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Translating Poetry – An Impossible Task?

T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* in Hungarian

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Abstract. Poetry is often claimed to be untranslatable. More specifically, rendering light verse, i.e. poetic humour in another language poses serious challenges for the translator to encounter. In spite of these alleged obstacles, T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* has been translated and lately retranslated into Hungarian in the form of inventive and jocular texts for children. After summarizing the theoretical aspects of poetry translation and providing a brief overview of Eliot's collection of poems about cats, the present study aims to approach the English source text by highlighting its foregrounded elements: titles, names, and cultural realia and their Hungarian counterparts in the latest translation by Attila Havasi and Dániel Varró.

Keywords: literary translation, poetry, light verse, realia

1. Introduction

"There are three kinds of reader: the first are those who enjoy without judging, the third those who judge without enjoying; the middle group judge with enjoyment and enjoy with judgement, and they actually reproduce a work of art anew" (qtd in Snell-Hornby 2006: 6). The words of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe are still relevant from two hundred years' distance. In this article, we intend to follow the trail of the last group by approaching poetry translation both from a theoretical and empirical perspective, not only analysing but also enjoying the translation of T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* (and, hopefully, also engaging the reader in this joy). With this study, we aim to enrich the line of research dealing with the translation of poetry, both theoretical approaches and case studies (e.g. Holmes 1988, Bassnett 2002, Boase-Beier, Fischer & Furukawa (eds) 2018, Dobrotă

2020, Tymoczko 2014, Albakry 2008, Tisgam 2014). Accordingly, in the first part of the article, a brief introduction to the main features of poetry translation are enlisted, followed by a general introduction to Eliot's volume containing fifteen, slightly connected individual poems and to their latest Hungarian translation. The main part of the article contains the analyses of certain foregrounded elements of the poems: the main title of the volume, ways of rendering rhyme and metre, and a detailed exploration of names of cats that appear in *The Naming of Cats*, the first poem in the volume, and its Hungarian translation.

2. Translatability of poetry

Dezső Kosztolányi, the famous 20th-century Hungarian poet, claims that literary translation is "dancing tied into a harness"[1] (1913: 644). Similarly, János Lackfi claims that "restrictions guide us both during the original work and its translation [...] A contract ties me to the reader; I have undertaken to reconstruct the given text as perfectly as possible, and my responsibility is to keep this contract"[2] (Jeney & Józan 2008: 96). Poetry is a special type of literary text, especially when rhyming is also relevant. Due to all these restrictions, some researchers state that poetry is in actual fact not translatable, while others are for its possibility, with special limitations. Below, these two oppositions will be contrasted.

Basically, untranslatability is justified by both cultural and linguistic perspectives. Sapir (2000), for example, denies that literary works might be translated based on the conviction that there are no two languages identical in their vision to the same social reality. Furthermore, Catford (1965: 94) states that the sources of untranslatability are both of linguistic and cultural nature. In his view, linguistic untranslatability is caused by source-language and target-language differences, while the cause of cultural untranslatability is the absence of relevant situational features in the target language. In his book entitled *Poetry and Translation*, Robinson (2010) even calls poetry "the art of the impossible". On a humorous note, the Japanese poet in Jim Jarmusch's film *Paterson* also argues for the impossibility of poetry translation when he says "Poetry in translation is like taking a shower with a raincoat on."

On the other hand, Wittgenstein (quoted in Robinson 2010: 58) argues for the translatability of poetry. He says that translating is to be viewed as a mathematical task, and the translation of a lyrical poem is quite similar to

1 "műfordítani […] annyi, mint gúzsba kötötten táncolni" (English translations from Hungarian throughout the article are mine, Zs. A.).

2 "megkötések irányítják az embert mind az eredeti mű, mind annak fordítása során... Szerződés köt az olvasóhoz, vállaltam, hogy az adott szöveget a lehető legtökéletesebben rekonstruálom magyarul, s kötelességem ezt be is tartani."

solving a mathematical problem. Furthermore, Benjamin (2012: 76) argues for the possibility of transposing a poem into another language, claiming that nothing is "lost" in translation, but, on the contrary, there is always something "gained". He states that the result of the translation process is a text that will not be a simple reproduction of the original but will produce a newly created text with equivalent meaning. Accordingly, the "task of the translator consists in finding that intended effect upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original" (1968: 77). In addition, Nida and Taber (2003: 132) argue that "anything that can be said in one language can be said in another, unless the form is an essential element of the message."

In comparing the translation of two literary genres, it is noted that "[b]oth prose and poetry have rhythm, but only poetry has meter, the regular grouping of elements of rhythm into a recognizable pattern" (Boase-Beier 2012: 477). In the same vein, in Newmark's (1988: 70) view, "the translation of poetry is the field where most emphasis is normally put on the creation of a new independent poem, and where literal translation is usually condemned". Poetry is a special form of art where the form itself (metre, rhythm, and rhyming) is laden with meaning, and it adds extra aesthetic quality to the contents of the text. This means that both meaning and form are equally important in its transposition as well. Newmark (1988: 162) claims that reproducing a poem in another language proves to be the most challenging task since it is a genre that not only requires the transference of ideas and images, but it has been originally created with the aim to achieve aesthetic pleasure. Translating a rhyming poem into another language requires the translator to closely follow both aspects of the source text and try to render them in the target language in spite of the fact that maintaining the rhyme and the metre poses excessive constraints on the re-creator of the poem, and word and line units have to be preserved (if the translator chooses to do so).

The main aim of poetry translation is to achieve a similar effect that the source text is believed to produce on the target audience. In other words, it is "the effect brought about in the reader" (Leech 2008: 61) that is followed in the process of translating poetry. In order to achieve this, not literal but dynamic equivalence is expected. Venuti (2004: 154) claims that "only rarely can one reproduce both content and form in a translation, and hence in general the form is usually sacrificed for the sake of the content". As our analysis below aims to demonstrate, no such sacrifice is required in the case of the latest Hungarian translation of T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*: both content and form are attended to in an inventive and enjoyable manner.

Intended to entertain young audiences, Eliot's poems about cats join the considerable body of poetry in English written in light verse, defined by *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as "poetry on trivial or playful themes that is written primarily to amuse and entertain and that often involves the use of nonsense

and wordplay. [It is f]requently distinguished by considerable technical competence, wit, sophistication, and elegance."[3] When it comes to the translation of this genre, the translator also needs to take into account the target audience they are translating for. "All translators, if they want to be successful, need to adapt their texts according to the presumptive readers" (Oittinen 2000: 78). No surprise then that the latest Hungarian translators of the poems, Attila Havasi and Dániel Varró, are themselves consecrated poets for children, and they managed to cope with the task brilliantly.

3. T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* and its Hungarian translations – A brief overview

An ardent lover of cats, Eliot claimed that the "great thing" about these pets was that they possessed "two qualities to an extreme degree—dignity and comicality." In the 1930s, the poet composed a series of light verses about cats, reminiscent of the nonsense verse by Lewis Carroll and Edward Lear, and sent them to his godchildren signed under the pen name Old Possum.[4] At the end of the decade, in 1939, fourteen[5] of these poems were collected into a book of verses for children with the title *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, which was published by Faber and Faber in London, a publishing house where Eliot worked as an editor. For the first edition, the illustrations were also created by the poet himself. The volume does not have an organic world of its own, the poems are independent of each other, and there are only slight references at various points in the volume. From a commercial point of view, this book for children has become Eliot's most popular work, and it has been translated into dozens of languages, including Hungarian and Romanian. These verses have also served as lyrics for Andrew Lloyd Webber's famous and acclaimed musical *Cats* (1981), which has been performed on stages all over the world and has also been adapted to the big screen, the latest adaptation by Tom Hooper by the same title having been released in 2019.

So far, there have been three Hungarian variants of the volume. The very first Hungarian translation was published with the title *Macskák könyve* [The Book of Cats] in 1972 by Móra Publishing House and is the work of six outstanding Hungarian poets of the time: Ágnes Nemes Nagy, Zsuzsa Kiss, Dezső Tandori, István Tótfalusi, Gyula Tellér, and Sándor Weöres. A new Hungarian edition of Eliot's complete oeuvre including *Macskák könyve* [The Book of Cats] was

3 https://www.britannica.com/art/light-verse (downloaded on 03.16.2022).

4 Possum was Eliot's nickname given to him by Ezra Pound. https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/the-improbable-insanity-of-cats (downloaded on 03.29.2022).

5 The fifteenth poem, *Cat Morgan Introduces Himself*, was added to the collection in the 1952 edition of the volume.

edited by Győző Ferencz and published by Európa Publishing House in 1986. The new Hungarian retranslation, i.e. the text for the musical, was prepared by József Romhányi for the 1983 Hungarian premiere of *Cats*, and it was published privately only in 2013. This text has also been taken over for the official Hungarian subtitles of the 2019 film adaptation. Finally, the latest Hungarian retranslation was created in 2019 by two poet-translators, Attila Havasi and Dániel Varró, and was issued by Pagony Publishing House. This edition was illustrated by Axel Scheffler.

In the present paper, a comparative analysis of the English source text and its latest Hungarian translation as the target text will be pursued. From the enormously rich textual world of Eliot's volume, we will look at the translation of those elements that draw the reader's attention by their challenges: the main title, metre, rhyming, and names of cats as they appear in the first poem of the volume, *The Naming of Cats*.

4. The main title and its translation

The title of the volume, *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, has very strong intertextual connotations: on the one hand, *Old X's…* reminds the reader of the 18th–19th-century title types belonging to popular literature, referring to a compendium (a collection) of popular or esoteric wisdom. On the other hand, the second half of the title, *a Book of Practical X*, suggests a typical 19th-century title for how-to books. This humorous double reference is closely maintained in the 2019 Hungarian retranslation. The translators diverge from the previously established title and take up the title of the musical, *Macskák* [Cats], and complete it with an almost identical subtitle similar to the source text: *Opossszum Apó hasznos és mulattató Macskáriuma* [Father Possum's Useful and Amusing Compendium of Cats]. The word denoting the genre of the collection *macskárium* is the translator's coinage (non-existent word in Hungarian). The term was created from the Hungarian noun "macska" [cat] completed with the Latin *-rium* suffix suggesting a scientific connotation. The Hungarian title precisely renders the source title in the sense that three poems explore the general features, conditions, and "the anthropology" of being a cat on the one hand, and eleven poems present outstanding cat characterology, cat types on the other hand. It must be added that the Hungarian title contains two extra adjectives: "hasznos" [useful] and "mulattató" [amusing] that are not present in the source title. In my opinion, they add extra content to the title, provoking the target audience, the children's interest regarding their expectations related to the topic, and therefore this addition enhances the effect produced by the title on the audience.

5. Recreating rhyme and rhythm

In his essays *On Poetry and Poets*, Eliot came to the conclusion that "a poem begins first as a particular rhythm", which gives birth to "the idea and the image" (Eliot 1957: 32). This leads us to the conclusion that the rhyming and rhythm of all the poems in *Practical Cats*, the musicality of the lines has special salience for the created imagery and sets of ideas (cf. Douglass 1983: 117). The most characteristic beat of these poems is the four-stress lines (tetrametre) lying at the heart of all English verse. Northrop Frye (1966: 37) points out that the four-stress line is "the bedrock of English versification: it is the rhythm of alliterative verse, of nursery rhymes and of ballads, all rhythms close to Eliot". Most of the poems in the volume use these four-beat lines; Eliot's fondest were the dactyls and the anapaests.

Dactylic tetrametre appears in most of the poems of the volume, for instance, in the introductory poem, *The Naming of Cats*, and in *Old Deuteronomy*:

Table 1. *Example of dactylic tetrametre*

Source text	**Target text**
The Naming of Cats is a difficult matter, u / – u u / – u u / – u u / – u It isn't just one of your holiday games; u / – u u / – u u / – u u / – (Eliot 2010: 1)	A macskanévprobléma fölöttébb kényes, u – u u / – uu / – u u / – u Mit egykönnyen aligha intézel el; u – u u / – u u / – u u / – (Eliot 2019: 7)
Old Deuteronomy's lived a long time – u u / – u u / – u u / – He's a Cat who has lived many lives in succession He was famous in proverb and famous in rhyme A long while before Queen Victoria's accession. (Eliot 2010: 27)	Vén Miatuzsálem él századok óta, – u u / – u u / – u u / – u sok életet élt le, ezer cicaöltőt, már Cromwell előtt szólt krónika róla, és róla pönögtek a lanton a költők. (Eliot 2019: 33)

A dactyl is a 3-syllable unit that starts with a stress and ends with two unstressed syllables (– uu). As it can be noted in the table above, the same pattern is recreated in the target text version as well, thus maintaining not only the content but also the form of the lines. The lines rhyme traditionally (the rhyme scheme is *abab*), and the translation also keeps these cross rhymes.

Only one poem in the book, *The Ad-dressing of Cats* uses iambic tetrametre, also recreated in the Hungarian version. The iamb is a two-syllable unit made up of a short unstressed and a long stressed syllable (u –). Here the rhyming scheme changes to rhyming couplets (pair rhymes):

Table 2. *Example of iambic tetrametre*

Source text	**Target text**
You now have learned enough to see	Könyvemből kiolvasható volt,
u – / u – / u – / u – /	u – / – u / – u / u – / u – /
That Cats are much like you and me […]	hogy ahány macska, annyi hóbort, […]
And some are better, some are worse —	van gyenge jellem, kőkemény,
But all may be described in verse.	de mindről szólhat költemény.
(Eliot 2010: 58)	(Eliot 2019: 67)

6. The Naming of Cats – Translation of names

Concerning the translation of proper names, in the present paper we take into account the classification proposed by Leppihalme (1997). In the following, we will enlist the strategies he proposes for translating proper name allusions (1997: 79):

– Retention of the name:
  - using the name as such;
  - using the name, adding some guidance;
  - using the name, adding a detailed explanation, for instance, a footnote.
– Replacement of the name by another:
  - replacing the name by another SL name;
  - replacing the name by a TL name.
– Omission of the name:
  - omitting the name but transferring the sense by other means, for instance by a common noun;
  - omitting the name and the allusion together.

This classification can be completed by the distinction proposed by Hervey and Higgins (1986: 29), who discuss two strategies for translating proper names. They claim that "either the name can be taken over unchanged from the ST to the TT, or it can be adopted to conform to the phonic/graphic conventions of the TL." The former is referred to as exotism, while the latter is also called transliteration. In addition, they propose another procedure or alternative, namely "cultural transplantation". Considered to be "the extreme degree of cultural transposition", cultural transplantation is deemed to be a procedure in which "SL names are replaced by indigenous TL names that are not their literal equivalents, but have similar cultural connotations".

One of the most challenging parts of rendering proper names appears in *The Naming of Cats*. According to Eliot, "a cat must have three different names": a name "that the family use daily", i.e. "sensible everyday names", then "peculiar and more dignified names", and, finally, a name that only "the cat himself knows". Below, there is a list of ST names, and their TT counterparts can be found for the first two categories.

