, understanding

Introduction

Nowadays, the abundance of multimedia texts surrounds us. Maybe, because of this, teaching the comprehensive reading of such texts gets increasingly into the forefront of methodological researches. Multimedia text is the combination of several systems of symbols: besides the lingual one or together with it, the musical, pictorial systems of symbol that reach us through the visual/or acoustic communication channel and the extra-linguistic devices are equal or determined in this heterogeneous sign combination such as: concrete poetry, sheet music; in scientific texts: figures, graphs, tables, photos, illustrations with a drawing, etc. (Szikszainé Nagy 2004: 129).

Intermediality, “medial transgression”, or “culturally agitating hybridity” is a complex phenomenon resonating and flashing over ages and cultures. We can find it not only in high cultures but in our everyday lives, at all times and in all places (Szűts–Yoo 2014: 13). We can call the group of multimedia texts peculiar of common origin and homogeneity, authentic multimedia texts. These are, for example, the comics, concrete poetry, and the so-called works of concrete poetry, in which the picture and the text are inseparable. Simultaneously, there are texts as well, in which the media come into being with the text, or they may accompany each other, but their contact is not necessarily homogeneity. For example, in folk ballads, although the melody and the text came simultaneously into existence, nowadays, these folklore works are independent texts without melody (Szikszainé Nagy 2004: 131).

Concrete poetry and its interpretation

The question of aesthetic value comes up, namely: is the text over-subordinated to the form in concrete poetry? Iván Fónagy has the opinion that in most part of these poems the picture substitutes the poetic message. Pál Nagy and Tibor Papp consider concrete poetry as a linguistic and pictorial coded aesthetic message, a poetic intention evolving from the mixture of the verb and the picture (G. Papp 2001: 2).

Concrete poetry broke with the writing tradition that linearizes the words, sentences, and rows. By adjusting to the so-called pictorial form, concrete poetry places the text into the contours of an object. By reducing the meaning, visual poetry aspires after making the written form of the text more expressing.

Concrete poetry is the mixture of text and illustration [...], in which the content is related to the whole picture. The poetic experience and emotional atmosphere manifest themselves in the arrangement of the rows, their type size and graphic. With its visual excess, the concrete

poetry: brings additional meaning into the poem by its summarization of meaning deriving from the intertwining of verbality and iconity. As a result of this, the picture is in direct or symbolic relationship with the meaning of the text. (Szikszainé Nagy 2004: 134, transl. by Katalin Süge)

If we focus on the story of concrete poetry, we may take a close look at a real riot of colours. This variegation of concrete poetry gives us a literary and, at the same time, fine art experience as a present.

The tradition of visible language is obviously very old and derives from the essence of writing. We may primarily think of cultures such as the Chinese or the Egyptian one but even of the handwritten and painted books of the Middle Ages that likewise indicate relationship with the hypertext, as Proust's novel. At the time of Mannerism and Baroque, the acrostic was handled in different ways, and poems were written in the shape of various flowers, crosses, chalices, body parts, stars, and geometric formations. The message was often formulated in a way that certain letters of the text were emphasized with different types. The picture puzzle-like poem enjoyed particular popularity (Vass 2006: 46).

Apparently, positivism and the realistic novel writing in the historical sense are the reasons why the people in the second half of the 19th century distanced themselves from concrete poetry. In this period, certain scholars of the narrative treated language as a device, namely they assumed its transparency and strove for the reader not to feel its resistance. The reaction began at the end of the 19th century. Mallarmé and Henry James, who – regardless of each other – were against illustrations being made to their works, induced their readers to slow reading by complicating the language (Szegedy-Maszák 2010: 3).

In the 20th century, G. Apollinaire tried to break with the existing traditions; his unconventional endeavours led him to disregard the musicality of the poem. As the creator of concrete poetry, he employs in the first instance the graphic arrangement of the poems for the communication of aesthetic information, although some attempts (see Mallarmé) have already happened before. The period passed since the formation of concrete poetry proves that new opportunities opened in front of the formal development of the poetry, and as a result of this literature implying fine art peculiarities may increase in the future. Visual poetry and respectively the figurative information transfer gains more and more ground because the opportunities of creation of modern rhythms increasingly diminish; nevertheless, the old and tested rhythmical lines gradually become exhausted, automatic, and so they hardly provide any aesthetic experience for the reader; they do not make a deep impression (Zsilka 1969: 1202). The lovers of rhyme, rhythm, and musicality may possibly argue about it, but we have to acknowledge that Apollinaire's form-breaking, unconventional writing opens new ways, new space for literature and poetry.

The use of typographical devices develops poetry in the direction of fine arts; at the same time, it slightly relieves from the direct effect of music or musicality. This means an innovation since it is an unusual, modern phenomenon. However, the innovation is essential for the development of art and its effective strength (Zsilka 1969: 1203).

As regards form and ideology, the picture is a burdened zone, the escape opportunity of the language, its route, its exit towards the inexpressible or to the one that cannot be represented, as Katalin Sándor outlines rhapsodically. Picture and word: each other's savage and each other's desire, their convergent and divergent motion shed light on the culture, on the function of the cultural recollection (Sándor 2006: 26). In one of Goethe's poems, the word appears in the unbalanced picture of the soul, similarly to how Plato's cave simile sets up the idea. "The word is the shade of the soul, the centre of cognition where things are present with their oral/lingual indexical existence, whereas they appear in incomplete 'pictures', but merely 'silhouettes' – this in any case emphasizes the partial accessibility of things, complains about the cognition exposed to linguistic grasping" (Sz. Molnár 2004: 65, transl. by Katalin Süge). These are the words of faith shattered in the expressive strength of the language, whereby we may argue similarly.

József Balázs Imre looks on concrete poetry from the aspect of the aesthetic of reception and considers it with code-switching. He thinks that for a recipient (of concrete poetry) knowing both languages is more beneficial than the speaker combines the expressions of the two languages since a person using code-switching always relates what he would like to say in the language he can express himself better. Namely, the recipient obtains the information more expressively, more nuanced than as if it were told only in one of the languages.

Code-switching of concrete poetry certainly differs from the linguistic one in several aspects. With regard to the verbal code, it may be with a full value or, in its case, it does not really incur the risk of coming across the recipient knowing one of the codes only. In fact, this is such a code-switching that the recipient may perceive it as a single code, based on the already mentioned simultaneity (Balázs 1997).

The visual poetry or the various formations of concrete poetry are well-separable into eras: typical formations of the Baroque Age are figural (picture) poems as, for example, rose poems and quizzes, such as the *kubus*; the typical formations of historical avant-garde are calligrams and typographical poems; the typical formations of neo-avant-garde tendencies are the concrete, letrist, and discovered poems etc. (Sz. Molnár 2001: 26).

By a concrete example, in László Nagy's oeuvre, five examples of concrete poetry can be separated. These are the following: calligrams, concrete poetry (compositions edited syntagmatically and morphematically), typestyle, or phonetically edited composition, application and graphics (Vass 2006: 52–53).

Based on the definition of János S. Petőfi, the subtypes of concrete poetry can be separated as follows: a) are the dominant elements of the visual device verbal linguistic elements (or not)?; b) on which text level(s) can be the dominant verbal elements of the visual device interpreted?; c) the verbal device can be interpreted in itself and the visual component as (its) form model; d) what kind of relations can be detected between the dominant elements of the verbal component and the graphical one; and, finally, e) in what way can the complex communication be classified, more like verbal or rather visual lingual text, namely graphics (Benkes–Petőfi S. 2006: 55).

With the so-called visible language (italic or capitalized writing emphasizing a symbol, punctuation differing from the usual one: the so-called row typography /a term defining the method used by poets to visually emphasize content/), the poets call the reader's attention to additional meaning. Although these are signs appealing to the eye, at the time of scoring, they can be perceived with sound modulations (Szikszainé Nagy 2004: 132). While concrete poetry deals with the language as a substance, the visual one tries to use the contexts as a substance, and since it produces further contexts from context fractions it makes the readers more responsive to a new mentality. Given that, concrete poetry amplifies lingual awareness, visual attempts at improving the consciousness of lingual contexts, and expertise in the lingual external world (Balázs 1997).

The following questions turn up: how is it possible to interpret the meaning of concrete poetry? How can the complex process of understanding become achievable and how is it different from traditional poem interpretation?

Multimedia texts are multiple coded; decoding of simultaneously various codes is required to their reception, respectively the knowledge of similarity, functional relationship existing between the signs of different sign systems, or the interference of the media (Szikszainé Nagy 2004: 138).

What territory is the “buffer zone” of texts and pictures? How do words and pictures meet in the aesthetic experience? They “entertain” each other, while they are perceptible as each other's strangers, unreleased, and, at the same time, with unaffectedness gathered from some atavistic depths. The media do not face each other and cannot be categorically separated either, but they are in contiguous “visit”. The medium of picture and language is saturated with each other, it is impure. Verbal and visual parties are not “litigating” parties; opposition limits both of their significance.

The relation of word and picture is multimediality; the intermediality is itemized as substituting, exchange, participation, constraint of media to each other or as an inequality forming configuration, always calling into action some kind of view of betweenness that is not only interesting to what it figures the captions but what kind of readers' positions, reading alternatives it promises (Sándor 2006: 25).

By recognizing the role of the text's carrier (its physical carrier) meaning formation, Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy conceptualizes concrete poetry in comparison with the linearity of the writing with a more complex character. In his definition, concrete poetry does not merely function on a more complex level of the text's carrier but overbalances the conventional linearity of the writing, our concepts related to (clear) textuality and (clear) visuality, the practice of reading (Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 112).

Fast reading is interfered with placing the letter in a pictorial figure. Beyond the knowledge of the linguistic peculiarities, taking into consideration the visual aspect, a certain fine art attitude is also essential to the interpretation of concrete poetry. Creation with a visual type implies a different method of reception instead of the traditional one "since not the succession of text sentences is determinative in the meaning assignment but the formal arrangement, beside the sight, text picture connotes the poetical" (Szikszainé Nagy 2004: 138–139, transl. by Katalin Süge).

Since multimedial texts have composite sign organization, diverse coding is indicated to their creation and diverse decoding to their reception. In concrete poetry, breaking the traditional form and renewing it, by text, becoming equivalent to figurativity, will be the basis of attribution of meaning. Instead of the text's (traditionally, linearly) progressive interpretation, creativity relying on recipient fantasy is needed for unravelling visual poetry (its pictorial rebus) (Ibid.).

By analysing expressive devices, Roland Barthes explains that in semiotics two substances may respond to the same form. After all, this kind of distinction is not new-fangled in poetry. As an information recipient, the reader always might enjoy poetry in two ways: either by reading or by listening to a recitation. However, at the time of reception, the experienced reader associates the visual concept with the auditive one and frequently also "transforms" the visual concept into an auditive one. School education is dominantly the tutor for this; namely, it is not a coincidence that our perception is mostly sophisticated to such reception. The use of graphic composition in poetry means breaking with the tradition; still, the reader has to receive the aesthetic information also through the visual channel if he would like to get such information (Zsilka 1969: 1204).

In the calligram, picture and language are in a relationship subordinated to each other, the sight of the picture guides reading, and in the meanwhile reading of the text confirms the sight, just like in the case of the baroque figural poems; as if the pictorial and linguistic part of the emblem poems had slid into each other. In Foucault's interpretation, the calligram thus practically traps language and picture as well (Sz. Molnár 2002: 49).

Áron Kibédi Varga places some characteristic combinations of the word and picture relations in quite a rigid matrix. In this system, concrete poetry can be included in the category that is characterized by simultaneity and uniformity of word and picture, their synthetic nature. Thus, for Kibédi Varga, the principle of simultaneity becomes important. "In case of an emblem or an illustration, we

may turn with full right from the picture to the text and inversely, or we modify alternately and regularly the manner of perception of a verbal-visual object [...]” (Kibédi Varga 1997: 306, transl. by Katalin Süge).

Wolfgang Iser describes the understanding of the text as an integrative understanding created as a result of constant correction and amplification of situated and instantaneous understandings (namely, it evolves the diversity of applying to the text, which is always with perspective nature because the whole text cannot be realized in a flash). In the case of concrete poetry, we may follow this process in its every detail. As at the time of reading concrete poetry from partial understanding the perception of the whole gradually develops, the same is realized at the time of the reception of all texts; however, in case of concrete poetry, these partial understandings can be much more segmented because its code is constructed from elements of several media. Namely, we can write the reception process in a more exploitable manner onto the analogy of concrete poetry. However, there even exists such a feature of concrete poetry that practically teaches us to read. Primarily, it provides “instructions” to its own interpretation of text, but we may also perceive this guide as a universal one: it slows down the reading and in turn it gives a picture – something which can be contemplated, emotionally experienced, also from an intellectual aspect with the totality, **unity of being true to life** – as a present to the reader (Balázs 1997).

The captions form us into better readers since the reading is not only reading but at the same time illegibility, receiving, deflecting and self-loss, pain, resistance, and not least wish for reading and writing. Katalin Sándor demonstrates the complexity of the encounter of the language and picture, its occurring with the help of the following expressions: aesthetic break, shift, stress, interactive game, differing, slip, contradiction, non-integrability, divergence, complementarity, etc. (Sándor 2006: 25). The interactive game of picture and text can be interpreted as a never-ending cycle which overshadows the recipient attitude as well.

The reception of concrete poetry does not merely consist of looking at the picture in the first place and later reading the writing which represents the image.

In the light of the lingual text, quite like in the hermeneutical circle/spiral of understanding, we return to the figure, we reveal its relevant meanings by knowing the former ones; if we can interpret the picture symbolically as well, we return to words again by searching for contact between the symbolic meaning and the whole poem. Because of constant feedbacks, we may find the picture and the linguistic text simultaneous. (Balázs 1997)

At the same time, it is essential that concrete poetry is not merely the illustration of its own verbal meaning. Concrete poetry does not say the same in the language of visuality as verbally.

The poet of concrete poetry aspires after sight and primarily achieves it with the adaptation of confrontation, coincidence, and contradiction. The device of confrontation is often the contrastivity hidden in colours: comparing black with white or grey with black (or white). In this respect, concrete poetry appearing in the children's literature is not an exception either. However, we can notice more frequently the coincidence between different font types and variants as well as between handwritten and printed typefaces. Examples also occur to opposites like straight–curved, big–small, vertical–horizontal, left–right, and up–down (G. Papp 2001: 138).

Do visual poems have a value in the children's literature? Primarily, the question is not whether they have an aesthetic value but if they have a literary aesthetic value. After all, the aesthetic value of the text defines this dominantly.

Of course, we may ask the question why concrete poetry (calligram) does not occur often in our textbooks. Although concrete poetry is not necessarily short, we cannot speak about its graphical aspect a lot – at least it is not easy. Still, we should be surprised at its delicacy, spending more time on it, and not merely on the text but on its form as well – ask, explain, comment, and reveal why a poem has the shape that it has. The real analysis of concrete poetry is actually not easy. It is not a popular task. It is grateful to flash it, but to go further into it is an ungrateful one.

Tibor G. Papp separates four types of calligrams, and from these three are present in the children's literature as well.

a) Calligram 1 – The linguistic theme is linear and corresponds to the normative syntax; the elaborated picture illustrates the message or repeats it.

Reading concrete poetry happens from left to right. So the degradation of form (“its dissolution”) responds to the usual poem-building practice: hat, head, and after each other the two word scoops with increasing dimensions. Most of the rows form a syntactic unit, and it could even have a traditional type. The picture formed by the utilisation of graphic conditions of text (fitting typeface and size to the content) repeats the topic of the poem and intensifies it. (It would be an exaggeration to put a separate illustration in addition to this!). (G. Papp 2001: 131)

b) Calligram 2 – The linguistic theme corresponds to normative syntax, but it is not completely linear; thus its interpretation is more difficult.

c) Calligram 3 – The outlined picture does not follow the requirements of normative syntax; however, it is linear in its details. It indicates a logical process.

d) Calligram 4 – The text does not follow the requirements of normative syntax, and it is not linear, not even in its details. There is not always a logical context between the picture and the linguistic theme employed, namely the text. This solution points beyond the children's circle of understanding (Ibid.).

At the same time, Tibor Papp provides the following classification of visual poems:

1. stative visual poems (two- and three-dimensional poems) and 2. dynamic visual poems (Vass 2006: 53). From these two big domains (stative and visual) of visual literature, stative works have appeared (have taken root) in children's lyric poetry. Besides this, the typical ones are the visual forms emerging through the iconic-logical ordering principle, meaning that the poet arranges the text horizontally so as to create a recognizable view (G. Papp 2001: 130).

In Hungarian vernacular reading books in Vojvodina, concrete poetry is (unfortunately) slightly present. In case of the lower classes, we may find Antal Verbőczy's poem entitled *Hóember* (Snowman) in second-grade course books, which – based on Tibor G. Papp's typology – can be included in the first group, meaning that the linguistic theme is linear and corresponds with normative syntax, and the elaborated picture illustrates the message or repeats it. After the illustration of personal experiences – by contributing to the encounter of personal world and text world –, the form of concrete poetry comes into the centre of text processing, into the focus, besides the linguistic elements but not instead of them. We have highlighted some similarities between picture, concrete poetry, and the poem. In the meanwhile, students had to recognize/experience the dynamic function of the picture and the text. (In the same publication, Attila Benkő's poem entitled *Sorbanállók a fagyaltosnál* (Queuers at the Ice-Cream Man) is made up of words only, which stand under each other as a stair, depicting this way the curling line.)

In higher classes, in the eighth class, we have worked out in detail László Nagy's concrete poetry entitled *Tűz* (Fire), which, based on Tibor G. Papp's typology, can be similarly included in the first group. We are looking for an answer as to what the unusual form of the poem resembles to; namely, we are trying to find its equivalent part of reality. We investigate whether the poem picture strengthens the meaning and, if so, by what means. We draw the reader's attention to the kind of metaphors and ideas the song generates with hymnal intonation, divided into three parts by accosting us. Christian Morgenstern's poem entitled *The Night Song of the Fish* serves as illustration, functioning as a complex of signs; the recipient has to find out its meaning. The poem can be rather interpreted as a picture. Of course, it means the same in all languages, it does not need to be translated. Moreover, we have presented to the students Guillaume Apollinaire's poem entitled *The Stabbed Dove and the Fountain*. We emphasized that in this variety of concrete poetry the text is legible and carries a meaning as well. However, the picture and the meaning are connected with each other so much so that it is impossible to quote a passage from it.

In the meantime, our aim would be the acquisition of a different view, the acceptance of mediality, its adequate interpretation. Unfortunately, for the

achievement of this aim, an insufficient number of concrete poetry works is included in our textbooks, which does not make this possible. As a way of illustration, we may present more from it, showing the dynamic coexistence of picture and text as they “host” each other.

Conclusions

The phenomenon of reader/writer function has a pragmatic aspect. In traditional literature, the writer (which is only “vaporized” in theory) is a real person, who can fail or become well recognized (Szűts–Yoo 2016: 50).

Concrete poetry demonstrates and specifies, illustrates and reports, reproduces and articulates, imitates and indicates, and beholds and reads. It sets an unavoidable trap. By using the extensivity of the writing as a trick, it leaves the visible form of the mark on words as well: with the help of signs carefully distributed on paper, the borderlines formed by them, and their distances in the sheet’s void space, they draw forth the subject they talk about (Balázs 1997).

Based on the diverse approach of concrete poetry, I am of the opinion that visual literature, visual poetry raises the question of “how to read” on purpose. A peculiarly released reading characterizes our poem comprehension. Poem reading is the series of unique shifts, constant restructuring of understanding.

Visual poetry is equally less and more than the absolutely verbal poetry: less inasmuch as it fixes the inner sight, directs it towards the orbits of the exterior sight, and, as opposed to the sight, it may make the text secondary; more inasmuch as lingual elements serve as visual elements as well, and this fact in itself provides additional meaning to the work – its new layers may be revealed through further thinking.

In my opinion, textbook writers, teachers should on no account exclude concrete poetry, visual poetry from literary education. They should keep in view the education of Generation Z to become a (comprehending) reader; in any case, they should take this unique opportunity, the incredible effect of picture and concrete poetry. This must become part of the target system of literary education.

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Self-Access Learning in Medical English (ME)

A Two-Year Edmodo Project

Anișoara POP, Aurora PAȘCAN

University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Târgu-Mureș
pop.anisoara@umftgm.ro

Abstract. Individual learning is a pre-requisite of formal ME credit allocation in higher education (HE), albeit this may be hard to document and quantify. Edmodo-enhanced self-access learning can be customized to accommodate different learning styles, form basic learning skills and field-specific subskills, extend and expand the students' medical language use, while also meeting the desiderata of independent curriculum-stipulated learning that can thus be exploited and demonstrated. The paper will reflect on the design of ME multimedia assignments as well as the quantitative and qualitative results, motivation and attitude of a group of medical students working on Edmodo self-access ME learning as part of a class research project for two years.

Keywords: Edmodo, medical English, self-access, virtual poster

1. Edmodo in language learning

Founded in 2008, with over 66 million users in 2016, Edmodo is a safe, online learning platform, which has gained an increased popularity especially in the context of English language learning due to its support of student engagement and motivation, self-direction and collaborative learning, with communication as the key envisaged competence. Results in the literature demonstrate that Edmodo is a robust path towards extending responsible learning environments beyond the classroom, remodelling and redefining the ways in which students actively participate in their learning (Patel 2017, Balasubramaniana 2014, Gushiken 2013, Enriquez 2014, Muilenburg 2011).

Many educational institutions are using Edmodo in their language teaching and learning “in a way that not only exploits existing models, but additionally

acts as a catalyst and a force for change, allowing students to more actively participate in their own learning” (Patel 2017).

Edmodo has been used in collaborative language learning between university students across countries, facilitating the engagement of Japanese and American students in learning Japanese (USA students) and English (Japanese students) respectively, with positive feedbacks from both students and teachers, the latter appreciating the global connection and the importance of communication with native speakers for foreign language learning (Okumura 2016).

According to Thongmak (2013), Edmodo is an effective classroom collaboration tool that can contribute to distance teaching, whereas Al-Kathiri (2015) noted that Saudi Arabian secondary students who used Edmodo had more positive attitudes towards learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL) than those who only received traditional EFL lessons.

Statistically significant motivation towards EFL language learning and enhanced teacher–student interaction due to the use of Edmodo was also reported in Saudi Arabian higher education (Alshawi 2016), whereas Asmuni (2015) demonstrated in an Indonesian context that the use of Edmodo influenced student participation in class discussions on theoretical and practical teaching materials.

Besides facilitating peer learning, Edmodo supports project-based learning that, in turn, encourages self-directed development by offering students more agency, having them contact the teacher and each other when they have questions about assignments, homework, and tests (Poth 2017).

Edmodo is, therefore, a flexible platform that allows students to connect and communicate with one another in engaging and motivating ways beyond the contact hours, with new features being constantly added, such as the latest ones: threaded replies, tagging (i.e. notifying students when replying to them), adding attachments to replies, and instant translations in case of unknown words or expressions.

Although the use of Edmodo-based language learning is already a gold standard in many countries, it is still perceived as innovative in Europe, whereas in Romania the Edmodo virtual learning project in medical English presented below represents a pioneering enterprise.

2. Project background

Formation of medical English skills for communication in an international environment reaches far beyond the formal syllabus and limitations of the envisaged formal higher education (HE) foreign language curriculum, with self-access learning representing just one option towards this goal (Chiu 2012, White 2011).

Different technology affordances (Edmodo virtual learning platform, writing tools: Smore, cell phone recordings, Google docs) have been harnessed as part of an optional project-based small-scale research with a group of medical students in order to empower them towards a more autonomous, continuous but also meaningful ME learning.

The aim of the self-access project was to enable learning to take place outside the contact hours, extend student exposure to ME as well as the use of ME, and form especially those skills which take longer time to develop, e.g. writing. The project was also expected to offer a better mapping and transparency of students' individual ME learning that would be reflected in the final evaluation, too.

3. Material and methods

Five groups of first-year medicine students of the University of Medicine and Pharmacy (academic year 2014–15) and the same groups (minus one, due to group redistribution among the teachers) in the second year (academic year 2015–16) were exposed to optional working on the Edmodo virtual platform (Medical English group), with integration of skills.

The study surveys the design and outcomes of self-access ME learning through examination of task design elements and students' productions (i.e. quantitative and qualitative) and measures students' motivation (i.e. degree of involvement) and attitude (questionnaire-based).

3.1. Platform presentation

Edmodo is a free virtual learning platform (www.edmodo.com) which offers a large range of learning management facilities, including: setting up assignments with deadlines, polls, quizzes, post-filtering, integration of audio and written files, notifications, embedding and sharing posts and comments with individual/group members by making them public, to mention just a few. Groups and subgroups can be easily established, which enables task differentiation on desired levels of proficiency







 Diana Iurian	97%	10 / 10		10 / 10		10 / 10
 Astrid Jerca						
 Anamaria Jugariu	80%	10 / 10	Timed In	9 / 10	3 / 5	9 / 10
 Alin Juhas	81%	9 / 10			3 / 5	8 / 10
 Timea Katona	81%	10 / 10	Timed In			9.5 / 10
 Ana-Maria-Roxana K...	88%	8 / 10	9 / 10	9 / 10	3 / 5	9.5 / 10

Figure 1. Instant monitoring of student contributions in Edmodo

but also collaboration outside the institution and even outside the country borders. Materials for class use and links provided in the platform library facilitate students' access to paperless resources, while teachers can view progress reports (*Fig. 1*) and make certain contributions public, which are extremely valuable features.

4. Designing meaningful multimedia assignments

ME assignments which form the object of analysis in this paper were expected to contribute to the formation of the writing skill and professional subskills such as:

- a) virtual poster presentation (*Smore*) including peer-reflection and feedback (A1);
- b) communicating bad news, including peer-review (A2);
- c) conducting a survey on local health aspects and writing a mini-research paper (A3).

The data in this paper will be based on the examination of these three assignments.

A1 – Virtual Posters. Classic poster writing and presentation represents one of the basic communication subskills in the medical profession. Poster presentation is part of the physicians' research and continuous formation and updating through participation in international events. Forming this subskill in the ME class is one aspect of accomplishing the students' academic writing competence envisaged by the medical syllabus. Poster writing was teacher-modelled and the elements of content (images, links, video) and language (overall structure, paragraph quality, language) synthesised and communicated to students. Students produced 28 posters of various lengths (1 to 6 pages of text and image) and content that were embedded in Edmodo. The topics covered common conditions of students' expressed choices (Down syndrome, diabetes, future of transplantation, acne, bioprinting, cardiac arrest, baby brain development, in vitro fertilization), more advanced interests (hyperthymesia, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis), and original advertising for local events in the medical field (advertising – improve your medical skills, Medshop opening).

Unlike in the case of paper poster format, students personalized their virtual poster with multimedia presentations and personal voice recordings, the latter offering a more faithful picture of their preparation and linguistic competence, translated into warmth and immediacy, which only direct, oral communication offers (*Fig. 2*).

Besides providing extra writing practice, by writing in the public space, students' ideas were open to a larger audience. This openness made writing a more communicative and therefore meaningful activity. Moreover, the stipulated requirement that each poster have a peer reflection element also opened the poster to the public, some posters receiving positive feedbacks even from people outside the class (*Fig. 3*), which stressed the importance of self- and peer-reflection in quality ME learning.

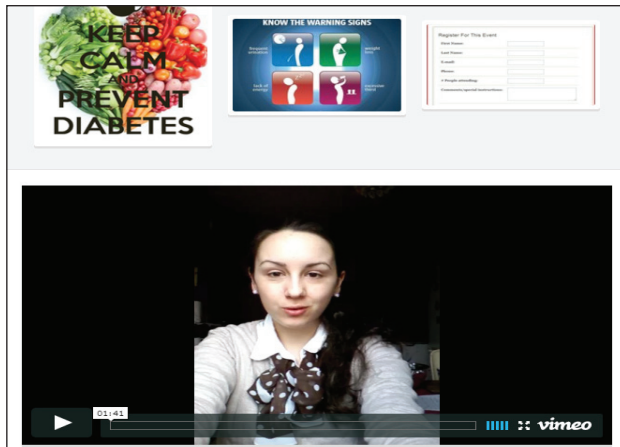


Figure 2. Original video element in virtual posters by Ilisiu A.

2 Comments Sort by **Oldest** ▾

 Add a comment...

 **Talas Teodora Alexandra** · Carol Davila University of Medicine and Pharmacy
It's an interesting flyer with information about a great man's condition. I like that the information is precise and well structured. I read a little bit about Stephen Hawking and saw the movie about his life, but I haven't find a reason for having such a long life after the increase of his disease. Do you know something about it? I've also liked that you emphasize the fact that even with his condition he is continuing with his research and doesn't give up. You deserve a score of 9. Good job.
[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · Apr 9, 2016 11:56am

 **Bianca Mureşan** · University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Târgu Mureş
Thank you for your appreciation!
Sincerely, i don't know the real reason, but i think that the love for the science and the thirst for knowledge keeps him alive.
[Like](#) · [Reply](#) ·  1 · May 17, 2016 12:47am

 **Anisoara Pop** · Works at Universitatea de Medicina si Farmacie Tg Mures
Bianca, you have a question.
[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · Apr 30, 2016 11:31pm

 Facebook Comments Plugin

Figure 3. Peer-reflection in virtual poster public writing with Smore

A2 – Communicating bad news was practised through a case study and on peer-review basis, thus targeting meaningful writing communication and the formation of the critical thinking subskill.

Case study example:

You have a patient who has been diagnosed with malignant adenocarcinoma of the pancreas. You know the prognosis is bad. In one paragraph, give the bad news to the patient.

Six answers were selected for different reasons, such as the use of medical jargon, lack of empathy and tact or unrealistic approximations, and made public for peer-review awareness raising and development of critical thinking skills (e.g. answers _{a,b,c} below):

A_a: Good afternoon, Mr. P. I have very bad news for you. Unfortunately, you've been diagnosed with adenocarcinoma, the malignant one, which is the worst thing we didn't want to expect. Of course, there were some cases where patients had succeeded to surpass the disease with radiotherapy and other methods, but only in a small percentage of the cases. In the majority of the cases the disease prognosis is of a few years of survival. I'm sorry.

A_b: Hello, Mister! Take a seat, please. I have received your results and I think we have to discuss seriously about them. The prognosis isn't very good but I think we can try to figure out our next step. You have two options: live in peace those months that you still have or we can try some new experimental treatments. Please go home and consider it carefully.

A_c: I'm afraid the tests came out positive for adenocarcinoma of the pancreas. There is no cure for this and unfortunately, you have only three months to live. I am being honest with you and I think during this time you should spend as much time as possible with your loved ones. I'm sorry.

Based on class readings and discussions on giving bad news, students are requested to identify communication appropriacy as well as barriers in the doctor's messages (e.g. peer-reviews below):

I think that answer 5 is a little too positive, it doesn't point out clearly enough the situation to the patient: that he has a very serious disease and that the prognosis is bad even though his other organs are in perfect

shape. Answer 4 is too harsh, the fact that there is no cure doesn't mean that the patient should not know about other type[s] of treatments even if the chance of prolonging his life is slim, this also applies to answer 3 where the phrase: "which is really bad" is not the appropriate one. (Gusul M.)

A3. *Survey on local health* – the main objective of this writing task was to evaluate the need for medical training and awareness among the local population about general medical aspects, including: knowledge of their own blood group/Rh, blood pressure, cholesterol level, glycaemia, allergies, etc. A 21-item questionnaire was distributed by each of the participating students in the surveyee's mother tongue (i.e. Romanian or Hungarian) to at least 10 people in the area. Results were collected, interpreted, and synthesised under a research paper format including an abstract, discussions, the graphic representation of two statistical results, and conclusions. The technical aspects of writing a research paper represented the pedagogical focus of this self-access task but also the formation of research (conducting an interview, discussing results, drawing conclusions) and linguistic (translation into English) subskills.

5. Results

The overall self-access ME Edmodo output was materialized in:

1. 9 optional, graded assignments, i.e. about 4/year;
2. non-graded assignments likely to help students master the vocabulary items and grammar structures and facilitate inter-group communication:
 - 4 Edmodo-generated quizzes/year;
 - a huge amount of informal teacher–student, student–student communication, reflections (SurveyMonkey), comments, and random polls.

Of the participating students, over 50% contributed between 75–100% of the assignments and 32% \geq 50%. Although it is difficult to estimate the whole amount of informal communication that took place during the two years, statistics showed that the self-access ME communication with Edmodo enabled a student to extend his/her ME input by about 14 hours of reading, writing, speaking, and preparing for Edmodo assignments, i.e. half the contact hours during a semester.

Moreover, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of students' contributions to the surveyed assignments reveals that self-access ME learning with Edmodo has positive outcomes in terms of:

1. *error correction (EC)*; EC becomes a staged and multi-modal (written and oral) process starting with self-correction, revision, and feedback and ending with teacher correction (Fig. 4).

The screenshot shows a document titled "The paediatric consultant" with several paragraphs of text. Red annotations highlight specific words and phrases, and a list of corrections is provided on the right side of the document. The corrections are as follows:

- Deleted: o
- Deleted: y
- Deleted: have
- Deleted: c
- Deleted: the
- Deleted: y
- Deleted: fulness
- Deleted: c
- Deleted: doesn't
- Deleted: d
- Deleted: ad

Figure 4. *Second stage – written EC*

Written EC was preferred in cases of poorer writing productions as it is more tangible and accurate, whereas recorded feedback was given to students with higher writing quality since they needed fewer corrective interventions. Oral recorded feedback also reinforced teacher presence and closeness, likely to humanize the virtual environment. Multi-feedback has optimized students' productions in terms of quality through continuous feedbacks from the teacher (both written and oral) and successive revisions, thus becoming a component of a more formative rather than summative assessment. As such, many written productions passed through several revisions, and there was no case of requested resubmission by the teacher, students usually deciding when an optimum level of accuracy and content appropriacy had been attained.

2. *student motivation* was measured as the degree of involvement in the self-access optional activities. About 70% of the students contributed in various degrees to the self-access Edmodo activities (see *Table 1* below):

Table 1. *Overall assignment statistics*

Assignment	Type of task/skills, subskills	Turned in and graded
Giving bad news (A2)	Writing/peer-reflection, communicating bad news	14
Virtual posters (A1)	Writing & speaking/peer-reflection, summarizing	28

Assignment	Type of task/skills, subskills	Turned in and graded
Reading on the impact of sugar consumption	Reading/expressing opinions, awareness raising	27
Listen to the patient – he might be telling you the diagnosis	Speaking/empathetic listening	44
A week in the life of a hospital (writing on the summer practice)	Reading and writing, compare and contrast	41
Survey on local health aspects (A3)	Writing/conducting a survey, summarizing, writing a mini-research paper	68
Clown care – the children’s ward	Listening/speaking	26
TED lessons from Harvard	Listening for gist	71
A doctor’s personal traits	Expressing opinions, self-reflection	67

3. *attitude* to self-access Edmodo-based ME learning was evaluated with a ten-item SurveyMonkey questionnaire. Results show that students preferred listening and speaking and almost in equal proportion reading and writing. About 74% of the students were satisfied (52.94%) or extremely satisfied (20.59%) with working on Edmodo (Fig. 5).

Answer Choices	Responses
Extremely satisfied	20.59%
Satisfied	52.94%
Neutral	20.59%
Satisfied only to a certain degree	5.88%
Not satisfied at all	0.00%
Total	

Figure 5. Student satisfaction with working on self-access ME Edmodo assignments

After content analysis and coding of students’ responses, the following categories of reasons for choosing to contribute to the project recurred the most

frequently: flexibility of access, interactivity, editability, and capacity to optimize input as well as contribution in different proportions to the final grade during the semester:

(1) I am extremely satisfied with this method because I have all the materials that I need on the platform. I also liked very much the quizzes and the idea of recording myself and uploading the recording on the platform.