Table 3. *The naming of cats*

Source text	Target text
Peter, Augustus, Alonzo or James	A Piroska, Géza, a Sheila vagy Wendy
Victor or Jonathan, George or Bill Bailey	
Plato, Admetus, Electra, Demeter	Plátón vagy Prokrusztész, Daphné vagy Thétisz
Munkustrap, Quaxo or Coricopat	Katzinger, Braxol vagy Kornyikopán
Bombalurina, or else Jellylorum	Zsolimelórisz vagy Fancsillaména

When enlisting possible "everyday names" for cats, the ST mentions a list of typical English boy's names: *Peter*, *Augustus*, *Alonzo or James* / *Victor or Jonathan*, *George or Bill Bailey*.[6] The dactylic tetrametre is clearly detectable in their succession: – uu / – uu / – uu / – // – uu / uu – /– uu / – u. What occurs as outstanding in the TT list is that the translator simply omits four names and maintains only four (*a Piroska*, *Géza*, *a Sheila vagy Wendy*), offering two ordinary Hungarian names and two totally different English names: three girls' (Piroska, Sheila, Wendy) and one boy's name (Géza). In the first half of the line, the strategy of domestication is employed: the SL names are replaced by TL names that are not their literal equivalents; in the second half of the line, the ST names are replaced by other English names (Sheila, Wendy), perhaps to maintain the foreign sound. Their rhythm does not closely follow the ST rhythm – the first syllable is longer than a dactylic foot, the last beat consisting of a trochee (the reverse of an iamb): uu – u /– uu / – uu / – u. It is to be noted that normally Hungarian proper names do not take a definite article – here, two names are used with the definite article *a* [the], typically used in colloquial Hungarian, this linguistic solution bringing the names closer to Hungarian children.

The four-stress rhythm is maintained in the following list of names as well, which include names with an overt Greek mythological allusion, emphasizing a strong cultural intertext: *Plato*, *Admetus*, *Electra*, *Demeter*. The first one is the ancient philosopher's name Plato, which is taken over by the TT in its Hungarian consecrated form (Plátón). *Admetus* is a Greek mythological character, founder and king of Pherae of Thessaly, famed for his hospitality and justice. (Dixon-Kennedy 1998: 6) This three-syllable name is replaced by *Prokrusztész* [Procrustes],[7] a name of the same length but a very different, negative character in ancient mythology. Seemingly also hospitable, he actually lures foreigners into his bed, then disfiguring them. The TT name contains a congestion of consonants,

6 Bill Bailey was derived from the 1902 song *Won't You Come Home Bill Bailey*.

7 "Procrustes would appear hospitable, inviting travelers to spend the night. He would, however, adjust their bodies to exactly fit his bed, stretching them if they were too short or lopping off their limbs if they were too tall. Theseus put an end to this when he dished out the same treatment to Procrustes" (Dixon-Kennedy 1998: 262).

therefore it is much more difficult to pronounce, possibly making it less enjoyable for children. The third is the three-syllable name of the Greek princess *Electra*.[8] In the TT, her name is replaced by another mythological two-syllable female name, *Daphné* [Daphne].[9] The last name in the line of mythological names, *Demeter*, stands for the ancient goddess of harvest and agriculture, grains and fertility. In the TT, her name is replaced by *Thétisz* [Thetis], a sea nymph and a goddess of water. Summarizing these names and their TT variants, we can claim that two male and two female ancient Greek names appeared in the ST, and their distribution has been maintained in the TT as well; however, the rhythm of the line is not kept.

Eliot's special cat names are claimed to be "peculiar" yet "dignified", and the list includes the invented names of *Munkustrap*, *Quaxo*, *Coricopat*, *Bombalurina*, and *Jellylorum*. The TT variants are equally fictional, and include *Katzinger*, *Braxol*, *Kornyikopán*, *Zsolimelórisz*, and *Fancsillaména*. One can detect the traces of the German equivalent for 'cat' in *Katzinger*, a similarity of sound in the pair *Quaxo* vs. *Braxol*, while *Kornyikopán* contains the root of the Hungarian *kornyikál*, meaning 'yowl, caterwaul, a shrill howling or wailing noise like that of a cat' and a similar ending like that of the ST name (*-copat* vs. *-kopán*). The extravagant names such as *Jellylorum* or *Bombalurina* were replaced by the equally whimsical *Zsolimelórisz* and *Fancsillaména*, recreating the original oddness and singularity of the names.

7. Conclusions

The relatively brief comparative analysis of T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* and its latest translation entitled *Oposszum Apó hasznos és mulattató Macskáriuma* by Attila Havasi and Dániel Varró has demonstrated that the 2019 Hungarian translation is a brilliantly imaginative recreation of both content and form of the ST. In spite of being the common work of two creative minds, the TT recreates the rhyming scheme and the four-beat rhythm of the original in equal measure. In spite of the serious prosodic constraints, dynamic equivalence is achieved in the creative rendering of the ST images and ideas. The rendering of names from the first poem of the volume has shown the employment of the strategy of adaptation and domestication, which has led to similarity of effect.

The challenging task of translating Eliot's *Cats* can be considered a pertinent example that poetry *is* translatable – a good attempt at recreating a jocular and

8 Electra is King Agamemnon and Clytemnestra's daughter (Dixon-Kennedy 1998: 120).

9 Daphne is a female nymph associated with fountains, wells, springs, streams, brooks, and other bodies of freshwater. One of her famous lovers was Apollo, who chased after the girl. "Unable to escape, Daphne prayed to the gods to rescue her. They responded by turning her into a laurel bush. Thereafter, Apollo wore a laurel branch on his head as a symbol of his love and grief, and the bush became sacred to him" (Dixon-Kennedy 1998: 104).

enjoyable text for children. The Hungarian poems can be considered new poems in their own right, but the preservation of real fidelity to the originals is also achieved.

The present study was limited to the discussion of the main title of Eliot's volume, the rendering of rhythm and the translation of cats' names in one particular poem. The transcreation of other proper names and realia (geographical and gastronomical references) that the text abounds in is proposed to be discussed in a future analysis.

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Rendering Contemporary Hungarian Drama into Romanian. A Case Study on Tibor Zalán's *Katonák* [*Soldiers*]

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Abstract. The study focuses on the peculiar challenges raised by rendering one of Tibor Zalán's plays into Romanian. We shall take into account the linguistic, aesthetic, and conceptual differences that might emerge in the Romanian translation as compared to its original. The theoretical part of the research is built upon the idea that translation implies "rewriting" (Lefevere 1992) under certain constraints. Being "refracted" texts, translations naturally include not only a change of the language but also a change of the socio-cultural context, a change of the ideology (i.e. the "world view"), and a change of the poetics of the original (Lefevere 1984: 192). Thus, the comparative analysis aims at the major changes operated by the Romanian translator while conveying certain culture-bound meanings.

Keywords: literary translation, refraction, rewriting, contemporary Hungarian literature, cultural mediation

1. Romanian tradition of translating contemporary Hungarian literature

Despite the immediate geographical vicinity and long-lasting historical and sociocultural relations, the Romanian audience is not well acquainted with contemporary Hungarian literature, as it would be expected. Of course, this is due to several factors among which the fact that contemporary literature itself is yet to be valued to its fullest since reading choices are often market-oriented, governed by fashion and other tendencies which make contemporary Hungarian literature rather unknown to its native speakers as well. Still, it is quite curious that in many cases contemporary Hungarian authors reach the Romanian

audience first through a Western (inter)mediation since German, French, Italian, etc. translations of Hungarian writers precede the Romanian translations (Balogh 2014: 116). Yet another issue of contemporary Hungarian–Romanian literary dialogue is the fact that, despite the existent translations of Hungarian literature into Romanian and vice versa, there is little attention to reflection on these works, and constructive criticism and studies on one another's literary products (including the translations thereof) are still very few (Balogh 2014: 115). Our endeavour is aimed at contributing to filling this gap by discussing the Romanian translation of a contemporary Hungarian playwright, namely that of Tibor Zalán.

2. Corpus: *Katonák* (Zalán 1993b) vs. *Soldații* (Zalán 2016) [Soldiers]

Despite being a prolific poet, prose writer, and playwright, Zalán's works are little known to Romanian readers. There are only a few Romanian translations, among which there is the book of poems entitled *şi câteva acuarele* [*And Some Watercolours*], first published in 2004 (Koinonia), republished in a multilingual edition in 2014 (Gondolat), translated by George Volceanov; and the collection of plays entitled *Soldații* [Soldiers] published in 2016 (Tracus Arte). The latter volume gathers three plays, two radio dramas, and a radio script, along with an interview with the author himself.

Some of the translations included in this volume were made during the literary translation workshop coordinated by George Volceanov in September 2014 at the Hungarian Translators' House of Balatonfüred (Hungary), an event organized in collaboration with the Balassi Institute (Bucharest) and the Romanian Cultural Institute (Zalán 2016: 2; our translation).

The focus of our analysis is the Romanian translation of the Hungarian play entitled *Katonák. Dráma két felvonásban* [Soldiers. A Two-Act Play] (Zalán 1993b).[1] The Romanian version entitled *Soldații. Piesă în două acte* [Soldiers. A Two-Act Play] (Zalán 2016: 21–113) was translated by George Volceanov, one of the most prominent translators of Hungarian literature into Romanian.

The play explores the limits of human tolerance, the psychology of humiliation, the issue of morality, and the loss of humanity in the context of a war. On the surface, it contrasts soldiers with civilians. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that the war is governed by a kind of reasoning that is completely

1 Written in 1993, the play was republished in 2004 in the volume *Azután megdöglünk* [And Then We'll Be Fender Meat] (Budapest: Napkút Kiadó) alongside eight other plays. In 2008, the play was awarded the Szálka-award for the most intense conflict at *Deszka Festival of Contemporary Dramas in Debrecen* (*http://www.terasz.hu/main.php?id=egyeb&page=cikk&cikk_id=11665*). Downloaded on 20.04.2022.

different from the logic people are used to in times of peace. Not only that, in fact, it lacks any human reasoning, as the author himself claims in one of his interviews on the play:

"It [i.e. the war] assumes this supposed reasoning, the misconception of the so-called morality that everything is permitted; here and now all things are permitted, and they [i.e. civilians] become even more evil, wicked, barbaric, and bloodthirsty than the true mercenaries"[2] (Zalán 1993a; our translation).

And this is true despite, or perhaps due to, the fact that "for civilians, war can be nothing but violence against their nature, against their being civilians, against their outsiderness, against their being able to remain outsiders"[3] (Zalán 1993a; our translation). As for the soldiers, "war is about surviving. Somehow. Anyhow",[4] as the corporal states in the play (Zalán 2016: 79).

Be as it may, both the soldiers' and the civilians' actions converge towards the same idea (as a matter of fact, typical of Zalán's works), namely the absurdity of war itself. This perception of war is revealed in the play during a discussion among the civilians. One of the women says: "I don't even know what this war is about." The reverend tries to explain it to her, saying: "The war is about *nothing*. The war is the projection of a troubled human soul into the world. The war is the strange self-purification of mankind." Then the woman continues: "I don't understand this. I don't even know who is against who and why" (Zalán 2016: 62; our translation). And just as the characters of the play do not understand the stakes of the war they are forced to live, nor do the readers, as they do not find out what it was about. It just happened, it *had* to happen. Under these circumstances, the core issue of the play (of Zalán's plays in general) is not how people, their souls, relationships, or their whole existence rot away but rather how the artist can linguistically grasp this dramatic situation, how he can create an authentic stage setting for it, and ultimately how he can transform the *crisis of drama* (with no hope for outstanding characters or deeds) into a *drama of crisis*.

Though the play puts on stage an imaginary war, and the author himself did not experience any war, it still has its credibility and topicality, for the time it was written was a turbulent one, when the former Yugoslavia (and expectedly the whole world) was on the verge of war.

2 See: "Átveszi ezt a létezőnek sejtett logikát, a mindent szabad, a most szabad mindent erkölcsnek nem nevezhető tévhitét, és gonoszabb, aljasabb, barbárabb és vérszomjasabb lesz az igazi zsoldosoknál."

3 See: "Mert egy civilnek a háború nem lehet más, mint erőszak a természete ellen, a civilsége ellen, a kívüllévősége, kívül lehetősége ellen."

4 See: "A háború arra való, hogy túléljük. Valahogyan. Akárhogyan."

3. Theoretical background

Translation studies have undergone several changes over decades of intense research. If its beginnings are greatly marked by a linguistic approach (see Catford 1965), regarding translation as an act of rendering an authoritative source text into a language different from that of the original's by means of equivalences assigned to a vast array of taxonomies (see Baker & Saldanha 2011), nowadays studies of translation bear a "cultural turn" (Shuping 2013: 55) expanding the domain of research to a wider socio-cultural level, including issues such as history, power relations, ideology, culture, poetics, and the like. In this new light, differences between source and target texts are no longer disapproved or viewed as breaking the ideal of *fidelity* but rather as a natural product of conveying a meaning from one culture to another. As such, translation is far more than a matter of reproduction of a given text; it implies rewriting (Lefevere 1992) under certain constraints among which language matter is the least important.

Being "refracted" texts, translations naturally include changes from the original text, and these changes fall under three categories: a change of the language in which the original is written, with its concomitant socio-cultural context, a change of the ideology of the original (i.e. its "world view" in the widest, not just the political sense of the word), and a change of the poetics of the original (i.e. the presuppositions as to what literature is or is not that can be seen to have guided the author of the original, whether he/she follows them or rebels against them) (Lefevere 1984: 192).

As such, our analysis focuses on to what extent the translation of the above-mentioned contemporary Hungarian playwright corresponds to the refraction theory of Lefevere, i.e. what the major changes operated by the Romanian translator are and how they manage to convey certain culture-bound meanings respectively.

4. Text analysis

4.1. Change of the language

Typological differences between Hungarian and Romanian languages naturally lead to changes of the language during translation, but these predictable instances are not the scope of our analysis. Instead, our attention is focused on those changes that may be regarded as optional "transfer operations" (Klaudy 2003) rather than obligatory ones. In other words, we shall focus on those instances in which the translator consciously makes a certain choice from among the different options offered by the target language, a choice that

results in less faithful equivalences. In these cases, the translator performs a highly complicated sequence of actions (including replacement, restructuring, omission, and/or addition) that are not strictly necessary in the sense that they are not solely imposed by the requirements of the target language. But whatever the choice the translator makes, it involves a complex decision-making process that may combine more than one translation strategy.

4.1.1. Generalization and compensation

Thus, comparing the Hungarian original with its Romanian translation on the level of language use, one may note the fact that the sentences in the Romanian text are often less figurative since the translator uses an even more simplified language compared to the original, as a result of generalization. Sometimes, while words or phrases in the Hungarian text are loaded with semantic specificity or bear a supplementary connotation, their Romanian counterparts lack these peculiarities, the Romanian terms chosen by the translator rendering only the basic meanings, such as in the table below.