(2) This method seems interesting and interactive. Usually students are less attracted to courses in which they sit and write or listen to a presentation. The work platform makes us think and interact more.

Eighty percent of the surveyed students would recommend learning with Edmodo to others. Answers to “neutral” and “useful to a certain extent” were also important, and they included aspects pertaining to time management and failure to meet the deadlines:

(1) In my opinion, the deadlines are a drawback because we cannot always find the time to complete the assignments.

(2) While I agree that in some cases it is easier to submit assignments to this platform, I find that a very common problem is remembering to check it regularly, which leads to finishing most of the work after the deadline.

Conclusions

Unless it is a casual enterprise, Edmodo-blended self-access benefits and supports ME learning. Provision of self-access materials and activities is learner-focused and likely to foster independent learning, meet variegated individual learning needs, and cover a larger array of learning styles than face-to-face learning alone would.

Moreover, self-access ME learning offers students flexibility and autonomy in terms of proficiency level, multimedia integration in paperless meaningful assignments followed by continuous asynchronous formative feedback from the teacher (oral and written), and contribution to the final grade.

Independent learning is also a requirement/component of the formal ME curriculum credit allocation. If this is generally difficult to quantify and teachers can only presume independent learning has occurred based on the results in the summative evaluation, we can entertain that self-access activities in virtual

platforms could be material evidence of student preparation and involvement as well as contribution to a more faithful evaluation. That such projects also reflect the teacher's continuous involvement and hard work in designing, constantly monitoring, evaluating, and grading remains an understatement, which can only be balanced by the students' engagement, satisfaction, and enhanced results.

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Lexical Borrowing, Categorization, and Mental Representation

Attila Benő

Babeş–Bolyai University, Faculty of Letters
Hungarian and General Linguistics Department
attilabe@yahoo.com

Abstract. The article argues that lexical borrowing is not only motivated by cultural factors linked to prestige or economical aspects but also by the speakers' need for new lexical-semantic categories and for highly expressive metaphorical terms to operate with, which makes them borrow words. The semantic changes of the lexical borrowings point to the creation of new items in the semantic fields of the receiving language. The integration of borrowings into Hungarian and Romanian exemplifies these processes.

Keywords: word borrowing, lexical categorization, semantic change, representation, lexical codability

1. Introduction

Why do we borrow words from other languages? The simplistic approach regarding the motives of lexical borrowings concerns only cultural differences and the economic development of the source language community as well as the prestige associated with it (Benő 2008: 173–175). As all theoretical frameworks, such models formulate important and valid half-truths but do not provide an explanation regarding the complex nature of certain languages' layers of loanwords. The diversity seen in the parts of speech of loanwords (e.g. adjectives, verbs, interjections, sentence substitutes) indicates that borrowing does not only aim at words denoting realia or culture-specific concepts (usually in the form of nouns). In order to understand the complexity of the phenomenon, aspects such as phonetic and semantic expressivity (Benő 2000), categorization of meaning on the level of words, linguistic taboo and phonetic representation, the visual language environment, and pursuing economy in language use (Benő 2008: 173–184) must be taken into consideration.

In my article, I examine the correlations between lexical borrowings and language-specific lexical categorization in the context of the structure of the semantic field and creating new conceptual hierarchies of meaning.

2. Cognitive content, semantic content, and representation

Different languages divide reality differently by referring to the human environment with the unique conditions created by their grammatical and semantic systems. In this sense, language offers a point of view to the speakers. This language-specific way of seeing the world can highlight some characteristics of denotata, and thus it allows categorizing certain objects, attributes, and relations in a specific way. However, the linguistic view of the world should not be imagined as something predestined, the effect of which cannot be avoided by the speaker. Rather, in the context of language, we tend, “to perceive” certain connections and to emphasize the attributes of adjectives as they are represented by the linguistic point of view; however, by observation and thinking, we are able to rearrange these connections and to interpret them differently. From this perspective, cognitive content and semantic content can be differentiated, even if the two knowledge dimensions are interconnected. The cognitive content refers to the knowledge we gain through our senses and mental activity (thinking, imagination, etc.). The language forms the cognitive content into semantic content in a specific way, by “highlighting different facts in different arrangements, developing its own focal points in different places, giving them a different emphasis” (Hjelmslev 1975). The starting point of this deduction is Saussure, who argues that “the thought in itself is like a nebula, within which nothing is necessarily delimited. There are no pre-defined concepts, and nothing is separated until language appears” (Saussure 1916/1967: 144).

The categorization of colours is done differently by the different languages. However, colour perception develops its own system regardless of language. Even those speakers whose language does not have a lexicalized denominator for orange can, if necessary, distinguish orange from yellow. At the same time, it has been proven that colours have a basic shade (focus), which is the same for all people, regardless their language and culture. Thus, the shade of blood is the basic shade for red (Taylor 1989). Other shades compared to focus colours are interpreted as lighter or darker. The explanation of this universal phenomenon can also be found in the human perceptual processes. On this basis, it is necessary to distinguish the categories of linguistic and non-linguistic nature, even if these are closely related, so that we do not come to a conclusion which implies that without language only an inarticulate, blurred sensuous world is left behind. Even animals categorize despite lacking such an articulate communication tool as the

human language (to such an extent that categorization becomes vital to them as well). *Therefore, linguistic categorization should not be considered as something without which we would live confused by our senses but rather as a cognitive tool which allows sensory data to be more accurate, focusing on certain attributes, creating similarity relations on this basis, performing a secondary categorization on the sensory, memorial data.* However, we cannot say that nothing is separated until language appears, but only that language transforms cognitive content into semantic content. And all languages do this differently.

The category as a mental unit is directly related to the conceptual meaning of the word and can be interpreted as a mental representation, as a cognitive structure, which represents in our minds a particular object of the outside world, the relation of the objects (Csépe–Győri–Ragó 2007–2008: 156–157). Language in this respect can be considered a representation tool, which primarily “represents” the outside world to us, playing an active role in the perception of the elements and the relations of our environment based on our categories and in the way we notice the things we know about. Therefore, we can say that all languages represent an interpretation perspective (Bańcerowski 1999: 194).

3. Semantic field and lexical coding

Semantic content is not an indefinable information block, but it is organized into languages as a system. This can be seen from the level of bound morphemes to the structuring of phrases. It has been observed on the level of lexemes that elements with similar meanings have a relationship of interdependence and are organized into semantic fields. In the traditional Trierian sense, the semantic field refers to a semantically related group of words in which the lexemes fully cover a subdivision of reality divided between each other (Telegdi 1977: 144–149, Péntek 1988: 63–65, Károly 1970: 60–61, A. Jászó 1991: 445–451). This idea based on mosaic-like representation should not be interpreted as if in the categorization system there was no more space left and no demand for a more nuanced classification of meaning, filling in the existing gaps in the vocabulary. The elements of the semantic field do not create all the possible combinations of the conceptual attributes: different denotations are referred to with the same word of a somewhat more general meaning; but we could refer to a signified from other languages, which, although referring to the same semantic field, do not match any of the existing lexemes. As shown later, such “deficiencies” of the semantic field can be the motivators of lexical borrowings if there is an existing lexicalized form for this narrower meaning in the source language.

In the English scholarly literature, within the semantic field, word field and lexical field are distinguished (Asher 1994: 2144–2146, Faber–Mairal 1997). This

distinction indicates whether the semantic field is morphologically composed of simple or more complex elements (compound word, idiom, etc.). Word field is used to denote semantic fields composed of simple elements, while lexical field includes not only formally simple but also compound lexemes. The validity of the distinction can be seen in the importance of whether a signified in a certain language or dialect is referred to with a simple word or a compound word or a lexicalized syntagm. On the one hand, the simple word merely names it, while the compound word somehow qualifies, characterizes the concept. (A good example of this is the case of *salt* and *sodium chloride*. *Salt* represents the concept in its everyday existence, while *sodium chloride* also refers to its chemical composition. On this basis, the two names can serve as the starting point of different associations.)

Lexicalized language units (mainly simple and compound words) represent concepts that are common to us, have become units of common thinking, and do not need to be created by creative thinking. Psychological research indicates that lexicalized concepts are more striking and easier to learn (Csépe–Győri–Ragó 2007–2008: 156–157).

This is linked to lexical coding, to the phenomenon of conceptual meanings condensed into the linguistic signs at the word level within a certain language, of what can be expressed with a lexical unit and what can be referred to only with syntactic structures or description (cf. Proost 2007: 92). As words refer to concepts and concepts are the basic units of our thinking, the way we think about our problems and perceive the phenomena are obviously affected by lexical coding.

4. Lexical borrowings, modification of semantic field, and representation

As a result of the spread and adaptation of borrowings, the semantic fields of language become further articulated, and more nuanced possibilities of categorization emerge. The enrichment of the semantic fields of colours illustrates this phenomenon in the case of numerous languages. Languages usually do not borrow words denoting basic colours since elements from the vocabulary of the basic language describe these, but they borrow words used to indicate different shades of the basic colours. This also can be illustrated with the borrowed names of colours in Hungarian:

Hung. *bordó* “dark red, wine red” (*bordóvörös*) < Ger. *bordeaux(rot)* < Fr. *bordeaux* “dark red wine” (Bordeaux, town);

Hung. *cinóber* “vermilion” < Ger. *Zinnober* Id.;

Hung. *mahagóni* < Sp. *mahogani* ‘tropical tree species’, ‘the reddish colour of this’ (from the language of Caribbean or Maya Indians);

Hung. *karmazsín* ‘deep, slightly bluish red’ < It. *carnesin* Id.;

Hung. *karmin* ‘slightly reddish purple’ < Ger. *Karmin* or It. *carmin*;

Hung. *indigó* ‘vivid blue colour’ < Ger. *indigo* < Sp. *indigo* Id. < Lat. *indicum* < Gr. *Indikon* ‘Indian’;

Hung. *azúr* ‘azure’ < Ger. *Azur* < It. *Azzuro* ‘Id.’ < lat. (*lapis*) *lazuli* ‘bluestone, vivid-blue mineral’;

Hung. *lilla* < Ger. *lila* < Fr. *lilas* ‘lilac’;

Hung. *bézs* ‘tawny, greyish-yellow, beige’ < Fr. *beige* < It. *bigio* ‘greyish-brown’ < Lat. *bysius* Id..

This peripheral nature of the colour names in relation to the basic colours can be seen among the loanwords used in standard Romanian:

Rom. *bej* ‘beige’ < Fr. *Beige*,

Rom. *bordo* < Fr. *Bordeaux*,

Rom. *oranj* ‘orange’ < Fr. *Orange*,

Rom. *lila* ‘purple’ < Fr. *lilas*,

Rom. *ultramarin* < Ger. *Ultramarin*,

Rom. *violet* ‘hyacinth’ < Fr. *violet*,

Rom. *gri* ‘grey’ < Fr. *gris*,

Rom. *maro* ‘brown’ < Fr. *maron*.

With such lexical borrowings, the semantic structure of the semantic field of the colour names in the receiving language will become more articulated. Sometimes, compared to the etymon, the meaning of colour names is modified by narrowing of meaning or metonymic contact in the receiving language or dialect, also to create a new category of colour names on the level of simple words, as it can be illustrated with data from several languages:

Hung. *rőt* ‘brownish-red, reddish’ < Ger. (Bavarian-Austrian) *röt* ‘red, blood’;

Hung. *sziéna* ‘reddish-brown’ < It. *Siena* (town);

Eng. *khaki* < Urdu *kháki* ‘dusty’, ‘dust-coloured’;

It. *scarlatto* ‘scarlet’ < Farsi *szakalát* ‘purple’;

Lat. *ochra* ‘ocher (yellow)’ < Gre. *ókhra* ‘yellow earth’;

Lat. *sepia* ‘reddish-brown’ < Gre. *szépia* ‘cuttlefish’, ‘the secretion of the cuttlefish’;

Rom. dial. *barna* ‘dark brown’ < Hun. *barna* ‘brown’;

Rom. dial. *şargă* ‘pallid, greyish-yellow’ < Hun. *sárga* ‘yellow’.

One of the most common types of semantic change of the borrowings is narrowing of meaning, creating specific meanings (Péntek 1981, Benő 2014: 113–115), which adds new categories of meaning to the matching semantic field. The reason for the narrowing of meaning is often focusing on the physical properties (size, material) or function of the signified objects. The highlighted

attribute becomes the basis of the narrowing of meaning, as shown below by the Hungarian borrowings adapted in Romanian dialects in Transylvania:

Hung. *tó* 'lake' > Rom. dial. *tău* 'smaller lake',

Hung. *ablak* 'window' > Rom. dial. *obloc* 'wooden window',

Hugn. *csésze* 'cup' > Rom. dial. *cesă* 'porcelain cup',

Hung. *papír* 'paper' > Rom. dial. *popir* 'rolling paper',

Hung. *leves* 'soup' > Rom. dial. *leves* 'broth'.

Meanings formed this way create new functional categories of word-meaning in the semantic system of the receiving language.

The enrichment of semantic fields and the number of synonyms as the result of lexical borrowings is allowed not only by the introduction of lexical elements denoting new concepts or the change in the conceptual precision of lexical meanings but also by the form of the value of expressivity, which is linked to the metaphorical meaning of the borrowings and which can have a role in spreading and adapting the borrowing.

Hung. *bifláz* 'to mug up, to learn by rote' < Ger. *büffeln* Id. (to work like a buffalo);

Hung. *kalamajka* 'mess', 'foolish, half-witted' < Ukr. *kolomijka* 'fast Ukrainian dance';

Hung. *krapek* 'fella, dude, covey' (pej.) < Slk. *chlapík* 'man, good fellow';

Hung. *kupec* 1. 'merchant'; 2. 'cunning, swindler' < Slk. *kupec* 'customer'; (old) 'merchant';

Hung. dial. in Trans. *botyezál* 'to dilute wine or milk with water' < Rom. *a boteza* 'baptize';

Hung. slang in Trans. *tocsilár* 'plodding student' < Rom. *tocilar* 1. 'grinder'; 2. 'plodding student';

Hung. slang *smecker* 'cunning, skilful, circumventing rules' < Rom. *șmecher* 1. 'vulpine, sharp, cunning; 2. clever, witty, ingenious' < Ger. *Schmecker* 'wine tasting'.¹

The motive behind such expressivity in metaphorical meaning can be, by borrowing a word and adapting it to a given dialect, enriching the structure of meaning of a concept with a lexeme denoting stylistic and expressive value. The data quoted above indicates that sometimes the new categories of meaning are a result of pejorative change of meaning (*botyezál*, *kalamajka*, *krapek*, *kupec*, *smecker*).

Sometimes, lexical borrowings of foreign origin not only allow the adoption of more nuanced conceptual meanings but also create wider and multiple association relations due to different conceptual representations. Our recent, informal word

1 Termini Hungarian Online Dictionary: Termini magyar–magyar szótár (<http://ht.nytud.hu/htonline>).

of English origin *lúzer* is not just a synonym for the Hungarian adjective *vesztes* ‘loser’. When defining the meaning of *lúzer*, marks that indicate the surplus of meaning compared to our word *vesztes* refer to: “a person who is essentially incapable of self-realization or achieving any kind of success, with a hopeless life and bleak future”;² “It is used to describe a man who does not succeed in anything”.³ The word *vesztes* can denote a current state: yesterday’s loser can be a winner today. The word *lúzer* refers to an unsuccessful person living a lousy life, carrying this burden all his/her life. The network of meaning of the word *lúzer* is based on a reductive view according to which there are people who are successful in all areas of life, every step of their lives, and in the same way there are unsuccessful, losing people in every respect. This contrastive lexical and conceptual categorization based on excessive generalization and simplification does not take into account the fact that the people considered to be successful have inevitably faced loss, while the people considered to be unsuccessful losers could get into a winning position in some way, and no one can be considered to be completely unsuitable for a certain successful activity. The verbal form of the adjective *lúzer* was created with a verbal prefix, and its meaning is becoming wider as it can be used to belittle almost anyone: *Vajna Tímea **lelúzerzte** a melósokat* ([Hungarian celebrity] Tímea Vajna called the toilers *lúzer*).⁴

Similarly, the Hungarian *balek* ‘gullible, credulous person’ (< Tur. *balık* ‘fish’, ‘an easily hooked fish’) refers not only to momentary deceptiveness or credulity, but it represents an unalterable character defect and stigmatizes an attitude towards a given situation of reality: the category of meaning of the word has the outcome that there are people acting as a *balek*, while others do not act as a *balek*; as if a particular way of approaching was inevitably given, and the person was not able to change his/her attitude. But who is the one who has never proved to be gullible or credulous?

Similarly, an attitude is displayed as a type of human being by the word *frájer* in the Hungarian slang in Transylvania, which is a Romanian-mediated German word: *frájer* ‘dumb, credulous, gullible person’ < Rom. *fraier* Id. < Ger. *freier* ‘fiancé, suitor’.⁵ This is more pejorative than the *frajer* used in the Hungarian slang with the meaning of ‘cool, pompous’,⁶ which originates directly from German.

2 <https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lúzer>.

3 <http://idegen-szavak-szotara.hu>.

4 <http://www.borsonline.hu/celeb/vajna-timea-leluzerezte-a-melosokat/94382>.

5 Termini magyar-magyar szótár (<http://ht.nytdud.hu/htonline>).

6 <http://idegen-szavak-szotara.hu>.

5. Summary

Among the motives of lexical borrowing and lexical adaptation, we have to take into consideration the more nuanced demand for categorization. Lexical borrowings integrating this way further articulate the structure of the given semantic field. The processes of changing the meaning of the borrowings is functional: they usually allow developing new categories of word meaning and often represent added values of expressivity. The borrowing among the synonyms of the receiving language sometimes refers to its signified with a particular linguistic representation, which may also be a motive for its adaptation.

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Language of the Hand in Indo-European Idioms

Doina BUTIURCA

Department of Applied Linguistics
Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu-Mureş
Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania
butiurcadoina@yahoo.com

Abstract. The research starts from the assertion that there is an interdependent rapport between cultural forms and the experiential field, necessary for the dynamics of cultural development. The general objective of our approach is the development of a system of relations ordered by human experience for linguistic vitality (of a language/group of [kindred] languages) in the mental and cultural fields. Particular/experiential takes on the concepts of “right”/“left”, the systemic extension of significances in linguistics, religion, moral mentality, and culture of peoples of the world stand as secondary objectives of the research. Application is made to pan-Latin languages, Hungarian, and English. Synchronic and diachronic analysis, contrastive method, and cognitive approach are but a few of the research methods. The first of the conclusions to be drawn is that the diachronic dynamics of a culture is ensured by the systemic relations between human experience, language, mentality, and others.

Keywords: culture, language, pan-Latin, English

The premises of our study allowed us to remark that at least two types of relationships can be established between language and cultural pattern: 1. logical relations always based on the dialectic of correlation and/or opposition and 2. analogical relations.

Idioms having parts of the human body as a referent are an illustration of the idea that the human alter-ego has risen above his primary meaning, that of man as an entity. Linguistically, these homogenous structures lead us from particular experiences (the observation that the right hand is strong/the left hand is weak in human activities), from a diachronic and diastratic perspective, to variable realizations, dispersed in the field of culture, religion, mentalities, and behaviour. They are loaded with ethics, religion, politics, economy, with the dynamic of history itself, etc. The subjective implications of body language, understood

as a *sine qua non* condition in the formation of the individual on the scale of his ontological evolution are provided primarily by the human spirit and are strongly related to the concept of culture. Moreover, a modality to enhance the concept from individual entities to collective entities and, implicitly, a manner of approaching the personality from the perspective of the dynamics of manifestation and of cultural anthropology becomes functional. The language “of the hand” sets the vastest boundaries of manifestation of the dynamics of personality and of the implication into manifestation and to a less extent sets levels (conscious, subconscious), compartments (affective, cognitive, volitive) – these being part of the language of the “head”, respectively of the “heart”.

From among the words that named parts of the “body” – in the Graeco-Latin antiquity –, we take into consideration the Latin *manus*, a very productive lexeme as far as phrases are concerned, omnipresent through its semantics and vitality in most European languages. It is an element designating notions pertaining both to the common vocabulary and to biology, morals, army, authorities, mentalities, etc., being linked to material values, on the one hand, and to culture, on the other hand. The differences visible already in Latin are at the linguistic level; they are differences of representation and conceptualization: *manus* in the phrases *per manus tractus, servatur* (Caesar) – ‘saved by being pulled by the hand’ and *traditae per manus religiones* (Titus Livius) – ‘beliefs transmitted from father to son’ have not only different stylistic codes: *manus* appears in two contexts that do not have the same referent, do not illustrate the same concept, and do not preserve the same meaning but have a common prototypical “semantic denominator” (Angela Bidu-Vrânceanu). The first phrase names the sphere of manifestation of the human being, while the second names the field of mentalities. And this is not the only example: *manus dextra* and *manus sinistra* have a “bivalent” feature in the common vocabulary. That “something identical” is created from the given forms by the semantic link to a unique *designatum* at the *Nomina Anatomica* level. The information is extremely rich, and its sources are increasingly varied.

The purpose of the research hereby is not to thoroughly study the linguistic forms exclusively according to the criterion of dispersibility and diachronic evolution or the etymological matrix; it does not aim to define culture in itself or the strict meaning of independent linguistic entities but their vitality in the field of mentality and culture, in a system of relations arranged by “a semantic denominator”. Although some of the specialized studies turned to the aspects regarding the invasion of the abstract notions of culture in the field of language – a situation that can isolate linguistics within the other disciplines of the humanities –, the task of anthropological linguistics is to analyse the objective and subjective implications of the language within a certain mentality and/or culture. Fundamentally, a prototypical “denominator...” develops the most varied meanings – claimed by the nature of the referent. The distributional properties

of the noun *manus*, *-us*, for example, are semantically related to the contexts of conceptualization. In a minimal context, it is bivalent (Lat. *manus dextra*, Lat. *manus sinistra*).

Boas (Franz Boas 1990) has underlined the role the unconscious activity of the spirit has in the creation of language before Lévi-Strauss. The study of language was conceived as a *paradigm for the analysis of all the other symbolic systems*. Unconscious mental structures can be studied through language, through institutions – in the field of anthropology, just as language can be studied by relating it to the fields of mentality and culture –, in which it is reflected and which it reflects (besides the material forms), even if only partially.

Secondly, the systemic study of the dynamics of a prototypical “semantic denominator” becomes more prolific in related languages and cultures: the notion of instrument, the notion of mutualism – in the case of *manus*, the logical relation – at the level of Latin mentality, between *manus* and *domus* – the association with the feminine principle of governing the world, the symbolic feature, but, particularly the relation between the material and the spiritual established in the Latin tradition through a rhetoric of analogies are aspects we also find in the Romanic languages (and not only!). This type of systemic consubstantiality, semantic denominator, on the one hand, and language – dynamics of mentality –, culture, on the other hand, are maintained as subsidiary through several characteristic features.

The first feature would be the one theorized by modern anthropology (having application in the field of culture): *transmissibility*. It is a feature explicitly expressed by developing a series of statements – diachronically and diastratically distributed – in different fields of mentality and culture. *Manus*, *-us* was a countable noun of the 4th declension, compatible with the grammatical opposition of singular/plural number and was part of the basic vocabulary. Although in the Latin language the nouns of the 4th declension were usually masculine, *manus* is feminine, same as *domus*, *-us* (house). It had the following semantic features: part of the body/bi-positional/specific to man/instrument. In Latin, *manum lavat* (Seneca) reminds of the concrete circumstance of man’s attitude towards himself, of self-respect, by the gesture without any ritual connotations of washing one’s hands. Metaphors of right and left lateralities can have different (behavioural, religious) meanings from one linguistic variant to another but also from one cultural pattern to another. The pan-Latin vocabulary developed a value defined by mutualism: symmetrically, Rom. “o mână spală pe alta” (one hand washes another) – is a phrase of mutualism found also in the field of ethics and psychology but mainly in the field of group mentality. Being initially a plain phrase, it has become very expressive due to the contamination and shading of the meanings: Rom. “o mână spală pe alta”; It. “una mano lava l’altra”; Port. “uma mão lava a outra”, Sp. “Una mano lava la otra”. In French, “une main lave l’autre”

– considered to originate from Plato’s writings – became a proverb, and it has a profound lay, profane meaning. The phrase has been recorded in the documents of culture since the 19th century and suggests the image of mutual help between similar parties: the right hand washes the left hand, while the left hand washes the right hand. At the same time, the image reminds of the circumstances of complicity, of the Pan-chronic solidarity of *homo oeconomicus* – for example, as far as both hands wash each other in a single gesture.

1. Idioms and the cultural pattern

The cultural pattern (with its numerous aspects) has a fundamental value in the study of comparative phraseology: phrases used by human communities sharing the same religion, for example, reflect the ethics generated by the dogma of that particular religion. In this context (of indestructible link between pattern and language), the language underlines – through its own means – the new meanings and senses demanded by the cultural context. (Claude Lévi-Strauss mentioned that “language can be considered as a basis, meant to sometimes have more complex structures, but of similar type to its own, which correspond to culture seen from different perspectives”.) The reflexive form in the phrases: Rom. “a se spăla pe mâini” and Fr. “s`en laver les mains” (DEFR 1996) radically alters the perspective and the categories of representation by situating *homo religiosus* under the influence of the spiritual factor. The Holy Bible (Anania 2001) assigned the reference known in the entire Christian community as “wash one’s hands” to Pontius Pilate: “So when Pilate saw that nothing was being gained, but rather a disturbance was starting, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, ‘I am innocent of the blood of this righteous person. You see to it’” (Matthew 27.24). The idea of moral cleansing is enhanced in the context in which the wise Roman judge understands that his interventions are useless against the resistance of Jesus’s opponents. The analogical manner of expression could identify, in the absence of consensus in thinking and opinion – so much needed at the moment –, the paradigm of the super-individual pretext: the redemption, cleansing of his own conscience from sin. Pilate’s repeated attempts to determine the opponent to respect certain values were unsuccessful, and this fact made it necessary to absolve himself from responsibility by a ritual gesture. Modern man moved the conceptual metaphor from the sphere of religion into that of other semantic denominators like: “a se spăla pe cap” (to wash one’s hair) (meaning absolve oneself from responsibility). Such equivalent structures of free variation not only represent another level of human spirituality with a colloquial dimension but are also a sign of the desacralization of the mentality of modern man by alienating from religious behaviour. It can be noticed that the cultural

pattern, on the one hand, and the semantic denominator, the verbal mark, on the other hand – no matter how well-established the phraseological units of a language may be –, if ungrammaticalized, contribute to the diastatic dynamics. From *manum lavat* to “one hand washes another”, “to wash one’s hands”, and to “wash one’s hair”, there is a diastatically marked and cultural hierarchy. It seems quite obvious that the first phrase has a neutral stylistic value (in the denotative register) unlike the structure “one hand washes the other” (in the connotative register). The phrase “to wash one’s hair” is marked ironically, unappreciatingly (in the colloquial register), this stylistic colour being increasingly frequent in contemporary realizations of the phrase. Irony is emphasized by the nominal, atypical substitution opposed to a ritual-like behaviour of the person developed following the religious patterns of the Christian culture (from “to wash one’s hands”).

In order to go further in understanding the systemic relation between *language* and *cultural pattern*, it is necessary to determine the manner in which this correlation develops and to establish the differences: regarding the essence of the culture, technical achievements are less important than social, human, and religious determinations. The multiple features of the prototypical “semantic denominator” develop into a plurality of collateral realizations already starting with the Indo-European language. What seems to represent an identical denominator, an identical phrase from the linguistic point of view, is in fact identical neither in two different occurrences nor in two different compartments due to the dynamic of semantic features, on the one hand, and to the systemic relation between language and a particular cultural pattern, on the other hand.

2. “The matrix”

The types of manifestation, of implication or non-implication of an individual, mentality, etc. originate from a cultural pattern on the basis of which personality is formed. The parental (maternal/paternal/tutorial) cultural pattern is the “matrix”, the psychological configuration called by Abraham Kardiner (Kardiner 1944) “the basic personality”. The systemic relation between language and personality makes the social interaction between the individuals, between the human being and the other, objective. This is the context in which personality is defined as agglutination of roles and of personal applications of status to a social system through a varied typology of manifestation and pattern.

“The hand” has had an important role in defining personality through creative activities, a context in which “the semantic denominator” analogically developed various shades of meaning. In the tradition of Far Eastern languages, it implies the idea of – concrete or abstract, objective or subjective – activity, a feature also

found in the Latin language and in the entire Roman mentality (DLR-Guțu, G. 2003): Lat. “portus manu facti” (Cicero) – Rom. “porturi create de mâna omului” (costumes created by the hands of man); “mea manu scriptae litterae” (Cicero) – Rom. “scrisoare scrisă cu mâna mea” (letter written with my own hand), etc. The same perspective of the cultural anthropology can be taken into consideration in the case of other types of direct implications – Rom. “cu propriile mâini” ‘with one’s own hands’, “lucru de mână” ‘hand work’, “broderie de mână” ‘handmade embroidery’ – or metaphoric implications of the “hand”, while creating the works constituting a cultural heritage: Fr. “mettre la main à la pâte”(DEFR 1996) – to contribute to a work, Fr. “à voir avec leurs mains”, etc.

Resemantization of idiomatic phrases related to the “hand” was performed also by simply considering the aspects of manifestation: hands are used for work but also to refuse activities: Rom. “a pune mâinile la treabă” (a începe să muncești) (to put one’s hand to work (to start working)), “a pune mâna” (to put one’s hand into it), “a-și face mâna” (a exersa, a se specializa) (have a hand for (to practise, to specialize in)) but also Rom. a sta “cu mâinile-n sân” (to sit with one’s hands in one’s lap, i.e. idly), “cu mâinile încrucișate” (with hands crossed), cu “mâinile la spate” (with one’s hands behind one’s back), cu “mâinile sus” (hands up), etc. The phrase “manum non vertere” (Cicero) ‘a nu se sinchisi’ (to not bother one’s head about something) is also present in Romanian, but it implies a remodelling at the level of the semantic denominator. The metaphor Rom. “a nu mișca un deget” (to not lift a finger) has developed based on the concrete circumstance of refusing personal implication, of not stimulating subjectively/objectively a human activity/community. The cultural/mental pattern is significant through the power of suggestion. The categories of representations of the modern mentality moved the metaphor diachronically within the framework of other target fields (elements of the human body or of the environment): “a nu mișca un deget” (to not lift a finger), “a nu mișca un fir de păr” (to not move a hair’s breadth), “a nu mișca un pai” (to not move a straw), “a nu mișca un fir de ață” (to not move a thread), “a sta cu mâinile în sân” (to sit with one’s hands in one’s lap), “a sta cu mâinile în buzunar” (to keep one’s hands in one’s pocket), etc. In diachronic synonymy, the Romanian language makes changes also at the level of initial meanings. On the same lexical basis “a nu mișca un deget” (to not lift a finger) can gain a value of trans-individual nature, especially in contemporary mass-media, where it contextually means not to be allowed to do anything without somebody’s approval (“Petrescu’s little soldiers do not lift a finger without first having the consent of their Romanian general”, *Gazeta Sporturilor*), the same as “a nu mișca un fir de ață” (to not move a thread) (a familiar phrase related to evidence in a case).

The metaphors “of the hand” create two opposing systems defining through two fundamental types of mentality, two types of personalities. What correlation

is there between these two types of structuring of aspects, manifestations, human interactions, between the Indo-European languages which sometimes are so different? There is a correlation with the linguistic system and another with the manner of representation of two features of the prototypic semantic denominator: bivalence (right hand/left hand) and reciprocity. The metaphors “of the hand” create two opposing systems generated by this empirical “material” characterizing the ontology of the human. Habits, the attitude towards the environment and the objects within, towards the phenomena, the beings a mature man comes in contact with are absolutely relevant to the analysis of the denotative and connotative system of a language. As A. L. Kroeber (Kroeber 1948) said: “the hand” is a semantic pattern, a certain thinking and attitude pattern, reflected in its own terminology. This *pattern* has an internal logical connection, and, despite the fact that it obeys a conventional determination (through language), it is, on the one hand, the product of the primary impulse of man to relate to his own micro-universe – in the conceptualization process – and, on the other hand, a phrase of analogical and/or contrastive individual creativity, of the impulse toward *ludens*.

3. “The initial language” (Plato) and the target field

The primary cognitive patterns related to the manner in which the individual and the human communities relate themselves to the physical space, to the Cosmos, from the perspective of the right/left opposition, of the language “of the hand” (finger, phalanx, arm) cannot be dealt with disregarding the etymology – the primary stratum of languages –, in terms of which Plato (*Cratylus*) thought there was “an initial language”. The profound, metaphoric meanings of things, phenomena, and the being become one at this level.

The adjective “drept” (right) in the Romanian vocabulary with all its derivatives and phrases with a contextual referent containing this vocable has a positive connotation: “a călca cu dreptul” (to get off on the right foot), “a fi mâna dreaptă a cuiva” (to be the right-hand man), “a alege calea dreaptă” (to choose the right path), etc. As an absolute antonym, the adjective “stâng” (left) acquired deeply negative meanings: “a trage pe stânga” (to take to the left), “a călca cu stângul” (to get off on the wrong foot), etc. It is necessary to mention that problems regarding the right–left opposition are complicated in all the languages of Europe. In Latin, there were two separate words for all the concepts discussed here: on the one hand, the adj./noun *dexter*, *-era*, *-erum* and the adj. *directus* (*derectus*), perfect participle of the verb *dirigo*, *-ere*, *-rexi*, *-rectum* (to arrange in a straight line, to delineate (a special meaning)), to set a certain direction, to put it right), and, on the other hand, the adj./noun *sinister*, *-tra*, *-trum* (used with the meanings: “left”

(*sinistra manus*), “unfavourable/ill-fated, bad” etc.) and the adj./noun *laevus*, *-a*, *-um* (left, from the left; stupid, silly; unfavourable, adverse, and so on). In French and Spanish, the adjectives “droit, -e” and “derecho/f. derecha” (originating just as the Romanian “drept” from the Latin *directus* (*derectus*)) have maintained positive connotations (“levez la main droite et dites ‘je le jure’”) as opposed to “gauche” (*ab initio*, used with the meaning “weak”): “il confond sa droite et sa gauche”, conferring value to the original semantics of the dichotomy. The variant “izquierda” also used to have the meaning of “crooked”, “curved”, “bent” in old Spanish. The noun “sinistra” (cf. Lat. *sinister*) took on in Italian the prototypical meaning of “left hand”, “left part”, while the adjective “sinistro” that of “left”, “unfortunate event”, “disaster”. And there are many other examples. English uses the adj./ noun “left”, which has – through etymon – the meaning of “weak”, “worthless”: “...so that *left* is for *lyft*, with the sense ‘worthless’ or ‘weak’” (Skeat 2007: 256). It can be observed from the given examples that the terms of the right–left opposition from the phrases rise through their “vision of the world” above the level of linguistic systems, no matter how fascinating these might be. Aspects referring to etymology are concurred with cognitive representations in Hungarian as well. Hungarian belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of languages. The „jobb” (better) is used in expressions such as: “jobbra”, adv./to the right! (MRSZ 2005: 408), “jobb kéz”/right hand (MRSZ 2005: 448), “vkinek a jobbkeze vki”/be someone’s right hand (MRKK 2005: 133). The opposition of representation is realized with “bal”, adj., “left” (MRSZ 2005: 42): “bal kéz” (left hand), “~lábbal kelt fel”/get out of bed left foot forward/set your left foot first, “ne tudja a bal kéz, mit csinál a jobb”/the left hand doesn’t know what the right hand is doing (MRKK 2005: 20).