Table 1. *Examples of generalization*

Hungarian		**Romanian**	
'crowd up'; 'walk dizzy'	"Ha valaki *idecsődít* egy csomó embert, akkor *ne szédelegjen* el a kocsmába."	'invite'; 'walk drunk'	"Dacă cineva *invită* aici o droaie de oameni, *să nu*-mi *umble beat* prin cârciumi."
his hand 'rests' on	"Keze a lány cipőjén *nyugszik*."	he 'has' his hand on	"*Are* o mână pe pantoful fetei."
'holding their hands *ready to fire*, they *march* into the other room'; 'rumble up'	"Fegyverüket *tüzelésre tartva átvonulnak* a másik szobába. Később *feldübörögnek* a falépcsőn az emeletre."	'They *enter* the other room with their hands *on the trigger*'; 'go up'	"*Intră* în camera de alături *cu mâna pe trăgaci*. Pe urmă se aude cum *urcă* pe scara de lemn la etaj."
'it should lie there as an orphan'	"Mert ha Boros szökevény egy székre állva éri el az ablak peremét, akkor annak a széknek *ott kellene most árválkodnia* az ablak alatt."	'it should be there'	"Căci, dacă evadatul Boros a ajuns până la pervaz urcându-se pe un scaun, scaunul acela *ar trebui să fie acolo*."
'let it slide by my ears'	"*Elengedtem a fülem mellett*, amit mondott, böllér."	'pretend not to hear'	"*Mă fac că n-am auzit* ce ai spus, casapule."
'the bullet roasted past my ear'	"Nem talált el. De *itt pörkölt el valahol a fülem mellett a golyóbis*."	'the bullet whistled past my ear'	"Nu m-ai nimerit, dar *glonțul mi-a vâjâit pe la ureche*."
'fit in one's skin'	"Mi a francnak *nem fér* soha *a bőrébe*?"	'stay put; sit tamely'	"De ce dracu' nu şedeți blând?"
'it's steaming'	"Nem csak az hallatszik, amit mondanak, de a mondatuk mögött jól kivehetően ott *párállik*, amit gondolnak."	'it transpires'	"Nu se-aude doar ceea ce spuneți, de dincolo de vorbe vă *transpar* şi gândurile."

	Hungarian		Romanian
‘let us go by the wind’	“Megkérdezhetem, ha most *szélnek eresztenek minket,* akkor mire volt jó ez a ma éjszakai fogság?”	‘let us go’	“Pot să vă-ntreb ce rost a avut prizonieratul de azi-noapte dacă până la urmă *ne lăsați să plecăm care încotro*?”
‘earthbound (i.e. narrow-minded)’	“Ne legyen már ilyen *földhözragadt*!”	‘petty; small-minded’	“Nu mai fi așa *meschin*!”

Naturally, the Romanian translator also makes use of all the resources the language provides him with, sometimes doing so as a compensation strategy by employing picturesque, colourful, vivid expressions in portions where the Hungarian original is rather plain or less figurative in language choice, as in the table below.

Table 2. *Examples of compensation*

	Hungarian		Romanian
‘beautiful’	“Pedig szép asszony lenne. Mit lenne, hát az is, *szép*.”	‘torn out of the sun’	“Deşi nu-i femeie urâtă. Nici vorbă de aşa ceva, *e de-a dreptul ruptă din soare*.”
‘jumped away’	“A fogónak megfogadott emberek persze mind *félreugrottak*.”	‘took off to good health, i.e. hit the road’	“Oamenii plătiți să-l prindă, bine-nțeles, *au luat-o la sănătoasa*.”
‘resent me’	“Maga valamiért *neheztel* rám.”	‘regard me as salt in your eyes’	“Dumneata, dintr-un motiv sau altul, *mă ai ca sarea-n ochi*.”
‘killed himself’	“A tanító úr *elölte magát*, kérem.”	‘put an end to his days’	“Domnul învățător *şi-a pus capăt zilelor*.”

4.1.2. Changes in language register

Both the Hungarian original and the Romanian translation are strongly marked by slang; words and idioms are not only very informal, but often they are quite harsh and forthright, like in the table below.

Though both texts are built upon the general impression of colloquialism using abusive language or other words belonging to slang, on the level of smaller portions, one of the two texts is usually more informal than the other, instances that are compensated on the next occasion. Thus, there are cases in which the Hungarian original appears as somewhat milder and more indirect, using umbrella terms or terms and expressions with a more general meaning, as if euphemizing, like in the table below.

Table 3. *Examples of informal language use*

Hungarian	Romanian
"Te, ide figyelj, én egyszer meghallom, érted, meg fogom hallani, eljut majd a fülemig, amit mondasz, érted, és akkor *neked annyi. Kibelezlek*. Értetted? Mint egy disznót. Azért mégiscsak van határa mindennek! Az ember hajnalban kel, egész nap *gürizik*, hozza haza a *lóvét* meg a kóstolót, a kisasszony meg, aki egész nap itthon heverészget, csak úgy, lazán *lehülyézi*. Az apját. (Mariska közéjük áll.) Élősködő *kis szarosok*. Mind a ketten. Azok, mind a ketten, és már nagyon bánom, hogy megcsináltam őket."	"Măi, ascultă ce-ți spun, într-o bună zi o să aud, pricepi, o să aud, o să-mi ajungă la urechi vorbele tale, pricepi, şi atunci s-a zis cu tine. *Îți fac mațele cozi de zmeu*. Ai priceput? *Îți iau jugulara* ca la porc. Că, totuşi, toate au o limită! Se scoală omu' cu noaptea-n cap, *dă-n brânci* toată ziua, aduce acasă *lovelele* şi gustarea, iar domnişoara, care cloceşte pe vatră toată ziua, *mi-l bălăcăreşte* toată ziua *şi-l face gogoman*. Pe propriul ei tată. (Mariska se pune între ei.) *Nişte căcăcioase* parazite, astea sunt. Amândouă. Da, astea, amândouă, şi-mi pare rău că le-am făcut."[5]
"Nekem ugyan semmi. Csak elegem van belőle. Az egész figurából. Abból, hogy olyan otromba... ostoba... goromba... (Tanácstalanul néz rá az anyjára.) Mondhatom? (Mariska bólint.) Egy *faszfej*."	"Mie nimic. Doar că m-am săturat de el până peste cap. Şi de toată povestea asta. De faptul că-i un bădăran... un prostănac... o brută... (Se uită descumpănită la maică-sa.) Pot să zic? (Mariska dă din cap a încuviințare.) E un *labagiu*."[6]
"Neked kuss van!"	"Tu ține-ți clanța!" 'Shut up' etc.

Table 4. *Examples of euphemizing*

Hungarian	meaning	Romanian	meaning
"Ezt majd máskor, Mihály, itt *lófrálgat gatya nélkül*, a vendégek meg már a kapuban."	'hover around with no pants'	"Povesteşte-ne restul altă dată, Mihály, *tu freci țiparu-n fundul gol* şi musafirii sunt deja la poartă."	'hover around bare-ass'
"Ne ízetlenkedjék."	'Don't be tasteless'	"Hai, nu fi scârbos."	'Don't be disgusting'
"*A betyár szentségit*, hát nem elfelejtettem!"	'cursing with the terms *highwayman* and *sanctity*'	"Tu-i *cristelnița mă-sii*, c-am uitat de ea!"	'cursing with the terms *font* and *mother*'
"Akár ökör, akár komor bika, egy biztos, ha nem kerül elő, *maguk fogják meginni a levét*"	'you shall drink its juice, i.e. you'll regret it'	"C-o fi bou, c-o fi taur posac, un lucru e sigur, dacă nu apare, *voi o să dați de dracu' "*	'you shall meet the devil'

In some other cases, terms in the Romanian translation have a rather pejorative meaning, i.e. words are loaded with a negative connotation that does not characterize their Hungarian counterparts, like in the table below.

5 "neked annyi" – "Îți fac mațele cozi de zmeu" 'you're finished'; "Kibelezlek" – "Îți iau jugulara ca la porc" 'I'll gut you'; "gürizik" – "dă-n brânci" 'pegs away'; "lóvé" – "lovelele" 'lolly'; "lehülyézi" – "şi-l face gogoman" 'says he's a moron'; "kis szarosok" – "Nişte căcăcioase" 'small pieces of crap'.

6 "Egy *faszfej*" – "E un *labagiu*" 'dickhead'.

Table 5. *Examples of slanging*

Hungarian	meaning	Romanian	meaning
"*Hagyjuk*, hogy elvesszen minden?"	'Shall we let...?'	"*Să ne lingem pe bot de* toată agoniseala noastră?"	'Shall we lick our nose...?'
"Félre ne érts, csak *elugrottam* vágás után *egy percre*..."	'I just went out for a minute'	"Să nu mă-nțelegi greşit, după tăiere *am luat una mică la bord* "	'I just took a small one on board', as reference to the fact that he has been drinking and got home drunk
"De most az egyszer megbocsátok neked. Csak azért, mert az Isten engem jutalmazott meg azzal, *amire te mindig is vágytál*, de amit képtelen voltál megszerezni."	'what you've always wished for'	"De data asta te iert. Te iert numai pentru că Dumnezeu pe mine m-a răsplătit cu *ceva după ce ție ți-a crăpat buza* dintotdeauna, dar n-ai fost în stare s-o obții."	'what your lips have always cracked for'

On the other hand, there are also cases in which the Hungarian appears to be more colloquial unlike the Romanian translation, which adopts a more common language use especially on the lexical level, as in the table below.

Table 6. *Examples of register shift*

Hungarian	meaning	Romanian	meaning
"Mi baja van, böllér? *Valami nem stimmel*? Hülyeségeket kérdez."	'Is there something that doesn't add up?'	"Ce te supără, casapule? *Ceva nu-i în ordine*? Hai că pui întrebări tâmpite."	'Is there something wrong?'
"Ismerem a tizedest. *Nem fog szarozni* magukkal sem. Az előző faluban tizedelt."	'He won't give a crap for you either'	"Îl cunosc bine pe dom' caporal. *N-o să stea să-şi bată capul* nici cu voi. În satul dinainte a trecut la decimarea localnicilor."	'He won't break his head for you, i.e. he won't care'
"Elég legyen ebből! Az ember megbolondul a karattyolásotoktól. Üljetek már békén *a seggeteken*..."	'stay put on your asses'	"Destul! Înnebuniți omul de cap cu trăncăneala voastră. *Stați în banca voastră* odată..."	'stay put at your desks'
"Bérkocsis utca. Persze, neked *fingod sincs*, hogy hol van, mi?"	'you have no fart about it, i.e. no clue'	"Strada Birjarilor. Fireşte, *habar n-ai* unde vine asta, nu?"	'you have no idea about it'
"Elég keményet léptél, *kishaver*, lehet, hogy mégiscsak *megúszod* az egészet? Persze nem, mert ez az állás még nagy *etvasz*."	'pal; you'll get away with it; not big of a deal'	"Ai făcut o mutare destul de tare, *amice*, *o să scapi*, oare, *cu bine*? Bine-nțeles că nu, căci mai e ceva de aşezarea asta."	'my friend; you'll get through it well; there is something with it'

Hungarian	meaning	Romanian	meaning
"Hagyj gondolkodni, *ne pofázz* állandóan."	'don't back-sass me'	"Lasă-mă să mă gândesc, *nu mai face atâta gălăgie*."	'don't make so much noise'
"Én lelövöm, éppen a maga *balfaszsága* miatt."	'because of your dunderheadedness'	"Îl împuşc din cauză că *eşti un prostovan*."	'because you're a moron'
"Én vagyok ugyanis ebben a *patkányfészek* faluban az utolsó ember, aki hajlandó lenne magával kezet szorítani."	'in this rat nest village'	În satul ăsta *uitat de Dumnezeu* sunt ultimul om care ar fi dispus să dea mâna cu dumneata."	'in this village forgotten by God'

4.1.3. Changes in sentence type

Sometimes, there is also a change of sentence type – negative sentences are used instead of the affirmative ones or vice versa, often employing antonym translation as well, like in the table below.

Table 7. *Examples of changes in sentence type*

Hungarian	meaning	Romanian	meaning
"Pedig *szép asszony lenne*. Mit lenne, hát az is, szép."	'she's beautiful'	"Deşi *nu-i femeie urâtă*. Nici vorbă de aşa ceva, e de-a dreptul ruptă din soare."	'she isn't ugly'
"Valamit *innál*-e?"	'would you like to…?'	"*Nu vrei să bei* ceva?"	'wouldn't you like to…?'
"Jut eszembe!"	'I've just remembered'	"Ah, să nu uit!"	'So I won't forget'
"Ugye, *jól emlékszem*, hogy ön hentes?"	'I remember it correctly'	"*Nu mă înşeală memoria*, nu-i aşa că sunteţi măcelar?"	'my memory doesn't trick me'
"Attól még *szerethetem* megnézni a szép templomokat."	'I still may like it'	"Dar asta *nu-nseamnă că nu-mi place* să vizitez câte o biserică."	'it doesn't mean I may not like it'
"Gyerekek *akkor beszélnek*, *ha* a felnőttek megkérik őket erre."	'children talk only if…'	"Copiii *nu vorbesc decât dacă*-i întreabă ceva cei mari."	'children don't talk unless…'
"*Hagyjon már békén* ezekkel!"	'leave me alone'	"*Nu mă mai bate la cap* cu tâmpeniile astea!"	'don't bother me'
"*Nem fogom* én ezt magának *elfelejteni*."	'I won't forget it'	"O să ţin minte…"	'I'll keep that in mind'
"Ne dumálj!"	'don't chit-chat'	"Lasă gargara!"	'drop the gargle'
"Mert belőlem *nem veszett ki még* a szeretet."	'I didn't lose; it didn't die'	"Fiindcă dragostea de semeni *este încă vie* în sufletul meu."	'it is still alive'
"Azt gondolják, bátrak és erősek? Mindjárt meglátja, mennyire *nem azok*."	'how much you aren't'	"Aveţi impresia că sunteţi curajoşi şi puternici? O să vezi imediat cât de curajoşi şi puternici *sunteţi*."	'how much you are'

In these situations, the change of the sentence type seems rather to be an option of the translator, as he chose not to render the given meanings in their original form, though it would have been possible.

4.1.4. Translating wordplays

There are cases in which the Romanian translation bears "losses" due to the fact that linguistically it cannot exploit the same wordplays or lexical associations as the Hungarian language can. One eloquent example in this regard is the scene where the younger daughter disapproves her father's old habit of showing off – while drunk – just because his (family) name is Ács 'Carpenter', alluding to the fact that if he is the *Carpenter*, then he's actually Jesus's father, as Joseph himself was a carpenter: "csak ne integessen, azt mondja nekik, mint a múltkor, hogy *ha József ács volt, akkor maga József, mert hogy maga hivatalosan Ács, úgy mint született Ács Mihály*, erre különösen nagyon vissza tudok emlékezni, hogy született Ács Mihály, és hogy *tulajdonképpen akkor maga a Jézus apja, az igazi ács*, József meg az itteni böllér, mert végső soron ő csak egy József és másodfokon ács". This allusion to the biblical figure is not possible in the Romanian translation, as Romanian readers would not necessarily associate the given Hungarian family name with a craft (as Hungarian readers naturally do): "nu mai da atâta din mână, o să le spui, ca data trecută, că *dacă Iosif a fost dulgher, atunci mata eşti Iosif, că pe mata te cheamă oficial Ács*, că te-ai născut cu numele de Ács Mihály, îmi amintesc foarte clar treaba asta, şi că, *prin urmare, matale eşti tatăl lui Isus, adevăratul dulgher*, iar Iosif este casapul de-aici, fiindcă, la urma urmei, el nu-i decât un Iosif şi doar în al doilea rând dulgher". This is why the translator inserts a footnote explaining the source of irony in this passage: "Numele de familie al acestui personaj, în traducere literală, este Dulgheru" 'the character's family name, in literal translation, means Carpenter'.

Another great challenge is that of translating linguistic jokes or wordplays based on polysemy. In some cases, it is possible to find a somewhat equivalent wordplay in Romanian, like in the following reply:

– "*Vágott*?	– "*Ați făcut treabă*?
– *Ja. Savanyú pofát*. Hehe.	– *Ăhă. Am făcut mutre*. Hehehe.
Egyébként vágtam. Hármat is.	Am făcut treabă.
Hál Istennek, van munka elég."	Le-am făcut felul la trei porci."

When asked whether he cut pigs that day ("*Vágott*?" 'Did you cut (pigs)?'), the butcher answers with a wordplay introducing an idiom with the verb *vágni* 'to cut', namely the expression *pofát vágni* 'to make a face'. Somewhat similar is the Romanian translation where the translator rendered the meaning 'to cut (pigs)'

using the verb *a face* 'to make', which later on could be introduced in the idiom *a face mutre* 'to make a face'.

But often it is not possible to render a linguistic joke, which is lost in translation such as in the passage where the corporal shows off his power making a joke out of the fact that the Hungarian word that denotes his official rank is also the root of the verb which means 'to decimate': "Tizedelés lesz. Nomen est omen. *Tizedes tizedel*. Jó vicc, nem?". This is not the case in Romanian language, where the wordplay is not possible: "Va urma decimarea. Nomen est omen. *Caporalul decimează*. Bun banc, nu?" Hence the translator felt the need to provide the readers with an explanation given in a footnote: "*Tizedes tizedel* – Joc de cuvinte intraductibil: „decimarea", ca şi maghiarul *tizedes* (caporalul = şef peste zece soldați), trimite la numeralul zece" 'the wordplay cannot be translated: *to decimate* in Hungarian is *tizedel*, which, just like the Hungarian word for corporal, *tizedes,* i.e. chief commanding over ten soldiers, has the same root: the number *ten*'.

Another challenge is raised by translating wordplays based on sonority such as the iterative phrase in Hungarian meaning 'what's up?': "Üdvözlöm, böllér. Hogy *ityeg a fityeg*?" Though a kind of iterative sounding is kept in the Romanian translation as well, it still becomes rather a tongue twister than a playful utterance: "Sal'tare, casapule. *Care mai e maracu'*?"

4.1.5. Changes in the signified

The change of the language sometimes consists of the translator's choice to use a term which denotes a signified different from the one found in the Hungarian original, i.e. the Romanian translation introduces a change of the semantic field. Though literal translation or, in any case, a translation closer to the semantic domain of the Hungarian original would be possible, the Romanian text turns to other notional spheres or representations like in the table below.

Table 8. *Examples of the changes in the signified*

Hungarian	**meaning**	**Romanian**	**meaning**
"*Tiszta nyál* a szeretetétől minden. Nyálban tocsogunk, drága gyermek."	'pure saliva; nothing but drool'	"Ea crede că totu-i *curat ca lacrima* de-atâta dragoste. Când colo, umblăm prin bale pân' la genunchi."	'as pure as a tear'[7]
"Miket nem mondasz? *Szégyenbe hozod* az embert."	'make one feel *embarrassed*'	"Ce îndrugi acolo? Îi faci pe oameni *să se simtă prost*."	'make one feel *bad*'
"*elgyengül* a kezem"	'to weaken'	"*o să mi se usuce* mâna"	'to dry'

7 When referring to something extremely emotional. Interestingly, the second part of the sentence keeps the conceptual sphere of the original.

Hungarian	meaning	Romanian	meaning
"Minden ébredéskor úgy érzem, *kitárul* körém az egész *világ*."	'the world opens up'	"Ori de câte ori mă trezesc, am senzația că *lumea* întreagă *râde de bucurie* în jurul meu."	'the world laughs with joy'
"Hány *kijárata* van ennek a háznak, Virág?"	'exit'	"Virág, câte *intrări* are casa asta?"	'entrance'[8]
"Bárki civilért én *feleljek*?"	'to answer for; to be responsible for'	"*Să dârdâi de frică* din cauza fiecărui civil?"	'to tremble with fear'
"Jó, *ne többet* erről!"	'let's not talk about this anymore'	"Bine, *o să schimbăm subiectul*!"	'let's change the subject'
"Nem tud *a saját lábán* megjelenni?"	'on his own feet'	"Nu poate de unul singur?"	'alone; on his own'
"Szerencsétlen, *aberrált* senki."	'aberrant; prone to sexual disorder'	"Eşti un neica-nimeni, *o greşeală a naturii*."	'an error of nature'
"Ráadásul már a második ember *halálát okozza* az ostobaságával."	'to cause the death of'	"În plus, cu prostia asta a ta, *ai deja pe conştiință* două vieți."	'to have on one's conscience'
"Na, üljön le valamelyik padba, és imádkozzék a lelki *üdvéért*!"	'for your spiritual salvation; redemption'	"Hai, aşază-te într-o bancă şi roagă-te pentru *nemurirea* sufletului!"	'for the immortality of your soul'
"A háború *nagy* színház, tiszteletes, és maguk civilként *rosszul* mozognak ezeken a deszkákon."	'big (theatre) / (you move) badly'	"Războiul e un teatru *uriaş*, părinte, iar voi, în rolul civililor, vă mişcați *penibil* pe scândurile astea."	'huge (theatre) / (you move) awkwardly; ridiculously; embarrassingly'
"Vajon mi lehet az enyéimmel? *Sokat* gondolok rájuk."	'I think about them *a lot; very much*'	"Oare ce-or fi făcând ai mei? *Tot timpul* mă gândesc la ei."	'I think about them *all the time*'
"És most *elveszik* tőlem a disznóimat."	'they *take* my pigs'	"Iar acum ăştia *mă lasă fără* porci."	'they *leave me* with no pigs'

As a matter of fact, these cases mentioned above may also be labelled as "discursive creation", i.e. "an operation in the cognitive process of translating by which a non-lexical equivalence is established that only works in context" (Molina & Hurtado Albir 2002: 505).

4.2. Aspects of "world view"

The most significant differences regarding the world view also present themselves on the level of the language use, as – in Humboldtian terms (1999) – language not only reflects the outside reality, but thought itself is determined by language, it is confined by it.

8 This example may also be interpreted as a specific case of antonym translation or modulation, changing the point of view (cf. Molina & Hurtado Albir 2002: 510).

4.2.1. Changes in the (linguistic) conceptualization

Thus, there are many cases where words or idiomatic expressions have different objectual or symbolic associations in the two languages. A literal translation – though possible – cannot apply in these situations either because the expressions in question do not fit in the conceptual world of the target audience or because they would sound odd in the context of the sentence/paragraph where they occur; hence the difference between the original and the translation, as in: "Na, jött az átkozott. A fogónak megfogadott emberek persze mind félreugrottak. Jön nekem, egyenesen nekem *a dög*. És mekkora nagy olyankor!" – "Ei, şi-a dat năvală afurisitul. Oamenii plătiți să-l prindă, bine-nțeles, au luat-o la sănătoasa. Se repede *fiara* drept la mine. Şi ce mare e în clipele astea!" Giving an account of how he cut the pig that morning, the butcher describes the pig attacking him: 'It came straight towards me, *the bastard*', literally '*the carrion*' (in the Hungarian version) vs. 'The *bastard* rushed straight to me', literally '*the beast*' (in the Romanian translation). Both the Hungarian and Romanian terms pertain to the semantic field of the concept 'animal', referring to the great proportions of the pig in question, but while the Hungarian term also contains the notion of 'laziness', 'lack of effort or activity', due to the fact that it also implies the idea of 'death', being used to designate 'the decaying flesh of dead animals', the Romanian term, on the contrary, suggests the vividness of the animal, very much alive. In other instances, the Hungarian term *dög* 'carrion; dirty dog, little bastard' has other correspondences, like in: "Ne játssz velem, te kis *dög*" 'Don't play with me, you little bastard (with reference to a woman)' – "Nu te juca cu mine, *putoare* mică" 'Don't play with me, you small piece of stench', i.e. in the Romanian translation, there is an association with smell as well. There is also a difference between being 'unlucky' and 'unworthy', though they are set as correspondences in: "Miket beszélsz, te *szerencsétlen*?" 'with no luck' – "Ce vorbă-i asta, *neisprăvito*?" 'with no situation, no purpose, who is headless, of nothing; incapable'.

As a matter of fact, there are several examples in which – as a natural consequence of the fact that language reflects the mentality of its speakers – words and idioms have different conceptual associations in the two languages like in the table below.

Table 9. *Examples of the differences in the (linguistic) conceptualization*

Meaning	**Hungarian**		**Romanian**	
cursing	"Hogy rohadna beléd!"	'may it rot in you'	"Sta-ți-ar în gât!"	'may it stay in your throat'
'to pursue someone romantically'	"Itt *legyeskedik körülöttem* már hónapok óta, azt hiszi, teljesen hülye a férjem?"	'to fly around (i.e. to dance attendance)'	"*Îmi faci ochi dulci* de câteva luni de zile, doar nu-l crezi pe bărbatu-meu complet tâmpit?"	'to make sweet eyes at (i.e. to make sheep's eyes at)'
'not being able to say something'	"Nem *áll rá* a szám."	'my mouth doesn't stand on that'	"Nu-mi *iese* de pe buze."	'it doesn't leave my mouth'
'to trust somebody'	"Úgy higgyék el, ahogy mondom."	'believe me as I say'	"Credeți-mă pe cuvânt."	'trust my word'
meal blessing	"Aki nékünk ételt, italt adott, annak neve legyen áldott!"	'whoever gave us food and drink, may his name be blessed'	"Binecuvântează-l, Doamne, pe cel ce ne ospătează!"	'may God bless the one who feeds us'
'to be well-received'	"Tudom, sehol sem *látják jó szívvel* a rossz hír hozóját."	'see with good heart'	"Știu că nicăieri nu-i *privit cu ochi buni* cel ce aduce o veste proastă."	'see with good eyes'
'better safe than sorry (proverb)'	"Jobb félni, mint megijedni, Mariska…"	'better be afraid than get scared'	"Paza bună trece primejdia rea, Mariska…"	'good guard passes bad danger'
'to exaggerate'	"De nem kell *nagyobb feneket keríteni* a dolognak, mint..."	'to get it a large bottom'	"Dar nu trebuie *să facem din țânțar armăsar*..."	'to make a stallion out of a mosquito'
'to go to waste or to be destined for destruction'	"Minden ott van otthon, *ebek harmincadjára marad*, ha nem vagyunk otthon"	'it remains to the 30th of dogs (i.e. it goes to the dogs)'	"A rămas totul acasă, *se duce totul pe apa sâmbetei*, dacă n-o să fim acasă"	'it goes on the water of Saturday'
'to be impatient'	"De be vannak *sózva*."	'you're salted'	"Aoleu, da' chiar *n-aveți stare*."	'you don't have the mood'
'to treat somebody well'	"Hogy itt *tejben-vajban fürösztött* bennünket."	'to bathe in milk and butter'	"…că ne-ai răsfățat și *ne-ai ținut ca-n puf*."	'to hold in down'
'to spread rumours'	"Még hírbe hoz."	'bring into news'	"Mă mai bagi şi-n gura lumii."	'put into the world's mouth'
'to talk a lot'	"Mit kell neked mindig *kotyognod*!"	'to blab'	"Tacă-ți clanța odată! Ia nu mai *turui ca o moară stricată*!"	'to chatter as a broken mill'
'to talk a lot'	"Összevissza fecseg itt mindent..."	'to blather here and there'	"Îndrugi verzi şi uscate..."	'to chatter green and dry'
'to be characteristic of somebody'	"*Nem áll* pedig *távol* az aljasság magától."	'it isn't far from you'	"Las' că *nu ți-e* samavolnicia chiar așa *străină*."	'it isn't strange for you'
'not be deceived'	"Csakhogy én *ezen átlátok*, atyám."	'to see through'	"Numai că eu *știu să citesc gândurile*, părinte."	'to read someone's mind'

Meaning	Hungarian		Romanian	
'to deceive, to fool'	"És élveztem a helyzetet. […] Azt, kedves uram az úrban, hogy én *tehetem lóvá magukat*."	'to make someone become a horse'	"Chiar am savurat situația. [...] ci, dragă domnule, faptul că eu sunt cel care *vă poate trage în piept*."	'to shoot in the chest'
'to solve a problem'	"Lehet, hogy már a második jelenetben *zöldágra vergődünk* a pácienssel."	'to struggle on to green branches'	"Poate că reuşim s-*ajungem la liman* cu pacientul încă din scena a doua."	'to get to the shore'
'to court somebody'	"Mondja csak, tanító, melyiknek *csapja a szelet*?"	'to hit the wind for someone'	"Spune-mi, învățătorule, *de dragul căreia suspini*?"	'to sigh for someone'

4.2.2. The issue of linguistic politeness

Another interesting issue regarding the relationship between language and the socio-cultural context is the matter of linguistic politeness. Hungarian society is relatively more conservative as compared to Western cultures in that there is still a tradition of children addressing formally to their parents or generally youngsters to elderly people, men to women when meeting for the first time or talking to strangers, which, on the linguistic level, is marked by using the 3rd person singular, even when directly addressing the interlocutor and by a wide range of polite pronouns. Though the Romanian language also allows this form of linguistic politeness (addressing with a plural *you* employing verbs in the 2nd person plural and polite pronouns), found in the Romanian culture as well, it is not kept in the Romanian translation where these instances would sound rather odd.

Thus, children address their father in a polite way, using either the 3rd person singular of the verbs or polite pronouns like in: "Jaj! Hát hülye *maga*? Tisztára hülye? Hogy *néz* ki? Az Istenit a pofájának! Hülye *maga*?" Though the conventions of politeness itself are defied since the younger daughter reproaches something to the elder and quite in an impolite fashion, as face-threatening, formally linguistic politeness is still present, unlike in the Romanian translation, where 2nd person singular is used with no polite pronoun: "Aaaa! *Eşti* țicnit? *Ți-ai* pierdut mințile? *Te-ai* țăcănit la cap? Fire-ai *tu* să fii! *Te-ai* țicnit?" Interestingly, there is no linguistic politeness between the daughters and their mother (though also customary in Hungarian) which may denote a closer, more intimate relationship between these characters.

Linguistic politeness characterizes the relationship between married couples as well; hence, the wife addresses formally to her husband, using the 3rd person singular: "Mihály, *menjen* már, *hozza rendbe magát*, mindjárt itt vannak a vendégek". This would sound odd in Romanian; hence, the translator adopts

the more customary 2nd person singular: "Mihály, *du-te* odată şi *aranjează-te*, că acuşi pică şi oaspeţii".

Using possessive forms to express intimacy between the members of the family when addressing directly to each other is also characteristic of Hungarian, but these possessives are not used in Romanian, hence they are omitted: (among sisters) "Apuska elszomorodna, ha hallaná, *Erzsikém*..." – "Tătucu tare s-ar mai întrista dacă te-ar auzi vorbind aşa..."; (among husband and wife) "Én is félek, *Mariskám*." – "Şi mie mi-e frică, *Mariska*". Throughout the play, the Hungarian original makes use more often of the linguistic politeness than the Romanian translation, though found in it as well, even if not in a consistent way. There are instances in which politeness – although clearly marked at the first encounter between the characters – is transgressed later on as the conflict goes deeper.