The issue to be discussed is what the mechanisms are by which the proposed opposition is maintained as a way of relating man to existence during different ages of the history of mankind: the pre-Roman period (“izquierda”, a form inherited from the local pre-Roman vocabulary), the Roman period, the old German vocabulary (Fr. “gauche”) and not only. Through what mechanisms do greatly lay categories become representations of the divine in somatic phraseologisms?

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Culture in Language Teaching

A course design for teacher trainees

Gabriella KOVÁCS

Department of Applied Linguistics
Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu-Mureş
Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania
kovagabi@yahoo.com

Abstract. Learning a language means also the study of a different culture. This study focuses on the introduction of the topic of culture in language teaching into the curriculum of the subject *Language Teaching Methodology* for teacher trainees studying at *Translation And Interpreting Studies*, Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu-Mureş. This topic has not been treated separately so far, it has only been discussed implicitly, included in other topics. But we believe that future teachers should have a more thorough theoretical and practical training in terms of what incorporating culture into language teaching implies. For this purpose, we are going to examine and discuss some of the recommendations and principles stated in the specialized literature regarding culture in foreign language teaching and reflect on what the ideal content of a course related to the teaching of this skill should be.

Keywords: culture, language teaching, methodology course, teacher training

1. Introduction

The role and status of culture in language teaching has always been a challenging issue for teachers. Their conception and opinion may be very different regarding the meaning of culture and the possibilities of incorporating cultural content into the language teaching process. These differences can result from their previous experience as language learners, from what they have learnt along their training process, and from the various possibilities they have had to come into direct contact with the target culture. The cultural content taught in language classes may also be influenced by the extent of differences between the native and target cultures.

Generally, in language teaching, the emphasis is on the development of four separate skills: listening comprehension, reading comprehension, writing, and

speaking. However, language teachers and scholars often refer to a fifth skill, which is culture. It is difficult to imagine language teaching without referring in one way or another to the target culture; therefore, culture has always been present in the teaching process. But what does this skill imply and how should it be included into the teaching–learning process? Compared to grammar or vocabulary, culture is more difficult to define; therefore, it is not clear what and how should be taught.

However, we strongly believe that some principles, recommendations, and practical ideas regarding the introduction of cultural content must be included in the curriculum of language teaching methodology. Teacher trainees need to develop a theoretical and practical awareness of what culture means and in what forms it may be present in the language classroom.

This study focuses on discussing what should be taught about *culture in language teaching*, a topic in the curriculum of *Language Teaching Methodology*, designed for students of *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu-Mureş. This topic has not been treated separately so far, but it has been included in the discussion and practice of other topics – generally included in methodology courses such as the short history of language teaching (different language teaching methods); the communicative approach; teaching pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and pragmatic elements; developing reading comprehension, writing, listening comprehension, and speaking skills; learning styles and strategies; classroom management and teacher–student interaction; material development; evaluation.

This article is primarily a non-exhaustive study of the literature related to culture in language teaching. Our main purpose is to outline the main concepts, principles, and approaches regarding culture in language teaching (in particular, English language teaching because the majority of our students are future English teachers) and to present some practical ideas and strategies which teacher trainees may find useful in their future career.

2. Definition of culture

The definition of culture itself has been a much debated issue among scholars along the centuries. We do not intend to enter into details regarding the history and alterations of definitions; instead, we present the definition given in *The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Micropaedia*, which seems to encompass all the elements that may be part of this concept. It states that culture is:

The integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief and behaviour. Culture thus defined consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, taboos, codes, institutions, tools, techniques, works of art, rituals, ceremonies, and

other related components; and the development of culture depends upon man's capacity to learn and to transmit knowledge to succeeding generations. (p. 784)

The definition is followed by a brief treatment of the term, where it is stated that there is a large number of definitions given by social scientists and anthropologists.

Every human society has its own particular culture, or sociocultural system, which overlaps to some extent with other systems. Variation among sociocultural systems is attributable to physical habitats and resources; to the range of possibilities inherent in various areas of activity such as language, rituals and customs, and the manufacture and use of tools; and to the degree of social development. The attitudes, values, ideas, and beliefs of the individual are greatly influenced by the culture in which he lives, and an individual may, of course, live in or travel among several different cultures. (Ibid.)

The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Macropaedia dedicates a total of 19 pages to the explanation of the concept, definitions and types of culture, and the different approaches to the study of culture.

Obviously, future language teachers are not expected to be experts in the theory of culture, but they have to be aware of what this term encompasses and especially what it means related to the study of a foreign language. They should know that culture cannot be taught simply through a few explicit lessons about some specific customs, holidays, songs, or works of literature. It is a much broader concept than that, implicitly present in the appropriate use of different linguistic forms as well. Language and culture are inseparable, as it is pointed out by Kramsch:

In the dyad "language and culture", language is not a bunch of arbitrary linguistic forms applied to a cultural reality that can be found outside of language, in the real world. Without language and other symbolic systems, the habits, beliefs, institutions, and monuments that we call culture would be just observable realities, not cultural phenomena. To become culture, they have to have meaning. It's the meaning that we give to foods, gardens and ways of life that constitute culture. (Kramsch 2013: 62)

3. Big C culture, little c culture

Language teachers in Romania who are now in their 40s studied languages in a very different way in their school years from the way languages are taught

and studied now. Before 1989, language teaching used to be heavily influenced by the political ideology of the communist regime, while innovative ideas, developments, or new materials were inaccessible. It took almost a decade to change the well-established mentality and practices and exchange them with the modern principles and practice of communicative language teaching. This, in fact, also meant a change from a grammar-translational teaching style concentrating on some carefully chosen *big C* culture content to a more open interpretation and understanding of culture and the admission of more *little c* culture into the curriculum, followed by an even wider approach, the acceptance of the concept of interculturality.

But what is the difference between *big C* culture and *little c* culture? According to Kramsch, what we now call *big C* culture is a humanistic concept, a characteristic of the educated middle class, and it is in fact the result of the study of literature and arts, taught in schools. If, together with the target language, we also teach about the history, literature, arts, and institutions of the respective community, the language will be embedded into “the reassuring continuity of a national community that gives it meaning and value”. Language learners may belong to a culture with different values and moral codes, and this may make it difficult for them to understand the target culture’s notions of the “good” and “proper” way of life. Therefore, it may seem more comfortable to seek refuge in literary fiction or cultural stereotypes. And indeed, as an example to illustrate Kramsch’s view, probably this is why most language teachers in Romania are still trained in departments of foreign language and literature, where the study of literature has a dominant status. This approach, as Kramsch suggests, “is a reminder that language study was originally subservient to the interests of philologists and literary scholars, not anthropologists or sociologists” (2013: 65).

Communicative language teaching has brought an important change regarding the concept of culture, and a more pragmatic approach, culture as a way of life has been adopted. As Kramsch states, this *little c* culture focuses mainly on everyday life, on social interaction and communication, including behaviour, beliefs, values, eating, dwelling, and talking habits. Most studies conducted about the cultural component in the language teaching and learning process concentrated on “cross-cultural pragmatics and the sociolinguistic appropriateness of language use in its authentic cultural context”. However, she also draws attention to the traps of teaching *little c* culture.

To study the way native speakers use their language for communicative purposes, the convention “one language = one culture” is maintained and teachers are enjoined to teach rules of sociolinguistic use the same way they teach rules of grammatical usage (i.e., through modelling and role-playing). Even though everyday cultural practices are as varied as

a native speaker's use of language in everyday life, the focus is on the typical, sometimes stereotypical, behaviours, foods, celebrations and customs of the dominant group or of that group of native speakers that is the most salient to foreign eyes. (2013: 66)

Alptekin (2002) also pinpoints the utopianism of *little c* culture – the concept referring to characteristic ways of thinking and behaving of a target language community and their everyday customs –, highlighting its monolithic perception of culture and language.

4. Culture and language teaching – changing perspectives

Language teachers must always be mediators between cultures, the primary sources of the target culture for their students.

Cultural content and cultural awareness has varied along the history of language teaching and within the different methods. According to Bárdos (2004), a currently fashionable wider interpretation of culture, meaning that culture is everything that is created, made, or touched by humans, may become relevant from the point of view of planning language teaching. This wide interpretation has several advantages, namely that teachers can freely choose from various topics and phenomena which can easily meet these requirements.

The recommendations of the European Council and the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (2002) reflect this wide interpretation of the term. The projects and proposals of the European Council regarding language teaching showed a significant change of perspective in the 1970s, states Bárdos. This change was influenced by research results in the domains of pragmatics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and social psychology. In a modern, multicultural world, foreign language speakers have to be able to use the language according to the norms of the respective community, and they have to be aware of what may, may not, or should not be said as part of their language behaviour. Speakers must take into consideration the situation, the circumstances, the topic, the expected level of formality, their partner's level of knowledge, and the culture-sensitive scenarios. The development of genuine and accurate language behaviour and personal style is a result of such careful approach and thorough selection (Bárdos 2005: 149–150).

As it is stated in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*, the language user's ability to communicate is shaped and influenced by all human competences, and therefore all these may be regarded as aspects of communicative competence. General competences include declarative knowledge (knowledge of the world, sociocultural knowledge, and

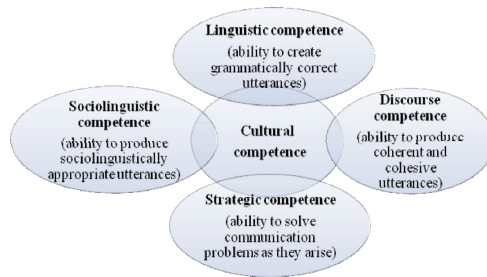


Figure 1. *The place of cultural competence in communicative competence (Bárdos 2004: 151)*

intercultural awareness), skills and know-how (practical and intercultural skills and know-how), existential competence, and the ability to learn (language and communication awareness, general phonetic awareness and skills, study skills, and heuristic skills). Communicative language competences include linguistic competences (lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological, orthographic, and orthoepic), sociolinguistic competences (linguistic markers of social relations, politeness conventions, expressions of folk wisdom, register differences, dialect, and accent), and pragmatic competences (discourse competence and functional competence) (CEFR 2002: 101–130). Language teachers and researchers widely believe that there is another competence, the cultural one, which is present in one way or another in all the above mentioned categories. Bárdos, for instance, added culture as a fifth competence to a model developed by Canale and Swain (1980). In his interpretation, culture is present in and is part of all the other competences.

Several other statements and viewpoints have been formulated regarding the status, importance, and content of culture in language teaching, showing the complexity of the issue. Some frequently quoted interpretations belong to Rivers (1981, 1987), Byram (1989), and Seelye (1993). According to Rivers, “we must focus on both appropriate content and activities that enable students to assimilate that content. Activities should encourage them to go beyond fact, so that they begin to perceive and experience vicariously the deeper levels of the culture of the speakers of the language” (1981: 314). She also states that in the design of these activities teachers should concentrate to choose the best approach and procedures that can lead students to “successful cross-cultural encounters” (1987: 12). Byram draws attention to the problem of skill-centric language teaching, which tends to neglect the cultural elements: “foreign language teaching is, both in my experience as learner and teacher and in my pedagogic philosophy, as education, an emancipation from the confines of one’s native habitat and culture; the current emphasis on language teaching as skill training is apt to lose that from sight” (Byram 1989: viii). Seelye’s statement confirms this

problem: “learning a language in isolation of its cultural roots prevents one from becoming socialized into its contextual use. Knowledge of linguistic structure alone does not carry with it any special insight into the political, social, religious, or economic system. Or even insight into when you should talk and when you should not” (1993: 10).

As it emerges from these citations, the culture of the people who use the target language as native speakers cannot and must not be ignored in the language teaching and learning process. We cannot deny the importance of native speaker norms; however, in case of some international languages used in several countries all over the world, for example, English, the issue becomes more complicated. Alptekin (2002) points out that “communicative competence, with its standardized native speaker norms, is as utopian as the notion of the idealized native speaker-listener” (p. 59), it “fails to reflect the lingua franca status of English” (Id.: 60), and “circumscribes learner and teacher autonomy” (Id.: 61). Some languages, for example, English, have several dialects; hence it is impossible to claim that there is only one appropriate and correct way to use them. According to the data presented by Ethnologue, English is spoken by approximately 983,522,920 people in the world, and from those 371,959,910 speak it as a native language and 611,563,010 as a second language. It is used in 97 countries with different status such as national language, the language used for wider communication, national working language, or educational language. English is the language of international communication, and the number of non-native speakers of English exceeds by far the number of native speakers. The possibility of interaction in English between two non-native speakers becomes much higher than between a native and a non-native speaker. This is why Alptekin questions the relevance of the conventions of British politeness or American informality to, for example, some Japanese and Turks when doing business in English; or the relevance of discourse samples, such as American advertisements or British railway timetables, to industrial engineers from Egypt and Romania working on a technical project in English. He believes that a new approach is needed in language teaching, which takes into account the international status of English and focuses on the necessity of instructional materials that may help students in becoming “successful bilingual and intercultural individuals who are able to function well in both local and international settings” (2002: 63).

5. “Third place” or “third culture”

Bianco, Crozet, and Liddicoat (1999) emphasize the importance of developing intercultural competence through language teaching. They believe that such an approach offers students better opportunities of unmediated, direct experience

and encounter with other cultures. Intercultural interaction is not a question of becoming assimilated into the target culture's frame nor is it a question of preserving the learner's own frame; it is rather an endeavour of finding a bridge between these two places, of finding a "third place". Thus, the language learner is not a passive observer but can actively experience and explore the other culture. Bianco et al. distinguish three paradigms in the history of language teaching, regarding different approaches to teaching culture. The first one is the *traditional approach*, which concentrates mainly on the teaching of literature, with minimal expectations of using the target language in order to interact with representatives of the target language and culture. This paradigm began to be replaced by the "*Culture studies*" approach in the 1970s, where culture meant mainly learning a body of knowledge about the history, institutions, and geography of the target language country. The third paradigm, *the culture as practices approach* became popular in the 1980s, and it "sees culture as a collective way of acting through language" (p. 9). The language learners are mainly observers and interpreters of the actions and words of interlocutors from the target culture, but they tend to remain within their own cultural paradigm. In this approach, culture is represented as relatively homogeneous and static, which may lead to the formation of stereotypes.

The fourth paradigm is *intercultural language teaching*, which, according to Bianco et al., should be the new paradigm in the future. Its approach differs significantly from the previous ones because it embraces a new understanding of the nature of cross-cultural encounters and of the relations between culture and language. At the end of the 1990s, the authors believe that *the Communicative Approach*, although a revolution in language teaching, could still not fulfil the expected improvements in the development of cross-cultural understanding and intercultural competence. Culture expressed in spoken or written language and the way language shapes human relationships and interactions is not as easily accessible for examination in the language classroom as grammar or different functions of language. It is important to offer the possibility to language learners to experience and understand how culture and language shape people's world views. The three fundamental aspects of intercultural language teaching include the teaching of a linguaculture (links between language and culture), a comparison of the students' native language and culture with the target language and culture, and intercultural exploration (a third place between two cultures).

Kramersch (1993) also discusses and examines the issue of culture in language education through the concept of creating a third place between two cultures, and she points out that "[at] the intersection of multiple native and target cultures, the major task of language learners is to define for themselves what this 'third place' that they have engaged in seeking will look like, whether they are conscious of it or not" (p. 233). She also calls this third place the "third culture" of language learners, a neutral state which allows learners to reflect on the target language

culture and also on their own. This term is a metaphor, created to avoid the dichotomy of native versus non-native speakers and some dualities of language education such as first versus second language or first versus second culture. Kramsch (2009) attributes three characteristics to this third culture or third place. It is a *popular culture* because in this third culture the learner is in a controversial place, trying to create meanings on the edges of or in the gaps between two cultures; therefore, language teachers embracing the idea of this third culture should create possibilities for playfulness through role-play or simulation, for the invention of hybrid, fictional identities in order to help learners find their own meaning. It is also a *critical culture*, encouraging critical thinking regarding the cultural content of language teaching, promoting resistant reading of textbooks, looking beyond the dominant cultural beliefs in order to question prevailing views. And, finally, it is an *ecological culture* because a language teaching methodology which adopts the idea of third culture is sensitive to the context and responds to the demands of the environment. It may use any suitable and available methods such as communicative activities, vocabulary memorization, learning poems by heart; real-world tasks, dictation, translation, transcription of written texts or audio-recordings; rereading, retelling, multiple interpretations of the same text, various ways of making meaning (verbal, visual, gestural, or even musical) and different modalities of expression (spoken, written, or electronic). “Bricolage is the name of the game”, says Kramsch (p. 238).

Peterson and Coltrane (2003) highlight that cultures cannot be considered monolithic, and students need to be aware of this. In any culture, different behaviours may be acceptable for any kind of interaction. Students must be given the opportunity to explore and observe such interactions, reflect on them, and try to discover their own voices in the speech community of the target language. Moeller and Nugent (2014) also emphasize that intercultural competence should be an integral part of foreign language curriculums.

When intercultural competence is an integral part of the language classroom, learners experience how to appropriately use language to build relationships and understandings with members of other cultures. They can examine their own beliefs and practices through a different lens, negotiate points of view different from their own, and gain an insider’s perspective of another culture. (Moeller & Nugent 2014: 14)

6. Culture in the language classroom

In this section of our study, we present some useful ideas and strategies for introducing culture in the language classroom. These practical approaches may

be used as topics for discussion and practice in the seminars of language teaching methodology.

The first and, in our opinion, the most important issue we would like to discuss is the use of *authentic materials*. As Peterson and Coltrane (2003) state, materials from authentic sources may help to offer authentic cultural experiences to language learners. These may include television shows, news broadcasts, films, the use of different websites or printed materials such as travel brochures, photographs, newspapers, magazines, restaurant menus, etc. The materials obtained from these sources can be adapted to the proficiency level of the students – even beginners may watch or listen to authentic visual or audio materials and focus on different cultural conventions, for example, greetings. The students can be given different tasks to perform while watching or listening, such as completing diagrams, charts, or outlines. After watching or listening to the relevant parts, discussions of cultural norms, characteristics and values of the target language community should follow, which may also include non-verbal behaviours such as eye contact, gestures, mimicry, or distance between speakers. Learners should be encouraged to describe the observed behaviours and propose and try out strategies for communication in the target language.

Another important issue is the efficient introduction and practice of such culture-specific elements as collocations, idioms, or proverbs. A *collocation*, as defined by the English Oxford Living Dictionaries in linguistics, means “the habitual juxtaposition of a particular word with another word or words with a frequency greater than chance”. Collocations can seem difficult to remember for language learners because students may try to translate meanings literally from their native language instead of using the appropriate collocation from the target language. Therefore, these structures must be explained and practised in the classroom. For example, English collocations such as *do the dishes*, *make friends*, or *take a nap* cannot be translated literally into Hungarian, wherefore Hungarian students must practise and memorize these expressions.

Idioms pose an even greater challenge. In the *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, the term *idiom* is defined as “an expression which functions as a single unit and whose meaning cannot be worked out from its separate parts”. For example: *she washed her hands of the matter* means that *she refused to have anything more to do with the matter* (Richards & Schmidt 2010: 270). Irujo (1986) gives three possible explanations for the problems that non-native speakers of English encounter regarding idioms: *non-literality*, *exposure to idioms*, and *correct use*. By non-literality, she means that their meaning is different from what they say literally. “For example, the idiomatic meaning of *he spilled the beans* has nothing to do with beans or with spilling in its literal sense. Most idioms also have literal counterparts, which makes them

even harder to learn” (p. 236). In the case of language learners, non-literality and possible literal counterparts might create difficulties in recognizing or properly using an idiom. Regarding the exposure to idioms, the problem in fact is non-exposure or not enough exposure because native speakers tend to use simplified language when speaking to second-language learners or non-native speakers. “Thus learner’s exposure to idioms appears mainly in non-interactive situations, where there is no opportunity for negotiation of meaning, rather than in interactive situations which allow learners to clarify meaning and receive feedback on use” (p. 237). Regarding correct use, Irujo draws attention to the following factors: “idioms vary in formality from slang (you got it) and colloquialisms (he kicked the bucket) to those which can be used in formal situations (run the risk)” and the fact that “many idioms have grammatical constraints” (p. 237).

A proverb, defined by the *English Oxford Living Dictionaries* as “a short, well-known pithy saying, stating a general truth or piece of advice”, again may or may not have counterparts in the language learner’s native language. Peterson and Coltrane (2003) recommend that the introduction of proverbs in the target language should include the discussion of differences and similarities to proverbs in the students’ native language. They believe that “using proverbs as a way to explore culture also provides a way to analyse the stereotypes about and misperceptions of the culture, as well as a way for students to explore the values that are often represented in the proverbs of their native culture” (p. 2).

Role-plays or simulations can be useful in practising different culturally appropriate language forms and behaviours. The use of different culture-specific realia may also help in finding out more about the everyday life and routines characteristic to the target language culture. Realia in language teaching refers to “actual objects and items which are brought into a classroom as examples or as aids to be talked or written about and used in teaching” (Richards & Schmidt 2010: 485). Objects such as photographs, kitchen tools, articles of clothing, souvenirs, musical instruments, or even food may be used to discuss their cultural relevance and plan various activities based on their cultural or historical importance.

We believe that future language teachers should be trained to formulate concrete objectives regarding the cultural content of the curriculum and develop specific cultural activities according to their objectives. However, they cannot be expected to design all their teaching materials themselves. They must develop a critical approach to available, recommended, and accredited textbooks which may be used in the language classroom and choose those which offer the best materials not only for the development of the four “traditional” skills (reading, listening, writing, and speaking) but also of the “fifth” skill, culture.

English is an international language, which must be taken into consideration when selecting the cultural content for English language courses. The international use of the language must also be reflected in the textbooks, and the “fifth skill” should be developed with the acceptance of an intercultural approach. Cortazzi and Jin (1999) and McKay (2000) recommend three categories for analysing the cultural content of English textbooks: the source culture (the learner’s native culture), the target culture (for example, British, American, or Australian culture), and the international target culture (varieties of the target culture from all over the world, characteristic of the countries where English is spoken). It is important to find textbooks which deal with these three categories in a balanced way. In teacher training, future teachers may be helped to develop critical thinking and make responsible choices through projects and activities aiming for the analysis, discussion, and comparative study of the cultural content of accredited textbooks.

6. Conclusions

In this study, we have conducted a non-exhaustive review of the literature related to culture in language teaching. Our main purpose was to outline the main concepts, principles, and approaches regarding this issue in order to introduce the topic of *culture in language teaching* into the curriculum of the subject *Language Teaching Methodology* for language teacher trainees studying translation and interpreting at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania.

Based on the recommendations of the consulted literature, we can conclude that the following ideas should definitely be included in the theoretical part of the course material: the concept and definition of culture; the importance of cultural content in language teaching, a historical overview of the status and attitude towards culture along the history of language teaching; the difference between *big C* and *little c* culture; the concepts “fifth skill” and “fifth competence”; the “third place” and “third culture” of the language learner; the concept and relevance of international language teaching.

In the seminars, more emphasis should be placed on the practical aspects of dealing with cultural content in the classroom. Such activities may involve the selection and use of authentic materials (for example, television shows, news broadcasts, films, the use of different websites or printed materials such as travel brochures, photographs, newspapers, magazines, restaurant menus); the design and choice of activities and exercises for teaching culture-specific elements as collocations, idioms, proverbs, or realia; planning and facilitating role-plays or simulations related to culturally acceptable and appropriate

language use and behaviour; discussion and comparative study of the cultural content of accredited textbooks.

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A Logical Approach to Modal Verbs 3. “Must”

Attila IMRE

Department of Applied Linguistics
Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu-Mureş
Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania
attilaimre@ms.sapientia.r

Abstract. The article aims at a logical approach to discussing *must*, organized around the core meaning of *necessity*, split into epistemic (logical necessity) and deontic necessity (obligation). After discussing *must* as a central modal auxiliary, we present various meanings of *must*, relying on authoritative sources published for international (English), Hungarian, and Romanian students. Possible issues of teaching *must* are also dealt with, supported by data from a popular TV series containing modal verbs. The conclusion discusses the importance and relativity of a number of occurrences, trying to offer a possible teaching option for modals stemming from practice.

Keywords: modality, central modal, epistemic, deontic, teaching modal verbs

1. Introduction

It is common knowledge that the English modal verbs are usually discussed separately from the English verbs due to their “special” form and meaning. However, we tend to think that the “basic structure of the English verb is not particularly complicated” and is not “full of exceptions” (Lewis 1986: 7). We have argued (Imre 2008: 8–11) that – functionally viewed – we may distinguish four types of verbs:

1. strong (S): I. and II. forms of *be* in indicative mood, when used without other verbs in a sentence: *am, are, is, was, were*;
2. auxiliary (A): *do (does, did), have (has, had), be (am, are, is, was, were)*, followed by another verb in I.-ing or III. form;
3. modal (M): *can, could, may, might, must, shall, should, will, would* (central modals);
4. weak (W): all the other verbs.

The possible combination of these verbs is highly important as the relatively fixed English word order leads to specific verb combinations: only S or W verbs may be “alone” in a sentence (W only in affirmative, S in affirmative, interrogative, and negative), while verb combinations lead to various tenses or passive structures:

- AW: Winnie-the-Pooh *is enjoying* a jar of honey.
- MAW: Little Red Riding Hood *may have taken* a different path.
- MAAW: John Doe *could have been killed* in the jungle.

By analysing these “MAW” properties, linguists have drawn the conclusion that whenever a modal verb is implied in a string of verbs, it is always first, and there is no co-occurrence among them (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 1980: 75). This way, we have “marginal” modals, such as *have to*, which carries modal meanings, but it is formally an “outsider” as it may be preceded by a central modal (You *will have to* explain this.). Interestingly, modals take over certain auxiliary functions as well such as forming the interrogative, negative, or question tag (Lewis 1986: 57–58); so, we can refer to them as “operators”. Modals have also been referred to as *modal auxiliaries*, *defective modal verbs* (lacking the majority of forms), *anomalous or special finites*, *mood formers* (Bădescu 1984: 383), and even *secondary auxiliaries* (Greenbaum 1996: 153), even if the term is not very logical as they are always “first” in a string of verbs – mentioned later in the same Greenbaum (1996: 260–266).

They may express the speaker’s “personal judgment of the non-temporal features of an action” (Lewis 1986: 138) or the “attitude of the speaker” (Palmer 1990: 2) in the form of specific *concepts* (possibility, necessity, politeness, etc.); thus, an initial formal division is necessary (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 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.

In the present article, we deal with *must* – so, it is important to briefly discuss the features of central modals.

2. MUST as a central modal verb

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, *may* is not used in present negative constructions, and *must* has no distinctive “past” form.

However, *must* is a central modal, having a single form for all persons and numbers, whatever the time reference, violating the rule of “concord” between the subject and predicate (Quirk et al. 1985: 149). It takes over major auxiliary functions (cf. the NICE properties, Huddleston 1976: 333), such as interrogation or question tags (although not always),¹ while negation is more complicated, especially in the case of *must*. Furthermore, *must* is always followed by either the short infinitive (I. verb form) or a perfect infinitive construction (*must have* + III. verb form): *must see*, *must have known*.

As a full and systematic approach is near-impossible, we will try to follow a “personalized” approach to *must*, accepting that modals represent “one of the most complicated problems of the English verb” (Lewis 1986: 99), dedicating a special focus on its form (affirmative, interrogative, and negative) and meaning (past, present, and future reference).

It has been stated that the time reference of modals is “now” or, 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.

Past and future reference is possible with *had to* and *will have to*:

When I was four, I *had to go* to the kindergarten.

If you want to stay alive, you *will have to drink* water regularly.

Sometimes, the special meaning of modal verbs is reflected even in question tags, breaking the “standard” positive – negative, negative – positive rule:

John must not fail, mustn’t he?

Must is usually replaced by the proper form of *have to* (*had to*) in sequence of tenses and reported speech when past reference is needed; however, this is not compulsory as it may remain *must* after reporting verbs for prohibition or logical deduction (Gălățeanu-Fârnoagă 1995: 236), but it can report present tense “in any of its uses” (Palmer 1990: 121):

John knew he *must not contradict* the colonel during the briefing.

She confessed that she *must have been* tired enough not to see the danger.

Jane said that John *must enter* the bushes first.

Have to may be a viable replacement for *must* in future (will have to) or past (had to):

¹ Meaning-based exception: *You must obey the coach, don’t you?*

Whether you like it or not, you *will have to face* your fears. (reluctance)
 When he was in the army, he *had to follow* orders, but he *didn't have to report* regularly.

3. Meanings of MUST

From the outset, we should accept that “difference of form implies difference of meaning (Lewis 1986: 26), and the distinction between *must* and *have to* is more than *central* and *marginal* modal, and there is a reason why they differ in form and use.

However, it may be considered the most interesting verb, having two options for constructing the negative (formal and meaning-based negatives), leading to two separate meanings (expressed by *mustn't* and *don't have to/needn't*).

By and large (exceptions mentioned separately), *must* may be followed by I. verb form (referring to present, past, and future);² a clearly past reference derives from *must + have + III. verb form* or *had to*, while future reference from *will have to*. Yet, it is more often connected to future due to its uses (Palmer 1990: 121).

3.1. Epistemic necessity – logical deduction, possibility

Logical deductions or plausible events are felt to be very sure by the speaker (certainty), which may often be based on “world knowledge”:

The Does *must be* very tired after having fought in the jungle for 16 hours.

The Does *must have been* very tired after a 16 hours' fight in the jungle.

What goes up *must come* down. (proverb)

This *must be* the entrance, as there's no other door.

That *must have been* the entrance, as we couldn't find any other door.

You *must have heard* the news, everybody's talking about the Does.

The negative synonym for *must* is *can't* (Vince & Emmerson 2003: 92):

Jane *can't be* a nice person. (I'm sure that she isn't.)

Certainty may be emphasized by an introductory *surely*, resulting in exclamation (Vince 2009: 73):

Surely you must have spent all the money!

Surely you can't have seen a ghost!

However, logical deductions may be less conclusive, being closer to assumption, presupposition, possibility, especially in “estimating statements” (Zdrengeha & Greere 1999: 261):

2 As *must* has a single form, its context offers a guide whether it refers to past, present, or future; thus, a clear past or future reference (Bădescu 1984: 425) is needed: *when I was a child* (past), *next week* (future), etc. However, its use in past context is extremely rare (Levičchi 1971: 153).

Jane *must be* a nice person; I have heard so much about her.

Com'on, you *must know* the answer, you know everything!

John *must be* older than Jane. (an educated guess)

When the speaker feels lack of logic or reason, irritation may take the form of (indirect, rhetorical) question with *must* (Budai 2007: 217):

Why *must* you always *be* late for work?

I don't understand why you *must* always *be* late for work.

Conclusions may be associated with *must* as they are based on circumstances, being characterized by the speaker's confidence (Palmer 1990: 53):

You *must follow* the orders at all costs. (similar to an obligation)

Bill Gates *must be* rich enough to support education worldwide. (characteristic)

Logical necessity is typically connected to scientific, technical descriptions:

In order to obtain the best results, we *must use* an algorithm.

We *must face* our destiny. (inevitable things, cf. Palmer 1990: 130)

3.2. Deontic necessity – obligation

Must may express *internal obligation*, personal feelings (Murphy 1994: 62); if it is “imposed by the speaker”, it means that the speaker considers it important, justified, etc. (Bădescu 1984: 425):

I *must stop daydreaming*. (~ will have to, ~ be obliged to, ~ be forced to)

After a while, I realized I *must/had to stop daydreaming*.

However, in the majority of cases, internal or external obligation is not strictly separated. When it is important, external obligation is expressed by *have to*. In case the type of obligation is not clear, both versions are acceptable:

Jane *must help* John. Jane *has to help* John.

Obligation may derive from impersonal orders (Magyarics 1997: 254), obeying the law, rules and regulations (Budai 2007: 214), interdiction, prohibition (Bădescu 1984: 426), duties or notices posted in public places (Coe, Harrison, and Paterson 2006: 144), imposed by external authorities (Gălăţeanu-Fârnoagă 1995: 231):

Students *must keep* silence during exams.

Everybody *must work* to bring home the bacon. (neutral, general necessity)

Producers *must comply* with the regulations.

Visitors *must not feed* the animals.

Rules *must be obeyed*. (passive voice)

The Does *must fly* to Burma at once. They *must not delay*.

Present necessity may lead to either near-future fulfilment or never to be done.

As such, *must* is not an automatic indicator of *will* (Preda 1962: 327):

Children *must listen to* their parents. ≠ Children *will listen to* their parents.

Less strict necessity or obligation is possible with *need* (replacing both *must* and *have to*):

You *must think* about that. You *have to think* about that. You *need to think* about that.

The absence of obligation or necessity is expressed with *needn't* or *don't/didn't/won't have to*, and even *am not to, was not to* (especially for past and future reference):

You *must think* about that. ← → You *don't have to think* about that.

John *won't have to* worry about Jane.

John *was not to take* hostages. (frequently used, cf. Preda 1962: 329)

There are various alternative constructions expressing deontic *must* (Levičchi 1971: 154, Preda 1962: 329):

- positive form: *be compelled to, be forced to, be obliged to*:

John *was forced to retreat* due to the heavy artillery fire.

- negative form: *am/are/is not to, be not allowed to, be not permitted to*.

Jane *is not allowed to share* details of the mission with anyone.

3.3. Other meanings

Must may express reproach, hidden admonition, in which case it is stronger than *should*; past unfulfilled actions resulting in something negative (failure, remorse, etc.):

All of you *must have worked* harder. (That's why your wages are lower than expected.)

Jane *must have helped* John. (Because she failed to, John is hospitalized.)

Emphatic advice, suggestion, persuasion, “casual” invitation (Gălățeanu-Fârnoagă 1995: 230), or request, which hardly leave room for contradiction, being “almost an imperative” (Palmer 1990: 73) may also be associated with *must*:

You *must join* me to celebrate my birthday.

In effect, this is similar to emphatic imperatives starting with *do*:

Do join me to celebrate my birthday.

This is possible because the speaker has certain authority to lay an obligation; yet it is polite to insist on offering something to the benefit of the addressee, and it is equally polite to refuse it. However, it is equally true that not all emphatic invitations or polite offers are to be taken seriously (Palmer 1990: 194).

When *must* is used with *wh*-words, it may easily express irritation (for habits, repeated events):

Why *must I accept* that I can't join you to the beach?

Whenever I start eating, you *must show up*...

However, proper gesture or intonation may turn it into ironical or humorous remarks. Irritation may be due to rather indiscreet questions, to which a specific stock phrase (Budai 2007: 217) is the answer:

If you *must know*, the Does are in Burma.

On the other hand, irritation may be softened and turned into involuntary (forced) acceptance or resignation when *must* is combined with *if* (Budai 2007: 217):

If you *must* accept the challenge, do it bravely.

If I *must* keep quiet, then why do you keep shouting?

Interestingly, the obligation may be imposed on the speaker (*I* or *we*), in which case the sense is weakened (Palmer 1990: 73–74):

I *must say* that I truly admire what Jane has accomplished so far.

Other verbs associated with *must* in this sense are: *admit, ask, be honest, concede, confess, mention, realize, reiterate, remember, understand* – and all of them express that the speaker effectively admits the action.

3.4. *Must* in negative and interrogative structures

The standard “perfect” antonym of words is their form headed by *not* (e.g. *orange* ← → *not orange, like* ← → *not like*). However, *must* is an exception to this rule, having both a grammatical negation (*mustn’t*) and two meaning-based negatives (*don’t have to, needn’t*).

Grammatical negation is constructed by *must + not* (or *mustn’t*), used for strong prohibition:

You *must listen* to me. (It is imperative to focus on me.)