4.2.3. Insertions

The Romanian translation includes inserts of passages that do not exist in the Hungarian original. These fragments function as explanatory notes that make the situation presented even more explicit – as the translator might have felt the need for some kind of supplementary clarifications for the audience or because by adding these portions of text the replies of the characters would be even more powerful. These inserts are usually limited to words or syntagms like in: "Mit hallott a... katonákról? / *Azok vannak*. Itt vannak. Már egészen, közel, valahol" 'there are, i.e. they are here' – "Ce-ai auzit despre... soldaţi? / Sunt *puzderie*. Sunt aici. Undeva foarte pe-aproape" 'there are *tons* of them'; "Az más" 'that's different' – "Asta e *cu totul* altceva" 'that's *completely* different'; "Háborúban vagyunk. Meg lehet szokni" 'we can get used to *it*' – "Suntem pe timp de război. Ne putem obişnui *cu situaţia creată*" 'we can get used to *the created situation*' (insert meant to clarify the sentence, also a linguistic constraint to explicit a complement); "Ne próbálkozzanak szökéssel, mert lövetek" 'I'll have you shot' – "Nu care cumva să încercaţi să evadaţi, că dau ordin să fiţi împuşcaţi *pe loc*" 'I'll have you shot *on the spot*'; "Szóval néma. Rendben van. Tehát elkezdődött. Éreztem én, hogy ez lesz a vége" 'it's begun' – "Vasăzică e mut. În regulă. Vasăzică a-nceput *distracţia*. Am presimţit eu că aşa o să se termine" 'the *fun* has begun'; "Reméljük, sok kellemes percet fogunk együtt eltölteni, amíg itt tartózkodnak" 'while you are here' – "Sperăm să petrecem împreună multe clipe minunate pe durata şederii dumneavoastră *la noi în sat*" 'while you are here, *in our village*'; "Maguk csak civilek" 'you're only civilians' – "Sunteţi nişte *amărâţi* de civili" 'you're only some *wretched* civilians'; "Mit mondjak, van fantáziája" 'you've got imagination' – "Ce să zic, aveţi fantezie, *nu glumă*" 'you've got imagination, *no joke*'; "Hát, barátom, irigylem, hogy ilyen körülmények között él itt" 'I envy you' - "Ei, prietene, *tare* vă mai invidiez pentru viaţa pe care-o duceţi aici" 'I

envy you *very much*'; "Köszönöm, én nem kérek. Én a véres hurkát sem szoktam megenni. Állat vérét enni embernek..." 'I don't eat blood sausage' – "Mulțumesc, dar eu nu mănânc. Nu obişnuiesc să mănânc nici sângerete, *nici caltaboş*. Să mănânci sânge de animal mi se pare..." 'I don't eat blood sausage, *nor liver sausage*'; "Olybá tűnt számomra, hogy barátok vagyunk. Hogy értjük egymást" 'we understand each other' – "Mie mi se păruse că suntem prieteni. Că ne înțelegem *ca oamenii*" 'we understand each other *as people do*'; "A hazugság pedig csúnya dolog, nem? Tessék bólogatni! *(Valamennyien bólogatnak.)*" 'they nod' – "Iar minciuna e lucru urât, nu? Vă rog să dați din cap! (Cu toții dau din cap *a încuviința*re.)" 'they nod *as a sign of consent*'; "Boros úr az önök szép háziasszonyának akarta megmutatni, hogy ő egy férfi" 'he's a man' – "Domnul Boros a vrut să-i arate frumoasei dumneavoastră gazde că-i un bărbat *adevărat*" 'he's a *real* man'; "Mindhárman kimennek" 'all three go out' – "Cei trei *militari* ies" 'all three *soldiers* go out'; "Erre nem számítottál, mi?" 'you didn't expect this' – "Nu te-ai aşteptat la *mutarea* asta, ai?" 'you didn't expect this *move*'; "Te, mondd csak, tényleg a miatt a nő miatt csináltad?" 'did you do it for that woman?' – "Ia zi, băi, pe bune, din cauza femeii ai făcut *ce-ai făcut*?" 'did you do *what you did* for that woman?'; "Mit kell magának mindig kapkodnia?" 'why do you have to act in haste?' – "De ce-o fi trebuind să vă pripiți mereu *în halul ăsta*?" 'why do you have to act in haste *in this manner*?'; "És tudja meg, hogy most ítélte halálra *gőgösségével* ezt a szerencsétlen hülyét" 'with your pridefulness' – "Şi află că tocmai l-ai condamnat la moarte pe-amărâtul ăsta tembel, cu orgoliul tău *neînfrânat*" 'with your *unrestrained* pridefulness'; "Jól ül, atyám? Nem töri a seggét a hideg pad?" 'on the cold bench' – "Te-ai instalat comod, părinte? Nu-ți rupe curu' banca rece *ca gheața*?" 'on the *ice* cold bench'; "Hát nem hülyeség?" 'Isn't that stupid?' – "Păi, nu e *curată* tâmpenie?" 'Isn't that *really* stupid?' These instances of insertion generally function as a means of explicitation.

4.2.4. Omissions

The passages where the Romanian translation omits some content are considerably less numerous. For example, the biblical reference is missing in the passage where the host invites his guests to drink one more glass, as a farewell: "No, azért csak egy *János*-poharat, ha meg nem sértem a társaságot, egy kicsike *János*-poharat, az egy fél pillanat..." 'let's have a *(St.) John's* glass' – "Hai, să bem măcar un păhărel, dacă nu se supără distinsa companie, doar un păhărel, într-o clipită..." 'let's have a glass'. Other portions where the translator omits words are: "Azt gondolják, a háború minden *írott* emberi szabályt felrúg." 'all *written* rules' – "Ei cred că războiul aboleşte orice regulă umană." 'all rules'; "Miért nem ölsz meg, *te sátán*?" 'Why don't you kill me, *you devil*?' – "De ce nu mă omori?" Why don't you kill me?'

4.3. Change of the poetics

The poetics of the original text (i.e. the author's presuppositions of what contemporary theatre can or cannot be) is governed by the idea of *crisis*. The play shows how in times of the crises of the theatre (the world nowadays being unworthy of dramatic representation since there is nothing left, no values and no hope for a change) a new dramatic genre has to emerge: *the play of crisis*. Thus, bearing in mind the needs and taste of the audience, and taking into account the accelerated rhythm of life and the crises of the world (and of theatre) in nowadays society, the play strikes with its straightforwardness; with its linguistic economy (using short, often elliptical sentences); and with the relative simplicity of the language which bears the linguistic trends of the day, very much influenced by slang. The Romanian translation, in its turn, carries the demands of its target audience often presenting itself as being even simpler (on the linguistic level) than the Hungarian original.

There is, however, a difference in concept regarding the presentation of the characters at the beginning of the play. As a matter of fact, the list of the characters is the very first encounter of the reader with the people whose lives are about to be unravelled. (Naturally, this is the case only for the written play, not the one acted on stage, where the spectators have no prior information about the characters as the reader does). This first impression is quite significant as it sets the readers' expectations. In this regard, there are situations in which the Hungarian original provides a more detailed description of certain characters, whereas the Romanian translation is briefer, omitting some information, as simplifying, like in the case of the two main characters (husband and wife): "ÁCS MIHÁLY, böllér, ötven év körüli, hatalmas, erős ember. Nem műveletlen, de nem is túl okos. *Kedélyes férfiú, szeret enni, inni, mulatni.*" 'Ács Mihály, butcher, about fifty years old, huge, strong man. Not uneducated, but not too smart either. *He's a cheerful man, he likes eating, drinking, having fun*' (the latter information being left out in the Romanian translation) – "ÁCS Mihály, de meserie casap, un bărbat ca la vreo cincizeci de ani, solid, vânjos. Nu este incult, dar nici din cale afară de deştept." 'Ács Mihály, butcher, about fifty years old, strong, vigorous man. Not uneducated, but not especially smart either.'; "ÁCS MIHÁLYNÉ, MARISKA szépasszony, jó tíz évvel fiatalabb az uránál. *Felvágták a nyelvét, nem tennénk érte tűzbe a kezünket, ha ez jelent valamit.*" 'Mrs Ács, Mariska, pretty woman, more than ten years younger than her husband. *She's very talkative, we wouldn't put our hands into the fire for her, if that means anything*' (whereas Romanian readers are not given such a warning as the one in the latter part) – "MARISKA, SOȚIA LUI ÁCS MIHÁLY, o femeie frumoasă, cu vreo zece ani mai tânără decât soțul ei." 'Mariska, Ács Mihály's wife, pretty woman, more than ten years younger than her husband.'

In other instances, in contrast, the Romanian translation compensates, providing information about the characters that are not specified in the Hungarian original, like in: "TISZTELETES – hatvan év körüli, kenetteljes, de kemény, számító ember" 'the reverend – about sixty years old, pious, but a tough, calculating man' – "REVERENDUL, un bărbat ca la şaizeci de ani, cuvios *rău de tot*, dar, în acelaşi timp, un tip inflexibil, calculat, *oportunist*" 'the reverend – a man about sixty years old, *extremely* pious, but in the same time inflexible, calculating, *opportunist*'; "TIZEDES – harmincöt év körüli, tapasztalatlan. Fővárosi, ez hol nyafkaságban, hol tájékozatlanságban mutatkozik meg. Kiegyensúlyozatlan, meggondolatlan" 'the corporal – about thirty-five years old, inexperienced. He's from the capital, which manifests in him being either a cry-baby or disoriented. He's unstable, rash' – "CAPORALUL, în vârstă de vreo treizeci şi cinci de ani, lipsit de experienţă. Este de fel din capitală, fapt ce se observă ba din văicărelile lui, ba din dezorientarea lui *continuă*. Este labil psihic, pripit" 'the corporal – about thirty-five years old, unexperienced. He's from the capital, which manifests in him being either a cry-baby or *continuously* disoriented. He's mentally unstable, rash'.

In other cases, the differences between how the characters are presented in the original on the one hand and in the translation on the other hand are not in terms of omissions or inserts but also in the sense of slight yet significant changes in connotation or in the conceptual domain of the characters' features themselves. For instance, the Romanian term denoting the profession of the main character, the head of the family, the father figure, is *casap* 'butcher', which figuratively may also mean 'cruel, ruthless', features which the Hungarian term *böllér* 'butcher' doesn't entail. The youngest girl is presented as being "hebrencs, életrevaló" 'scatter-brained / hasty, lively' vs. "aiurită, plină de viaţă" 'absent-minded, full of life'. While the first Hungarian term mostly pertains to the folk register and also contains the supplementary meaning of 'fast talker', its Romanian equivalent belongs to the common language use and lacks the meaning related to speech speed. Similarly, the latter Hungarian term also entails 'ingeniousness' and 'wittiness', unlike the Romanian term, which does not comprise these meanings. Likewise, the soldier named Krausz is described in the Hungarian original as being "izgága, sunyi" 'fire-eater (agitated), sly', while in the Romanian translation he appears as being "arţăgos din fire, chiulangiu" 'short-tempered, loafer'. One of the neighbours, a woman, is presented in the Hungarian text as "GULYÁS*NÉ*" 'Mrs Gulyás', where the notion 'somebody's wife' is expressed by means of familiar, common language usage, suggesting that the character is one of the folk people, whereas the Romanian term "*MADAM* GULYÁS" 'Madame Gulyás' seems to suggest that she is one of the elite class of the villagers (though it may also have an ironic reading – still missing from the Hungarian).

5. Final notes

It is worth noting that the constraints imposed on the "(re)writer", i.e. the translator, are not absolute restrictions, meaning they are open to change whenever new conditions establish requiring new solutions. This fact, among others, also contributes to the dynamic nature of the act of translation, which makes it difficult to assess a given translated text by means of undifferentiated tools or principles. The translation of Zalán's play may pose different challenges that lead to changes, but these changes may neutralize in the overall meaning, scope, and fabric of the play.

On the one hand, the translator is bound to adopt certain translation techniques in order to convey the meanings of the original as faithful as possible, preserving its formal and stylistic features. On the other hand, there is also a freedom of choice since the translator may also opt for "individual transfer strategies" (Klaudy 2003: 175) which he or she develops during his or her translation practice. These individual strategies reflect the translator's views on translation, what he or she considers to be the basic principle of rendering a source text. In other words, besides the general transfer strategies which govern all translation choices, we must also take into account the individual transfer strategies which are peculiar to one specific translator. Although the act of translation constantly shifts its focus in-between respecting the source language text and respecting the target language reader, it is the translator who shapes the extent of these two principles.

In addition, it is also important to bear in mind the fact that translators are also cultural mediators. They do not merely encounter certain language-specific issues to solve in a routine-like manner once they have overcome the difficulties resulting from differences between languages, but they also need to bridge the gaps between different cultures. In other words, moving freely between cultures is just as much part of the translators' competence as shifting from one language to another. That being so, the changes in the Romanian translation of Zalán's play which we have discussed in the present paper may be attributed to a complex of *general* and *individual transfer strategies* as well as *language-specific* and *culture-specific transfer strategies* (see Klaudy 2003: 174–175).

Keeping in mind the intricate nature of translation, the comparative analysis of the Hungarian source text and the Romanian target text presented above is also meant to call attention to the importance of popularizing contemporary Hungarian literature and to urge Romanian readers to read contemporary literature of neighbouring countries, if possible, not via international translations.

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Speaking Properly: Language Ideologies of Hungarian Interpreters from Transylvania

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Abstract. The paper presents the results of a research project that aimed to identify the explicit and implicit language ideologies of a group of Hungarian interpreters from Transylvania or of Transylvanian origin, now living and working in Romania and in Hungary. During the online focus group meetings, the participants reflected on their own professional and linguistic practices and experiences, talking about their stories of individual language socialization and providing detailed career narratives. The study seeks to identify the interpreters' explicit and implicit language ideologies in the context of their working languages, their attitudes towards these languages, towards the standard and the non-standard varieties, as well as their experiences connected to these languages in the light of the quality assurance expectations formulated regarding their activities as professional language service providers.

Keywords: standard language, language ideologies, language socialization, interpreting as a profession, participatory research

1. Introduction

The use of the standard as a codified language variety is assumed to be a basic requirement for translators and interpreters, i.e. professional speakers/language users (Kontra 2005) providing language services, since the written and spoken standard is not only associated with high-quality performance but is also a criterion of quality assurance in both translation and interpreting (see e.g. Collados Aís & García Becerra 2015). Language standard and standardization are at the same time "inherently ideological" (McLelland 2021): standard language ideology encompasses assumptions about language correctness, which can be even more articulated in the context of providing professional language services.

There have been several attempts to define standard language in both the international and Hungarian sociolinguistic literature. Lanstyák (2016) outlines three possible theoretical approaches: for some authors, the standard is interpreted as an ideal that represents the totality of a language (and through language, the nation itself); for others, it is an existing codified language variety of a speech community (Tolcsvai 2017: 222); and thirdly, it is understood as an ideological, discursively created construct.

In his paper on language standards, standardization, and standard ideologies in multilingual contexts, McLelland (2021) provides a detailed review of standardization studies. He defines three waves in this particular body of research and demonstrates that both the broadly structuralist approach of the first-wave and second-wave standardization studies are mostly monolingual in their focus, the latter providing "more nuanced analyses of the emergence of language norms and standards" as it draws on the findings of historical sociolinguistics (McLelland 2021). The third wave of standardization studies returns to its roots in anthropological linguistics, meaning that it explores "the transmission and perpetuation of ideology" regarding language standardization, seeking "to understand how language standardisation ideologies and processes are discursively constructed and enacted in multilingual contexts" (McLelland 2021).

Language ideologies can be explicit and implicit: the explicit ones are outlined in the speakers' metalinguistic and metapragmatic utterances, while the implicit ones can be identified in the speakers' linguistic practices (see e.g. Bodó 2016: 130–132). In Woolard's (2021) words "(l)anguage ideologies occur not only as mental constructs and in verbalizations but also in practices and dispositions and in material phenomena such as visual representations" (Woolard 2021: 2).

This paper presents the results of two online group discussions with professional Hungarian interpreters who were born in Transylvania and who either work there or have relocated to Hungary. One of the working languages of all the interpreters is Hungarian. The goal of this study is to analyse how the participants' language ideologies are constructed in a multilingual context, how they make use of and assess their language repertoire in the light of external expectations (those of the clients, of the profession, etc.) or the ones they themselves formulate towards their own (linguistic) performance as interpreters. We also discuss how their identities as multilingual speakers and linguistic mediators are shaped by the diversity of the languages and language varieties they have come in contact with and relate to in one way or another.

2. Interpreting as a profession – Authorization and training from a minority perspective

It is beyond the scope of this paper to give a thorough overview of interpreting as a profession in Romania, as there have been several studies on the topic. These mostly focus on the flaws in the authorization process of translators and interpreters to obtain an official professional status (e.g. Greere 2010), the lack of differentiation between and the frequent interchangeability of the translation and interpreting concepts both in legislation and in practice (Szasz & Olt 2016), as well as the training programmes higher education institutions provide (Fazakas & Sárosi-Márdirosz 2015).

These studies precede the latest changes in legislation: in 2016, Law No. 178/1997 on the authorization and payment of interpreters and translators was amended. Prior to that, applicants who were able to attest their language skills either by holding an undergraduate degree in a foreign language or a certificate showing that they had graduated from a high school where the language of instruction was one of the minority languages spoken in Romania were automatically issued an authorization by the Ministry of Justice based on an application file (Greere 2010; Fazakas & Sárosi-Márdirosz 2015). Others (e.g. graduates of non-language degrees) could obtain authorization by taking the translation test organized by the Ministry of Culture in the legal domain and present the certificate to the Ministry of Justice. The lax procedure resulted in a significantly high number of authorized or sworn translators and interpreters having received little or no formal training.

Since 2016, all applicants need to undergo the testing procedure administered by the Ministry of Culture in the legal domain. The test focuses solely on written translation; however, the authorization allows successful applicants to perform both translation and interpreting tasks without verifying the distinctive competences required (Greere 2010).

Before the translation and interpreting programme at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania was established, there had been no training available in Hungarian as a working language at any higher education institutions in Romania, except for optional courses on translation theory and practice as part of the curriculum of the Hungarian language and literature BA programme at Babeş–Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca.[1] This means that the majority of certified Hungarian translators or interpreters did not acquire professional skills and competences at the undergraduate or graduate level. Nevertheless, a group of mostly self-taught Hungarian interpreters was formed after the regime change, who learnt the skills and competences while working. This is true for most of the

1 See e.g. http://hunlang.lett.ubbcluj.ro/data/tantervek/Maghiara-AB_FINAL.pdf (downloaded on 23. 09. 2022.)

participants in the present study, which is why in this particular case the concept of *professional interpreter* is understood as not necessarily having received professional training but making a living from interpreting, even if part-time.

3. Research design, methodology, and participants

The two online group discussions were held in October 2021. There were several reasons for choosing the online platform: on the one hand, the coronavirus lockdowns and stay-at-home orders were still partially in place, whereas on the other, although all of the participants knew each other and had already worked together on several occasions, the geographical distance between their places of residence would have prevented in-person discussions.[2]

The anthropologically informed qualitative sociolinguistic research project was designed implementing the participatory approach in the sense that the initiator is also part of the community of Hungarian interpreters from Transylvania, having worked with all of the participants and also sharing her experiences in regard to the topics discussed. In participatory sociolinguistics, "(t)he linguist has a multi-layered role as a co-producer and co-creator of knowledge, and a facilitator and participant of the research process" (Bodó et al. 2022). Participation and the co-creation of knowledge was easily achieved, as in this particular research project not only the initiator but also the other participants share linguistic (and sociolinguistic) knowledge and professional expertise that means that traditional hierarchies between the researcher and the researched did not have to be addressed. Moreover, although being part of the group of Hungarian interpreters who have been regularly invited to work at events that need interpreting from and into Hungarian for the past 10 years, the project initiator was the last of the participants to join, while most of the others have been collaborating professionally for more than 20-25 years. As such, her position during the discussions was constantly shifting from facilitator (being the one to formulate the questions and lead the discussion) to participant, sometimes even in a subordinate role due to her age and the least amount of professional experience as compared to the others. Being acquainted and having collaborated before resulted in an open and intimate atmosphere during the discussions: the participants were happy to see each other after a long period of social distancing, when in-person events could not be organized, and those who did work during the pandemic did it remotely.

Out of the 6 interpreters contacted by the project initiator, 5 agreed to participate. The discussions were held on the Google Meet platform and recorded after everyone had given their informed consent. The first recording is

2 On the methodological implications of doing sociolinguistic and anthropological research online during the pandemic, see Fazakas & Barabás 2020.

58 minutes long, with a group of three participants, while the second is 1 hour and 27 minutes long, with four participants (including the project initiator in both cases). Methodologically, these can be classified as focus-group discussions as applied in social sciences: the questions and topics discussed draw upon the professional experiences and language ideologies of a particular demographic even if the size of the groups was quite small (cf. Vicsek 2006).

The first group included Participant 1 (P1), Participant 2 (P2), and the project initiator (PI). P1 was born and raised in Miercurea Ciuc, the county seat of Harghita County, a Hungarian-majority town. After finishing her elementary and secondary education in Hungarian, she studied Hungarian and English language and literature at the BA level at a Transylvanian university, received an MA degree in anthropological linguistics, and completed her PhD in translation studies. She also has a degree in political science. She is a certified translator with almost 20 years of experience in translation and interpreting and also works as an assistant professor, teaching at a Hungarian university in Transylvania, within the translation and interpreting programme. Her working languages are Hungarian, Romanian, and English.

P2 comes from a bilingual, in her words, "mixed" family: her father is Hungarian, and her mother is Romanian. She was born in a village in central Transylvania with a Hungarian majority. She received her BA degree in applied foreign languages and completed a PhD in sociolinguistics. She has been working as a certified translator and interpreter for more than 20 years. She teaches English at a technical university in Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Her working languages are Hungarian, Romanian, English, French, and she is also fluent in Italian.

The second group included Participant 3 (P3), Participant 4 (P4), Participant 5 (P5), and the PI. P3 was born in a city in central Transylvania, Reghin, with a longstanding history of societal multilingualism (Hungarian, Romanian, and Saxon). She studied English and Hungarian language and literature, and she has been working as a translator and interpreter from the early 1990s. She relocated to Hungary, where she also teaches English. Her working languages are Romanian, Hungarian, and English.

P4 was raised in Cluj-Napoca. He finished his high-school studies in Hungarian and received an engineering degree at the technical university in the 1960s, completing his studies in Romanian. After the regime change, he moved to Bucharest and worked at the Ministry of Culture, where he started interpreting at cultural events. He is retired but still works at high-profile events, making use of his extensive knowledge in various fields of study. His working languages include Romanian and Hungarian.

P5 was born and raised in Cluj-Napoca. Her father is a Swabian-Hungarian bilingual and her mother is Romanian. She finished her primary and secondary studies in German, and at 19 she moved to Hungary. She studied translation

and interpreting in Budapest, is a certified conference interpreter and has been practising the profession for more than 25 years. Her working languages include Romanian, Hungarian, English, and German.

The project initiator (PI) was born and raised in a county seat in Northern Transylvania (part of the Hungarian "internal diaspora"; cf. Bodó 2010) and completed her primary and secondary education in Hungarian. She studied English and Hungarian language and literature at the BA level and completed her PhD in sociolinguistics. She has been working as a certified translator since 2007 and has been practising interpreting for 10 years. She also works as an associate professor at a Hungarian university in Transylvania and teaches within the translation and interpreting programme. Her working languages include Hungarian, Romanian, and English.

The discussions were organized around several topics, which included stories of individual language socialization, detailed career narratives with a special focus on the experiences that resulted in choosing this particular profession, preferences in regard to the participants' working languages, stories of success and of failure, perceptions of quality (what it means to be a good interpreter) and reflections on expectations, both external, those of the clients and of other interpreters, and internal, formulated by the participants towards their own performance. In the analysis below, I group the examples along these topics, aiming to grasp the explicit and implicit language ideologies of the participants in specific thematic contexts.

4. Analysis

4.1. Language acquisition, language learning

One of the first issues addressed during the discussions was reflecting on the participants' stories of becoming speakers of several languages, and, ultimately, linguistic mediators. All of them were raised in environments where more than one language was spoken, and they see this as something that ultimately shaped their interests and career choices.

Example 1
P1: *Én Csíkszeredában születtem, itt is nőttem fel egészen érettségiig, tehát 18 éves koromig, főként tömbmagyar környezetben, de nagyon sok román barátom, ismerősöm volt, a román nyelv az mindig valamilyen szinten vonzott, jobban, mint mondjuk az angol, így a román irodalom, román nyelvtan, román olimpiászok, minden, az angol az úgy képbe jött, mert hát muszáj volt megtanulni, és akkor úgy 94-ben, tehát 9-edikes koromban,*

kerültem élő amerikai emberekkel kapcsolatba, mikor ilyen vendégtanárok voltak, és akkortól volt az, hogy már a kommunikáció is angolul, nemcsak nyelvtan, nem csak szókészlet, hanem beszélgettünk is.

I was born in Miercurea Ciuc, I grew up here until I graduated from high school, so until I was 18, mostly in a Hungarian-majority environment, but I had a lot of Romanian friends and acquaintances, and Romanian always attracted me to some extent, more than, let's say, English, so Romanian literature, Romanian grammar, Romanian school contests, everything; English came into the picture because I had to learn it, and then around '94, when I was in the 9th grade, I came into contact with real American people, when we had guest teachers, and from then on we were able to communicate in English, not only grammar, not only vocabulary, but we also talked.

Example 2
P2: *én eleve kétnyelvű vagyok, tehát (…) vegyes családból származom, (…) és azt kell tudni a vegyes családról, hogy édesapám magyar, viszont romántanár volt. […] amellett, hogy magyar–román, és hogy ezzel nő ezekkel nőttem fel, (…) franciául elég korán elkezdtem tanulni, talán, édesanyám franciatanárnő, és olyan 9-10 évesen már valamennyire tudogattam, 13-14 évesen már beszéltem franciául. Aztán angolul is picit párhuzamosan, az angolt később kezdtem, de fel tudja az ember tornászni magát annyira, amennyire szüksége van; ugyancsak középiskolában ismerkedtem össze az olasszal, és számomra nagyon izgalmas volt az olasz, mert nagyon-nagyon hasonlít a franciára.*

I was raised bilingual, so (...) I come from a mixed family (...) and what you should know about the mixed family is that my father is Hungarian, but he was a Romanian teacher. [...] besides Hungarian-Romanian, and growing up with that (...) I started learning French quite early, I believe, my mother was a French teacher, and I was already somewhat fluent in French at about 9 or 10 years old, and by 13 or 14 I was already speaking it. And then English somewhere at the same time, I started English later, but you can train yourself as much as you need to; I was also introduced to Italian in high school, and for me Italian was very exciting because it's very, very similar to French.

Example 3
P3: *tehát nekem is otthon így elég soknyelvűek, habár édesanyám is és édesapám is ők magyarok, úgymond, de hát a családban vannak szászok is, vannak románok is, tehát van ott mindenféle, a régi szép időkben három nyelven zajlott minden egy-egy nagyobb, egy-egy születésnap, vagy esküvő*

vagy bármi volt, annyi mondjuk, hogy a szászok azok tudtak románul, magyarul nem biztos, de románul szinte mindenki.

So, in my case, as well, they are quite multilingual at home, although my mother and my father are also Hungarian, so to speak, but in the family, there are also Saxons and Romanians, so there are all kinds of things, in the good old days everything was done in three languages, the big events, birthdays, weddings or whatever, let's say that the Saxons, they knew Romanian, not sure about Hungarian, but almost everyone knew Romanian.

Example 4
P5: *nekem az a történetem, hogy édesapám kétnyelvű, sváb–magyar, anyukám román, és volt egy gyermek, akihez el kellett juttatni három nyelvet, azt mondták, hogy apa beszél magyarul, anya értelemszerűen románul, megy német oviba s német iskolába.*

My story is that my father is bilingual, Swabian–Hungarian, my mother is Romanian, and there was this child who had to be taught three languages; they said that father will speak Hungarian, mother Romanian, of course, and she will go to the German kindergarten and the German school.

In the examples above, we can see that when talking about their personal stories of language socialization, the participants emphasize that several languages were present and spoken in their surrounding environments and that this had a significant effect on their language acquisition and learning processes. In some cases, the informal aspect, i.e. learning the language outside of school is even more accentuated than the formal, educational contexts.

4.2. Career narratives: First experiences

When asked about their first experiences, all of the participants reported a lack of awareness of what interpreting meant when they started practising the profession. P1 was invited to work at a conference together with P2: they had not met before, and P1 reflects on the fact that she did not know what she was supposed to do, as she did not have any experience in consecutive interpreting.

Example 5
P1: *én azelőtt tolmácsoltam törvényszéken, bíróságokon, illetve ilyen hivataloknál, rendőrség, közjegyző, ügyvéd, abban benne volt a blattolás, a suttogó szinkron, a rövid szakaszos, a hosszú szakaszos, mondjuk én jegyzetelni nem szerettem, én inkább a memóriámra hagyatkoztam,*

és megjegyeztem, nagyon, valahogy csak úgy ösztönösen, én ezt nem tanultam sehol, csak úgy éreztem, hogy így nekem kényelmesebb, de a konferenciatolmácsolás az a 2005-ös élmény volt májusban a Pedagógusok, azt hiszem, Szövetségének valami rendezvénye, amikor szegény (P2) nem tudta, hogy én még nem csináltam ilyet.

I had interpreted for courts, courts of law and other authorities, police, notary public, lawyer, and that involved sight translation, chuchotage, short consecutive, long consecutive, but I didn't like taking notes, I preferred to rely on my memory and memorize, sort of just instinctively, I hadn't been taught this anywhere, I just felt it was more comfortable for me, but conference interpreting was that experience in May 2005 at some event of the Teachers', I think, Association, when poor (P2) didn't know that I hadn't done it before.