You *mustn’t listen* to politicians. (It is strictly forbidden to listen to them.)

The negation expresses “necessity for something not to be done” (Palmer 1990: 34), and *mustn’t* refers to the entire proposition.

Alternatives for strong prohibition are:

You *shall not leave* the room without my permission. (rules)

John *can’t visit* Jane any time he wants. (personal remarks)

Meaning-based negation of *must* is expressed by *don’t/didn’t/won’t have to* and *needn’t*, used for the absence of obligation or necessity (Levičchi 1971: 232) in past, present, or future:

John *doesn’t have to* explain the colonel what happened.

An alternative for “unnecessary” is *needn’t*:

John *needn’t explain* anything.

The past reference for the meaning-based negative *must* is colourful:

Snipers *must have stayed* alert all night. (But they didn’t.)

Snipers *had to stay* alert all night. (So they did.)

John *needn’t have sharpened* his knife for two hours. (But he did.)

John *didn't have to sharpen* his knife. (So he didn't.)

Interrogative forms starting with *must* may express at least two major meanings:

- standard question, not sure whether the answer is going to be *yes* or *no*:

Must I answer the questions of the press? No, you *needn't*.³

- nuisance, annoyance, irritation:

Must you always ask me for money?

However, when the person is hoping for a negative answer, *need* is used.

4. Teaching MUST

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 (speech acts) first and then exemplified with modal uses. A justified question is *when* to teach them, as describing them involves verbs and tenses. As modals may easily be included in conditional, hypothetical constructions, as well as passive voice and reported speech, we tend to think that it is more successful to tackle modals after these categories have been discussed.

The *what* of modal verbs includes their form (affirmative, interrogative, and negative), knowing that the interrogative or negative might be more important from the point of view of meaning than others; for instance, the interrogative *need* hopes for a negative answer, while the negation of *must* takes two separate paths.

A different alternative from “theory-first, practice-later” might present learners well-chosen samples, enabling them to formulate possible rules regarding the form and meaning of modals. In this respect, we can recommend a set of quotes and proverbs with *must* as a lead-in activity:

We *must*, indeed, all hang together or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately.

(Benjamin Franklin, arguably one of the most notable statements with *must*)

We are all born ignorant, but one *must* work hard to remain stupid.
(Benjamin Franklin)

You *must* be the change you wish to see in the world. (Mahatma Gandhi)
It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, *must* be in want of a wife. (Jane Austen: *Pride and Prejudice*)

You *must* do the things you think you cannot do. (Eleanor Roosevelt)

You *must* stay drunk on writing so reality cannot destroy you. (Ray Bradbury)

³ In this case, *needn't* negates the modality (Palmer 1990: 38).

A journey of a thousand miles *must* begin with a single step. (Lao Tzu)
 You *must* be joking. (idiomatic expression, Br. E.)
 You *gotta* be kidding. (idiomatic expression, Am. E.)
 The washing machine is a *must*-have in each house. (non-modal use of must)

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*,⁴ 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 of 10 episodes alone contains a multitude of modal uses, detailed in the table below:

Table 1. *Modal occurrences in Castle*

MODAL	NR	%	MODAL	NR	%	
CAN	226	18.56	'll	103	8.46	
COULD	128	10.51	WILL(ING)	65	182	5.34 14.94
be able to	11	0.90	WON'T	14	1.15	
capable	1	0.08	'd	107	8.78	
manage	7	0.57	WOULD	203	310	16.67 25.45
succeed	1	0.08	SHALL	1	0.08	
MAY	18	1.48	SHOULD	54	4.43	
MIGHT	39	3.20	ought to	2	0.16	
allow	1	0.08	need*	104	8.54	
permission	3	0.25	dare*	5	0.41	
MUST	34	2.79	TOTAL	1218	100%	
have/has/had to	91	7.47				

For teaching purposes, it is worth checking the instances of *must*: season 1 contains 34 sentences with *must*, out of which there are 32 affirmative sentences and 2 interrogative ones, both expressing annoyance:

Darling, *must* you always have to make a comment? *Must* you always eavesdrop?

A further analysis shows that all instances of *must* followed by I. verb form refer to a present context (15 cases), and there are 17 cases of *must have* + III. verb form expressing past:

I can't imagine how they *must feel*. Poor kid *must have been* a mess.

⁴ http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1219024/?ref=fn_al_tt_1 – 26.02.2017.

There are only 2 passive constructions with *must*, but one of them is continuous: *Must be connected. Sales must be slipping.*

Having in mind the theory associated with *must*, the most important question is the ratio of *deontic* and *epistemic must*; as past reference cannot be deontic (we cannot formulate an effective obligation for the past), we have checked that only 2 instances may express deontic *must*, although one of them is controversial:

A civilian, not a cop, *must make* the drop.

I'm sorry, detective, but you *must know* that information on a protected witness is confidential (deontic use possibly stemming from epistemic "world knowledge": a detective is trained to know that, and this is reiterated as a warning).

We can draw the conclusion that theory put into practice changes completely the balance, as *logical necessity* prevails by far. We would have expected to find instances of negative *must* (*mustn't*), but none were found in Season 1. However, the first season is a meagre 5.78% of the entire series; so, we searched for the occurrences of *must* in Season 2 (13.87%) with the following results:

- 102 affirmative, 2 interrogative (both expressing annoyance), and 1 negative structure:

She must have not wanted to rock the boat.

- 66 perfective structures (*must have* + III.).
- 4 continuous structures: e.g. And she *must be going* through hell right now.
- 1 perfect continuous structure: Jessica *must have been wearing* this before she died.
- 4 conditional clauses containing *must*.
- 3 passive constructions.
- 4.375 occurrences of *must*/episode compared to 3.4 occurrences/episode from Season 1. This means that during the 1,360 minutes 139 instances of *must* were found; so, roughly every 10 minutes of video contains a *must*.

Depending on the learners' level, we should start with *must* + I. verb forms expressing logical necessity in affirmative, followed by interrogative and negative forms (introducing *have to*). The next stage may be the *must have* + III. form, passive and conditional constructions, completed with translation into the learners' native language.

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 (Aarts 2011: 280) shows that *must* has 472 spoken and 857 written occurrences, while *mustn't* has only 24 spoken and not a single written occurrence. Yet the target audience must be considered as, for instance, language exam students have different

needs compared to translation and interpretation students, who – in our opinion – should be acquainted with all possible *must* instances in order to correctly render them in their native language.

5. 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 new perspective of *must*, and hopefully a more logical one; however, due to constraints of space, the relationship between *must*, *have to*, and *need* is rather limited, although data suggest that *have to* (together with *has to*, *had to*, and *will have to*) outnumbers *must* by around 3:1.

Although the references come from authoritative native speaker authors (Cambridge and Oxford publications), they typically lack an important feature: why and how these modal verbs represent a problematic category for non-native speakers. This is why we extended our research to reputable Hungarian and Romanian publications, trying to summarize all relevant information regarding *must*.

We have seen that despite the extended theory of modals, practice is rather “biased” towards certain uses. Whether all uses are justified to be taught depends on the learner’s study level, but in the case of translators and interpreters frequency is less relevant as one mistranslation or misinterpretation may result in complete distrust.

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Translation Studies and Corpus Linguistics: Introducing the Pannonia Corpus

Edina ROBIN, Andrea GÖTZ, Éva PATAKY,

Henriette SZEGH

ELTE (Budapest, Hungary)

Department of Translation Studies

pannonia.corpus@gmail.com

Abstract. The tools of corpus linguistics have become indispensable for research in descriptive translation studies (DTS), which aims to describe the characteristics of the translation process, and translational texts. Machine-readable corpora of translated texts are crucially important since they can yield statistically significant results that underpin the findings of empirical studies. Baker's (1993) seminal paper gave new impetus to translation research as it has re-calibrated the goals of DTS to study and uncover the particular properties of the so-called "third code" (Frawley 1984), i.e. the language of translated texts, with the help of computerized corpora. The present study, after providing a brief overview of international and Hungarian corpus linguistic research, introduces the Pannonia Corpus Project developed by Eötvös Loránd University's *Translation Studies Doctoral Programme*, which was created to make a Hungarian translation corpus, containing millions of words, available for translation researchers. The Pannonia Corpus (PC) is a multi-modal corpus: it contains translated, interpreted, and audiovisual texts. It represents a diverse array of texts of specialized and literary genres, reflecting modern language use and the current state of the translation industry. The PC provides researchers with a vital opportunity as its multi-modality, diverse textual make-up, and substantial size are unparalleled in the Hungarian context. Until now, there were no large corpora available to researchers that could have facilitated qualitative as well as quantitative research, satisfying the demands of modern translation studies research in Hungary.

Keywords: corpus linguistics, translation corpus, parallel, comparable, corpus research

1. Translation studies and corpus research

All knowledge in the world, not formulated in one's native language, may only be accessed through language mediation, i.e. translation. Therefore, it is not tenable to treat translations as the defective, inferior products of secondary communication, unworthy of scientific research in their own right (Baker 1993). Empirically based, descriptive translation studies disregards all such views; however, it does not deny the differences between translated and non-translated texts. One concept capturing this difference is the so-called *third code* (Frawley 1984). The idea of the third code states that the language of translations differs from both the code of source text and that of the target text, despite being created under the influence of both (Frawley 1984: 168). Therefore, the task of translation researchers is to explore the nature of these differences and to examine the universal characteristics of the translational text (Károly 2007).

For descriptive translation studies, which aims to explore the specific general features of translated as well as interpreted language, it is essential to study the translated texts for their own sake. Furthermore, it is also vital to compare translated with authentic, i.e. non-translated texts, as espoused by Baker (1993), in order to fully account for the universal tendencies of translated texts, which emerge when compared to authentic texts. Baker in her seminal paper (1993) named three types of corpora that can be useful for both translation studies and translator training: 1) *parallel corpora*, suitable for studying and teaching translational behaviour, translation strategies; 2) monolingual *comparable corpora*, which accommodate the comparison of translated and non-translated texts; and, finally, 3) *multilingual corpora*, which facilitate investigations of lexicography with a view to equivalence.

Responding to Baker's (1996) call for the use of corpora in translation studies, research projects were set up in many countries around the world to compile parallel and comparable corpora in order to provide statistically significant empirical findings to test the hypotheses formulated about the universal features of the translational text. The spread of computer-readable electronic corpora, facilitating automatic queries, allowed for corpus-based methods to be applied to the examination of translated texts. This means that through these analyses it is possible to uncover the universal linguistic patterns hypothesised to be specific to translations, thus establishing the research area of *corpus-based translation studies* (CTS). To date, many corpora have been compiled, even exceeding the three basic corpus types set up by Baker (1996). These new types can contain bilingual components, creating *bidirectional parallel corpora*, also suitable for comparable text analyses, or translated and interpreted components in *interpretational and intermodal corpora*, the latter containing texts from both

written and spoken discourse, as well *as audiovisual* texts, catering for the needs of one of the latest trends in translation research.

Despite the wide use of corpus-based methods in translation research, no corpus, comprising millions of words, has been compiled in Hungary that would allow for the corpus-based study of a wide range of translational activities. To date, all translational Hungarian corpora have been self-assembled and relatively small, designed for the specific aims of the given research (Pápai 2001, Seidl-Péché 2011, Robin 2015). Klaudy (2012) notes how unfortunate it is that, despite numerous previous calls for deploying corpora in translator training (e.g. Kohn 1999), a large Hungarian translational corpus has yet to be compiled and made available to a wide community of translation scholars. Ideally, in order to be representative of the Hungarian translation industry, such a corpus would contain both literary and technical texts. Bringing corpus-based approaches to Hungarian translation studies would benefit both the practice and theory of translation. Significant results derived from a representative corpus could offer more valid information that is rooted in empirical evidence on translation strategies to translators. Similarly, by identifying tendencies, rules, and regularities of Hungarian language use, translation studies could contribute to the development of the Hungarian language (Klaudy 2001).

2. Corpus research in Hungarian translation studies

Pápai (2004) was the first to perform automated analyses on a Hungarian–English parallel and a Hungarian comparable corpus (Arrabona Corpus), examining explicitation in Hungarian translated texts. She compared translations of fiction and sociological texts with the source language originals and comparable authentic texts, examining their type–token ratio and lexical variability. The results of the statistical analysis supported Laviosa’s previous results (1998, 2000), as Pápai found a lower type–token ratio in translations than in original texts, meaning that translated texts show less lexical variability. Pápai (2004: 160) concluded that there is a strong relationship between simplification and explicitation: explicating shifts inevitably lead to an increase in the number of words and lexical repetition – for example, addition of connectives, pronouns, and cataphoric references –, giving rise to less varied vocabulary in translated texts.

Seidl-Péché (2011) similarly examined a self-compiled and annotated translational corpus composed of four sub-corpora, including public, fictional, religious, and scientific texts. She demonstrated cohesive shifts in translated texts through lexico-grammatical analyses. The analyses explore the typical lexical features of authentic and translated Hungarian texts. The corpus only contains texts which are in the public domain, thereby avoiding any copyright problems. The research

shows that original and translated texts differ in terms of the use of cohesive devices, which means that the cohesive patterns of translated Hungarian can be traced back to the effects of translation. Furthermore, the research brought a significant result by proving that the examination of cohesive shifts can be automated with tools of corpus linguistics (WordNet).

While examining translation universals in revised texts, Robin (2015) performed general statistical machine analyses on a revisional corpus consisting of the translated and revised versions of ten English language novels. Later on, she compared the results with the statistical data of ten novels originally written in Hungarian (2016). The average length of sentences, differences between type–token ratios, lexical frequency profiles, lexical density, and the standard deviation of data were examined. From the results, it may be assumed that revisers – whose task is to revise translations and fine-tune them in accordance with the target language norms – perform a significant amount of operations, thereby creating more explicit and less redundant texts with a richer vocabulary. In the majority of cases, due to revisional operations, the features of translated texts seem to approximate those of authentic texts, i.e. the norms of the target language. At the same time, some universal editing strategies may be observed, typical of revision.

Table 1. *Translation corpora in Hungarian translation studies*

	Pápai (2001)	Heltai (2007)	Szabó (2011)	Seidl-Péché (2011)	Robin (2015)
Name of the corpus:	Arrabona Corpus		HunOr	Hungarian Lexical Cohesion Project	
Type:	parallel and comparable	parallel	parallel, bidirectional	comparable	parallel, revisional
Size (number of words):	2,400 sentences, 45,000 words	1.1 million words	130,000 words	4 million words	2.8 million words
Languages:	English–Hungarian; Hungarian	English–Hungarian	Russian–Hungarian, Hungarian–Russian	Hungarian–Hungarian	English–Hungarian
Annotated/ Metadata/ Type:	no/ yes	yes/ yes/ POS-tagging, headers	yes/ yes	yes/ partly/ WordNet	no/ yes

	Pápai (2001)	Heltai (2007)	Szabó (2011)	Seidl-Péché (2011)	Robin (2015)
Text types/ Sub-corpora:	fiction and scientific prose	technical texts/ economy, agriculture, environmental protection, EU texts, science, biology, human sciences	fiction, scientific, official	4 sub-corpora public (EU), fiction, scientific, religious	popular literature 3 sub-corpora original, translated, revised
Date of publication:		1970–2008 (sub-corpus 2002–2008)			after 2000
Other:	The first one hundred sentences of each work. Each of the sub-corpora contains 8 works (original–translated–comparable).	Complete texts. The complementary corpus contains 105 texts of 4,000–5,000 words (these are translations of students of translation), this sub-corpus contains 630,000 words.	Complete texts	Only publicly available texts have been collected (in order to avoid copyright problems).	10 pairs of translator–proofreader. Quantitative and qualitative methods. Categorization of grammatical and lexical transfer operations based on exp. and imp.

Only corpora compiled individually and with a predefined research goal served as the basis of the aforementioned examinations. The characteristics of these corpora are summarized in *Table 1*. In Hungary, there have not been any corpora similar to the English TEC or the Finnish CTF, which could be utilized for a wide range of purposes, nor any corpora containing translations which could give a representative overview of translation activities. The Language Institute of Szent István University started to build a parallel corpus of technical texts in 2001, which was the first project of its kind in Hungary (Heltai 2007). The project aimed at using the results of corpus research in translator training. Prior to compiling the corpus, the research group had defined the fields where texts should be collected from in order to cover a range of translation activities as wide as possible. Also, the texts were categorized according to their level of translation quality. It was regarded as a novelty that the corpus contained not only translations from professional translators but translations of university students as well, providing an opportunity to examine translation quality and competence. Unfortunately, the project was advancing very slowly with building

the corpus; then the process got halted partly because of technical reasons, partly due to the difficulties of collecting translated texts; the research group did not achieve their goal as the corpus remained unfinished and inaccessible for researchers. Therefore, Hungarian translation studies still remains without a translation corpus which could facilitate a wide range of research goals.

3. Critical views of corpus-based translation studies

One of the basic methodological problems pointed out by critics concerns how texts are chosen for a particular corpus (Tymoczko 1998). It is not entirely clear on what criteria one chooses texts to be included in the corpus. What should be considered a translation at all? In what type of texts can phenomena assumed to be universals or can be measured at all? Is it legitimate to ignore differences in quality? Can we assume that the potentially universal characteristics resulting from the research are present in all types of translations? Chesterman (1993) also discussed these questions, and he concluded that general descriptive laws can be set up in connection with any kind of translation, on one condition: the behaviour and its result can be described as translation if a connection can be identified between the source and target texts (cf. Toury 1995, Károly 2007). Chesterman (2010) also emphasized that it is worth paying attention to connections between universals and text quality and also to incorporate a quality variable when compiling the corpora.

Bernardini and Zanettin (2004) questioned the way corpora were compiled. They criticized the usage of monolingual comparable corpora. Such corpora became very popular since examining exclusively the target texts excludes bias originating from the source texts. However, they raised the questions of comparability and opposed the idea of ignoring the source texts. They argued that if one intends to compare the characteristics of a translation corpus with that of a corpus originally written in the target language, then it is also necessary to examine the status of the source language text, using a corpus compiled from texts which were originally written in the source language.

Pym (2008) also laments the exclusion of the source language texts, mainly in connection with Baker's (1995) corpus research, arguing that monolingual, comparable corpora are not sufficient when it comes to accounting for interference affecting translation; therefore, conclusions drawn from research using such corpora cannot be deemed as valid and/or universal. Becher (2010) holds similar views in connection with Olohan and Baker (2000), criticizing the "dogma" of the so-called translation-inherent explicitation. His criticism can be generally applied to corpus-based research, similarly to that of several other researchers (Jantunen 2004, Bernardini & Zanettin 2004). Becher (2010) maintains that

monolingual translational corpora only suffice for setting up hypotheses and not for providing evidence in themselves.

The debate around corpus data leads back to the conflict between approaches preferring either competence or performance, the fundamental difference of opinion between applied linguistics and generative grammar, based on the fact that the empirical data sourced from corpora might be corrupted as performance unlike competence could be ungrammatical. Corpus research is also criticized because statistical measurements only examine superficial phenomena and do not explore the reasons behind these (Károly 2003: 20). The solution seems to be that quantitative research needs to be complemented with qualitative methods (Robin 2015) in order to account for the textual transfer operations causing the patterns identified by quantitative analyses. Furthermore, critics point out how important it is to have comparable data because they provide a point of reference for research results (Saldanha & O'Brien 2013: 67). For example, frequency can only be meaningfully explored if other benchmarks are known for the frequency of the given item or phenomenon, i.e. comparable data are required to put the frequency measured in a given corpus into perspective.

4. The Pannonia Corpus Project

The project was initiated by the researchers of the Translation Studies Doctoral Programme at Eötvös Loránd University with the aim of compiling a so-called mega-corpus of translated Hungarian. Beyond the compilation of this corpus, the project also intends to describe the properties of translation behaviour in general. Such a corpus must be able to accommodate quantitative and qualitative research as well. The compilation of the corpus started within the framework of a doctoral seminar course on translation universals in the spring of 2016. The work has since continued and expanded with the support of the Department of Translation and Interpreting at Eötvös Loránd University, as MA students have been taking part in developing the interpretational and audiovisual sub-corpora.

The research project and the compilation of the Pannonia Corpus has aroused the interest of the Hungarian research community. We have reported on the progress made in the compilation process in various articles and conference papers (Robin et al. 2016; Götz 2016a, 2016b; Robin 2017; Szegh 2016; Robin & Szegh 2017). Beyond the compilation of the corpus, empirical research is continuously conducted on its texts with regard to the properties of translated and interpreted texts; furthermore, dissertations are under way, based on corpus-based analyses of the collected texts.

4.1 The components of the Pannonia Corpus

The Pannonia Corpus lives up to the standards set for modern-day electronic corpora supporting valid research in translation studies: it is multimodal, meaning that it contains *translated, interpreted, and audiovisual* texts as well in parallel and comparable components, which allows for studying the varied translation activities of the Hungarian translation industry. The texts of the corpora were chosen to reflect modern Hungarian language use as all translated texts were created after 2000. The aim is to build a translational corpus of tens of millions of words from various text types to ensure that the corpus remains useful for future Hungarian translation research. During the compilation of the texts, we kept in mind all the critical views discussed above concerning the methodology of corpus research (Károly 2003, Bernardini & Zanettin 2004, Pym 2008), choosing texts (Tymoczko 1998) and the variety of genres (Heltai 2007).

The Pannonia Corpus is made up of a parallel and a comparable component, as shown in *Figure 1*. The comparable component contains texts written originally in Hungarian, which can be broken down into *translational, interpreted, and audiovisual* sub-corpora, mirroring the make-up of the parallel corpus, so it may be considered translation dependent (Zanettin 2000). The parallel corpus comprises texts translated into Hungarian, mainly from English, and texts translated from Hungarian. The Pannonia Corpus is a *bidirectional* corpus as Hungarian texts translated into other languages are also included in the comparable component. It is planned that when the corpus reaches its final size, these texts will comprise half of the main comparable corpus.

The parallel corpus consists of three sub-corpora: *translational, interpretational, and audiovisual*. The translational corpus contains written, published texts, whereas the interpreting corpus, similar to EPTIC, consists of EP speeches and their transcribed and normalized versions as well as the simultaneously interpreted and translated versions. In this sense, this is rather a *pseudo-parallel* corpus, like EPTIC, since the written version and the speech of the interpreter cannot be always deemed as strictly parallel, although they are very closely connected. Currently, the interpretational corpus contains only simultaneously interpreted texts though the addition of consecutive interpretation is planned. Similarly to the interpretational, the audiovisual corpus includes the subtitles, the spoken text, and the dubbed versions of movies and television series as well as the original and translated subtitles and the voice-over versions of documentaries.

An important novelty of the parallel corpus is that it contains a number of complementary elements: 1) draft translations of certain translated texts incorporated in the parallel corpus, both from fiction and technical texts; thus, it is possible to build a *revisional* corpus, enabling the researcher to explore differences of quality between revised versions and draft translations and to

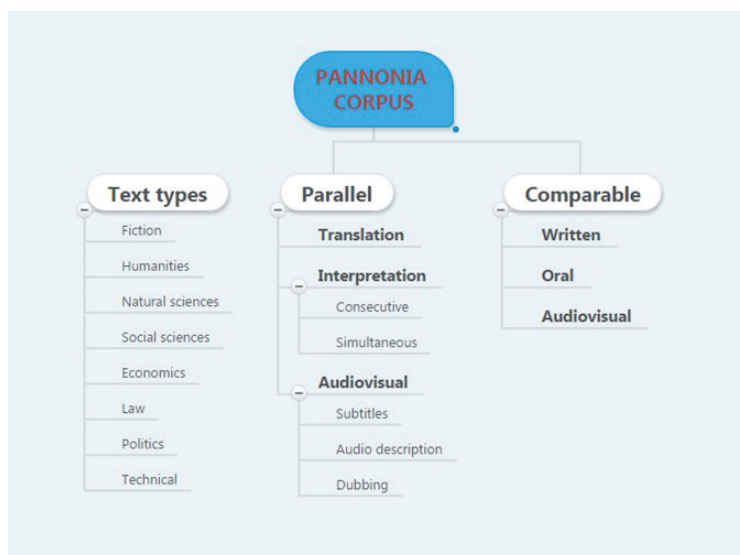


Figure 1. *The make-up of the Pannonia Corpus*

examine revision as such; 2) the qualifying translations of university students, serving as a complementary didactic corpus, can also be of help when making comparisons of quality or examining translators' competence; hopefully, later on supplemented by interpreted texts as well; 3) previous translations of high literary pieces, created before 2000, are also included, constituting the basis for a *retranslational* corpus; although the main aim of the project is to represent modern language in translation, the inclusion of re-translated texts opens up the possibility for diachronic research as well. Amongst the audiovisual texts, the researcher may find the work of fan translators, providing even more opportunities for the examination of translation quality.

4.2 Collection of texts and representativeness

The technical and complementary, didactic corpus of the Language Institute of Szent István University and Robin's (2015, 2016) revisional and comparable corpora served as an example for our corpus. We have collected texts from the vast amount of texts available on the Internet, and we have contacted different publishers and organizations in order to ask for translations for the Pannonia Corpus to use them – with their consent – for scientific purposes. Although in some cases publishers rejected our request, many publishers and organizations supported the project and provided us with original and translated texts in a digital format. We are grateful to every translator and reviser and the following publishing companies for supporting

the project with texts: Könyvmolyképző Kiadó, Szak Kiadó, HVG Könyvek, Tempus Közalapítvány, Gondola Kiadó, and Corvin Kiadó.

Table 2. *The texts of the Pannonia Corpus according to sub-corpora and text types*

Comparable	humanities-related	81,971
	business	27,151
	engineering	39,084
	popular fiction	924,994
	social sciences	166,386
Comparable – Total		1,239,586
Parallel	humanities-related	199,102
	business	603,251
	legal	559,715
	engineering	816,231
	political	149,723
	literature	3,630,079
	popular fiction	3,819,721
	social sciences	1,069,804
	science	481,298
Parallel – Total		11,425,130
Parallel, Comparable	humanities-related	50,748
	business	624
	legal	148,393
	engineering	954
	political	14,929
	literature	224,659
	popular fiction	193,394
	science	30,999
Parallel, Comparable – Total		664,700
Total		13,329,416

We have also collected original and translated texts publicly available on the Internet, in each case from webpages of organizations that permit the free use of their content if bibliographical data and references are indicated properly, which we have done, too. Among our most important sources are ELTE Reader, Amnesty International, Greenpeace International, the homepage of TED Talks, and the

database of the European Parliament containing translated and interpreted texts. We have processed the texts of the audiovisual corpus by transcribing the oral texts. In each of the cases, we collected complete texts, books, studies, films, or speeches so that later researchers can decide if they wish to analyse complete texts or only parts of texts. The corpus reflects the work of numerous translators, interpreters and revisers; it consists of altogether 800 text files but does not contain more than 200,000 words from any of the authors.

The aim is to collect texts from as many genres as possible in order to ensure that the corpus appropriately represents the Hungarian translation activities, thereby ensuring representativeness. *Table 2* shows the current distribution of the different text types of the corpora, which still needs to be balanced out. Now, the Pannonia Corpus contains approximately 14 million words: almost half of the corpus is made up of technical texts, following the methodological concept according to which research in translation studies must not be limited to fiction (Heltai 2007). The final size is expected to be around 30 million words.

4.3 Technical background of the corpus

The corpus is completely digitized. Currently, it is stored in a cloud storage service. The texts can be searched semi-automatically with the help of a spreadsheet, where the researcher can choose from the texts according to their author, title, year of publication, genre, text type, and translator. This helps if the researchers do not want to search the whole corpus but would like to compile their own sub-corpus instead, based on their own criteria. The search result points to a link with an individual code showing the original text as well as its translated or interpreted version.

The documents are accessible in .txt format, and their metainformation is available in files containing separate headers. *Table 3* shows what kind of information the headers contain on each text, e.g. the name of the translator, the title of the translation, the type of the translation process, the author's name, and the source text's title.

Furthermore, another document containing the bibliographic data is also part of the corpus. This document ensures the searchability of the texts and the protection of copyrights.

In its current state, the Pannonia Corpus can be analysed manually, semi-automatically, and automatically. The translated and interpreted texts are saved in a .txt format, which can be examined with the help of Wordsmith Tools 6.0, Lex Tutor, and AntConc – all of them are computer-based analysing programs. This way, based on the texts in Pannonia Corpus, it is possible to query lists of frequency, and it is also possible to establish frequency profiles (Xiao et al. 2010) and the type–token ratio, the average length of sentences, and numerous other statistical data can be identified – also for each genre or text type separately.

Korpusz szövegek listája xlsx

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1cnChruZbzamNmgGuCN4w3B7S-nxpIR699yTUkLb0g/edit#gid=731045748

Korpusz szövegek listája xlsx

11 B I S A

Eszközök Bővítmények Súgó A Drive mentette az összes módosítást.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Kód	Szerző	Cím	Évszám	Műfaj	Szövegfajta	Fordító	Szavak száma	f	audióvizuális	150/52
368	Surján, László	Surján, László, 2011.06.08 hu	2011	felolvasás	politikai		263	Párhuzamos	Ősze	Tolmácsolás, Stóbell
369	Surján, László	Surján, László, 2011.06.08 en	2011	felolvasás	politikai		316	Párhuzamos	Ősze	Tolmácsolás
370	Surján, László	Surján, László, 2011.06.08 hu	2011	felolvasás	politikai		264	Párhuzamos	Ősze	Tolmácsolás, Stóbell
371	Surján, László	Surján, László, 2011.06.08 en	2011	felolvasás	politikai		351	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
372	Mossis-Suzuki, T. et al.	Lessons from Fukushima	2012	közlemény	természettudományi		2950	Párhuzamos	Fordítási	
373	von Petzinger, Genevieve	Why are these 32 symbols found in ancient caves all over Europe?	2015	előadás	bölcsészettudományi	Sarbu Andras	2644	Párhuzamos	Fordítási	
374	Safina, Carl	What are animals thinking and feeling?	2015	előadás	bölcsészettudományi	Ruzsane Cserezi	1898	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
375	Safina, Carl	What are animals thinking and feeling?	2015	előadás	bölcsészettudományi		1462	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
376	Safina, Carl	What are animals thinking and feeling?	2015	előadás	természettudományi		2652	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
377	Safina, Carl	What are animals thinking and feeling?	2015	előadás	természettudományi	Dr. Kósa Edit	1949	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
378	de la Peña, Nonny	The future of news? Virtual reality	2015	előadás	műszaki		1076	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
379	de la Peña, Nonny	A híradás jövője? A virtuális valóság	2015	előadás	műszaki		1489	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
380	Andreasen, Marta	Andreasen, Marta 2011.06.23 NN en	2011	felolvasás	politikai	Hajnal Rita	155	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
381	Andreasen, Marta	Andreasen, Marta 2011.06.23 NN hu	2011	felolvasás	politikai		144	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
382	Andreasen, Marta	Andreasen, Marta 2011.06.23 NN en	2011	felolvasás	politikai		136	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
383	Andreasen, Marta	Andreasen, Marta 2011.06.23 NN hu	2011	felolvasás	politikai		124	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
384	Luber, Josh	Why sneakers are a great investment	2015	előadás	gazdasági		1769	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
385	Luber, Josh	A ritkos sportcipő-piac és hogy ez miért számít	2015	előadás	gazdasági	Martonosi Júlía	1430	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
386	Shields, Chelsea	How I'm working for change inside my church	2015	előadás	társadalmatudományi		1570	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
387	Shields, Chelsea	Hogyan dolgozom az egyházaamon belül változásért?	2015	előadás	társadalmatudományi		1495	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
388	Eström, Andreas	The moral bias your search results	2015	előadás	társadalmatudományi	Szentirmai Péter	1040	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
389	Eström, Andreas	A keresési eredmények hátterében lévő erkölcsi elfogultság	2015	előadás	társadalmatudományi		1820	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
390	Chang, Jenni and Dazol	This is what LGBT life is like around the world	2015	előadás	társadalmatudományi	Pallós Péter	1002	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
391	Chang, Jenni and Dazol	lyen az LBMTQ élet a világon	2015	előadás	társadalmatudományi	Bognár Blanka	1406	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
392	Haas, Harald	Fogszá-Wi-Fi: Meet the new Wi-Fi internet	2015	előadás	műszaki		680	Párhuzamos	Audíovizuális	felirat
393	Haas, Harald	Atóréa a vezeték nélküli Internetben	2015	előadás	műszaki	Pallós Péter	266	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
394	Vaughan, Derek	Vaughan, Derek 2011.06.08 en	2011	felolvasás	politikai		229	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
395	Vaughan, Derek	Vaughan, Derek 2011.06.08 hu	2011	felolvasás	politikai		261	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
396	Vaughan, Derek	Vaughan, Derek 2011.06.08 en	2011	felolvasás	politikai		261	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	
397	Vaughan, Derek	Vaughan, Derek 2011.06.08 hu	2011	felolvasás	politikai		261	Párhuzamos	Tolmácsolás	

Sheet1 - korpusz - b kódú - szövegfajta - EP-felolvasás - 2. grafikon - Táblázat 10 -

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Figure 2. The Excel spreadsheet containing the basic data of the texts for quick search

The corpus needs its own website and online storage space, where, beyond storing the details of the texts, an interface would allow for automated searches carried out on the corpus. This could allow researchers to carry out keyword searches on the corpus and its selected components. In the future, the corpus will be automatically annotated, which requires the purchase of a software (POS-tagging, HUMor, WordNet program) and the development of a search interface, which will allow for further linguistic analyses, concordance queries, accommodating analyses of lexicogrammar and cohesion to explore the properties of translated texts – without compromising the availability of qualitative research.

Table 3. Header of the Pannonia Corpus for recording the meta-information of the texts

TEXT	
File name	
Main corpus	<i>parallel, comparable, revisional</i>
Sub-corpus	<i>translation, interpreting, audiovisual, written, spoken</i>
Text type(s)	<i>spoken, interpreted, normalized, translated, original, revised, translator's version, retranslated, original subtitle, translated subtitle, dubbing</i>
Genre of the text	<i>fiction, entertaining literature, human sciences, natural sciences, social sciences, economic, legal, political, technical</i>
TRANSLATOR	
Name	
Sex	
Nationality	
Competence	<i>professional, student, volunteer</i>
TRANSLATION	
Translation's title	
Target language	
Qualification	
Publisher	
Place of publication	
Year of publication	
THE TRANSLATION PROCESS	
Direction	<i>into native or foreign language</i>
Type	<i>consecutive, simultaneous, subtitles, dubbing</i>

Revision	<i>revised, translator's version</i>
CAT-tool	<i>memoQ, Trados, Google</i>
Project	<i>group or individual work</i>
AUTHOR	
Name	
Sex	
Nationality	
Command of the language	<i>native, non-native</i>
SOURCE TEXT	
Original title	
Source language	
Genre	<i>novel, study, press article, monograph, declaration, informative text, contract, presentation, speech, TV series, movie, an act of law, documentary, decree, guideline</i>
Publisher	
Place of publication	
Year of publication	
NOTE	
<i>EP, TED, Amnesty, EU, etc.</i>	

5. Conclusions and research possibilities

The work in the present research project has two goals: *corpus compilation* and *corpus-based research*. Work on the Pannonia Corpus has just started; nevertheless, its size with nearly 14 million words is already substantial. Its final size is planned to reach 30 million words. As shown in *Table 1*, the number of texts in certain text types needs to be balanced out. Primarily, additional legal, political, humanities-related, and science texts are needed. The comparable component of the corpus requires further work as all text types require additional texts. The wider research community can only be granted access to the corpus after it has been balanced out. In the future, individual researchers will be granted access to the corpus after having signed the terms and conditions regarding the copyright and appropriate use of the texts. Access will be granted by the lead researcher of the project or the Head of the Translation and Interpreting Doctoral Programme at Eötvös Loránd University.¹

The Pannonia Corpus is a multimodal, parallel, comparable corpus, specifically established for the purposes of translation research. As set out among the

¹ For access and further inquiries: pannonia.corpus@gmail.com.

objectives of the project, the corpus will soon be accessible for all researchers of translation studies to examine translated texts. The corpus can be combined with other corpora for individual purposes (e.g. Götz 2016b) in order to further enrich our knowledge on translation, and it can be used for compiling education material in translator training. Although the development of Pannonia Corpus is not completed, it supports a plethora of examination in its current state. For example, analyses can already be carried out on translated, interpreted, and audiovisual texts, as well as for intermodal comparisons. In addition, textual operations of translation and interpretation can be investigated, and operations of literary as opposed to technical translation can also be contrasted. Furthermore, the effect of editing can be investigated in terms of the effect of editorial operations on translated texts – not only in literary but also in technical translations as well, in multiple text types. Universals of translation and interpreting can be further explored in relation to the Hungarian language as well as other concepts of translation research such as the re-translation hypothesis.