Example 6
P2: *diákkoromban akadt egy-két alkalom, amikor tolmácsoltam. Nem tudtam, hogy éppen az mit jelent, de hogy egy delegációt ide-oda kísérgetni, vagy egy valakinek a a kiselőadását, nagyelőadását egy színpadon, kiálltam. Kiálltam.* […] *egyáltalán nem tudatosítottam, hogy én valójában mit csinálok* […] *És az úgy valójában jól ment.*

There were one or two occasions when I was a student when I interpreted. I didn't know what that meant, but whether it was escorting a delegation back and forth, or someone's small lecture or big lecture on a stage, I did it. I stood up. [...] I wasn't at all aware of what I was actually doing. [...] And it actually went well.

Example 7
P3: *94-ben Marosvásárhelyen egy nemzetközi színiiskola-fesztivál, ahova belecsöppentem, mint a légy a tejbe, szó szerint […] úgy csináltam én is, mint a székely bácsi, amikor megkérdezték, hogy tud-e zongorázni, akkor azt mondta, hogy biztos tud, még nem próbálta, de biztos tud.*

In '94, in Târgu Mureş, there was an international theatre school festival, where I found myself like a fly in a glass of milk, literally [...] I was like the old Szekler, who when asked if he could play the piano said that he could, he hadn't tried it yet, but he was sure he could.

Example 8
P5: *És így a kezdők bátorságával én belevágtam* […] *amikor vége lett a konferenciának, akkor T. gratulált, és azt mondta:*

– Te nagyon ügyes vagy! S akkor így bátorodtam fel, és léptem erre a pályára.

And so, with the courage of a beginner, I went for it [...] when the conference was over, T. congratulated me and said: "You are very good!" And that's how I gained courage and chose this path.

Example 9
P4: *természetesen véletlenül csöppentem bele, mérnök voltam, és sok év mérnökösködés után* […] *a rendszerváltás után felkerültem a Kulturális Minisztériumba, és ott került teljesen váratlanul egy helyzet, amikor a miniszternek egy kiállításmegnyitó beszédét valakinek le kellett fordítani, és akkor engem ráncigáltak elő, egészen más ügyben voltam ott* […] *és akkor kiderült, hogy megy, és akkor ettől felbátorodtam.*

Of course, I got into it by accident, I was an engineer, and after many years of engineering [...] after the regime change, I started working at the Ministry of Culture, and there was a situation that came up quite unexpectedly, when someone had to translate the minister's speech at the opening of an exhibition, and then I was pushed forward, I was there for a completely different matter [...] and then it turned out that I was good at it, and that gave me courage.

All of these examples illustrate the lack of professional awareness of the participants at the start of their careers, which can be linked to the issue of professional training discussed above. None of the participants had received any formal training in interpreting when they started working in the field (only P5 holds a post-graduate degree in conference interpreting) and had to acquire and develop the skills and competences along the way. Besides the haphazard nature of the participants coming into contact with the profession, there is another common denominator in these narratives: they all received positive feedback and experienced success right at the beginning, which boosted their confidence and gave them courage to pursue this particular career.

4.3. Speaking "properly". Languages, dialects, frustrations

One of the larger topics addressed during the discussions was the issue of preferred languages: the PI, reflecting on her own frustrations and challenges in connection to her working languages and the internalized expectations on using correct language and terminology, invited the other participants to share their own stories of success and of failure and how they thought these were connected to the different languages and varieties they work and come in contact with.

Due to the specificities of the Romanian and Hungarian language markets, all of the participants interpret not only into their L1s but also into some or all of their other working languages. They all stated that they do have preferred languages or directions, while they try to avoid others. When asked about the reasons, they formulated answers that were explicitly or implicitly ideological: some mentioned terminological deficiencies in one or more languages, others, on the other hand, reflected on fears of not speaking "properly".

P1, for example, mentions English as a language she avoids interpreting into because she feels that because of her "Szekler dialect" – as she did not learn proper English pronunciation – the younger generations, who, according to her, are much more fluent in English, would make fun of her. When the PI responds that there are speakers who think that they know English very well while they do not, she responds:

> Example 10
> P1: *igen, de én akkor itt már professzionális nyelvi közvetítő vagyok, nekem az a dolgom, hogy én itt, itt ne úgy beszéljek, mintha Indiából ideestem volna csak úgy, és most három szót akarnék mondani, és moder tongue* [magyar kiejtéssel] *lenne az egész történetből, tehát én ezt nem akarnám, és akkor azért inkább nem.*
>
> Yes, but then I'm a professional linguistic mediator here, and it's my job here not to speak as if I'd just dropped in from India and wanted to say three words, and the whole story would be like moder tongue [pronounced in Hungarian accent], so I wouldn't want that, and I'd rather not.

This is an instance where the professional requirement to use proper or standard pronunciation is being formulated as the result of deep ideologizing work: "speaking properly" is not only an abstract criterion of quality assurance in interpreting but also one of P1's internalized expectations regarding her own language competences. This is corroborated by her linking her perceived inability to produce standard English pronunciation with her Szekler dialect, which is a non-standard variety of Hungarian. While she applies the same approach when reflecting on her Romanian language competences, this ideologizing work has a different outcome:

> Example 11
> P1: *Az, hogy románul másképpen beszélek, örülök, hogy tudok székely létemre, és meg merek szólalni, nem probléma ez.*
>
> The fact that I speak Romanian differently, I am glad that I know it although I am a Szekler, and that I dare to speak it, it is not a problem.

In this case, being able to speak Romanian despite the fact that she was brought up in a mostly Hungarian monolingual town, in a region where most pupils struggle with learning the Romanian language (cf. Fazakas 2014, Rácz 2022), results in a sense of pride.

She also addresses the issue of her dialect being different from the Hungarian standard:

> Example 12
> P1: *próbálok standardizálni hivatalos, professzionális közegben, nem az utcán vagy a közértben, hanem ha mondjuk, mit tudom én, a Kisebbségkutatónál kellett egy megbeszélésen részt vegyek, akkor ott igyekeztem úgy beszélni, ahogy illik, úgymond. Férjem kacag is ezért, hogy miért kell megváltoztasd, mondom, ez olyan, amiért te Németországban németül beszélsz. Csak azért, hogy én érezzem úgy, hogy én itt most meg vagyok értve. Engem frusztrált. Aztán utána meg rájöttem, hogy nincsen ezzel semmi baj, és a megfelelő helyzetben tudom váltogatni a két nyelvváltozatot.*
>
> I try to standardize in formal, professional settings, not on the street or in the grocery store, but if I had to attend, let's say, a meeting at the Institute for Minority Studies, I tried to speak properly, so to say. My husband even laughs about it, why I change it, and I tell him, it's like when you speak German in Germany. Just so that I feel that I am understood here. It used to frustrate me. And then afterwards I realized that there was nothing wrong with that, and I could switch between the two varieties in the different situations.

In this example, P1 shares her former frustrations about feeling the need to switch to standard Hungarian in formal, professional settings in Hungary, which is another ideology-based action. Contrasting her strategies with her husband's attitude, she states that using standard Hungarian in such settings is similar to using the German language in Germany: by adapting, she makes sure that she is understood. In her interpretation, the ability to "switch" between the varieties of Hungarian is an asset and is comparable to switching to another language, even if speaking a Hungarian dialect in Hungary would not result in the lack of mutual intelligibility but rather convey the social meaning of not being from Hungary and thus potentially making the speaker of that non-standard variety the subject of remarks based on their language use.

There is another instance, when she addresses the difference between Hungarian as spoken in Hungary and Hungarian as spoken in Transylvania: she recalls having been corrected in a dorm in Hungary because she called the heater *kalorifer*, which is the non-standard word widely used in Transylvanian Hungarian (a borrowing from the Romanian language), and not *radiátor*, the word used in Hungary:

Example 13
P1: *Nekem ez a kedvenc példám, amikor lebőgtek ott a kollégiumban, hogy azt mondtam, hogy nem működik a kalorifer, és nem értették, hogy mi a helyzet, és akkor kibökték, hogy hát az radiátor, s akkor mondtam, hogy mind a kettő latin, az egyik ezt jelenti, ebből ered és így származott, a másik abból és azt jelenti, nem tudom, hogy a tietek miért jobb, mint a miénk akkor.*

This is my favourite example, when they snapped out at me in the dormitory, I told them that the *kalorifer* ('heater') didn't work, and they didn't understand what was going on, and then they said that it was a *radiátor* ('radiator'), and then I said that both of them were Latin, one means this, it comes from this, and it came from that, and the other means that, I don't know why yours is better than ours.

P1 reflects on one of the many occasions when she was singled out for speaking differently than the Hungarians from Hungary. According to her narrative, she managed to embarrass the ones who took issue with her choice of words, by using her extensive linguistic knowledge, in this case, the fact that both *kalorifer* and *radiátor* come from Latin and do not have a Hungarian etymon, and thus the variant that is interpreted as standard Hungarian is also as foreign as the word that is labelled as non-standard. Correcting someone's language use creates a power relation and a hierarchy between the interlocutors, and in this example P1 manages to flip the hierarchy and achieve situational superiority by using a well-grounded linguistic argument. This success is also expressed discursively, as she frames the encounter as embarrassing for the other party. The example showcases both explicit and implicit language ideologies that stem from standard language ideology: the speakers from Hungary understand their way of using the language as the standard, and as such, they feel superior to speakers of non-standard varieties. Also, based on standard language ideology, speakers of the standard have the right to correct other speakers, and, by doing so, to establish power relations that favour them during encounters. P1's response is in fact grounded in a similar ideology: variables of a pure Hungarian origin are superior to foreign elements. Just because a word is widespread in Hungary does not mean it is more valuable, as it is not in line with the requirements of linguistic purity.

P2 agrees by stressing that the Hungarian language spoken in Hungary also has many varieties, for example, people in Békés County speak differently from those living in Budapest, and that the varieties of English, specifically mentioning Scottish, Irish, and Australian, are all accepted. P3 also reflects on her and her colleagues' experiences in the topic:

Example 14
P3: *Tehát ha egyébként profi vagy, jól csinálod, meggyőző a hangod, akkor nem érdekli őket. Jaaa, az, hogy Sz. T.-nek azt mondták ezelőtt 20 évvel, vagy mikor, amikor az EU-s szakvizsgát, tolmácsvizsgát le akarta tenni, hogy lehet, hogy Erdélyben elég jó a magyar nyelve, de Magyarországon nem… na, ilyen van.*

So, if you're good, you do it well, you have a convincing voice, they don't care. Yeah, the fact that they said to Sz.T. 20 years ago, or when, when he wanted to take the exam for the EU, the interpreter exam, that his Hungarian might be good enough in Transylvania but not in Hungary... well, this happens, too.

The participants in both groups discussed the issue of using non-standard language varieties during interpreting: all of them agreed that from a professional point of view, this is not the most significant aspect. They believe that being fluent, working without any interruptions, being confident, competent, and proficient is much more important than using the standard pronunciations of their working languages. P2 states that speaking in a dialect and speaking incorrectly are two different things, and so are speaking correctly and speaking adequately. According to P1 and P3, using non-standard varieties on the "internal market", i.e. in Romania, is not a problem; it might, however, be when trying to get accreditation or working for international bodies, as seen in Example 14.

Although in most cases participants formulate a permissive attitude towards the use of the different language varieties, there are instances when they express quite the opposite. While being playful in both her use of language and her opinions on language variation, P3 expresses her frustrations with speakers who use stigmatized variables in Hungary, such as the incorrect conjugation of the *-ik* verbs:

Example 15
P3: *Én tudom, hogy én otthon taslit kaptam volna simán, de nem is értem volna el idáig, hogy ilyet kimondjak hangosan, hogy* iszok *meg* eszek *meg* alszok*. Itt viszont flottul használják, P5. [...] és akkor én, az erdélyi, elkezdem osztani az észt. Hát mondjad, anyu, ha jólesik. Elvégre mindenhol azt látjuk, hogy az akadémiára bevonul az utca.*

I know that I would have been slapped at home, but I wouldn't even have gotten as far as saying something like that out loud, like *eszek* and *iszok* and *alszok*. But here they use it without any problems, P5 [...] and then I, the Transylvanian, I start lecturing them. Well, honey, use it if you like it. After all, we see it everywhere that the street has invaded the academia.

In the example above, P3 contrasts the language practices she has been witnessing in Hungary with what she was taught as correct, proper Hungarian. The standard form of the mentioned *-ik* verbs in the first-person singular is *eszem* ('I eat'), *iszom* ('I drink'), and *alszom* ('I sleep') as opposed to the non-standard but widely used *eszek*, *iszok*, *alszok*. P3 positions herself as a Transylvanian speaker and implicitly recreates the hierarchies addressed above between the two language varieties. Although speakers from Transylvania are often corrected and confronted by speakers from Hungary because of the way they use the language (as seen in the accounts of the other participants), this is a case in which P3 strives to regain control. According to her, it is not true that speakers from Hungary speak more correctly than speakers from Transylvania, on the contrary: "the street", i.e. the uneducated people, has gained power, and academic rules are no longer followed. This short section exemplifies an elitist attitude and the clear emergence of the standard language ideology; it also shows how the ideologies of the same speaker shift, change, and even become conflicting in the same discussion. The example reveals how "(i)deologies are morally and politically loaded because implicitly or explicitly they represent not only how language is, but how it ought to be" (Woolard 2021).

Conclusions

As the project initiator is part of the group of Hungarian interpreters and as all of the participants had already collaborated professionally, many of the usual issues of conducting qualitative research did not have to be addressed. Partial participation was achieved as the traditional hierarchy between the "researcher" and the "researched" was not established and the role of the project initiator was flexible throughout the discussions. The analysis of the language ideologies of professional linguistic mediators is especially informative: having extensive linguistic and sociolinguistic knowledge and being in contact with a high number of languages and language varieties, the participants of the project refrained from explicitly reproducing widespread language ideologies and were much more critical and flexible in discussing standard and non-standard ways of speaking. They all agreed that the use of the spoken standard is not the most significant quality of a good interpreter. Nevertheless, during the discussions, conflicting ideologies emerged, which illustrates that ideologies are not singular and monolithic: they are discursively constructed and can shift depending on the topic or on the situation. Although being open and accommodating towards language variation, in their accounts of perceived or internalized expectations, the participants did adhere to the belief that the standard is a criterion of quality assurance in interpreting and that speaking properly is more important to them than they would like to admit.

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Spotting Acronyms and Initialisms with the Help of Informatics

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Abstract. The growing popularity of streaming services has led to innumerable audiovisual material available for the audience. As movies, documentaries, or TV shows are part of the entertainment industry, they aim at reaching viewers worldwide with the help of dubbed and subtitled versions. Our aim is to collect the acronyms used in the transcripts/subtitles of several American political TV shows (24, Designated Survivor, House of Cards, and The West Wing) and analyse their translated versions into Hungarian. However, the strenuous activity of opening each subtitle file one by one and browsing through them to spot and collect the acronyms and initialisms would result in countless mouse clicks. Hence, a specific software (SRT Manager) was designed to speed up the process. As the majority of definitions regarding acronyms and initialisms focus on the fact that they result from the combination of at least two capital letters, once the software gets the input (multiple subtitle files of entire seasons), it provides all the consecutive two- or more capital letter instances (with or without periods) found in the raw data, such as AA or A.A. Further statistical data (the source file of each instance, counting all unique values and numbering occurrences, and adding sample lines from the subtitle) also saves a lot of time and energy, as it can easily be exported to spreadsheet programs for further data analysis.