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Die Rolle der journalistischen Translation in der Übersetzerausbildung in Ungarn und einigen Nachbarländern

Viktor ZACHAR

Lehrstuhl für Übersetzen und Dolmetschen
Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest, Philosophische Fakultät
zacharviktor@gmail.com

Abstrakt. Die vorliegende Studie stellt die Ergebnisse einer mittels Fragebogen durchgeführten Umfrage über die Rolle der journalistischen Translation in der Übersetzerausbildung vor. Im Rahmen der Untersuchung antworteten insgesamt zweiundfünfzig, in der Übersetzerausbildung tätige Dozenten auf die formulierten Fragen. Ziel der Untersuchung war die Analyse dessen, welche Rolle die Übersetzung von Presstexten in der Übersetzerausbildung an Hochschuleinrichtungen in Ungarn und in drei Nachbarländern (Kroatien, Rumänien und der Slowakei) spielt. Die Bedeutung des Fragebogens liegt darin, dass bislang keinerlei diesbezügliche Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet mit ungarischem Bezug veröffentlicht wurden und auch hinsichtlich der journalistischen Translation nur Forschungen existieren, die primär auf den Bereich Textlinguistik beschränkt sind.

Den obigen Tatsachen zum Trotz hat die durchgeführte Untersuchung die Bedeutung der Presseübersetzung im Übersetzungsunterricht aufgedeckt: Über 85 % der Dozenten verwenden – aus unterschiedlicher Motivation heraus – Presstexte, und fast 50 % der Befragten setzen diese während der gesamten Dauer des Übersetzungsunterrichts ein. Die Fragen nach der Relevanz der journalistischen Translation bestätigen und begründen die Präsenz im Übersetzungsunterricht, da der Anteil derjenigen, die die Presseübersetzung aus Sicht der späteren Arbeit als Übersetzer für relevant halten, dank ihres breiten Anwendungsbereiches über 80 % liegt.

Schlüsselwörter: journalistische Translation, Presseübersetzung, Übersetzungsunterricht

Abstract. The article presents a study on the role of journalistic translation (press translation) in translation teaching using a questionnaire in November-December 2016 on a sample of 52 translation teachers. The aim of the survey was to find out the role of journalistic translation in translation tea-

ching in Hungary and three neighbouring countries: Croatia, Romania and Slovakia. The importance of the survey lies in the fact that no research has been published so far on this topic in Hungary, and only minor research has been done on the topic of journalistic translation itself (primarily limited to the field of text linguistics).

Despite these facts, the study has revealed the importance of journalistic translation in the teaching of translation: more than 85% of the teachers surveyed use press texts in teaching due to different motivations, and nearly 50% of respondents use them during the entire period of translation education. The inclusion of journalistic translation in the teaching of translation is also confirmed and justified by the fact that more than 80% of those surveyed consider the subject to be relevant for the students' future work as a translator due to the wide range of application areas of journalistic translation.

Keywords: journalistic translation, press translation, translation teaching

1. Einleitung

Die vorliegende Studie basiert auf einer mittels Fragebogen durchgeführten Umfrage unter Dozenten,¹ die Übersetzungstechnik bzw. Fachübersetzen in Hochschuleinrichtungen in Ungarn bzw. einigen Nachbarländern unterrichten. Die Umfrage ist Teil eines größeren Forschungsprojekts, im Rahmen dessen ich die Situation eines Teilgebietes der Übersetzungsbranche, nämlich der journalistischen Translation (Presseübersetzung), in Ungarn beleuchte. Dabei möchte ich unter anderem ergründen, wer in Ungarn die in den Medien zweifelsohne stark präsente Übersetzung von Pressematerialien bzw. Nachrichten durchführt, inwieweit diese Fachleute qualifizierte Übersetzer sind, oder ob die Übersetzungstätigkeit in den Medien in Ungarn eher als eine Teilaufgabe der Journalisten angesehen wird.

Ziel dieser jetzigen Studie ist es zunächst zu untersuchen, welche Rolle die Übersetzung von Presstexten in der Übersetzerausbildung in diversen Hochschulinstitutionen spielt. Dadurch kann einerseits ein bislang nur wenig erforschtes Gebiet der Ausbildung von Übersetzern besser kennengelernt, andererseits aber auch ein Beitrag zum oben genannten größeren Projekt geleistet werden.

2. Journalistische Translation als Forschungsgegenstand

Das verhältnismäßig große Thema der journalistischen Translation erweckte in den ersten Jahren des 21. Jahrhunderts das Interesse der Translationswissenschaft. Das stufenweise Vordringen und die allmähliche Verbreitung werden durch die Tatsache belegt, dass die zweite Auflage der *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation*

¹ Personenbezogene Ausdrücke in dieser Studie umfassen Frauen und Männer gleichermaßen.

Studies (Baker–Saldanha 2009) aus dem Jahr 2009 sowie der erste Band des von Gambier und van Doorslaer herausgegebenen *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Gambier–van Doorslaer 2010) aus dem Jahr 2010 jeweils bereits einen Eintrag zum Thema enthalten. Quasi parallel zu diesen Erscheinungen widmeten renommierte translationswissenschaftliche Zeitschriften dem Thema Sonderausgaben: Im Jahr 2010 die Zeitschrift *Across Languages and Cultures* unter dem Titel „Translating Information in the Post-Industrial Society“ (Jg. 11, Nr. 2), im Jahr 2012 *META* unter dem Titel „Journalism and Translation“ (Jg. 57, Nr. 4) sowie im Jahr 2015 die Zeitschrift *Perspectives. Studies in Translatology* unter dem Titel „Culture and News Translation“ (Jg. 23, Nr. 4).

Wir können also im Einverständnis mit Valdeón (2015) feststellen, dass die Presseübersetzung in den vergangenen fünfzehn Jahren zu einem Forschungsgebiet der Translationswissenschaft geworden ist. Ihre Daseinsberechtigung wird – den Gedanken von Bani (2006) aufgreifend – unter anderem dadurch untermauert, dass sie zu einem viel breiteren Publikum Zugang findet, als zum Beispiel die literarische Übersetzung oder die Übersetzung von Theaterstücken. Ungeachtet dessen scheint das Thema in der ungarischen – aber wohlgerne auch in der deutschsprachigen – translationswissenschaftlichen Fachliteratur bislang nur marginal auf.

Diese Tatsache ist umso überraschender, als dass die Übersetzung von Pressetexten seit langen Jahren eine immens wichtige Rolle bei Sprachexamen, aber auch in der Übersetzerausbildung in Ungarn spielt, wie ich das aufgrund der Ergebnisse der Untersuchung im vierten Kapitel der vorliegenden Studie aufzeigen werde. Diese Rolle kann gleich zweifach begründet werden: Einerseits eignen sich Übungen der Presseübersetzung – vor allem zu Beginn der Ausbildung – dazu, dass die Studierenden mit Hilfe von Pressetexten ihr Wissen bezüglich bestimmter Themen erweitern, die für die Fremdsprache charakteristischen Stile, Register, die übliche Wortwahl und das sprachliche Repertoire kennenlernen. Dies ist allein schon deshalb wichtig, weil aufgrund meiner Erfahrung die Studierenden vor Beginn ihrer Übersetzerausbildung kaum oder gar keine Tages- und Wochenzeitungen lesen.

Andererseits hat die Presseübersetzung einen Platz in der Ausbildung, weil während der späteren (freiberuflichen) Laufbahn – ebenfalls aufgrund meiner langjährigen Erfahrung – regelmäßig Situationen und Aufträge vorkommen, im Rahmen derer Pressetexte zu übersetzen sind. Diese können in zwei große Gruppen eingeteilt werden. In die erste Gruppe gehören die tatsächlich in Tages- oder Wochenzeitungen erscheinenden Artikel, deren Übersetzung deshalb in Auftrag gegeben wird, weil der Auftraggeber aus irgendeinem Grund Interesse am Inhalt des Artikels hat: So zum Beispiel, weil dieser ihr Unternehmen erwähnt oder behandelt, weil er die aktuelle politische, wirtschaftliche Lage analysiert, aktuelle Entwicklungen über die Branche oder Informationen über eine neue Regelung

oder Norm enthält usw. In die andere Gruppe gehören Artikel, die in Mitarbeiterzeitschriften erscheinen und im Fall eines multinationalen Konzerns übersetzt werden müssen. Das Thema dieser Texte unterscheidet sich nicht bedeutend von denen der oben genannten Gruppe. Erwähnung finden neben diesen im Allgemeinen die Arbeitsbedingungen der Mitarbeiter, ihre Entlohnung, Entwicklungen und aktuelle Veranstaltungen im Unternehmen, Ausschreibungen sowie besondere Hobbys oder herausragende Ergebnisse bestimmter Mitarbeiter (Zachar 2013a; Zachar 2013b).

Trotz alledem könnte man die journalistische Translation als ein Forschungsgebiet der Translationswissenschaft bezeichnen, das lange Zeit hindurch auf unwürdige Weise vernachlässigt wurde und zum Teil immer noch wird. Aus dieser Sicht weist dieser Bereich ein ähnliches Schicksal auf wie die Erforschung des Übersetzens vom Blatt (Stegreifübersetzen), das bislang ebenfalls ein wenig erforschtes Gebiet der Translationswissenschaft ist (Felekné Csizmazia 2014). Nicht umsonst wird Letzteres von Parkin als ein Stiefkind der Translationswissenschaft bezeichnet (Parkin 2012. 2–3)², was zweifelsohne auch für die journalistische Translation gilt. Die Gründe dafür, dass die Presseübersetzung noch immer verhältnismäßig stiefmütterlich behandelt wird, lassen sich nicht eindeutig bestimmen. Vermutlich handelt es sich – darauf weisen auch die im späteren Verlauf dargelegten Ergebnisse der durchgeführten Studie hin – um ein Zusammenspiel mehrerer Faktoren. Der wohl wichtigste unter diesen könnte sein, dass aufgrund der journalistischen Praxis die Sprachmittlung in den Redaktionen – seit langen Jahrzehnten – nicht von professionellen Übersetzern versehen wird, bzw. dass diese Tätigkeit von den weiteren Redaktionsaufgaben und -prozessen, wie zum Beispiel dem eigenständigen Verfassen von Artikeln und dem Redigieren, nicht unterschieden wird (Bielsa–Bassnett 2009. 57). Gerade deshalb hatten lange Zeit hindurch weder die Journalisten noch die Übersetzungsbranche (einschließlich der Translationswissenschaft) das Gefühl, dass dieses Gebiet einer näheren Untersuchung würdig wäre – obwohl es aus translationswissenschaftlicher Sicht als vollkommen legitim bezeichnet werden kann, den Übersetzungsprozess als Adaptation und Selektion zu betrachten (vgl. z. B. Hu 2003). Die Einbettung der Übersetzungstätigkeit in die anderen journalistischen Prozesse wird auch durch die (textlinguistische) Tatsache bekräftigt, dass es aufgrund der Vielzahl an Quellen, auf denen ein Zeitungsartikel basiert, eine schier unmögliche Aufgabe darstellt, eine Nachricht in ihre Komponenten aufzugliedern, um zu bestimmen, welche Komponenten das Ergebnis des Redigierens und welche das Ergebnis von Übersetzungsprozessen darstellen (van Doorslaer 2009. 85).

2 Für den Hinweis auf diesen Vergleich bezüglich des Stehgreifübersetzens bin ich meiner Kollegin Erzsébet Felekné Csizmazia von der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest zum Dank verpflichtet.

Eine mit den obigen Ausführungen gewissermaßen zusammenhängende Erklärung könnte auch sein, dass die journalistische Translation (in den Redaktionen) als eine Art natürliche Übersetzungssituation (Harris–Sherwood 1978) angesehen wird – in Unterscheidung zu den professionellen Übersetzungen und Übersetzungssituationen. Aus diesem Grund wurde sie – zumindest lange Zeit hindurch – als der Erforschung unwürdig angesehen.

Ein weiterer möglicher Grund – der vor allem aus Sicht der Übersetzerausbildung (aber auch der Übersetzerpraxis) als Erklärung dienen könnte – ist, dass Presstexte nur schwer kategorisierbar sind und weder eindeutig dem Bereich der literarischen noch der Fachübersetzung zugeordnet werden können. In der Übersetzerausbildung in Ungarn – wie auch in der Praxis – können grundsätzlich jedoch gerade diese beiden großen Bereiche unterschieden werden. Aus diesem Aspekt verweise ich auf die bereits erwähnte Parallele zum Übersetzen vom Blatt (Stegreifübersetzen), das ebenfalls weder eindeutig dem Bereich des Übersetzens noch des Dolmetschens zugeordnet werden kann. Deshalb spielt diese Tätigkeit in der Ausbildung in Ungarn keine allzu relevante Rolle und wird auch nicht gesondert, im Rahmen eines eigenen Kurses unterrichtet. Mit dieser Tatsache hängt auch die Feststellung zusammen, dass die Pressübersetzung aufgrund der Vielzahl an Textsorten nur schwer als eine Einheit aufgefasst werden kann. Róka zum Beispiel unterscheidet dreiundzwanzig Textsorten innerhalb des Journalismus, vom Leitartikel über die Meldung (Nachricht) – die sie in insgesamt acht Untergruppen gliedert – bis hin zur Glosse und zum Kommentar (Róka 1986. 204).

Schließlich könnte aus Sicht der Übersetzungsbranche als Erklärung dienen, dass die journalistische Translation hinsichtlich der Zahl der Aufträge weit weniger ins Gewicht fällt als die Fachübersetzung. Zwar kommen Situationen, in denen eine Presseübersetzung notwendig ist, – wie bereits früher erwähnt – regelmäßig vor, jedoch bleibt die Zahl dieser weit hinter der Zahl der Fachübersetzungsaufgaben zurück. Diese mögliche Erklärung ist aufgrund der weiter unten vorgestellten Antworten auf die entsprechenden Fragen der durchgeführten Studie von besonderer Wichtigkeit. In diesem Zusammenhang müssen wir wohlgemerkt in erster Linie an die Arbeit als freiberuflicher Übersetzer oder als Übersetzer in einem Übersetzungsbüro denken, weniger an die Arbeit in einer Redaktion oder bei einer Nachrichtenagentur, zumal Letztere, wie weiter oben genannt, aufgrund der internationalen Forschungen charakteristischer Weise nicht von professionellen Übersetzern versehen wird.

3. Vorstellung der Untersuchung

Zwischen dem 21. November und dem 5. Dezember 2016 führte ich mit Hilfe eines Online-Fragebogens eine Studie unter Dozenten in Einrichtungen der Übersetzerausbildung durch. Dabei zog ich nicht nur Institutionen in Ungarn,

sondern auch solche in einigen umliegenden Ländern in Betracht, um mir einen größeren Überblick zu verschaffen. Ziel der Untersuchung war es zu ermitteln, welche Rolle die Übersetzung von Presstexten in der Übersetzerausbildung in diversen Hochschulinstitutionen spielt. Dabei wurde einerseits der Dolmetschunterricht – der sowohl in Ungarn als auch in einigen umliegenden Ländern zumindest teilweise parallel zum Übersetzungsunterricht läuft – bewusst aus der Untersuchung ausgeklammert, obwohl ich mir darüber im Klaren bin, dass sich Presstexte hervorragend zum Übersetzen vom Blatt (Stegreifübersetzen), zum Verfassen von zu verdolmetschenden Texten für die Studierenden oder zur Vorbereitung auf ganz konkrete Dolmetschaufgaben bzw. Dolmetschaufräge eignen. Andererseits muss an dieser Stelle erwähnt werden, dass die Übersetzung von Presstexten in der hier behandelten Übersetzerausbildung im Grunde ausschließlich das (meist vollständige) Eins-zu-eins-Übersetzen von Texten bedeutet und mit der Arbeit mit Texten in Redaktionen oder Nachrichtenagenturen nicht wirklich vergleichbar ist. Die weitere Erörterung dieses Punktes wird ebenfalls eine Aufgabe des eingangs erwähnten größeren Forschungsprojekts sein.

Da es sich um einen in breitem Kreis zugänglichen und frei teilbaren Online-Fragebogen handelte, ist die genaue Zahl derjenigen, die den Fragebogen erhalten haben, nicht ermittelbar. Insgesamt wurden aber zweiundfünfzig ausgefüllte Fragebögen zurückgeschickt: zwölf davon von Hochschuleinrichtungen in den erwähnten Nachbarländern (Kroatien, Rumänien und der Slowakei) und vierzig von Dozenten, die an ungarischen Hochschuleinrichtungen lehren. Somit waren insgesamt achtzehn verschiedene Institutionen vertreten, aus Ungarn vierzehn und aus den drei erwähnten Ländern vier Hochschulen bzw. Universitäten.

Der Fragebogen bestand aus zwölf Fragen sowie einer Möglichkeit für Anmerkungen am Ende, wobei die letzten beiden Fragen und die Anmerkungen die Möglichkeit für Freitextantworten boten. Die restlichen zehn Fragen beinhalteten jeweils vorgegebene Antwortmöglichkeiten. In den ersten beiden Fragen ermittelte ich die Institution der den Fragebogen ausfüllenden Dozenten und die unterrichtete Fremdsprache. Die dritte Frage bezog sich darauf, ob die Befragten zurzeit im Rahmen des Übersetzungs- oder Übersetzungstechnik-Seminars Presstexte übersetzen lassen, oder falls nicht – so die vierte Frage –, ob sie früher solche Texte im Unterricht verwendet haben. Die fünfte Frage suchte – mit Hilfe von vorgegebenen Antwortmöglichkeiten – nach einer Antwort darauf, was der Grund dafür ist, dass die Befragten keine solchen Texte übersetzen lassen bzw. ließen. Die sechste Frage erkundigte sich nach der Motivation für das Übersetzen von Presstexten, ebenfalls mit vorgegebenen Antwortmöglichkeiten. Bei der siebten Frage hatten die Befragten die Möglichkeit anzugeben, wann sie während der gesamten Dauer der Übersetzerausbildung Presstexte verwenden: zu Beginn, gegen Mitte, am Ende der Ausbildung oder durchweg während der gesamten Ausbildung. Die achte Frage erkundigte sich mittels vorgegebener Antwort-

möglichkeiten nach den angewandten Textsorten innerhalb der Presseübersetzung, die neunte nach dem genauen Thema dieser Texte. Die zehnte Frage wollte wissen, ob die Presseübersetzung den Befragten zufolge aus Sicht der späteren Übersetzungsarbeit relevant sei oder nicht. Falls ja, so die elfte Frage, wo können solche Situationen im späteren Verlauf vorkommen, falls nicht (zwölfte Frage), was ist der Grund dafür?

4. Bewertung der Ergebnisse der Untersuchung

4.1. Bewertung der Antworten auf die ersten fünf Fragen

Wie bereits erwähnt, stammen die Antworten des Fragebogens von zwölf Dozenten an Hochschuleinrichtungen in den umliegenden Ländern (Kroatien, Rumänien und der Slowakei) und von vierzig Dozenten, die an Hochschuleinrichtungen in Ungarn lehren. Aus Ungarn waren vierzehn verschiedene Institutionen vertreten: Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest (10 Dozenten), Technische Universität Budapest (6), Kodolányi-János-Hochschule Székesfehérvár (5), Universität Szeged (4), Károli-Gáspár-Universität der Reformierten Kirche Budapest (3), Eszterházy-Károly-Universität Eger (3), Szent-István-Universität Gödöllő (2), Wirtschaftsuniversität Budapest (1), Universität Óbuda in Budapest (1), Pázmány-Péter-Universität der Katholischen Kirche Budapest (1), Universität Miskolc (1), Universität Nyíregyháza (1), Pannonische Universität Veszprém (1) und Universität Pécs (1). Vier Einrichtungen befinden sich dagegen in den drei oben erwähnten Nachbarländern Ungarns: Sapientia Universität Klausenburg (6 Dozenten), Konstantin der Philosoph-Universität Nitra (3), Josip-Juraj-Strossmayer Universität Osijek (2) und Universität Bukarest (1).

Die obigen Antworten auf diese erste Frage nach der Hochschuleinrichtung zeigen, an wie vielen Hochschulen bzw. Universitäten Ungarns überhaupt Übersetzen gelehrt wird. Dabei ist der Vollständigkeit halber anzumerken, dass die Ausbildung nicht in jedem Fall in einem Masterstudiengang erfolgt, sondern zum Teil in Form einer fachspezifischen Weiterbildung, wobei Ersterer im Allgemeinen zwei Jahre, letztere Weiterbildung ein Jahr dauert. Dies ist aus Sicht der weiteren Fragen bzw. der durchgeführten Studie nur insofern von Bedeutung, als dass im Rahmen eines zweijährigen Studiums mehr Übersetzungskurse angeboten werden (bzw. absolviert werden müssen) und somit – zumindest theoretisch – auch mehr Möglichkeiten zum spezifischen Unterricht von Presseübersetzung gegeben sind.

Bei der Frage nach der unterrichteten Fremdsprache – wobei Mehrfachnennungen möglich waren –, belegte, wie zu erwarten war, Englisch mit 28 Antwort-

ten den ersten Platz (53,8 %) vor Deutsch (15 Antworten, 28,8 %). Weit abgeschlagen folgen Französisch und Rumänisch (jeweils 4 Antworten), Italienisch (3), Spanisch, Slowakisch und Kroatisch (2) sowie Niederländisch, Russisch, Chinesisch, Japanisch, Finnisch und Ungarisch (1).

Bei der dritten Frage, ob nämlich die Dozenten zurzeit im Rahmen des von ihnen geleiteten Übersetzungs- oder Übersetzungstechnik-Seminars Presstexte übersetzen lassen, antwortete die überwiegende Mehrheit mit ‚ja‘: 45 von 52 Befragten (86,5 %) gaben an, im Übersetzungsunterricht zurzeit mit solchen Texten zu arbeiten und lediglich 7 Personen (13,5 %) verzichteten im Unterricht auf Presstexte. Aber auch diese letztere Gruppe arbeitete zumindest früher im Übersetzungsunterricht mit solchen Texten: Auf die vierte Frage nämlich, ob die Befragten früher solche Texte im Unterricht verwendet haben, auch wenn sie momentan keine Presstexte einsetzen, antworteten alle ausnahmslos mit ‚ja‘. Die Zahl der Antworten bei dieser Frage (17) weist darauf hin, dass ein Teil der Befragten die Frage missverstanden hat und auch auf diese Frage geantwortet hat, obwohl sie zurzeit mit solchen Texten arbeiten. Das beeinflusst aber keineswegs das mehr als eindeutige Ergebnis von 100 %.

Der Grund dafür, weshalb die betroffenen Dozenten zurzeit keine Presstexte einsetzen, auch wenn sie früher mit solchen Texten gearbeitet haben (fünfte Frage), konnte dagegen nicht zufriedenstellend ermittelt werden, weil lediglich eine einzige Person von den potentiellen sieben, die die dritte Frage mit ‚nein‘ beantwortet hatten, eine Antwort gab. Dieser Befragte führte von den vorgegebenen Antworten mit der Möglichkeit einer Mehrfachnennung gleich zwei Gründe an: Einerseits, dass es sich nicht ausgesprochen um eine Aufgabe für literarische Übersetzer bzw. Fachübersetzer handle, und andererseits dass Presstexte aus der Sicht der späteren Arbeit der Sprachmittler nicht relevant seien. Aufgrund dieser einzigen Antwort können wir im Fall der 13,5 % der Befragten, die zurzeit nicht mit Presstexten arbeiten, auch weiterhin nur vermuten, welche Erklärung dahintersteckt. Wie auch in den vorgegebenen Antwortmöglichkeiten angeführt, vermute ich dahinter – über die beiden obigen Nennungen hinaus – folgende mögliche Gründe: Für die Übersetzung solcher Texte bleibt im Rahmen der strengen Ausbildung kein Platz; im Vergleich zu literarischen Texten bzw. Fachtexten werden sie als zu einfach eingestuft und deshalb ausgelassen; die Dozenten sind der Ansicht, dass solche Texte die Fach- oder die Sprachkenntnisse der Studenten nicht entsprechend fördern und schließlich, dass Letztere nur ungern solche Texte übersetzen bzw. sie für langweilig halten.

Aufgrund der obigen Fragen und der auf diese gegebenen Antworten ist ersichtlich, dass Presstexte in der Übersetzerausbildung in Ungarn und auch in einigen Einrichtungen der umliegenden Länder von fundamentaler Bedeutung sind. Dies wird zudem durch zwei weitere Fakten untermauert: Einerseits durch die Tatsache, dass zum Beispiel an der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest bei

den Aufnahmeprüfungen im Allgemeinen Presstexte bei der Übersetzungsaufgabe übersetzt werden müssen. Andererseits dadurch, dass bei den Übersetzerprüfungen für werdende Sprachmittler, die ihr Wissen ohne eine gesonderte Übersetzerausbildung auf die Probe stellen wollen, an derselben Universität ebenfalls zumeist Presstexte eingesetzt werden. Mögliche Gründe dafür sind vermutlich – um ein wenig bereits auf die nächste Frage vorzugreifen –, dass es sich um öffentliche, leicht zugängliche Texte handelt, dass sie stets aktuell sind und sich somit auf dem neuesten Stand befinden und drittens, dass sie keiner Geheimhaltungserklärung unterliegen, was bei Fachübersetzungen verständlicher Weise sehr oft der Fall ist.³ Schließlich sollten an dieser Stelle noch zwei weitere Gründe erwähnt werden. Einerseits, dass Presstexte im Unterricht im Allgemeinen nicht als Fach-, sondern als „allgemeine“ Texte eingestuft werden, weil sie nicht Texte sind, die zwingend von einem Fachmann eines bestimmten Fachbereichs für ein Fachpublikum verfasst wurden und (deshalb) charakteristischer Weise nicht viele Termini enthalten. Andererseits, dass sich Presstexte – aufgrund meiner Erfahrung, aber auch aufgrund der Antworten auf die weiteren Fragen des Fragebogens – hervorragend zur Aneignung, Einübung und Messung der Fähigkeiten, Fertigkeiten und des Wissens im Bereich Übersetzen und Übersetzungstechniken eignen.

Die obigen Feststellungen bestätigen zudem die international zu beobachtenden und weiter oben auch zitierten Tendenzen in der Translationswissenschaft, wonach die journalistische Translation durchaus einen legitimen, wenn auch recht neuen Forschungsgegenstand dieser Wissenschaft darstellt, allein schon deshalb, weil sie – zumindest in Ungarn, aber vermutlich in etlichen anderen Ländern genauso – sehr stark in der Übersetzerausbildung präsent ist. Zugleich werfen die oben zitierten Ergebnisse aber auch Fragen auf, vor allen Dingen, warum sich die Translationswissenschaft erst verhältnismäßig spät, in den 2000er-Jahren mit diesem Phänomen zu beschäftigen begann, bzw. warum zum Beispiel in Ungarn bis heute keine diesbezüglichen Forschungen durchgeführt wurden. An dieser Stelle muss erwähnt werden, dass die journalistische Translation in der ungarischsprachigen translationswissenschaftlichen Fachliteratur lediglich in Bezug auf einen engen Teilbereich bzw. einen bestimmten Aspekt erscheint. Das Aufzeigen und die Erforschung weiterer Aspekte sind bislang nicht erfolgt. Bei diesem Teilbereich handelt es sich innerhalb der Translationswissenschaft um die Textlinguistik, wobei diesbezüglich die Forschungen und Publikationen von Károly und Bánhegyi zu erwähnen sind. Während sich Erstere in erster Linie im Zusammenhang mit der Erforschung der Textsorten (z. B. Károly 2007), der Kohäsionsmittel (z. B. Károly et al. 2012) und der rhetorischen Struktur (z. B. Károly 2013) mit dem Thema auseinandersetzt, konzentriert sich Letzterer an-

3 Für den Hinweis auf diese Gründe bin ich meiner Kollegin Edina Robin von der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest zum Dank verpflichtet.

hand von Zeitungstexten primär auf den Aspekt der politischen Diskursanalyse (z. B. Bánhegyi 2012) und die Fragen der Manipulation durch die politische Kommunikation (z. B. Bánhegyi 2013). Bestätigt wird diese Tatsache im Übrigen auch durch Valdeón (2015), der in seiner Studie, in der er einen Überblick über die bisherige Geschichte der journalistischen Translation gibt, in Bezug auf die ungarischen Forschungen lediglich auf die erwähnten Arbeiten von Károly im Bereich Textlinguistik verweist.

4.2. Bewertung der Antworten auf die nächsten vier Fragen

Die sechste Frage des Fragebogens bezog sich darauf, mit welchem Ziel die Dozenten Presstexte übersetzen lassen, was also ihre diesbezügliche Motivation ist. Bemerkenswerter Weise liegt die Mehrheit der Antworten ziemlich knapp beieinander. Von den vorgegebenen Antwortmöglichkeiten (Mehrfachnennungen waren auch in diesem Fall möglich) wurde mit insgesamt 40 Antworten (76,9 %) am häufigsten genannt, dass sie den Studenten die verschiedenen Gattungen/Textsorten vorstellen möchten. Knapp dahinter an zweiter Stelle steht – damit gewissermaßen im Zusammenhang – der Wunsch nach Erweiterung verschiedener Stile bzw. sprachlicher Register bei ihnen (36 Nennungen, 69,2 %). Nur einmal weniger wurde die Erweiterung der übersetzungstechnischen Kenntnisse als Ziel genannt, wozu sich aufgrund der Antworten Presstexte ebenfalls hervorragend eignen (35 Nennungen, 67,3 %). An vierter Stelle liegt die Erweiterung des Wortschatzes (30 Nennungen, 57,7 %), gefolgt von der Vorbereitung auf die spätere Arbeit als Übersetzer, wo solche Texte ebenfalls durchaus vorkommen können (27 Nennungen, 51,9 %). Insgesamt 26 Mal wurde die Erhöhung der übersetzerischen Kreativität (50 %) und 22 Mal die Erweiterung des Wissens über die Welt genannt (42,3 %).

Unter den sonstigen, nicht mehr vorgegebenen Antworten finden sich die folgenden sieben: Ein Befragter nannte an dieser Stelle im Grunde übersetzungstechnische Beispiele, nämlich die richtige Schreibweise von Zahlen, die richtige Verwendung des Dezimaltrennzeichens (Dezimalpunkt oder Dezimalkomma), die Vorgehensweise bei fehlerhaften zielsprachlichen Sätzen und die Übersetzung von Realien (kulturspezifischen Termini). Ein weiterer Befragter erwähnte an dieser Stelle die Weitergabe von kontrastiven grammatischen und lexikalischen Kenntnissen. Eine dritte Antwort wies auf die Aneignung einer fließenden, den zielsprachlichen Normen entsprechenden Formulierungsweise und die Gewöhnung an das Lesen der tagesaktuellen Nachrichten hin, wobei Letzteres auch ein zweites Mal ergänzend erwähnt wurde. Auf diese Problematik habe ich selbst bereits im zweiten Kapitel meiner vorliegenden Arbeit kurz hingewiesen. Ebenfalls genannt wurden an dieser Stelle: das Üben der Übersetzung von Schlagzeilen, die Verwendung von Presstexten im Dolmetschunterricht zum Übersetzen

vom Blatt (Stegreifübersetzen), das Aufzeigen des Sprachwandels und schließlich das Übersetzen von Kurznachrichten, die aufgrund ihrer Einfachheit und Kürze auch bei unerfahrenen Studenten eingesetzt und im Rahmen einer Seminarstunde komplett besprochen werden können.

Die Tatsache, dass die Mehrheit der Antworten eng beieinander liegt und auch die – mit Ausnahme der sonstigen – am seltensten angekreuzte Antwortmöglichkeit mit einer Häufigkeit von 42,3 % vorkam, weist zweifelsohne darauf hin, dass der Einsatz von Presstexten im Übersetzungsunterricht aus einer Vielzahl von Gründen, mit unterschiedlicher Motivation erfolgt und nicht ein einziger wichtiger, über den anderen stehender Grund auszumachen ist. Obwohl das Übersetzen von Zeitungsartikeln in der Ausbildung aufgrund meiner Erfahrung im Kreis der Auftraggeber (am ehesten der Übersetzungsbüros) keinen guten Ruf zu haben scheint, deuten die obigen Antworten eindeutig auf eines hin: Aufgrund der Meinung der das Übersetzen lehrenden Personen eignen sie sich aus didaktischem Aspekt, aus den unterschiedlichsten Gründen hervorragend für den Übersetzungsunterricht.

Dieser Gedanke wird auch durch die auf die siebte Frage gegebenen Antworten bestätigt. Die Befragten konnten hier anführen (Mehrfachnennungen waren möglich), wann sie während der gesamten Dauer der Übersetzerausbildung diese Presstexte einsetzen: zu Beginn, gegen Mitte, am Ende der Ausbildung oder durchweg während der gesamten Ausbildung. Vor der Durchführung der Umfrage hatte ich vermutet, dass bei dieser Frage ganz eindeutig die erste Antwort am häufigsten genannt werden würde, und zwar gleich aus zwei Gründen: Einerseits, weil Zeitungsartikel im Vergleich zu Fachtexten, aber auch zu literarischen Texten in der Mehrzahl der Fälle einfacher zu übersetzen sind, das heißt im Allgemeinen weniger Forschungsarbeit benötigen und auch weniger terminologische Probleme aufwerfen. Andererseits, weil das Übersetzen von Presstexten im Vergleich zu Fachtexten viel seltener vorkommt und deshalb andere Texte während des Übersetzungsunterrichts zu einem größeren Anteil eingeplant und geübt werden müssten. Das ist aufgrund meiner Erfahrung auch einer der am häufigsten genannten Gründe, warum Presstexte von den Übersetzungsbüros als potentiellen zukünftigen Auftraggebern nicht so gerne in der Ausbildung gesehen werden.

Demgegenüber lässt die Mehrheit der Dozenten, nämlich 24 Personen (47,1 %), während der gesamten Ausbildung Presstexte übersetzen, was einen überraschend hohen Anteil darstellt. Es folgen der Beginn der Ausbildung (15 Antworten, 29,4 %) und die Mitte der Ausbildung (13 Antworten, 25,5 %), wogegen nur 2 Personen (3,9 %) ankreuzten, Zeitungsartikel erst gegen Ende der Ausbildung einzusetzen. Auch wenn wir also die übrigen Antworten im Vergleich zur gesamten Dauer zusammenrechnen, verwenden fast genauso viele Lehrkräfte durchweg Presstexte, wie solche, die diese nur streckenweise einsetzen. Dies ist aufgrund

meiner oben genannten, vorab formulierten Vermutungen auf jeden Fall erstaunlich, und stärkt erneut die Feststellung, dass die Presseübersetzung im Übersetzungsunterricht und in der Wissenschaft eine tatsächliche Daseinsberechtigung hat. Wobei an dieser Stelle natürlich auch erwähnt werden muss, dass diese Zahlen umgekehrt selbst für den verhältnismäßig schlechten Ruf der Presseübersetzung verantwortlich sein können: Vor allem im Fall eines durchgängigen Einsatzes müssen dadurch andere Textsorten notgedrungen zu kurz kommen, die ihrerseits viel häufiger in der beruflichen Praxis der Übersetzer vorkommen.

Im Rahmen der achten Frage wollte ich wissen, welche Textsorten innerhalb der Übersetzung von Presstexten von den Dozenten im Rahmen des Übersetzungsunterrichts bevorzugt werden (Mehrfachnennungen waren erneut möglich). Von den vorgegebenen Antwortmöglichkeiten wurden ausnahmslos alle genannt. An erster Stelle liegen mit 37 Antworten (71,2 %) (analysierende) Zeitungsartikel, mit einigem Abstand folgen Kurznachrichten (24 Antworten, 46,2 %), Reportagen (22 Antworten, 42,3 %) und Leitartikel (19 Antworten, 36,5 %). An fünfter Stelle stehen Mitteilungen (15 Antworten, 28,8 %), an sechster Stelle Interviews (11 Antworten, 21,2 %), auf dem siebten Platz Kritiken (10 Antworten, 19,2 %) und auf dem achten Platz Kommentare/Glossen (9 Antworten, 17,3 %). Am seltensten genannt wurden Rezensionen (7 Antworten, 13,5 %), Leserbriefe (5 Antworten, 9,6 %) und drei weitere Textsorten unter Sonstiges (die jedoch ohne weiteres in die vorgegebenen Kategorien eingeordnet werden könnten): wissenschaftliche Fachartikel, populärwissenschaftliche Artikel sowie wirtschaftliche Kurznachrichten bzw. Kurzberichte.

Die Struktur der Antworten ist in diesem Fall nicht überraschend und folgt meines Erachtens der in der Praxis anzutreffenden Häufigkeit. Dies trifft sowohl aus Sicht der Zahl der authentischen quellsprachlichen Texte als auch aus Sicht der bei den Übersetzungsaufträgen gefragten Textsorten innerhalb der Übersetzung von Presstexten zu. Anzumerken ist, dass Kurznachrichten vermutlich aufgrund ihrer Kompaktheit und Kürze im Unterricht bevorzugt werden, wobei aber auch die ausführlichere Textsorte der Reportage fast mit identischer Häufigkeit unter den genannten Antworten vorkommt. Die Tatsache, dass alle vorgegebenen Antwortmöglichkeiten auch tatsächlich genannt wurden bestätigt wiederum das Ergebnis der sechsten Frage: Dort wurde am häufigsten als Ziel erwähnt, dass die Dozenten den Studenten die verschiedenen Gattungen/Textsorten näherbringen möchten.

Ziel der neunten Frage war es, das Thema bzw. die Themen der im Unterricht verwendeten Presstexte näher zu beleuchten. Aufgrund der vorgegebenen Antwortmöglichkeiten – mit der Möglichkeit der Mehrfachnennung – wurde am häufigsten das Thema Wirtschaft/Finanzen genannt (41 Antworten, 78,8 %), gefolgt von Politik (34 Antworten, 65,4 %) und dem öffentlichen Leben (33 Antworten, 63,5 %). Weit abgeschlagen dagegen die weiteren Antwortmöglichkeiten: Na-

turwissenschaften (18 Antworten, 34,6 %), Technik (5 Antworten, 9,6 %), Stars und Sternchen (4 Antworten, 7,7 %) sowie Sport (2 Antworten, 3,8 %). Unter Sonstiges findet sich zudem der Bereich Kultur (2 Nennungen) sowie folgende, jeweils nur einmal genannte Themen: Europäische Union, Verkehr, Bildungswesen, Recht, Geschichte, Linguistik und Tourismus.

Das Ergebnis ist auch in diesem Fall nicht überraschend: Der Bereich Wirtschaft/Finanzen gehört zu den wichtigsten Fachgebieten späterer Übersetzer. Auch im Rahmen der Übersetzerausbildung an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest liegt einer der Schwerpunkte auf der Übersetzung solcher Fachtexte (der andere Schwerpunkt ist Recht). Die Übersetzung von Presstexten im Themenbereich Politik und öffentliches Leben entspricht wiederum der Struktur der Antworten bei Frage sechs (Ziel der Presseübersetzung): Diese eignen sich nämlich hervorragend zur Erweiterung verschiedener Stile bzw. sprachlicher Register, zur Erweiterung der übersetzungstechnischen Kenntnisse, des Wortschatzes und natürlich des Wissens über die Welt.

4.3. Bewertung der Antworten auf die letzten vier Fragen

Drei der letzten vier Fragen bezogen sich auf die Relevanz der Presseübersetzung im Rahmen der späteren übersetzerischen Arbeit. Auf die zehnte Frage, ob die Übersetzung solcher Texte aus dieser Sicht relevant sei, antworteten 43 Befragte mit ‚ja‘, das sind 82,7 %, und lediglich 17,3 %, also 9 Personen, mit ‚nein‘. Damit fällt das Ergebnis bei dieser Frage weit deutlicher aus, als ich vorab erwartet habe. Auch wenn die Zahlen sich nicht vollkommen decken, ist hier durchaus auch eine starke Korrelation zu den Ergebnissen bei der dritten Frage feststellbar, wo 86,5 % geantwortet haben, derzeit im Übersetzungsunterricht mit solchen Texten zu arbeiten. Das bedeutet, dass die überwiegende Mehrheit der Befragten der Ansicht ist: Die Übersetzung solcher Texte ist auch aus beruflicher Sicht relevant und dient nicht nur der Vermittlung übersetzungstechnischer Kenntnisse, von Fachwissen usw.

Diese Feststellung wird durch die Freitextantworten auf die elfte Frage bestätigt: Im Fall einer bejahenden Antwort auf die vorangehende Frage richtete sich diese darauf, wo, in welchen Situationen Presseübersetzung während der Übersetzerarbeit vorkommt bzw. vorkommen kann. Insgesamt 41 Personen antworteten mehr oder weniger ausführlich auf diese Frage, das heißt, mit Ausnahme zweier Personen alle, die auf die zehnte Frage mit ‚ja‘ geantwortet haben. Die diesbezüglichen Rückmeldungen können grob in zehn Kategorien eingeteilt werden. In die erste gehören die allgemeinen Hinweise auf die übersetzerische Arbeit (z. B. „man kann nicht vorhersagen, was das Leben bringen wird, deshalb setze ich bei der Zusammenstellung der Texte auf Vielfältigkeit“), auf übersetzungstechnische Fragen (z. B. „Presstexte verwenden eine charakteristische Sprache, die gut bei

anderen Textsorten genutzt werden kann“; „die hier gewonnenen Kenntnisse können auch bei der Fachübersetzung genutzt werden“; „Übersetzungsstrategien, Stile, Register können damit hervorragend geübt werden“).

In die zweite Kategorie gehören die Antworten, die auf die Pressebeobachtung und Presseschau hinweisen (z. B. „auch in der Form, wo es nicht um klassische Übersetzung, sondern Verdichtung geht /weil ein Teil unserer Studenten nicht als klassischer Übersetzer angestellt wird, sondern als Teil des Arbeitsbereichs, zum Beispiel als Ökonom oder Ingenieur, übersetzt, ist auch diese Aufgabe relevant/“; „Erstellen von Zusammenfassungen aus einem oder mehreren Artikeln, zum Beispiel an Botschaften oder in internationalen Organisationen“). Damit im Zusammenhang steht die dritte Gruppe von Antworten: das Erscheinen der Übersetzung von Presstexten in der Arbeit von Nachrichtendiensten, Nachrichtenagenturen (z. B. „bei der Mehrheit der von Nachrichtenagenturen übernommenen Nachrichten handelt es sich um Übersetzungen“; „diese erhalten regelmäßig derartige Übersetzungsaufträge, aber meine Erfahrung ist, dass hier Personen übersetzen, die keinen Abschluss als Übersetzer haben“). Die nähere Untersuchung dieser letzteren Anmerkung ist meines Erachtens auf jeden Fall wichtig, denn aufgrund der internationalen Fachliteratur ist sie außerhalb Ungarns stichhaltig. Die Überprüfung im ungarischen Kontext wird Aufgabe des eingangs erwähnten, zurzeit laufenden größeren Forschungsprojekts sein.

Die vierte Antwortgruppe beinhaltet den Hinweis auf die Anwendung der Presseübersetzung im Fall von offiziellen Mitteilungen, Presseerklärungen und ähnlichen (z. B. „Kommunikationstätigkeit von Filmemachern, Künstlern und Verlagen“; „Regierungskommunikation“; „Presseabteilung von Ämtern“; „Arbeit an diplomatischen Vertretungen“). Damit im Zusammenhang steht die fünfte und sechste Gruppe: Einerseits die Übersetzung von publizistischen Texten für Firmen und als Übersetzer/Assistent bei multinationalen Unternehmen (z. B. „im Fall von Zweisprachigkeit bzw. einer Minderheitensprache sind Kenntnisse im Bereich Presseübersetzung im Fall mehrerer Arbeitsbereiche notwendig“; „Übersetzen von Artikeln über neue technische Entwicklungen von Firmen“). Andererseits das Erstellen der fremdsprachigen Version von Internet-Nachrichtenportalen bzw. das Übersetzen von Webseiten sowie von Pressenachrichten für solche.

Die siebte Gruppe von Antworten bezog sich auf die Übersetzung von kreativen Texten sowie solchen im Bereich Marketing (z. B. „manchmal muss man gleichzeitig Werbetexter sein“; „im Fall von Werbekampagnen bestimmter Produkte können solche Texte vorkommen“). Dagegen wurde im Fall der achten Gruppe die Zusammenstellung und Beurteilung von Bewerbungen als Anwendungsgebiet erwähnt, das nirgendwo eingeordnet werden kann und deshalb eine eigenständige Gruppe bildet. In die vorletzte Gruppe gehört die Erwähnung des Kontextes der Europäischen Union (z. B. „in diesem Fall kann sie auch Teil von

Arbeitsbereichen sein /nicht nur von Übersetzern, zum Beispiel in der Verwaltung/“; „Im Fall der juristischen Fachübersetzung ist die detaillierte und eingehende Kenntnis der nationalen, internationalen und EU-Terminologie wichtig. In Presstexten kommen diese auf eigentümliche Weise gleichzeitig vor, wobei diese Texte die zu den jeweiligen Registern/zur nationalen Terminologie gehörenden Termini eng voneinander abgrenzen können und so den Übersetzern einen guten Überblick über die diesbezüglichen Unterschiede verschaffen“).

In die zehnte und letzte Gruppe von Antworten gehört schließlich die Erwähnung der Übersetzung von Artikeln für Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, wobei konkret die Zeitschriften *Heti Válasz*, *HVG* (Übersetzen von Artikeln der Zeitschrift *The Economist*), *National Geographic* und *Geo* erwähnt wurden (z. B. „Übersetzen von Meinungen/Studien ausländischer Verfasser; „Studien ausländischer Verfasser in wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften“; Übersetzen von Interviews für Nachrichtenportale oder sonstige Seiten“). Wichtig ist, dass in dieser Kategorie auch erwähnt wurde: Die Nachrichten werden oftmals nicht eins zu eins übersetzt, sondern überarbeitet („Überarbeitung von /naturwissenschaftlichen/ Nachrichten in einer anderen Sprache für Leser mit abweichenden Vorkenntnissen bzw. abweichendem Wissensstand /z. B. Fachleute, Mittelschüler, Kinder/. Dabei handelt es sich in erster Linie nicht um eine Übersetzungsaufgabe, sondern um die Angleichung des Inhalts des übersetzten Materials an das Niveau der Lesergruppen.“).

Die zwölfte und letzte reguläre Frage des Fragebogens erkundigte sich im Fall einer verneinenden Antwort auf die zehnte Frage danach, warum die Befragten der Meinung sind, dass das Übersetzen von Presstexten aus Sicht der späteren Übersetzertätigkeit nicht relevant sei. Von den neun Personen, die bei der zehnten Frage so geantwortet hatten, lieferten hier acht auch eine Erklärung für ihre Antwort. Der feststellbare Hauptgrund (fünf von acht Antworten) ist aufgrund der Rückmeldungen die geringe Zahl solcher Aufträge, wobei die diesbezüglichen Formulierungen geringfügig voneinander abweichen („der Bedarf an Presseübersetzung ist gering“; „es gibt keine Übersetzungsaufträge auf diesem Gebiet, lediglich die Pressebeobachtung an Botschaften stellt eine relevante Aufgabe dar“; „meiner Erfahrung zufolge erhalten Übersetzer nur selten solche Aufträge / ich zum Beispiel nie/“; „stellt in der beruflichen Praxis der freiberuflichen Übersetzer nur einen kleinen Teil der Aufträge dar“; „während meiner 15-jährigen Laufbahn habe ich höchstens fünf solche Aufträge erhalten“). Zwei Antworten begründeten die fehlende Relevanz damit, dass es sich nur um *eine* mögliche Textsorte handle („es handelt sich lediglich um eine der möglichen Textsorten“; „Solche Texte weichen von der Übersetzung anderer Texte nicht bedeutend ab. Sie können höchstens wegen der Aktualitäten interessant sein.“). Schließlich lautet ein letztes – leider nicht weiter ausgeführtes und damit auch nicht ganz verständliches – Argument so, dass „zwischen den beiden Dingen kein Zusam-

menhang besteht“ (also zwischen dem Übersetzen von Presstexten in der Praxis des Übersetzers und dem Befassen mit Presstexten im Übersetzungsunterricht).

Am Ende des Fragebogens konnten die Befragten freitextliche Anmerkungen zum Fragebogen machen. Zwölf Befragte nutzten diese Möglichkeit, wobei aus Sicht der vorliegenden Studie acht von Bedeutung sind. Sieben Anmerkungen beziehen sich dabei auf folgende Bereiche: die Rolle der Presseübersetzung in der Wissensvermittlung (Allgemeinwissen), bei der Vermittlung aktueller Informationen, der Wortschatzerweiterung, beim Kennenlernen verschiedener Textsorten sowie das Einüben konkreter Übersetzungsstrategien und das Lösen übersetzungstechnischer Probleme. Eine Anmerkung wiederum erwähnt die Rolle der Zweisprachigkeit (Slowakei/ungarn) und die Tatsache, dass Redaktionen der Meinung seien, diese Menschen könnten von Haus aus übersetzen. Deshalb stellten sie keine qualifizierten Übersetzer an.

5. Fazit

Tatsache ist, dass sich die ungarische translationswissenschaftliche Fachliteratur bislang fast überhaupt nicht bzw. nur aus dem verhältnismäßig engen Aspekt der Textlinguistik mit der journalistischen Translation beschäftigt hat. Die Untersuchung dieser Texte ist jedoch auch im internationalen Vergleich erst recht spät – in den ersten Jahren des 21. Jahrhunderts – in den Fokus der Translationswissenschaft gerückt. Aber auch im Fall der Letzteren wurde meines Wissens bis dato keine ähnliche Studie vorgenommen, die sich auf den Einsatz von Presstexten im Übersetzungsunterricht konzentriert. Aufgrund der durchgeführten Studie mit 52 Teilnehmern konnte diesen Fakten zum Trotz nachgewiesen werden: Presstexte spielen in der Übersetzerausbildung in Ungarn und auch in einigen Hochschulinstitutionen dreier Nachbarländer eine grundlegende Rolle, einerseits aufgrund der Verbreitung (derzeit lassen über 85 % der Befragten solche Texte im Unterricht übersetzen), andererseits aufgrund der Durchgängigkeit der Verwendung (fast 50 % der Befragten lassen während der gesamten Übersetzerausbildung Presstexte übersetzen). Der Einsatz solcher Texte erfolgt aus einer Vielzahl von Gründen, aus unterschiedlicher Motivation heraus, und es ist nicht ein einziger wichtiger Grund auszumachen: Hierzu gehören zum Beispiel die Vermittlung verschiedener Gattungen/Textsorten, die Erweiterung verschiedener Stile bzw. sprachlicher Register, die Vermittlung übersetzungstechnischer Kenntnisse und die Erweiterung des Wortschatzes.

Die Fragen nach der Relevanz der Presseübersetzung bestätigen und begründen die Präsenz im Übersetzungsunterricht. Das diesbezügliche Ergebnis – ebenfalls über 80 % der Befragten halten die Presseübersetzung aus Sicht der späteren Arbeit als Übersetzer für relevant – fiel weit deutlicher aus, als ich vorab erwartet habe. Die Befragten sehen die vielfältigen Anwendungsbereiche dieses Teilge-

bietet der Übersetzung deutlich, wie die entsprechenden Antworten zeigen. Auf der anderen Seite konnte zwar der Grund dafür, weshalb die Übersetzung von Presstexten aus Sicht der späteren Übersetzertätigkeit der Meinung einiger Dozenten zufolge nicht relevant sei, eindeutig ermittelt werden (zu wenige derartige Aufträge), jedoch das Absehen von der Verwendung im Unterricht aufgrund der gegebenen Antworten nicht eindeutig festgestellt werden. Diesbezügliche Vermutungen habe ich allerdings aufgrund meiner Erfahrung und der freitextlichen Anmerkungen in der vorliegenden Arbeit geäußert.

Die Ergebnisse der durchgeführten Studie bestätigen meines Erachtens die Notwendigkeit der näheren Erforschung der Situation der journalistischen Translation – als eines Teilgebietes der Übersetzungsbranche und der Translationswissenschaft – in Ungarn, der ich mich im Rahmen eines größeren Forschungsprojekts widme. Aufgrund weiterer Untersuchungen können bestimmte Meinungen, Feststellungen von Teilnehmern der hier beschriebenen Studie bestätigt oder widerlegt und es können die eventuellen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ausbildung von Sprachmittlern und der Durchführung von Übersetzungsaufgaben im Bereich journalistische Translation (vor allem im Kreis von professionellen Journalisten) näher beleuchtet werden.

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Zu theoretischen und praktischen Aspekten des Fachübersetzens

Sprachkorpora im Dienste der kulturellen Vielfalt

Olívia SEIDL-PÉCH

Institut für Fremdsprachen

Technische und Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Universität Budapest (BME)

olivia@inyk.bme.hu

Abstrakt. In den letzten Jahrzehnten wird immer häufiger über die Korpuslinguistik geschrieben, die ihren Aufschwung vor allem dem Gebrauch elektronischer Korpora seit den 1960er-Jahren verdankt (Brown Korpus). Inzwischen benutzen immer mehr Teilbereiche der allgemeinen und angewandten Sprachwissenschaft (z. B. Computerlinguistik, Diskursanalyse, synchrone und diachrone Sprachwissenschaft, kontrastive Linguistik, Lexikologie und Lexikographie, Psycholinguistik, Soziolinguistik, die Sprachlern- und Lehrforschung, Übersetzungswissenschaft) korpuslinguistische Methoden. In der Sprachforschung wird vorwiegend der empirische und deskriptive Charakter der korpusgestützten Sprachanalyse betont.

Die Erstellung und Vorhaltung digitaler Sprachkorpora wurde dank der digitalen Revolution des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts auch für kleinere Nationen und Sprachgemeinschaften, ebenso wie für Wissenschaftler/innen zugänglich. So können heutzutage Sprachkorpora nicht nur als Hilfsmittel der Sprachforschung und der Übersetzungswissenschaft betrachtet werden, sondern sie liefern auch einen Beitrag zur Bereicherung der kulturellen Vielfalt. Im Fokus des Artikels stehen neben internationalen Beispielen die wichtigsten ungarischen Korpora und die Kriterien der Korpuserstellung im Zusammenhang mit der kulturwissenschaftlichen Orientierung der Korpuslinguistik.

Schlüsselwörter: (Fach)Übersetzen, korpusgestützte Sprachanalyse, kulturelle Vielfalt, Textkorpora, Übersetzungsforschung

Abstract. In the past few decades, it has extensively been written about corpus linguistics, which has owned its upswing mainly to the use of electronic corpora since the 1960s (Brown Corpus). Meanwhile, an increasing number of fields within general and applied linguistics (e.g. computational linguistics, discourse analysis, contrastive linguistics, diachronic and

synchronic linguistics, language teaching and learning research, lexicology and lexicography, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, translation studies) have been using corpus linguistic methods. In linguistic research, the empirical and descriptive character of corpus-based linguistic analysis has also been given an emphasis.

Thanks to the digital revolution of the 20th and 21st centuries the creation and provision of digital linguistic corpora is becoming accessible for smaller nations and language communities as well as for scientists. Nowadays, linguistic corpora cannot only be regarded as a tool to support language research and Translation Studies, but they also contribute to the enrichment of cultural diversity. The article focuses on international examples as well as on the most significant Hungarian corpora. The paper also discusses the criteria of corpus creation and several cultural aspects of corpus linguistics.

Keywords: corpus-based language analysis, cultural diversity, technical translation, text corpora, translation research

1. Korpusevidenz

Die Übersetzungswissenschaft greift bezüglich der Korpuslinguistik (corpus-based translation studies) auf Vorläufer wie John Sinclair (1991) und Mona Baker (1993) zurück. Inzwischen hat sich die Disziplin entwickelt, ihre Zielsetzungen und Eigenschaften ausführlich definiert und ausgerichtet. Der Begriff Korpuslinguistik bezeichnet „die Beschreibung von Äußerungen natürlicher Sprachen, ihrer Elemente und Strukturen, und die darauf aufbauende Theoriebildung auf der Grundlage von Analysen authentischer Texte, die in Korpora zusammengefasst sind“ (Lemnitzer–Zinsmeier 2006. 9).

Wesentlichstes Merkmal des korpuslinguistischen Herangehens ist die Auswahl geeigneter Korpora, die bei der empirischen Untersuchung von Sprachen und Subsprachen und bei der Beschreibung sprachlichen und subsprachlichen Eigenschaften und Regularitäten den Ziel- und Forschungsfragen entsprechen. Ein Korpus ist eine „Sammlung einer möglichst hohen, notwendigerweise aber immer begrenzten Anzahl möglichst zusammenhängender sprachlicher Äußerungen (gesprochen oder/und geschrieben) aus möglichst natürlichen Kommunikationssituationen“ (Gluück 2005. 357).

Heutzutage sind Korpora auf Rechnern gespeichert und maschinenlesbar, diese beiden Faktoren ermöglichen eine genaue und schnelle Abfragung der Daten. Korpora werden nach vorab definierten Kriterien zusammengestellt, so dass sie ein genaues Abbild der untersuchten Sprache oder Subsprache darstellen. Bei der Datensammlung müssen daher die Kriterien der Repräsentativität und der Ausgewogenheit beachtet werden, wobei die Sammlung authentischen Sprachmaterials Voraussetzung für Forschungskorpora ist. Bei der Zusammensetzung

von Sprachkorpora können verschiedene Auswahlkriterien im Vordergrund stehen. Je nach Zielsetzung der empirischen Sprachbeschreibung oder der Anwendung bzw. des Auswertungsziels entstehen verschiedenen Korpustypen. Diese Auswahlkriterien bestimmen gleichzeitig die kulturwissenschaftliche Orientierung des Korpus.

2. Bedarf der maschinellen (Fach)Übersetzung

Das erste elektronische Korpus ist das Brown Corpus (Brown University Standard Sample of Present-Day American English) und wurde im 1946 von W. N. Francis und H. Kučera erstellt (Francis–Kučera 1979). Anschließend erschienen zahlreiche monolinguale Korpora (Albanian National Corpus, British National Corpus, Bulgarian National Corpus, Czech National Corpus, Corpus del Español, Hungarian National Corpus, Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese, National Corpus of Polish, Quranic Arabic Corpus, Romanian Balanced Corpus, Russian National Corpus, Slovak National Corpus, Szeged Treebank, TIGER Corpus, Turkish National Corpus), denen weitere bi- und multilingualen Korpora (Aligned Hansards of the 36th Parliament of Canada, COMPARA, English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus, European Parliament Proceedings 1996-2001) folgten. Zweifelsfrei ist die relativ rasche Verbreitung der Korpuslinguistik der maschinellen Übersetzung (machine translation) zu verdanken. Die automatische Übersetzung wurde durch korpusbasierte Methoden unterstützt, welche mit Hilfe von ein- und zweisprachigen Korpora und bereits bestehenden Segmentpaaren der Übersetzungsspeichersysteme immer bessere (Fach)Übersetzungsvorschläge und Items präsentierten. Dieses Herangehen beeinflusste in den letzten Jahrzehnten die Entstehung von zahlreichen neuen Korpora. Nunmehr ist die zweckorientierte Verarbeitung von Sprachdaten durch das Vorhandensein von Megakorpora der dritten Generation charakterisiert (Bank of English, Corpus of Contemporary American English).

Korpora spielen daher eine immer bedeutendere Rolle bei der computergestützten (Fach)Übersetzung (Machine-Aided Human Translation). Sie werden einerseits als online erreichbare Hilfsmittel beim Übersetzen verwendet und andererseits als Endprodukte der übersetzerischen Tätigkeiten erzeugt. Die Berufsübersetzer/innen und Übersetzerbüros verfügen bereits über verschiedene themenspezifische Paralleltexte, welche als Hintergrundkorpora der weiteren (Fach)Übersetzungen dienen können. Ihr Gebrauch ist zum Beispiel unerlässlich für Softwarelokalisierungen, wofür die Benutzeroberfläche eines Software- oder Webproduktes und die dazugehörige Produktdokumentation häufig parallel zur Entwicklung des Quellproduktes erzeugt werden muss.

Softwarelokalisierungen und auch Hintergrundkorpora sind stark kulturell gebunden. Bei einem lokalisierten Produkt „sieht die Benutzeroberfläche so aus,

als sei sie ursprünglich für den Zielmarkt geschrieben und entwickelt worden. Für die einwandfreie Lokalisierung eines Softwareprodukts oder einer Webseite müssen neben der Sprache u. a. folgende Aspekte berücksichtigt werden: Maßeinheiten, Zahlenformate, Adressformate, Datums- und Uhrzeitformate (lang und kurz), Papierformate, Schriftarten, Auswahl der Standardschrift, unterschiedliche Groß- und Kleinschreibung, Zeichensetzung, Sortierung, Wort- und Silbentrennung, lokale Vorschriften, Urheberrechtsprobleme, Datenschutz, Zahlungsmethoden, Währungsumrechnung, Steuern“ (SDL TranslationZone). Wie diese Auflistung zeigt, müssen beim Übersetzen und bei der Softwarelokalisierung sämtliche kulturellen Eigenschaften der Ausgangs- und Zielsprachen in Betracht gezogen werden. Diese Eigenschaften sind in den monolingualen Korpora sowie in den Paralleltexträumen gespeichert. Mit der Speicherung und Wiederverwendung derartiger kulturspezifischer Daten wird die Erhaltung kulturgebundener Eigenschaften der Sprachen gesichert. Dieses Verfahren gewinnt aufgrund des potenziell wachsenden Einflusses des Englischen auf nahezu alle anderen Sprachen eine immer stärkere Bedeutung.

3. Forschungsinteresse der Übersetzungswissenschaft

Von den elektronisch gespeicherten Paralleltexträumen können sogenannte Parallelkorpora (DeuCze-Korpus, QCRI AMARA Corpus, Slovak-Hungarian Parallel Corpus), die nicht nur für die computergestützte und maschinelle Übersetzung, sondern auch für die Übersetzungswissenschaft anwendbar sind, zusammengestellt werden. Im Interessenfeld der deskriptiven Übersetzungswissenschaft stehen sämtliche zielsprachliche Texteneigenschaften, durch welche die von der muttersprachlichen Textproduktion auf lexikalischer, grammatischer oder textueller Ebene auftretenden Abweichungen aufgezeigt werden können (vgl. Seidl-Péché 2016). In den letzten Jahren befassten sich im Sinne dieser komparativen Betrachtungsweise zahlreiche Promotionsprojekte an der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität (Budapest/Ungarn) mit korpusgestützten Untersuchungen (Seidl-Péché 2011; Polcz 2012; Lengyel 2013; Mohácsi-Gorove 2014; Robin 2014; Sato 2014; Somodi 2014; Kovács 2015; Makkos 2015; Nagy 2015; Szijj 2015).

Durch das Entstehen von Übersetzungs- und Vergleichskorpora kann ein steigendes Interesse für korpusgestützte Betrachtungen der Translate verzeichnet werden. Zahlreiche Studien analysierten Übersetzungen als eine Art der Textproduktion und identifizierten die besonderen Eigenschaften übersetzter Texte. So entstanden (1) Übersetzungskorpora (translational corpus) aus Übersetzungen in eine Sprache und aus den dazugehörigen Originaltexten (English-Chinese Parallel Corpus) und (2) Vergleichskorpora (comparable corpus) aus Übersetzungen in eine Sprache und aus den original verfassten Texten derselben Sprache (z. B. Internati-

onal Corpus of English). Das ungarische Pannonia Corpus (Robin et al. 2016) enthält ein Übersetzungs-, wie auch ein Vergleichssubkorpus. Nach Zanettins Artikel über das English-Italian Translational Corpus (Zanettin 2002) bereichern diese Korpora unser Wissen über Sprachen, Kulturen und das Übersetzen. Heutzutage rücken weitere neue Themen in Fokus der übersetzungswissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen. Kürzlich erschienen u. a. korpusgestützte Studien zum Übersetzungsspeicher (Yamada 2011) oder zur Übersetzung von Dialekten (AsiCa-Korpus, Haddow et al 2013).

4. Kulturelle und wissenschaftliche Bedürfnisbefriedigung

In den letzten Jahrzehnten wird trotz Maßnahmen auf politischer Ebene im Dienste des Schutzes der kulturellen Vielfalt von einer Globalisierung und Entdifferenzierung im kulturellen Sinne gesprochen. Bisher wurde keine befriedigende Strategie zur kulturellen Nachhaltigkeit von allen Seiten akzeptiert, daher muss sich die globale Gemeinschaft zwangsläufig an irreversible kulturelle Verluste gewöhnen.

Multikulturelle und -ethnische Gesellschaften manifestieren sich in einer Vielfalt der Sprachen und Kulturen, die durch Sammlung von Sprachdaten und kulturell spezifischer Ausdrucksformen bewahrt werden kann. Korpora, als Datenspeichersysteme, können eine bedeutende Rolle hinsichtlich der kulturellen Nachhaltigkeit spielen. Sie tragen in einem Zeitalter, in dem kulturelle Entwicklungsprozesse weder blockiert noch verändert oder gesteuert werden können, zur Bewahrung der kulturellen Vielfalt bei.

Je nach Zielsetzung der empirischen Sprachbeschreibung oder des Anwendungszwecks enthalten Korpora verschiedene Datentypen. Die verschiedenen Korpusarten hinsichtlich der Anzahl der verarbeiteten Sprachen (einsprachige Korpora / bi- und multilinguale Korpora: Parallelkorpora, Übersetzungskorpora, Vergleichskorpora) wurden bereits (vgl. Kapitel 2. und 3.) beschrieben. Je nach Sprachmedium kann zwischen Korpora der gesprochenen Sprache (BEA Hungarian spontaneous speech database, Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch, Hungarian Reference Speech Database, MTBA – Hungarian Phone Speech Call Center Database) und Korpora der geschriebenen Sprache (Deutsches Referenzkorpus – DeReKo, HG-1 Korpus, Szeged Treebank) unterschieden werden. In den letzten Jahren werden darüber hinaus multimodale Korpora (Sound Gesture Database – Hungarian) zusammengestellt, die extralinguistische Ereignisse, darunter sind videobasierte Aufzeichnungen wie Gesten, emotionale Ausdrücke oder Daten zu Blickbewegungen beim Lesen zu verstehen, enthalten. Unter multimodalen Kor-

pora sind Korpora der Gebärdensprachen (American Sign Language Linguistic Research Project Corpus, DGS-Korpus, First Hungarian Sign Language Corpus) besonders bemerkenswert. Die bisher uneinheitliche Annotation heterogener Daten bei multimodalen Korpora und bei Korpora der Gebärdensprachen stellt ein schwer zu überwindendes Hindernis dar. In dieser Hinsicht besteht innerhalb der Disziplin noch großer Entwicklungsbedarf.

Korpora werden zudem durch das Sprachstadium dichotomisiert: zu unterscheiden sind historische Korpora (Hungarian Generative Diachronic Syntax) und Korpora der Gegenwartssprache (Hungarian National Corpus). In diesem Zusammenhang entstehen und entstanden unter anderem Korpora schon ausgestorbener Sprachen (Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature) oder bedrohter Sprachen (Korpus GENIE – GEsprochenes NIEdersorbisch/Wendisch). Neben der Wahl der regionalen/nationalen, medialen und temporalen sprachlichen Varietäten und Varianten können natürlich noch weitere Korpusparameter, die die Zusammenstellung der Korpora bestimmen (wie Alter, Geschlecht und soziale Herkunft der Sprecher, Textsorte, mediale Verarbeitung, Themeninhalte, Zielgruppe...) in Betracht gezogen werden, diese sind jedoch in Bezug auf diese Überlegungen zu vernachlässigen und werden daher nicht berücksichtigt.

5. Schlussfolgerungen

Zwar wurden Korpora ursprünglich nicht im Rahmen einer Kulturschutzaktion erstellt, sie können jedoch durch ihre Datenspeicherfunktion der kulturellen Nachhaltigkeit und der Bewahrung der kulturellen Vielfalt dienen. Die derzeit erreichbaren Korpora erfüllen bereits eine Kulturschutzfunktion und mit dem Herstellen von zusätzlichen Korpora werden weitere Schritte zum Schutz der kulturellen Vielfalt realisiert.

Während in den Anfängen der wissenschaftlichen Dokumentation und Datensammlung das Erstellen von Korpora noch buchstäbliche Feldforschung beinhaltete, sind in den Zeiten der Digitalisierung die Zugänge zu Sprachdaten wesentlich erleichtert. Diskutiert werden kann darüber hinaus die Frage, ob das heute zugängliche Sprachmaterial authentischer und sprechernäher ist als Sprachaufzeichnungen unter Laborbedingungen. Gerade für Sprecher kleiner Sprachen oder Mitglieder kleinerer Kulturkreise bietet die Digitalisierung und Speicherung der Sprache und Kommunikation eine leicht realisierbare Methode der Form- und Funktionswahrung sprachlicher Charakteristika. Wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung und der Zugang zu jenen sprachlichen Äußerungen, kulturellen Phänomenen und Sprecherdaten sind nicht nur aufgrund von wissenschaftlicher Dokumentation, sondern auch mit Blick auf Erhalt und Schutz sprachlicher und kultureller Vielfalt eine Verpflichtung dieser Disziplin.

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Korpora

Albanian National Corpus	http://web-corpora.net/AlbanianCorpus/search/
Aligned Hansards of the 36th Parliament of Canada	http://www.isi.edu/natural-language/download/hansard/
American Sign Language Linguistic Research Project Corpus	http://www.bu.edu/asllrp/
AsiCa-Korpus	http://www.asica.gwi.uni-muenchen.de
Bank of English	http://www2.lingsoft.fi/doc/engcg/Bank-of-English.html
BEA Hungarian spontaneous speech database	http://www.nytud.hu/adatb/bea/index.html
British National Corpus	http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk

Brown Corpus	http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/BROWN/
Bulgarian National Corpus	http://dcl.bas.bg/bulnc/en/
Czech National Corpus	https://www.korpus.cz
COMPARA	http://www.linguateca.pt/COMPARA/
Corpus of Contemporary American English	http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/
Corpus del Español	http://www.corpusdelespanol.org
Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch	http://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/dgd/pragdb.dgd_extern.welcome
DeuCze-Korpus	http://www.deucze.germanistik.uni-wuerzburg.de
Deutsches Referenzkorpus – DeReKo	http://www1.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/korpora.html
DGS-Korpus	https://www.sign-lang.uni-hamburg.de/dgs-korpus/index.php/korpus.html
Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature	http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/
English-Chinese Parallel Corpus	http://ec-concord.ied.edu.hk/paraconc/index.htm
English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus	http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/ENPC/
European Parliament Proceedings 1996-2001	http://www.statmt.org/euoparl/
First Hungarian Sign Language Corpus	http://jelesely.hu/web/?q=en
HG-1 Korpus	http://corpus.hungram.unideb.hu/
Hungarian Generative Diachronic Syntax	http://www.nytud.hu/depts/corpus/mgtasz.html
Hungarian National Corpus	http://mnsz.nytud.hu
Hungarian Reference Speech Database	http://alpha.tmit.bme.hu/speech/hdbMRBA.php
International Corpus of English	http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/projects/ice.htm
Korpus GENIE – GESprochenes NIEdersorbisch/Wendisch	http://genie.coli.uni-saarland.de
Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese	http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/projects/corpus/LCMC/
MTBA – Hungarian Phone Speech Call Center Database	http://alpha.tmit.bme.hu/speech/hdbMTBA.php
National Corpus of Polish	http://nkjp.pl/index.php?page=0&lang=1
QCRI AMARA Corpus	http://alt.qcri.org/resources/qedcorpus/

Quranic Arabic Corpus	http://corpus.quran.com
Romanian Balanced Corpus	http://metashare.elda.org/repository/browse/romanian-balanced-corpus-rombac/0a7dd85edc7311e5aa0b00237df3e35873a0d662435d42dd94fba48c29dc0065/
Russian National Corpus	http://www.ruscorpora.ru/en/index.html
Slovak-Hungarian Parallel Corpus	http://www.nytud.hu/depts/corpus/szlovak-magyar.html
Slovak National Corpus	http://korpus.juls.savba.sk/index_en.html
Sound Gesture Database – Hungarian	http://alpha.tmit.bme.hu/speech/gestures.php
Szeged Treebank	http://rgai.inf.u-szeged.hu/index.php?lang=en&page=SzegedTreebank
TIGER Corpus	http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/forschung/ressourcen/korpora/tiger.html
Turkish National Corpus	http://www.tnc.org.tr



Temeswar und das Banat in der *Temesvarer Zeitung*

Eszter JÁNOS

Christliche Universität Partium
Abteilung für Germanistik
szabo.eszter.szidonia@gmail.com

Abstrakt. Die *Temesvarer Zeitung* wirkte seit ihrer Gründung in einer multi-kulturellen Gesellschaft (Ungarn, Deutsche, Serben, Rumänen, Juden). Diese Heterogenität der Bevölkerung und deren kulturelle Vielfalt spiegeln sich auch in ihrem Kulturteil wider, in dem sich literarische Texte, Essays, Berichte, Kommentare und kritische Besprechungen befinden. Die Forschung konzentriert sich auf die von Adolf Sternberg geleitete Periode (1871–1882), da er dem Blatt einen wichtigen Impuls gab, indem er auf das Feuilleton der Zeitung Akzent legte und das Niveau des Presseorgans mit literarischen und kulturellen Beiträgen heben wollte.

Schlüsselwörter: *Temesvarer Zeitung*, multikulturellen Gesellschaft, Heterogenität der Bevölkerung, Texte, Essays, Berichte, Kommentare, kritische Besprechungen

Abstract. Since its founding, the Temesvar newspaper (*Temesvarer Zeitung*) has been part of a multicultural society (Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Romanians, Jews). This heterogeneity of the population and its cultural diversity is also reflected in its cultural section, which contains literary texts, essays, reports, commentaries and critical discussions. The research focuses on the period headed by Adolf Sternberg (1871-1882), as he gave an important impetus by putting emphasis on the features page of the newspaper and wanted to raise the level of the press organ with literary and cultural contributions.

Keywords: Temesvar newspaper (*Temesvarer Zeitung*), heterogeneity of the population, multicultural society, literary texts, essays, reports, commentaries, critical discussions

Plaudereien, Genrebilder, Bagatellen in der *Temesvarer Zeitung*

Die Redaktion der Zeitung strebte nach der Hochhaltung eines hohen Niveaus im Feuilleton; dazu trugen selbstverständlich die politische Stabilität und auch eine gewisse Kontinuität in der Tätigkeit eines einzigen Redakteurs bei. Adolf Sternberg betonte mehrmals in dieser Periode, dass die Zeitung die Banater Gegend und die Stadt mit speziellem Interesse betrachtet. Mit harmlosem Scherz und frischem Ton wird auf Übelstände, Fahrlässigkeiten und Missbräuche hingewiesen und die Aufmerksamkeit der maßgebenden Personen und Kreise auf Dinge gelenkt, die sich derselben sonst vielleicht entzogen hätten, teilt der Redakteur den Lesern seine Ziele mit. Außer den bisher dargestellten Themen des Feuilletons (Fortsetzungsromane, Novellen, Erzählungen, Reiseskizzen, Völkerbilder) war noch der lokale Teil bedeutend, der in verschiedenen Formen „unter dem Strich“ vorkam: *Temesvarer Plaudereien*, *Temesvarer Genrebilder*, *Temesvarer Bagatellen*, *Temesvarer Raritäten*, *Temesvarer Nächte*, *Temesvarer Bilder und Geschichten*. In den *Temesvarer Nächten*, die Sternberg auch regelmäßig verfasste, verlockte er die Leser mit der Fortsetzungsstruktur, wie sie im Falle der Fortsetzungsromane schon bekannt war. Nach einer spannenden Situation, die am Ende der Fortsetzung etabliert wird, bleibt die Geschichte offen und wird erst in der nächsten Fortsetzung gelöst.

Den größten Teil dieser Texte bilden die Plaudereien, in denen der Feuilletonist über die wichtigsten Ereignisse der Stadt und der Region berichtet, was die meisten Menschen ohne seine Mitwirkung nicht bemerken würden. Innerhalb des Feuilletons stellt die Plauderei in formaler Hinsicht eine leichtere Gattung als Essay, Aufsatz und Betrachtung dar, worin das Belustigende vorherrscht. Obwohl keine eindeutige und einheitliche Definition über die Plauderei existiert, sind sich die Untersuchungen in mehreren Punkten einig, und zwar, dass sie schwer zu definieren sei. Das kritische Raisonement und die subjektive Meinung des Journalisten gehörten im Allgemeinen zu den Charakteristiken des Feuilletons, des Artikels „unter dem Strich“. Auch die Unterhaltung durch das Feuilleton zählte zur Betonung des Unterschieds zwischen den politischen Artikeln und den Veröffentlichungen „unter dem Strich, oft um den Negativismus der anderen Nachrichten auszugleichen (Stöber 2005. 203). Hieronymus Lorm definierte 1848 diesen Unterschied folgendermaßen: Das Feuilleton kann auch persönliche Meinungen beinhalten, während die politischen Artikel die öffentlichen Ansichten, also „die Meinung Aller“ (Tóth 2003. 216) vertreten sollen. Inhaltlich gibt es auch einen krassen Unterschied zwischen dem Teil „über dem Strich“ und „unter dem Strich“; das Feuilleton befasst sich mit den Themen der Kunst, Literatur und Philosophie, und nicht mit den aktuellen politischen Fragen, mit den Tagesereignissen.

Diese persönliche Art des Sehens und Schilderns der Welt(-ereignisse) und die persönliche Art des Folgerns und Schlüsseziehens ist ein wesentliches Charakteristikum des Feuilletons, und damit auch der Plauderei. Wegen dieser starken Subjektivität der Gattung definiert man sie oft vorurteilshaft, vor allem nach den alten Vorstellungen als „Tändeleien“ (Todorow 1996. 3), als eine leichte, witzige, amüsante, oberflächliche Wortgaukelei. Auf einer Seite ist diese Pauschalierung berechtigt; das Feuilleton kann „belanglos geschwätzig Artikel“ beinhalten; auf der anderen Seite aber kann es auch ernste, relevante „alltagskulturelle, künstlerische und wissenschaftliche Vermittlungsaufgaben erfüllen und ein bedeutendes Diskursfeld für öffentliches Nachdenken und ästhetische oder gesellschaftspolitische Innovationen ausbilden“ (Todorow 1996. 4).

Mehrere solcher Artikel findet man auch in der *Temesvarer Zeitung*, die als Plaudereien, Genrebilder, Bagatellen, Raritäten, Bilder und Geschichten betitelt wurden. Sogar die Benennungen deuten auf den Status dieser Texte innerhalb der Zeitung hin; es werden hier interessante Begebenheiten der Stadt im kritischen, ironischen Stil aus der Perspektive eines Feuilletonisten dargestellt. Die Plaudereien stammen hauptsächlich vom Chefredakteur der Zeitung Adolf Sternberg, der den Lesern die Dinge so zeigt, wie „sie sich in seiner Persönlichkeit widerspiegeln“; er beleuchtet alles „mit den Strahlen seiner individuellen Stimmung“, und „er verräth überall die Theilnahme an dem Gegenstande“ (Eckstein 1876, zit. nach Jäger 1988. 54). In diesem Merkmal, „im Durchschimmern der Subjectivität“ sieht Eckstein das Wesen des Feuilletons und der dazugehörigen Textsorten (Plaudereien, Skizze, Humoreske usw.), und dieses herrscht auch über die lokalen Artikel der untersuchten Zeitung vor. Diese Art der Darstellung eines Themas, also die Wochenplauderei nennt Benedek Tóth ein kontinuierliches fiktives Gespräch in der Zeitung, oder den Dialog „unter dem Strich“. Er untersucht diese Gattung als spezifischer Diskurs, wobei die wichtigsten Kriterien der Analyse die Unterschiede zwischen Subjektivität und Objektivität und zwischen der Realität und der Fiktion sind. Auf den subjektiven Standpunkt des Feuilletonisten, der immer die Hauptrolle seiner Artikel spielt, deuten auch die oben erwähnten Autoren (Haacke, Todorow, Eckstein) hin. Benedek Tóth bezeichnet als ein einziges äußeres „objektives“ Merkmal der Wochenplauderei, dass sie „unter dem Strich“ sei.

Die spezifische Textsorte des Feuilletons ist auch deswegen problematisch, weil sie die Grenze zwischen der Realität und der Fiktion ständig überschreitet. Die Situation und der Status des Feuilletons sind eindeutig, wenn darin literarische Texte (Gedichte, Novellen, Fortsetzungsromane, aber auch Reisebeschreibungen) erscheinen. Obwohl sie in der Zeitung veröffentlicht werden, gehört das nicht zu ihrer Charakteristik; ihre Erscheinung in der Zeitung ist kein inhärenter Aspekt (Tóth 2014. 463). Im Gegensatz dazu kommt die Wochenplauderei in der Zeitung zustande, was auch ihr spezifisches Merkmal ist.

Das inhaltliche Spektrum dieser Plaudereien in der *Temesvarer Zeitung* entspricht ungefähr der Wiener Wochenplauderei, deren Anfänge in den biedermeierlichen Unterhaltungszeitungen liegen. In diesen Rubriken wurden „in locker zusammenhängender Form“ die Ereignisse in Wien dargestellt. Die Wiener *Theaterzeitung* erwähnte Themen, mit denen sich 1820 die *Briefe über Wien* beschäftigten:

Am willkommensten sind Anekdoten des Tages, Begebenheiten, Vorfälle, lustige und tragische Ereignisse, Beschreibungen von Volks- und Bürgerfesten, Moden, Trachten, Anzeigen von der Ankunft und Abreise berühmter Personen, Sterbefälle, Leichenbegängnisse, etc. kurz Gegenstände, welche die gebildete Welt unmittelbar angehen und welche zur Belehrung, Aufheiterung und Bekanntmachung geeignet sind (Kauffmann 2000. 345).

Kauffmann behauptet, dass diese Rubriken erst dann ihren Höhepunkt erreicht hatten, als sie sich unter dem Einfluss der französischen Chronique einen eigenen Stil, und zwar den ironischen, witzigen Stil der Causerie, der Plauderei herausbildeten. Mitte der vierziger Jahre spricht man in den Wiener Unterhaltungszeitungen über Wochenplaudereien im moderneren Sinn. Sie bleibt auch nach der Revolutionszeit der Ort, wo das Individuum subjektiv, wenn auch ironisch, kritisch seine Meinung formulieren kann.

„Temesvar ist (k)eine gewöhnliche Provinzstadt“¹

In der untersuchten Periode erschienen in der *Temesvarer Zeitung* mehrere Plaudereien und ähnliche Textsorten (Genrebilder, Bagatellen, Raritäten, Nächte usw.), in deren Zentrum hauptsächlich die Geschehnisse der Stadt und des Theaters in Temeswar stehen. Sie wurden nicht regelmäßig wöchentlich veröffentlicht, sondern die Zeitung brachte monatlich einen Artikel zu dieser Thematik. Es werden in diesen Texten vor allem spannende Geschichten erzählt; die Darstellung von komplexen Charakteren oder die Veranschaulichung ihrer inneren Entwicklung ist weglassbar. Die große Themenvielfalt des lokalen Teils der Zeitung verhindert die einheitliche Behandlung des Stoffes, was aber auch charakteristisches Merkmal der Gattung ist. Die Themen variieren von den Ehe- und Liebesgeschichten über die Astrologie bis zum Theater, zu den verschiedenen Reiseskizzen oder Anekdoten. In der Plauderei berührt der Feuilletonist ein Thema nur oberflächlich und meistens ironisch; er darf sich mit einem Stoff nicht

1 Sternberg, Adolf: An das Temesvarer Leseublikum. *Temesvarer Zeitung* Nr. 186 vom 15. August 1886. S. 1.

ernst und ausführlich beschäftigen. Also spielt die Digression, die bewusste Abschweifung von einem Thema zum anderen eine wichtige Rolle in dieser Gattung (Kauffmann 2000. 351). Trotz des digressiven Status dieser Textsorte zeichnet sich in diesen Artikeln ein Thema aus, womit der Feuilletonist sich mehrmals beschäftigte, und zwar mit dem Status der Stadt, ob sie die charakteristischen Züge einer Kleinstadt oder Großstadt trägt.

Im Mai 1871 stellte sich Adolf Sternberg als neuer Redakteur der *Temesvarer Zeitung* vor und formulierte auch seine Offenheit gegenüber der Stadt:

Man hat mir so viel Schönes und Rühmendes von der Intelligenz und den kritischen Anforderungen des hiesigen Publikums erzählt, und die Ansprüche desselben so hoch veranschlagt, daß diese Unruhe recht begreiflich ist, bei allem Selbstgefühl, an welchem es und Journalisten sonst gerade nicht zu mangeln pflegt (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/115. 2)

Die lobenden Worte über die Stadt wurden mit Hilfe einer Anekdote bestätigt, die der neue Redakteur dem Publikum vorstellt: es geht um ein Gespräch in Pest auf dem Elisabethplatz, wo sich Sternberg mit einer Temeswarerin über seine neue Arbeit unterhält. Nach einem Missverständnis, wobei die Frau ihren Gesprächspartner falsch verstanden hat, dass er nicht nach Temeswar, in die Provinz fahren will, rühmte sie Temeswar wegen ihrer kulturellen Vielfaltigkeit:

Ich kann Ihnen die Versicherung geben, daß unsere Gesellschaft die Kreise weit aufwiegt, mit denen Sie zu verkehren pflegen, und noch Eines muß ich Ihnen sagen, [...] Sie müssen sich sehr anstrengen, und das in jeder Beziehung, in literarischer sowohl, als auch in gesellschaftlicher Beziehung, um bei uns zu reussiren (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/115. 2).

Es wäre auch nicht verblüffend gewesen, wenn sich Sternberg für die weite Stadt der Monarchie nicht hätte engagieren wollen. Eine ähnliche Geschichte ist die des Kulturkritikers, Arztes und Zionisten Max Nordau,² der Mitarbeiter des *Pester Lloyd* war. Nordau³ hatte sich für das außergewöhnlich hohe Gehalt von 400 Gulden pro Monat vom Herausgeber des *Pester Lloyd* als Korrespondent

2 Max Nordau (1849–1923), Arzt, Zionist und kulturkritischer Essayist war zwischen 1867 und 1876 neben seinem Medizinstudium für den *Pester Lloyd* als Feuilletonist tätig. In diesem Amt verweilte er von April bis November 1873 in Wien und belieferte das Organ mit ca. 100 Depeschen, Feuilletons und Berichten. Er publizierte insgesamt cca. 230 Veröffentlichungen, wovon die knappe Hälfte in die Wiener Zeit fiel. Nach Ujvári, Hedvig: *Feuilletons über die Wiener Weltausstellung 1873 im Pester Lloyd*. <http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/Hujvari1.pdf> (Zugriff am 17. 07. 2016)

3 Zur Nordau-Forschung siehe ausführlich die Publikationen von Hedvig Ujvári: *Dekadenzkritik aus der „Provinzstadt“: Max Nordaus Pester Publizistik*. Budapest 2007.

für die Weltausstellung engagieren lassen, die am 1. Mai 1873 in Wien eröffnet wurde. Nordaus Feuilletons erregten das Interesse des Lesepublikums, aber Nordau, karrierebewusst und wienzentriert, schrieb seiner Schwester voller Enttäuschung, bei Hofe lese man die „alte“ und die *Neue Freie Presse*, die Wiener Hauptstadtblätter, nicht aber den *Pester Lloyd*, der sei, so Nordau, ein „Provinzblatt“ (Ehrenpreis 2006. 1800).

Ob Sternberg Temeswar für eine Provinzstadt hält oder nicht, stellt sich aus seinen Artikeln nicht eindeutig heraus, obwohl er mehrmals kritisch auf die Mangelhaftigkeit der Stadt hinweist. In diesen Artikeln stellt Sternberg in humoristisch-satirischem Stil dem Publikum seine Wahrnehmungen über die Stadt vor. An dem Tag seiner Ankunft beschwert er sich über die missliche Situation im Hotel: „Ich schlief in dem Gedanken ein, daß Temesvar Hotels besitze, die kaum die primitivsten Anforderungen erfüllen, welche man an derartige Etablissements zu stellen berechtigt ist“, und darüber, dass das Stubenmädchen kein Französisch sprach: „Ich gab keine Antwort. [...] Das Stubenmädchen hat seit diesem Momente eine solche Scheu vor mir, wie ich vor den Temesvarer Hotels, und das will viel sagen“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/116. 1). Über eine ähnliche Stimmung berichtet er auch in dem nächsten Artikel: „Die Wellen der Bega rauschten unheimlich, der Himmel war grau und düster und ein feiner, kalter Regen begann zu fallen“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/119. 2).

Sternberg wollte das Niveau der *Temesvarer Zeitung* heben; er schrieb Gedichte, Essays, Tagesnotizen und Leitartikel. Zu feierlichen Anlässen, seien sie nun religiös oder politisch, verfasste er vier- bis fünfmal Leitartikel. Ein solcher Artikel ist auch der nächste Beitrag von ihm; betitelt wurde er mit *Temesvarer Plaudereien* und ist an Pfingsten 1871 erschienen. Die Titelwahl weist auf den Charakter des Artikels hin, es geht um ein Straßengespräch, aus dem man wichtige Informationen über den Geschmack der Leser erhält.

Wie gefällt Ihnen die *Temesvarer Zeitung* jetzt?, fragte der Eine.

Nicht schlecht, gab der Andere zur Antwort, nur hätte ich gewünscht, daß sich das Blatt mehr mit den lokalen Interessen beschäftige.

Was fällt Ihnen ein, gab der Zweite zur Antwort, ich mache ihr gerade den Vorwurf, daß sie sich zu viel um solche Lapalien kümmert, die schließlich nur einen sehr geringen Kreis interessieren. Politik ist heute die Losung des Tages und zwar die höhere, und um Anderes kümmere ich mich keinen Pfifferling.

Haben Sie den neuen Redakteur schon gesehen?

Nein, aber man hat mir gesagt...

Was kann man Ihnen gesagt haben? warf der Zweite ein, es gibt nur Eine Zeitung, die diesen Namen verdient und nur Einen Redakteur, von dem es überhaupt der Mühe werth ist, zu reden. Ich habe die Neue freie Presse im Sinne, ich sage Ihnen, ich habe in der Beilage dieses Blattes für Völkerkunde gestern einen Artikel gelesen, einen Artikel, sage ich Ihnen, der schon das Höchste ist, was es gibt. Er heißt: Die Taucherglocke, und da wird erzählt, daß es Menschen gibt, die sich in eine metallene Glocke hineinsetzen, die unten ganz offen ist, und sich so auf den Meeresgrund hinablassen, ohne zu ertrinken.

Sonst wäre es auch eine Dummheit sich hinabzulassen, entgegnete der Zweite.

Ja, aber sie können nicht ertrinken, wegen der komponirten Luft, die das Wasser nicht in die Glocke läßt.

Komprimirte Luft, wollen Sie sagen, warf der Zweite mit einem stolzen Lächeln ein.

So! nun ich werde in der Neuen freien Presse nachsehen, wie es geschrieben ist, denn für mich ist die Neue freie Presse Autorität und nur ihr Redakteur ist ein Redakteur, sonst sind alle Redakteure... Ich fühlte einen mächtigen Reiz, laut aufzulachen, da aber fiel es mir ein, daß der Verehrer der Neuen freien Presse vielleicht auch Recht haben könne, und in Rücksicht auf das Wetter der Pfingstfeiertage bezähmte ich meinen Kitzel (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/122. 2).

In seinen Genrebildern vergisst er auch nicht den literarischen, theatralischen oder musikalischen Geschmack der Menschen in Temeswar zu kritisieren:

So viel steht fest, wenn mich Etwas von Temeswar zu vertreiben fähig wäre, so ist es nicht das schlechte Wasser, nicht die, wie man sagt, ungesunde Luft, nicht Albert Strasser oder einer der sonstigen Vorzüge dieser Stadt, sondern lediglich die musikalische Pest, die hier in bedenklichster Weise grassirt und gegen die man bisher weder Desinfektions- noch sonstige Schutzmittel zur Anwendung gebracht hat. Man hat prophylaktische Mittel gegen die Cholera, die Blattern, ja sogar gegen die Viehseuche; warum überliefert man also eine unschuldige Generation gerade diesem entsetzlichen Übel? Man sagt, daß Temeswar verhältnismäßig eine größere Anzahl geistesgestörter Personen habe, als andere Städte und zerbricht sich den Kopf über die Ursache dieser betrübenden Erscheinung. Ich kenne dieselbe und empfehle meine Entdeckung den Psychiatrien: die Unglücklichen sind durch die Musik verrückt geworden (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/147. 2).

Außer den musikalischen Leiden ärgerte sich der Feuilletonist über das Angebot des Theaters, das er mit harter Kritik beschrieb, indem er zur Verbesserung des Repertoires und zum Gedeihen der Unternehmung eines neuen Theaterbaues ermutigte. In Temeswar wurden nach Sternberg die primitivsten Anforderungen des Geschmacks und Piecen von einer geradezu ekelhaften Frivolität gespielt, wobei überall sittliche Unzulässigkeit, Geschmacklosigkeit und Blödsinn herrscht. Die Rolle wahrhaft künstlerischer Bestrebungen nahmen gymnastische Produktionen ein und auf dem vernachlässigten Boden der darstellenden Kunst machte sich das Unkraut des Volkssängertums in einer Weise breit, welche zu den ernstesten Bedenken Anlass gibt. Solche Produktionen beeinflussen das Publikum; sie bringen es in eine falsche Richtung, sie haben eine verwildernde, verdummende Wirkung auf die Zuschauer, sie „stumpfen den Rest ästhetischen Gefühles ab, dessen sich der Mensch nie ganz entschlagen soll und verbreiten eine Rohheit des Geschmacks und der Sitten, welche geradezu als verderblich betrachtet werden muß“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/167. 1). Das beste und einzige „Korrektiv“ gegen dieses künstlerische Unkraut ist ein gutes Theater, und Temeswar sollte sein Theater gewissermaßen als ein Palladium betrachten, „warum wir dem Gedeihen der Unternehmung eines neuen Theaterbaues aus vollem Herzen Glück wünschen müssen“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/167. 1), betont der neue Redakteur. Er vergaß nie über die Schwächen der Stadt ironisch zu berichten; die Straßen seien schlecht, die Gaslaternen schwach und aus diesem Grund sei es in der Stadt finster. Neben diesem ironischen Stil konzentriert sich der Feuilletonist auch darauf, dass der Leser angesprochen wird. Diese Anrede ist auch ein wichtiges Element in der Struktur; sie leiten die neuen Mikronarrativen ein: „Wenn Sie gerade absolut nichts Besseres zu thun haben, setzen Sie sich ruhig in Ihre Sophaecke und lassen sich ein wenig amüsieren; ich gebe Ihnen das Versprechen, so wenig langweilig zu sein, als dieses einem Feuilletonisten von ein wenig Styl und Scharfsinn nur möglich ist“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1872/199. 1). Der Feuilletonist erstellt durch seine ständige Anwesenheit den Zusammenhang zwischen den Plaudereien, den unterschiedlichen und ausschweifenden Geschichten, also den sog. Mikronarrativen, und so entsteht aus diesen Serien eine Makronarrative (Tóth 2003. 220). Das verbindende Element ist in diesem Falle Temeswar, das der neue Redakteur für sich selbst langsam entdeckt, und die Leser betrachten diese Erfahrungen aus seiner Perspektive. Dieses selbstreflexive Verhalten des Feuilletonisten gehört auch zu den Grundmerkmalen einer Plauderei. Seine regelmäßigen Spaziergänge in der Stadt ermöglichten ihm eine neue positive Sichtweise, die er auch zugestand:

Ich hatte mich nämlich bisher immer der Ansicht hingegeben, daß in Temesvar die Welt allenthalben mit Brettern verschlagen ist und erkannte erst jetzt zu meiner Beschämung, daß dieselbe wirklich offen sei und

daß man faktisch vom Ende der Vorstadt Fabrik bis zu dem der Josefstadt gehen können, ohne irgendwo mit der Nase an das Ende der Welt zu stoßen, von wo man die Füße in das leere Nichts hinabhängen lassen kann (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1873/154. 1).

Die Bega mit ihren romantischen Ufern, ihren prachtvollen Weidenbäumen und der ganzen pittoresken Szenerie wurde positiv beschrieben: „Ich war, wie das an schönen Sommerabenden üblich, einigermaßen elegisch gestimmt und deklamirte leise Göthe's Abendlied“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1873/154. 1). Durch diese „verborgenbleibende Eingeweihtseins-Vorstellung“ der Peripherie gehört die Kleinstadt, im Gegensatz zu den großstädtisch-hauptstädtischen, zu der homogenisierenden Welt der Metropole, zu den charakteristischen Gebilden Mitteleuropas, behauptet István Fried. Die Kleinstädte besitzen teils hinsichtlich der Lebensqualität, teils hinsichtlich der sich in der Zeit ereignenden Geschehnisse, zahlreiche ähnliche Merkmale. Sie sind beispielweise die fast identische Stadtstruktur mit den einander ähnlichen Theatergebäuden, die aneinander erinnernden Formen der Bahnstationen und der Bahnhofrestaurants und die Platzmusik der Garnisonsstädte am Sonntagvormittag (Fried 2001. 125).

Die Kleinstadt ist Zeuge vieler Ereignisse, die sich dann in den Plaudereien zu einem epischen Geflecht entwickeln. Die Eröffnung des neuen Theaters gab dem Feuilletonisten Anlass, seine Ansichten mit den Lesern zu teilen, und die Kritik darüber verschwand nicht aus den Plaudereien der *Temesvarer Zeitung*. Sternberg beschuldigte die Direktion wegen des schwachen Besuchs im Theater: „Wenn man sich Tragödin die nichts taugen von Dem und Jenem aufkrotzyren läßt, wenn man bei den Besetzungen von Rollen, alles Andere eher als die Individualität der Darsteller zu Rathe zieht, so ist der Mißerfolg unausbleiblich“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1875/273. 1). Nur eine rasche und gründliche Umkehr kann dem Theater noch helfen, „den Mängeln des Personals muß abgeholfen, die Rollen müssen nach einem raisonnablen System vertheilt und statt leerer Reklame müssen positive Leistungen geboten werden“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1875/273. 1), behauptet Sternberg. Die weiteren Defizite der Stadt wurden in den *Temesvarer Schattenbildern* verfasst. Die vier Teile der Stadt (Festung, Fabrik, Josefstadt und die beiden Meierhöfe) sollten einander näher gerückt sein werden, weil sich so kein ordentliches Ganzes bildet. Weitere Mängel wurden ans Licht gebracht:

Die nationalen Gegensätze und der abnehmende Wohlstand der Bevölkerung theilen diese auch noch in so viele Klassen, daß an ein Aufblühen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens noch lange nicht zu denken ist. Hiezu kömmt noch die großartige Klatschsucht und der liebe Hochmuth, Eigenschaften, die in jeder Provinzstadt zu finden sind, die mir aber nirgends so scharf ausgeprägt vorkamen, als hier (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1878/ 23. 1).

Einige negative Aspekte wiederholten sich, wie der Zustand der Straßen oder die Schwäche der Beleuchtung; die Gebäude im Zentrum wurden aber wegen ihrer Schönheit gepriesen. Im Innern der Häuser sieht es zuweilen auch traurig aus; man trifft oft hölzerne Stiegen, schmutzige Gänge, überhaupt Unreinlichkeit an. Die Gespräche und Handlungen der Leute unter sich beobachtend herrscht eine unglaubliche Ungeniertheit, die oftmals an Zynismus streift. Auch der große Anteil der Bettler verdirbt das Bild der Stadt und rückt sie dem Status einer Provinzstadt näher.

Der Domplatz hat auch keine Anziehungskraft; kahl und nackt bietet er sich dem Auge des Beschauers dar, wenn nicht gerade Markt ist. Die Statuen dürften nicht so vernachlässigt werden; sie würden mehr Aufmerksamkeit verdienen, steht in der Plauderei. Altmodisch scheinen die Omnibusse, „diese Vehikel, ein Überbleibsel besserer Zeiten passen aber in die Jetztzeit ebensowenig, wie Folterinstrumente, mit denen sie Ähnlichkeiten besitzen sollen“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1878/23. 1). Die Kälte im Theater (auf der Bühne und im Zuschauerraum) wurde auch erwähnt, „ein Umstand, der ganz geeignet ist, einem den Theaterbesuch gründlich zu verleiden“.

Der „Skribler“ der Plauderei berichtete über einen einigen Platz positiv in Temeswar: über den Stadtpark, den die Einheimischen nicht genug schätzen: „Ich kenne die Umgebungen von Wien und Graz genau, die reizende Margarethen-Insel bei Budapest, die Moldau-Inseln bei Prag, den Brünner Augarten, ich muß aber aufrichtig bekennen, daß der hiesige Stadtpark sehr hübsche Partien hat“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1878/23. 1). Über den Park wurde auch früher von Sternberg geschrieben; er sah ihn als die einzige Oase in der Stadt: „Temesvar wäre faktisch zu einem bleibenden Aufenthalt ungeeignet, wenn außerhalb seiner dumpfen Mauern und schlammigen Gräben, mitten in einer Staubwüste, nicht dieser reizende kleine Fleck wäre, wo Natur und Kunst ihre schönsten Reize entfalten“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1872/148. 1).

Ähnliche kleinstädtische Reaktionen beschrieb auch Adolf (Ötvös) Silberstein im *Neuen Freien Lloyd* unter dem Titel *Federzeichnungen aus der Provinz*, worauf Sternberg in einem Artikel der *Temesvarer Zeitung* reagierte. Bei der Beantwortung der Vorwürfe von Silberstein versuchte der neue Redakteur eine Ehrenrettung der Provinz zu verfassen, in der sich seine Sympathie zur Provinz eindeutig auszeichnete. Silberstein sprach über arrogante, ehrgeizige Provinzler und die Damen wurden von ihm in einer keineswegs galanten Weise vorgestellt: „Auf der Straße erwidern sie kaum den Gruß, der ihnen mit tiefabgezogenem Hute entgegengebracht wird. Aber für treue Liebe ist die Provinzfrau umso empfänglicher“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/185. 1). Über die Presseverhältnisse der Provinz hatte er noch eine schlechtere Meinung: „Die Stadt darf sich ohne Zuthun des Redakteurs nicht amüsiren. Er muß Bälle arrangiren, bei Konzerten aushelfen, den ersten feierlichen und den letzten humoristischen Toast ausbringen; er tanzt

wie ein Gott, konversirt wie ein Franzose, singt wie ein Wachtel und trinkt wie ein Schwamm“. Um diese Lästerungen zu mildern suchte Sternberg für jeden Vorwurf einen positiven Satz über die Provinzler, und zwar dass er das Glück gehabt habe, in der Provinz so anständige, bescheidene und wirklich anspruchslose Menschen kennen zu lernen, wie er sie nur in den großen Städten gefunden habe. Die scharfen Kritiken behandeln allgemeinmenschliche Eigenschaften, die sowohl in der Provinz, als auch in der Welt passieren könnten, meint Sternberg. Was die provinziellen Presseverhältnisse betrifft, verzichtete er auf diese Ehre, die Silberstein aufzählt; als eventuelles Beispiel nannte er seinen Konkurrenten Albert Strasser. Die Temesvarer Damen verteidigte der neue Redakteur mit der Begründung: „Ich bin der festen Ansicht, daß der Verfasser diese Lästerungen nicht niedergeschrieben hätte, so lange er sich unter den schönen Augen der hiesigen Damen befand, ein neuer Beweis der Macht derselben, wenn es eines solchen noch bedurft hätte“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1871/185. 1). In der Ablehnung dieser „frevelhaften Blasphemien“ war Sternbergs Standpunkt eindeutig wahrnehmbar; Temeswar sei keine gewöhnliche Provinzstadt, wie er später die Stadt nannte. Als Sternberg 1886 nach Temeswar zurückkehrte, begrüßte er sein altes Publikum mit den folgenden Worten:

Temeswar ist keine gewöhnliche Provinzstadt; dasselbe ist noch heute ein Emporium der Intelligenz für einen großen Landesteil und es besitzt eine verhältnismäßig große Anzahl ausgezeichneter Männer, die sich der größten Hochachtung des Landes erfreuen. Um den Beifall solcher Männer und um denjenigen eines so intelligenten Publikums zu ringen, wie es das Temesvarer ist, ist wohl ein Ziel der Mühen und kräftigen Strebens wert (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1886/186. 1).

„Temeswar ist eine kleine Großstadt“⁴

Am Anfang der untersuchten Periode der *Temesvarer Zeitung* wurden auch solche Feuilletons (Plaudereien, Schattenbilder, Bilder und Geschichten) veröffentlicht, in denen Temeswar als Großstadt bezeichnet wurde. Die Stadt bestand damals aus der inneren Stadt oder Festung und aus den Vorstädten, und hatte eine Bevölkerungszahl von 32.000 und einigen hundert Seelen. Obwohl die kritischen Stimmen über den Mangel der Stadt nicht fehlten, tauchte immer öfter der Wille auf, aus dem Status der Provinzstadt herauszukommen, um eine Großstadt zu werden. Das rege Leben und Treiben sowohl auf materiellem, als auch auf

⁴ Ein geistreicher Feuilletonist eines hauptstädtischen Blattes machte diese Aussage, als er sich in Temeswar befand. In: Temesvarer Bilder und Geschichten. *Temesvarer Zeitung* Nr. 179 vom 6. August 1882. S. 1.

geistigem Gebiete in der Stadt sowie der Ausbau der Eisenbahnlinie Temeswar – Orsova legitimierte diesen Wunsch (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1872/15. 2). Neben den Fehlentwicklungen und Schwächen der Stadt, die die Einheimischen leichter wahrnehmen, existieren in der Hauptstadt des Banats auch solche Annehmlichkeiten, wie in den anderen Großstädten.

In der täglichen Gewohnheit unserer Umgebung, sind wir zu sehr geneigt, anzunehmen, es müsse Alles so und nicht anders sein, wie es eben ist und der klare Blick des außer Schutzweite stehenden unbefangenen Auges ist uns so fremd, daß unter tausend Temesvarer Einwohnern nicht leicht zehn zu finden sein dürften, die es sich nehmen ließen, *Temesvar sei die zweite Stadt des Landes* [Hervorhebung von mir – J. E.] (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1872/247. 1).

Den Gästen schien die Platzmusik in der Stadt großstädtisch zu sein, und sie stimmten alle darin überein, dass dies keine Stadt in Ungarn mehr zu bieten vermag. In den nächsten Jahren waren die Meinungen der Einheimischen und der Fremden über die Stadt gemischt: Man lobte Temeswar wegen der Unzahl der Brücken; es wurde „kleinwienerisches Elysium“ genannt, und die Kritik des Theaters konnte auch nicht fehlen:

Als ich noch im Temesvarer Theater so manche Vorstellung verschlafte, Pardon verbrachte, so war dies keine Wonne. Auch bei uns in Budapest geht es nicht besser, die deutsche Kunst wandert im Harlekin- und Pollichinellgewande der leichtgeschürzten französischen Operette und das neueste Offenbach'sche Ausstattungsstück macht allabendlich ein leeres Haus (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1877/252. 1).

Im Vergleich zu der ungarischen Hauptstadt scheint der großstädtische Status von Temeswar verschwunden zu sein, wobei Budapest immer das nachgeehrte Vorbild für die Banater Hauptstadt blieb. Die heitere Geselligkeit sogar die französische Leichtlebigkeit in Budapest wirkte anziehend auf die Bewohner im östlichen Teil der Monarchie:

Budapest hat seit den letzten zwei Jahren überraschende Fortschritte gemacht und ist eine wahrhaft königliche Stadt geworden. [...] Wir können weder ein solches Pflaster, noch eine solche Beleuchtung, noch auch solche Prachtbauten haben, wie die Hauptstadt, aber ein Beispiel können wir uns an deren rührigem Streben auf allen Gebieten nehmen und eifrig bemüht sein (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1875/180. 1).

Die öffentlichen Lokale und Spazierplätze sind in Budapest immer überfüllt, während in Temeswar der herrliche Stadtpark, der keiner hauptstädtischen Anlage an Schönheit und geschmackvolleren Anlage nachsteht, „wenn nicht eine Temperatur herrscht, um Eier in der Luft zu backen“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1875/180. 1), verödet steht. Nolens volens nimmt man den krassen Unterschied zwischen den „Großstädten“ auch dadurch wahr, indem Budapest als „Oben“ bezeichnet wurde.

Die Leute dort Oben haben ein frischeres, lebensmuthigeres Naturell, als wir hier im Banate und daher ihr Leben angenehm genießen, während wir hier faktisch vegetiren und die Langweile des Daseins thatlos über uns ergehen lassen (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1875/180. 1).

Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass diese Aussagen über Temeswar nur Halbwahrheiten beinhalten und sie hängen stark davon ab, aus welcher Perspektive sie in Betracht gezogen werden. Budapest gehörte am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und in den Jahrzehnten um 1900 zu den am raschesten wachsenden europäischen Großstädten. Diese Tatsache wurde auch in der Plauderei über den Vergleich von Budapest mit Temeswar bestätigt, indem die ungarische Hauptstadt gelobt wurde:

Wo sich früher unscheinbare ein- und zweitstöckige Häuser erhoben, da erstrecken sich jetzt die herrlichsten Paläste in unabsehbarer Reihe, die Radialstraße durchschneidet das Herz der Stadt mit einem breiten Bande von Prachtbauten, der Corso auf dem Donauquai bietet mit seiner prachtvollen Perspektive des Ofner Gebirges, seinem Asphaltpflaster, das an Glätte den Parketten des elegantesten Salons gleichkommt, seiner feenhaften Beleuchtung und der Menge schöner und eleganter Damen, einen Anblick, wie ihn, dem einstimmigen Urtheile erfahrener Reisender zufolge, *keine zweite Stadt Europa's* [Hervorhebung von mir – J. E.] aufzuweisen hat (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1875/180. 1).

Budapest hatte um 1875 ca. 300.000 Bewohner und innerhalb von zwanzig Jahren, d. h. von 1890 bis 1910, stieg die Zahl der Bewohner fast auf das Doppelte, von einer halben auf fast eine Million. Diese rasche Entwicklung der Stadt wurde von Vilmos Heiszler „amerikanisches Tempo“ genannt (Csáky 2010. 277).

Am Ende der 1870er-Jahre vermehrten sich die Ereignisse, die Anlass gaben, stolz auf die Geschichte der Region und Stadt zurückzublicken und sie zu vergrößern. Es geht um zwei bedeutende Angelegenheiten: Die „Centennariumfeier der Reinkorporirung des Banates“ und das Jubiläum der Stadt Temeswar. Das von den Türken zurückeroberte Banat wurde vor hundert Jahren an Ungarn an-

geschlossen und seit seiner „Reinkorporierung“ wurde die Region wegen seines Reichtums „die Kornkammer Ungarns“:

Das Banat wird wieder das werden, was es war, der reiche Boden einer arbeitsfrohen, intelligenten und patriotischen Bevölkerung, welcher die auf ihn verwendete Mühe hundert- und tausendfältig belohnt und auf welchem jeder arbeitswillige Mensch sein reichliches Auskommen finden wird (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1879/93. 1).

In den nächsten ausgewählten Artikeln häufen sich die positiven Selbstbeschreibungen, in denen das Banat und dessen Hauptstadt Temeswar als „Spiegelbild des Makrokosmos des multilingualen und plurikulturellen Königreichs“ (Csáky 2010. 285) fungieren. „Temesvar sei eine kleine Großstadt“ und „in der That dürfte es vielleicht kaum eine zweite Provinzstadt in Ungarn geben, in der sich das eigentlich städtische Element so konzentriert zeigt“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1882/179. 1), wo sich der Stempel des Provinzmäßigen fast gar nicht erkennen lässt, behauptet ein Feuilletonist eines hauptstädtischen Blattes.

Während der fast hundertjährigen Existenz dieser Stadt ist es den Vorfahren gelungen, „Temesvar auf jene Stufe zu bringen, daß es stolz sein kann, zu den ersten Städten unseres Vaterlandes [Hervorhebung von mir – J. E.] gezählt zu werden“ (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1882/190. 2). In der Stimmung dieser Festlichkeit wurden noch weitere Artikel veröffentlicht, die sich mit dem Selbstbild der Stadt beschäftigen:

Temesvar kann mit Recht stolz auf seine Vergangenheit sein. Von wilden Kämpfen aller Art umtost, von Waffenlärm und dem Ansturm der Nationalitäten, von einer Bevölkerung der heterogensten Art in Sprache, Sitten und Aspirationen: Zivilisation, Fortschritt, Patriotismus und sich allezeit als unerschütterlicher und unermüdlicher Kulturträger bewahrt, als vorgeschobenster und fester Punkt europäischer Bildung in dem brausenden Meere der Barbarei, das es von allen Seiten umtobte (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1882/190. 2).

Die Heterogenität der Bevölkerung, die Mehrzahl der deutsch sprechenden Stadtbewohner waren typische Charakteristika des Königreichs Ungarn, des „Mikrokosmos der großen zentraleuropäischen Region“ (Csáky 2010. 285). Auch im Falle von Temeswar herrschte, wie in anderen Städten des Königreichs Ungarn eine patriotische Haltung, die mehrmals gelobt wurde. Wie auch aus den Artikeln der untersuchten Zeitung wahrnehmbar ist, identifizierten sich die Nichtungarischsprachigen, vor allem die deutsch sprechende Bevölkerung mit der polyglotten Stadt, mit ihrem Komitat, mit dem Ort, an dem sie lebten

und bewährten sich als ungarländische Patrioten, obwohl sie sich in mehreren kulturellen Kommunikationsräumen bewegten (Csáky 2010. 285). Ähnlich wie in den anderen urbanen Milieus (Preßburg, Czernowitz, Triest) der heterogenen zentraleuropäischen Region trafen auch in Temeswar „unterschiedliche verbale und nonverbale Kommunikationsräume aufeinander, bildeten Enklaven, verschränkten sich aber auch, gingen ineinander über und trugen zu einer dynamischen, performativen, hybriden neuen städtischen Kultur bei“ (Csáky 2010. 307). Als Folge solcher Veränderungen im urbanen Milieu und steter Kontakte der anwesenden Nationen blühte Temeswar schön auf, überflügelte viele andere Städte, was dazu führte, dass Temeswar mit vollem Rechte die zweite Stadt Ungarns genannt wurde:

Man braucht nur einen aufmerksamen Blick auf seine Bevölkerung zu werfen, um zu erkennen, daß man sich *in einer Stadt von vollkommen modern-europäischem Charakter* [Hervorhebung von mir – J. E.] befindet, wo kein Anspruch auf irgend ein geistiges Bedürfnis, auf irgend eine Errungenschaft der Kultur unbefriedigt bleibt (*Temesvarer Zeitung* 1882/213. 1).

Interessanterweise erschien in diesen Jahren im ungarischen Tagesblatt *Délmagyarországi Lapok* dasselbe Großstadtbild über Temeswar, wenn auch nur im Traum. Im Feuilletonteil wurde eine Plauderei mit dem Titel *Száz év múlva* [In hundert Jahren] und Untertitel *Olyan „Temesvári séta“-féle* [Eine Art Temesvarer Spaziergänge]⁵ veröffentlicht, in dem der Mitarbeiter der Zeitung Miklós Lőwy über seinen Traum berichtet, als er einem Gast aus Budapest die „bekannteste und berühmteste Stadt Südungarns“ Temeswar zeigte. Auf den Straßen gab es prächtiges Pflaster, die Wagen verkehren ohne Lärm und die Prachtbauten bewunderten den hauptstädtischen Gast. Lőwy konnte dem Fremden eine kulturell, wirtschaftlich und wissenschaftlich auf hohem Niveau stehende Stadt vorstellen, wo die Bibliotheken zu jeder Zeit voll sind, wo die Südungarische Wissenschaftliche Akademie seit Langem existiert, wo ein ständiges ungarisches Theater ist und wo mehrere ungarische Tagesblätter und wissenschaftliche Zeitschriften lebten. Ob diese Wunschliste in hundert oder tausend Jahren verwirklicht wird, bleibt eine offene Frage.⁶

5 *Száz év múlva* [In hundert Jahren]. *Olyan „Temesvári séta“-féle* [Eine Art Temesvarer Spaziergänge]. In: *Délmagyarországi Lapok* Nr. 6 v. 9. Jänner 1881. 1.

6 „Most attól tartok, hogy ilyen sajtóságos álomról szóló cikk fölé a »Száz év múlva« cím helyett nem jobban illenék-e ez a cím: »Ezer év múlva.«.” *Délmagyarországi Lapok* Nr. 6 v. 9. Jänner 1881. 1.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Erika Bence–Ferenc Németh. 2016.
Individual and Society.
Pécs: Ethosz–Virágmandula.

Review by

Tünde NAGY

Sapientia University

Faculty of Economics, Socio-Human Sciences and Engineering, Miercurea Ciuc

Department of Human Sciences

ngtunde@gmail.com

The present volume is a collection of studies divided in three parts encompassing topics concerning the relation between individual and society, mostly in a Vojvodinian context. The first part, entitled *Phenomena in Education*, includes papers that shed light on educational phenomena both from a historical perspective and from a current methodological point of view. Thus, the first paper describes the regulations that existed in Vojvodinian schools at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries, giving an insight into the regulations of the Municipal High School in Nagybercsek regarding the students' conduct not only within school premises but also in public. The regulations that set the standards of behaviour for the students reflected a system of values that were deeply present in the social milieu and the society of that time, they being the bearers and mediators of these forms of behaviour. While the second paper handles a different topic, tackling the notions of demon and demonic and the way they were introduced and understood by Geiza Farkas, a writer as well as a theoretical scientist and philosopher (in his 1923 work *Démonok közt* [Among Demons], Geiza Farkas attributes a demonic character to both natural and social forces), the last paper in this section takes the reader back to educational issues, proposing a teaching model that has been applied to teaching Hungarian as a first language in primary schools in Vojvodina. This model, seen as complementary to the official syllabus, is based on an interdisciplinary teaching method that focuses on the interrelations between disciplines, sciences, and art, and that, at the same time, gives students the possibility to express their creativity (by actively involving them in the learning process, e.g. through drawing, singing, writing poems, etc.).

Teaching genre-related concepts to students involves, for example, familiarizing them with different types of (literary) texts, such as songs, hymns and elegies, their specifics, the contexts in which they were created, and also the relation to other genres and disciplines.

The second part of the volume, bearing the title *Intercultural Reflections*, reveals how the works of poets and authors of the 19th and 20th centuries, among them Petőfi's poems, Ferenc Herczeg's works, especially his travelogue *Szelek szárnyán* [On the Wings of the Wind], Kálmán Mészáros's feuilleton, and *Az István-szoba* [The Stephen Room], were received by the contemporary critics and readers. From the writings, we learn that translating Petőfi's poems initiated by Jovan Jovanović Zmaj in 1855 and then followed by many others soon became a common practice among translators in Serbia. The popularity of Petőfi's poems were due to the fact that, on the one hand, the social and patriotic themes present in his works complied with the growing patriotism of the so-called Nova omladina (New Serbian Youth), while, on the other hand, the translations led to the appearance of the Serbian folk epic poem, a genre that Serbian literature was lacking at that time. Petőfi's poems went through a process of folklorization, and, while their popularity in Serbia varied over the years, the ones expressing revolutionary ideas continued to be appreciated whenever they served the general political atmosphere.

Ferenc Herczeg was an acclaimed writer of the first half of the 20th century; his works, however, were not always recognized as such. Once nominated for the Nobel Prize in literature for his novel *Az élet kapuja* [The Gate to Life], due to his origins (born to a German middle-class family) and his activities with Hungarian revisionists, he was accused of irredentism and got expelled from the Hungarian Writers' Association. His works became blacklisted, including his travelogue *Szelek Szárnyán*, which was degraded and considered as a shallow piece of work without any poetical depth by his contemporaries. According to the authors, however, the literary value and complexity of Herczeg's work was overlooked by the critics of his time, *Szelek Szárnyán* being not only a travelogue but also an album of fine art/breviary created in the spirit of Art Nouveau, a genuine masterpiece of Hungarian Secession.

The next paper analyses the writings of Kálmán Mikszáth, another well-known writer of the 19th–20th centuries, focusing especially on the social, historical, and public references in his works, including the well-known novel *Különös Házasság* [Strange Marriage], his feuilleton: *Az István-szoba* [The Stephen Room], and also short stories. As is revealed in the memoirs of his wife, Ilona Mauks, Kálmán Mikszáth came up with many of his motifs and plots while spending time at coffee houses and table societies, often frequented by writers of that time. While many of his anecdotes were influenced by the members of the table society and only partly corresponded to the truth, they often have a Vojvodinian reference

and as such are of significant historical value. Finally, the last paper in this section takes the reader on a journey through historical novels written over the past centuries. It points out the intertextual character of the late-20th- and the 21st-century novels that, by breaking the chronological order of events, present and recreate facts as horizons and historical characters as horizon alternatives, leading to a constant dialogue with the 19th-century historical fiction. Worth to mention are, for example, János Házy's works that create a dialogue with the Jókai tradition as regards the presence of a broken time structure, characteristic of Jókai's novels; also, the title of one his works, called *Dzsigerdilen* (the heart's delight) [1996], can be found with Jókai in different variants (e.g. in *Az utolsó budai pasa* [The Last Pasha of Buda] [1859], *dzsigerdilen* is a heart-warming experience; in *Fráter György* [Friar George] [1893], Buda is called *Dzsigerdilen*; in *Szép Mihály* [Pretty Michal] [1877], the beautiful slave's or wife's name is *Dzsigerdila*). László Márton's trilogy called *Testvériség* [Fraternity] published between 2001 and 2003 gives an interesting account of how historical experience is created by textual-organizational methods – thus, apart from the fact that this work is complex in itself (the parts not only continue but also write and read each other), it can also be considered as a rewritten *Kártigám* [Kartigam] (an 18th-century novel by Ignác Mészáros, based on the translation of the German novel *Menander* by David Christian Walther) and as fitting into the category of late baroque heroic novels.

The final set of papers belongs to the section entitled *Language and Identity*. The recurrent topics of this part are feelings of periphery and loss, demystification and disillusionment with the concept of homeland, the notion of border as a political, cultural, and linguistic separation. The drastic border alternations and change of political power after the Trianon Peace Treaty as well as the escalation of the Balkan crisis in the 1990s resulted in borderline situations and feelings of disappointment and hopelessness, reflected in the Hungarian literature of Vojvodina in the 20th century. An example is *Határregény* [Border Novel], a family novel written by Erzsébet Juhász, relating the story of the Patarcsics family, whose lives are deeply affected by the change of the political power after the Trianon Peace Treaty. The types of borders present in the novel are not only political but also cultural and linguistic, and they cause identity crisis that the members of the family try to overcome either by travelling (travelling receives a great significance in the novel as a way of bridging borders) or by isolating themselves from the society, building their own border, an emotional one. Feelings of nostalgia and at the same time the loss of the illusion of homeland and of multicultural equality (both the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Yugoslavia are interpreted as prisons of nations), the lack of culture and perspectives are often evoked through the use of metaphors (like the metaphor of travelling and that of the traveller (e.g. the figure of Kornél Esti as the alter-ego of fleeing and transborder), the metaphor of the sea and of the train, etc.). Among the literary works that touch upon these

topics are *Kalamáris* [Ink Pot] by Ildikó Lovas, *Brikettregény* [Briquette Novel] by István Apró, *Angol Pázsit* [English Lawn] by Miklós Hornyik, Dezső Kosztolányi's novels and poems, to name only a few. It is this time that the canal-novel appears as a specific literary form, introducing the topic of canal-building, as the attempt to bring change into the destiny and culture of nations (e.g. Károly Molter's *Tibold Márton* [Márton Tibold], János Herceg's *Régi dolgainkról* [On Our Old Things], and many others).

Despite the attempt to highlight all aspects of this book, this seems to be an almost impossible task, taking into consideration the variety of topics it covers and the vast array of information it offers. The papers give a valuable insight into the social, political, and cultural aspects of the 19th–20th century Vojvodina alongside present experiences and impressions and also raise current issues of great relevance. While the themes covered are complex in nature, the book is written in such a manner that is easily understandable and thoroughly enjoyable.

**István Lakatos. 2017. *Siculia*.
Translation, Epilogue and notes by Levente Pap.
Iași: Vasiliana '98 Publishing**

Review by

Zsuzsa TAPODI

Sapientia University

Faculty of Economics, Socio-Human Sciences and Engineering, Miercurea Ciuc

Department of Human Sciences

tapodizsuzsa@yahoo.com

By the courtesy of Levente Pap, readers now have the opportunity to hold a primary work of historical and cultural-historical significance in their hands. The author of the Latin text is István Lakatos, the vicar from Csíkkozmás, whose work entitled *Siculia delineata et descripta accuratius quam hactenus* survived as a manuscript from 1702. The beautifully implemented bilingual book contains the text in original, its Hungarian translation, a 22-page evaluation and explanatory epilogue, a bibliography, and an appendix. The latter embraces a copy of the pages in which Lakatos introduces the Szekler script and two maps edited by him: one representing Hunnia with the supposed Hun coat of arms and the other one showing Szeklerland with the old sun–moon coat of arms as well as the newer version of it with the hand holding a sword. The only objection to the otherwise demanding edition is against the size of the attached maps. Due to the interesting and up-to-date topic, both maps would have deserved at least a full-page representation, especially since they also show meridians and longitudes at the level of today's scientific standards.

The bilingual edition can be regarded as a positive element that may even help language acquisition, for when teaching modern European languages a Latin-based system has always established the pattern used. As far as vocabulary is concerned, one can easily recognize in each modern language – in our case, the Hungarian language – the cultural contents borrowed from Latin.

The text came into being in a highly controversial period of the Hungarian statehood, namely at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. When the Turkish occupation ended and the Principality of Transylvania became part of the Habsburg Empire, a new political and cultural situation was created; it was the

Counter-Reformation in the first place to gain power again. In order to sort out possession relationships, both secular and clerical organizations were interested in looking up old documents that proved property rights. Therefore, one considers this period as the beginning of the Hungarian scientific history writing.

“It is true, though, that Jesuit history writers in the 16th and 17th centuries were almost always only interested in the history of the order/society, and it was the aspect of salvation that they were mainly concerned with, and not source criticism. The *Litterae Annuae* (yearbooks of the Jesuit order) mostly served as a propaganda of the order/society and to strengthen internal cohesion.” – as stated by the publisher in the study at the end of the book (Pap: 164), István Lakatos’s dissertation belongs to these types of works. According to its title, it promises to unfold the history of the Szeklers starting from the early beginnings, from the Hun descent up to the author’s present. Yet, the study turns out to be far more about Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Transylvania with a special eye on recent Jesuit history.

The text contains valuable literacy materials. The *annales* was introduced by the Roman *auctors* and was the most beloved genre for writing history in the Middle Ages too:

The events were listed in chronological order, yet the main goal was not to render the historical facts accurately and unbiased but to prove and show the continuous ascension of God’s folk, the *civitas Dei*. (...) The great figures of Transylvanian Humanist historiography felt it was more important for the writer to explain things and make a judgment about historical events and people than just render mere facts. At the same time, it was important to them to highlight the fact that committing a sin was always to be followed by some sort of punishment. (Pap 166)

In the Baroque era, historiography was regarded as an assistant branch of the science of oration and polemics. Counter-Reformation took great advantage of the tools of persuasion. Historical works that are born under such circumstances can be seen as the late fruits of Humanism, which go back to the Middle Ages. Translator-publisher Levente Pap also underlines the fact that István Lakatos’s concept of writing history is rather eclectic. We find traces of the moralizing view that has its roots in the historiography of the Middle Ages throughout the text, good and bad examples follow each other, into which the writer interweaves the history of the Transylvanian religious conflicts up to his present. There are also instances of the baroque quest for effect and mystification that can be noticed in the words used. According to Lakatos, the Battle of Mohács in 1526 had fatal consequences as far as the Church was concerned because several dozens of high priests lost their lives, which resulted in “the monsters of the various heretics

attacking Hungary and Transylvania right away as boars and bears would” (Lakatos: 35). The negative examples are of course provided by the Protestant missionaries and princes who filled people’s souls with *the poison of heresy*. In the old priest’s work, the ideological hints are sometimes hidden, sometimes open. The heretics only feared Cardinal György Martinuzzi – Lakatos writes –, but he “died in Alvinc, near Gyulafehérvár in 1551 as a consequence of Castaldo’s – the leader of Ferdinand’s army – machinations” (Lakatos: 37). As Lakatos wrote in the period of the Habsburg restoration, he handled the obvious fact – the murder had been carried out at the order of the Emperor – very carefully. The funniest utterance for today’s readers is that Péter Petrovics had ordered the torturing of the Catholic priests, which resulted in many of them getting married: “the priests had not only their crown/hair removed but were also stripped off their skin and flesh. Terrified by such cruelty, many rather chose to get married and change religion” (Lakatos: 41).

Levente Pap’s explanation is as follows:

The Catholic clergy was in a disadvantageous situation indeed, yet to state that it was because of Petrovics that Catholic priests who had got bored of celibacy chose to get married, is a white lie. It was not due to the pressure of the Protestants that the marriage of priests became widespread, especially in Szeklerland, where because there was no bishop, discipline had become loose, and thus priests decided to try the adventurous reality of married life themselves. (Pap: 170)

It is the dialectics of sinning and punishment that prevails in the narrative of banning the Jesuits from the 24th of December 1588:

Therefore, God did not endure to see the many sins and unjust laws without punishment. When on the fifth day of the celebrations around Saint John the Apostle the Fathers were ordered to withdraw to Kolozsvár, there was a tempest of such magnitude that it threw off the roof of the church in which the exiles’ decree had been proclaimed, and it also destroyed the chimney of the principle’s house and part of the bridge in Gyulafehérvár. (Lakatos: 53)

Governor János Géczi, who banned the Jesuits from this region on the 3rd of January 1589, “surrendered his wretched soul, moaning and sighing: Alas, I who swore loyalty to my King, István, I betrayed him!” (Lakatos: 55). And, finally, not only the chancellor but all the other opponents of the Catholic faith got punished as deserved. The chancellor’s wife, who “had madly raised her husband” against the Catholics and had been one of the masterminds behind his misdeeds, was

found guilty of adultery and thus “transposed her wretched life for an even more miserable death” (Lakatos: 55). The Prince of Transylvania, István Bocskai, who had exiled the monks from the country, received his well-deserved punishment: *terrible edema* caused his death at the age of fifty.

There are also positive examples to be found in the argumentative text, naming those who protected and spread Catholic belief. The general view of humanist history writing is also to be traced in the text, especially when placing historical and geographical facts into temporal and spatial context. Beyond the didactic intent, we can find the same humanist and thus ancient view on history. Knowing the ancient authors and using them as source is yet another feature of humanist writing. In the study at the end of the book, Levente Pap draws our attention to the fact that we should by no means skip stately knowledge features in the *Siculia*. Next to rendering events concerning the Church, Lakatos highlights other fields of science too, since in order to get to know Szeklerland well one needs to present its natural and climatic characteristics as well. Lakatos’s description of geographical, mineral, vegetal and zoological, and ethnographic phenomena became a criterion of academic history writing in the 18th century. The work ends with a presentation of imagological value: “Szeklerland bears sharp-minded people, who get accustomed to everything quite easily, especially if they are driven into the right direction. They are inherently brave and strong, mostly of high stature, work-loving and strict in terms of morality (...)” (Lakatos: 93).

The colourfulness in the style praises both the author and the translator as well. Thus, the volume can not only be read by specialists in the field but also by laypeople who are interested in ancient history.

Csanád Bodó. 2016.
Nyelvi ideológiák és különbségek
[Language Ideologies and Differences].
Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Institute
for Research on National Minorities.

Review by

Noémi FAZAKAS

Department of Applied Linguistics
Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania
galfnoemi@gmail.com

Over the past several decades, the study of language ideologies and attitudes towards languages has become increasingly popular in Hungarian sociolinguistic research. Several authors examine the issues of stereotypes, myths, and superstitions on language and language use, which exist in the collective consciousness of speakers of the Hungarian language about what correct language use is and what does not count as such.

Csanád Bodó's work entitled *Language Ideologies and Differences* attempts to carry out a somewhat different analysis: it discusses theoretical aspects of language ideologies in three sociolinguistic contexts, which he calls the “emblematic” areas of empirical studies. The author moves away from traditional sociolinguistic analyses towards the framework of critical sociolinguistics, in which language differences are seen as discursive projections of social inequalities that function as means to draw the boundaries of certain groups identified as linguistically dissimilar. The book itself aims to be a critique of constructing and maintaining differences, and as such it is about “minorities”. The three contexts the author chooses to discuss are the Hungarian-speaking Moldavian – so-called *Csángó* – population in north-eastern Romania, ideologies addressing the language of women and Roma in Hungary, as well as the differences between the Hungarian language as spoken in Transylvania and Moldavia. The choice of these areas is not aleatory: Csanád Bodó was part of and led several research projects and wrote papers on the topics discussed, and as such this volume can be considered as a synopsis of his scholarly work, in which he reiterates, revisits, and reinterprets

previous studies by bringing them closer to the most recent literature on the topic(s) entailed.

The volume is structured into 9 chapters. Chapter 1 gives an introduction to the study of language ideologies and differences: it starts with the definition of language ideologies in Silverstein's terms: "ideologies about language, or linguistic ideologies, are any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979: 193). The author also outlines the principles that organize the volume: language ideologies function as bridges between discursively interpreted social structures and phenomena of language use; language ideologies can always be attributed to someone; they are diverse and manifold, in which ideologies not always correspond with everyday practice; and, finally, language ideologies can be explicit and implicit, and researching them reveals their functions and the changes in these functions but also makes them "visible". The introductory chapter gives a short overview of the topics and issues examined in the following.

Chapter 2 entitled *Language Ideologies in the Study of Language Varieties* discusses theoretical and methodological aspects of the research of language varieties in the Hungarian scholarly literature, stating that the majority of such analyses has interpreted variety in the context of the "ideology of the standard language" (as defined by Milroy 2001). In the first, more theoretically focused part of the chapter, the author presents an overview of previous sociolinguistic research (mostly within the Labovian paradigm) regarding Hungarian language varieties, on the one hand; on the other, it iterates the critique of such standpoints that build upon the hegemony of the standard language ideology. The second part of the chapter focuses on the discussion of two varieties: the (zs) variety in Moldavia and the (-A)sz variety of *ikless* verbs in the 8th district of Budapest. These are not universally present in the Hungarian language community, and the author wishes to demonstrate that while the discourse about standard language is more or less present in the examined communities, the use of these particular standards is defined by factors different from the standard itself. The author concludes that local linguistic processes that function independently from the standard can serve both the increase and decrease of language diversity and that the research of language varieties needs to take into consideration the fact that the processes of indexicalization are embedded into local contexts and not necessarily in opposition with the standard.

Chapter 3, *Linguistic Standards and Revitalisation*, is built around the dilemma whether to connect language revitalization with standardization or not. According to Austin and Sallabank (2011), creating the standard is interpreted as the key to the survival of endangered languages; however, it also results in a hierarchy that inevitably causes the decrease of dialectal diversity as the standard is placed above all other varieties. The author analyses the process of creating such standards in

the context of language revitalization, using the example of Moldavian Hungarian (*Csángó*) and demonstrating that following language standards results in the increase of diversity as it creates previously unknown forms of language use. The author tackles the issues of diversity and standardization in the Bakhtinian framework, stating that *heteroglossia* as a term – although not prevalent in the Hungarian scholarly literature – could be very useful in discussing diversity. He also differentiates standard language from linguistic standards, stating that every standard language gains its importance only in the practice of linguistic standards. The chapter contains a short description of the Hungarian language in Moldavia as well as that of the revitalization programme that aims at reviving the language through teaching it in and outside of school. The author presents the importance of performance, especially writing, and the ways new standards are created. The analysis focuses on the varieties of texts written by children published in the volume entitled *A mi falunkban csángók laknak* (“there are csángós living in our village”) and in their letters sent to the godparents who support them financially. The author concludes that heteroglossia needs to be interpreted within language performance and that the written texts created by the Moldavian children aiming at a target audience from Hungary become tools of commodifying the local language and language revitalization itself.

Chapter 4 entitled *How Are Dialects Created? (The Enregisterment of Moldavian Hungarian)* discusses aspects of the relationship between language and space, stating that dialects need to be “created” and “discovered” both as entities and as fields of study. The author turns to Johnstone to support this approach: according to him, “dialect boundaries are not inscribed on the landscape, so the world does not present itself to linguists with dialects waiting to be discovered” (Johnstone 2011: 3). The chapter presents a historical overview of the processes that resulted in the “creation” of the Moldavian Hungarian dialects from the point of view of the scholarly interest in the topic; this is followed by the general presentation of the Moldavian sociolinguistic context (using Vilmos Táncczos’s data) as well as the results of the newest dialectometric analyses carried out by the author and his research team aiming to create a classification of the dialects of the region. In the last part of the chapter, the author applies the concepts of *enregisterment* (e.g. Agha 2003) and *indexicality* (Silverstein 2003) in outlining a theoretical model regarding the discursive development of dialects; it also presents a possible application of this model from the point of view of the “discovery” of the *Csángó* dialect.

Chapter 5 discusses representations of Hungarian dialects in the lay reactions to a linguistic education campaign entitled *Nyelvjárás-projekt* (The Dialect Project). The chapter starts with a presentation of the project itself (concise descriptions and representative videos on Transindex online portal featuring speakers from larger Transylvanian towns and dialect areas, reading the same text in their own

variety). The author continues with the analysis of the comments under the videos with a special focus on the representations of the influence of the Romanian language in the Moldavian context. He also points out significant differences between the Transylvanian enregisterment of the Moldavian “Csángó” dialect and its enregisterment in Hungary, stressing the fact that the latter does not take into account the influence of the Romanian language.

In Chapter 6 (*Implicit and Explicit Language Ideologies in Moldavia*), the author presents the relationships between language varieties spoken in communities with other languages and varieties, focusing on the status of the Hungarian language. He also gives an outline of the attempts to explain the language shift in Moldavia and the ideologies connected to it. The theoretical aspects include the discussion of different types of language ideologies as well as possible approaches to ideologies based on the scholarly literature. Csanád Bodó discusses the intricate issue of the different ethnonyms and glottonyms used in the case of the Moldavian Hungarians (from the historical and geographical point of view), especially stressing the aspect of identity and identification, using the results of several empirical surveys as well as interviews conducted with locals. In presenting the ideologies of language shift, the author outlines patterns of bilingual socialization in Moldavia as well as ideologies that are implicitly or explicitly present in the discourses about language, language use, and the changes in the language repertoire.

Chapter 8 is built around the issue of language ideologies in the scientific classification of *Gypsies* in Hungary, the central factor of which is language itself. In this chapter, the author uses Irvine and Gal’s model in discussing ideologies: according to this, “[L]inguistic features are seen as reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of people and activities” (Irvine–Gal 2000: 37). The chapter presents Kamill Erdős’s and István Kemény’s classifications of the Gypsy communities living in Hungary and stresses the ways in which the latter became the canonical classification in Gypsy research. The author also includes a lesser known system, that of the Boyash categorization. The chapter concludes that the practice of such classifications is inseparable from language ideologies that stress the processes in which the iconic relationship between language and “folk” is interpreted in the context of hegemonic language ideologies.

The last thematic chapter discusses the gender paradox and its reception in Hungarian sociolinguistics. The author starts with outlining the difference between quantitative sociolinguistics, in which gender is used as a fixed identity, and the constructivist approaches, according to which the gender identity of the speaker is created by and within social practices. The author continues to present three aspects of the gender paradox as formulated by Labov: the case of stable sociolinguistic varieties, top-down as well as bottom-up changes. The author gives an overview of the international reception of the gender paradox together with some Hungarian aspects.

In the short concluding chapter, the author reiterates the aims of the volume: to present the way language ideologies function in different sociolinguistic contexts, stating that language ideologies are universal yet diverse ideologies of groups and individuals; they, however, are not necessarily conscious. He also stresses the fact that the linguistic differences discussed in the scholarly literature are always social differences as well, and that is why it is important that linguistic examination becomes part of social negotiations. The volume includes several original maps, diagrams and figures, and a comprehensive bibliography: in all of these respects, one can recognize the author's ability to make use of results of previous research projects and reinterpret them in the light of newer theoretical works. The volume is another testimony of the author's familiarity with international sociolinguistic trends: in this book, Csanád Bodó succeeds in connecting familiar topics with concepts, terms, and trends that are less known in Hungarian sociolinguistics.

This volume is recommended to scholars and researchers working in the field of Hungarian sociolinguistics and interested in the latest trends in critical sociolinguistics, students of BA and MA programmes studying languages and linguistics but also non-linguists who are intrigued by the intricacies of linguistic diversity and the issues of bilingualism, dominant varieties, and language shift.

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