Keywords: abbreviation, acronym, disambiguation, uppercase letters, algorithm, consistency, American TV series, politics

1. Introduction

There have been various algorithms developed to search for acronyms (Barnett & Doubleday 2020, Yeates 1999) in various texts, as well as acronyms and their corresponding definitions (Taghva & Gilbreth 1999, Park & Byrd 2001, Zahariev, 2004, Sánchez & Isern 2011, HaCohen-Kerner et al. 2013, Jacobs et al. 2018). The intense research interest in acronyms may stem from various reasons, such as their

growth in use, excellent space saving and compression possibility for extended terms often met in technical, medical, or governmental texts. However, there is also a growing concern about their proliferation and possibly ambiguous meanings.

While scholars have collected acronyms from various journal articles (titles, abstracts), random texts from the Internet or Jewish law texts (HaCohen-Kerner et al. 2004), we focus on acronyms available in modern American TV series (1999–2020), challenging our skills to avoid mindless clicking. The need to create a database of acronyms is justified by multiple sources stating that acronyms are very "dynamic", "polysemic", and new ones "are defined every day for almost every possible domain of knowledge" (Sánchez & Isern 2011: 311), as they are found in "all spheres of life: in industry, science and culture" (Kuzmina et al. 2015: 549).

Interestingly, Eric Jamieson warns us as early as 1968 that the use of acronyms has reached "epidemic proportions" (quoted in Cannon 1989: 103–104), an expression rather in fashion nowadays. The coronavirus disease is labelled as an epidemic in its true sense, having felt its presence worldwide among millions of people infected with it. Nevertheless, the terms themselves (*SARS-CoV*, *SARS-CoV-2*, later named as *COVID-19*) also enjoyed an "epidemic" popularity in research journals, *COVID* becoming "the world's most infamous acronym" (Barnett & Doubleday 2021: 6127). The authors also mention that *SARS* and *CoV* were the second and fourth most popular acronyms in titles in 2020, while in previous years they were virtually unknown. As of 2021, *COVID* is "the sixth most popular acronym in titles using all the data since 1950, surpassing all the uses of "AIDS", "PCR", and "MRI" in just one year (Barnett & Doubleday 2021: 6128). It is also known that the proportion of acronyms in abstracts increased from 0.4 per 100 words (1956) to 4.1 per 100 words in 2019 (Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 1).

The epidemic of making unique acronyms "is growing" (Park & Byrd 2001: 126) as "they accelerate communication" (Panajotu 2010: 160), and our accelerated lifestyle favours shorter versions instead of "lengthy" or "cumbersome" phrases (Fercsik 2001: 24, Cannon 1989: 103–104), which is also a "pragmatic requirement of economy" (Scarpa 2020: 66). However, the "need for economy and efficiency (scarce paper and time)" (Cannon 1989: 102) has led to the "overuse of acronyms" (Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 1), inevitably leading to overlapping meanings, thus requiring disambiguation (occasionally beyond the context), and it is typically "unrelated to an individual's age group" (HaCohen-Kerner et al. 2013: 2146). Thus, many scholars object to their use, as "clarity is not always easy to realise" (Panajotu 2010: 160), especially when we are faced with homonymous ones with "different meanings in different areas" (Soyer 2018: 589), exemplified by *US*, which may stand for either 'ultrasound' or 'the United States'. While disambiguation is mostly context-dependent, acronyms are still not recommended in titles, for instance in cases of related meanings: *ADA* may refer to the American Dental Association,[1] the

1 https://www.ada.org/. 5 February 2022.

American Diabetic Association[2] (Kuzmina et al. 2015: 551), or the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics, formerly known as the American Dietetic Association, which used to publish the *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* (1925–2011).[3]

While acronym disambiguation typically refers to meaning, the term itself is problematic, as various grammarians, dictionaries, or reference books offer different categorizations, involving the following key terms: *abbreviation, shortening, acronym, initialism, alphabetism, clipping, truncation, blend* or *portmanteau word*, discussed in the next section.

1.1. Linguistic approaches

It is worth differentiating linguistic and algorithm-driven approaches to define the above-mentioned terms. Linguistic approaches focus on categorizing them (including superordinate and subordinate categories), resulting in major discrepancies and contradictions as both form and meaning are considered, paying relatively little attention to their homogenous meanings. On the other hand, algorithm-driven approaches prioritize the possibility of finding the graphic forms (uppercase letters, length, other symbols) together with their associated definitions typically positioned within a certain distance of words (no more than twenty) in the text; thus, minor differences are detected (e.g. minimum /maximum length of uppercase letters, combination of letters with numbers or other symbols, detailed in the following).

Linguists agree that – based on productivity – it is important to distinguish "major word formation processes" (e.g. borrowing or affixation) and less relevant / minor ones, among which they list processes resulting in shorter forms than the original word, enabling them to mention a few interesting but overlapping procedures. A few definitions will prove that it is difficult for grammarians to reach consensus, having tried to clarify these terms for more than half a century.

The generic term of *abbreviation* is introduced as belonging to "extra-grammatical morphology" (Mattiello 2013: 94–95), within which it refers to "basically everything that is a shorter form of something else" (Kasprowicz 2010), resulting in "word simplification" (Bloom 2000: 2), but the possibility to observe various procedures, labelled as subordinate terms (with various subtypes) under the superordinate heading of *abbreviation*, exists:

– *abbreviation*: Latin *abbreviation* (*t.q.i.d.* ← 'ter quaterve in die' / three or four times daily), syllabic *abbreviation* (*Interpol* ← the International Criminal Police Organization);

2 https://www.diabetes.org/. 5 February 2022.

3 https://www.sciencedirect.com/journal/journal-of-the-american-dietetic-association. 5 February 2022.

– *acronym* (*SARS* ← severe acute respiratory syndrome; *radar* ← Radio Detection and Ranging);

– *clipping* (*ad* ← advertisement);

– *contraction* (*I'm* ← I am), *titular contraction* (*Mr* ← Mister);

– *initialism*: first-letter *initialism* (*NHS* ← National Health Service), opening-letter *initialism* (*Ca* ← Calcium), syllabic *initialism* (modem ← *modulator-demodulator*), combination *initialism* (ad inf ← *ad infinitum*);

– *truncation* (*Dec*).

The list is only based on Kasprowicz (2010) and Bloom (2000), but it already displays certain overlaps in terminology, and thus it is worth discussing these terms separately.

When *abbreviation* is not the umbrella term for all types of shortenings, it refers to a specific type, namely "a shortened or contracted form of a word or phrase" (Nicoll 2016: 2), "a truncated word",[4] which is "designed to save time and to take up less space in situations where there is insufficient space to write the entire words" (Caon 2016: 11). Typical abbreviations are connected to Latin terms usually with lowercase letters (Cannon 1989: 120, Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1633) and "month or day representations", "shortened honorifics" (HaCohen-Kerner et al. 2013: 2133), "city names" (López Rúa 2002: 43), which are either abbreviations (when the full word is pronounced, e.g. NYC ← New York City) or alphabetisms (letter-by-letter pronunciation, unextended form) (Mattiello 2013: 86). Although vaguely defined, abbreviations "are formed from the initial letters of the phrase['s] significant words" (Kuzmina et al. 2015: 550), not ruling out the possibility to skip certain words (typically prepositions, articles, conjunctions, as the letters "represent full words" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1582) when constituting the abbreviated form. Although this is exemplified with *EORTC* (European Organization for the Research and Treatment of Cancer) by Kuzmina, others may argue that this term is an *acronym*. However, a few scholars prefer the term *shortening* to *abbreviation* (Cannon 1989: 107), or, more recently Kortmann, who offers a full tree diagram of word formation processes, listing shortenings as the hypernym for *clipping*, *back-formation*, *blending*, *alphabetism*, and *acronymy* (Kortmann 2020: 60), while others consider that *shortening* is the superordinate term for both abbreviations and acronyms (e.g. Kuzmina et al. 2015: 550).

At this stage, we should introduce the term *acronym*, which is "formed by a sequence of illegal letter strings that can become highly familiar to the language user" (Izura & Playfoot 2012: 862), the authors highlighting the fact that these are not standard words, characterized by specific "orthographic and/or phonological rules". Thus, they "enjoy an identification benefit relative to similarly illegal but unfamiliar strings" (Laszlo & Federmeier 2007: 1158). Thus, an *abbreviation* does not result in a new word, while an *acronym* or *initialism* inevitably leads to

4 https://wwwnc.cdc.gov/eid/page/abbreviations-acronyms-initialisms. 7 November 2021.

the appearance of a "new word" (Yule 2010: 58). These features clearly signal the importance to distinguish *abbreviations* and *acronyms*, the latter having two major types. The "standard" one is pronounced as a "word", while some are pronounced as "sequences of letters", often labelled as *alphabetisms* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1581). The problem is that other scholars also use the orthoepic distinction, explaining that *acronyms* "are pronounced as full words", while *initialisms* are pronounced "letter by letter" (Mattiello 2013: 83, Scarpa 2020: 66). The most contradictory statements are that *initialisms* are "a subset of abbreviations" (Caon 2016: 11), *initialism* "is used as a superordinate comprising both *acronyms* and *alphabetisms*" (López Rúa 2004: 110), and *alphabetisms* are "the superordinate category" for both *acronyms* and *initialisms* (Mattiello 2013: 82) although *alphabetism* is explained as the "use of initials as a signature or assumed indication of authorship" in a dictionary (Trumble & Stevenson 2002: 61). ABB no new word + pronounce vs ACR/INIT new word.

A rather misleading aspect of definitions referring to *acronyms* is vagueness again, as they allow their formation from only the initial letter of each member of the expansion (logically driving us towards *initialisms* or *alphabetisms*) or some of the initial letters (Jacobs et al. 2018: 517, Kuzmina et al. 2015: 550, Cannon 1989: 116, Yule 2010: 58) explained similarly in online dictionaries.[5] We agree that "what should really matter when forming an initialism is the fact that we can take initials or not just initials" (López Rúa 2004: 116), but no consensus has been reached yet. As other terms are relatively different from these ones (e.g. *clippings*, *blends*, *truncations*), we do not present their definitions, and we focus on further distinctive features of *abbreviations*, *acronyms*, and *initialisms*, mostly connected to spelling.

A few grammarians state that the use of *uppercase letters* is not a distinctive feature of acronyms (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1634, Ribes et al. 2010: 272, Panajotu 2010: 163), explaining that there are various options (full uppercase, uppercase and lowercase combination, only lowercase), but in fact they mix the terms, including chemical abbreviations, acronyms, and initialisms alike. While Kasprowicz offers the most conclusive explanation by stating that "the presence of all capital letters is sufficient to indicate that the word is a shortened form", it is not clear whether he refers to acronyms only (Kasprowicz 2010). Hence, we tend to believe that it is worth considering the algorithm-driven approaches in this respect.

Another spelling-related feature is the use or lack of *periods* between the (uppercase) letters. Firm definitions state that acronyms "do not contain periods" (Mancuso 1987: 124), are "written without periods" (Thomas 2021: 467), "without full stops between the letters" (Cintas & Remael 2020: 137),[6] and "Do not insert

5 https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/acronym. 5 January 2022.

6 While American authors use the term *period* for the "." symbol, British authors use *full stop*.

full stops (.) into acronyms" (Wallwork 2014: 106), while permissive ones allow exceptions: "punctuation is avoided in modern practice unless the word is taken from Latin" (Kasprowicz 2010), and lowercase letters or combined letters may contain periods such as *a.m.* or *Mr.* (Thomas 2021: 469) in British English. However, it seems that the conclusion is dissatisfying again, and "there is no strict rule" (Ribes et al. 2010: 272) in this respect either however firmly linguists would like to eliminate the periods between the letters of acronyms.

More satisfactory is how the unified term *acronym* (occasionally and/or *initialism*) is used when discussing the plural and possessive forms: "Form plurals of acronyms only by adding 's'" (Mancuso 1987: 124, Thomas 2021: 467, Wallwork 2014: 106, Nicoll 2016: 7), while the possessive form is added with an apostrophe (') and 's'.

To conclude with, pronunciation may offer a guide as to whether the term is an acronym or an initialism. For instance, *WHO* is treated as an initialism (← World Health Organization), as it is pronounced letter by letter, "probably to avoid ambiguity with the relative pronoun" (Mattiello 2013: 83), and *GOP* (← Grand Old Party) is an acronym but "behaves like initialisms" (Mattiello 2013: 83), resulting in so-called "hybrid" cases, with multiple visual and orthoepic possibilities: *U.F.O.*, *UFO*, *Ufo*, and *ufo*.

1.2. Algorithm-driven approaches

As algorithm-driven approaches primarily focus on form, they start by stating whether non-letters are considered or not when searching for abbreviations, acronyms, or initialisms. Nevertheless, they accept that typography is highly important, as "lower and upper cases, numbers, hyphens, dots, ampersands, underscores, and plus signs" should be considered, as "the meaning they convey is intimately related to their iconography, to the way they look" (Alonso 2008: 13).

Yeates explains that *abbreviations* "are contractions of words or phrases which are used in place of their full versions, where their meaning is clear from the context in which they appear" (Yeates 1999: 117), so *can't* and *etc.* are "abbreviations but not acronyms" due to lack of uppercase, the inverted comma, and period (Yeates: 1999: 118). Abbreviations as "shortened forms" (Park & Byrd 2001: 127) only refer to "single words", but abbreviations also "encompass acronyms" (Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 197), which come into being from "multi-word full forms" (Park & Byrd 2001: 127), taking their "initial letters or syllables" (Yeates 1999: 117).

1.3. Letter case

While in the case of acronyms some scholars (Yeates 1999: 117) include only capitalized letters and exclude the combination of letters and non-letters (digits and symbols), others accept lowercase letters and "intra-acronym punctuation" (Zahariev 2004: 366). At this stage, it may seem that acronym candidates will be as fuzzy as in the case of linguistic approaches, but when focusing on *strings*, interesting descriptions may be found.

First, algorithms have been developed, as it was observed that there is a high probability that acronyms used in texts also contain their definitions, and even if acronyms are a "nuisance", they are still "valid strings" (cf. Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 191). These strings are first detected based on their uppercase letter forms, excluding one uppercase letter followed by any lowercase letter(s) (Park & Byrd 2001: 127); hence, words starting a sentence are excluded. If we accept that acronyms represent the special case of abbreviations made up of multiple words, we can also exclude cases when a single uppercase letter is in the plural (e.g. *I got two A's yesterday.*): A is not an abbreviated word, and the plural form is attached with the help of an apostrophe (Ribes et al. 2010: 271), which is a non-letter, similarly to *A-line* (where the hyphen joins the two parts, but *line* is "preserved intact"; consequently, it is neither an abbreviation nor an acronym (cf. Cannon 1989: 106). Obviously, if the abbreviation is only one lowercase letter (followed or not by a period, e.g. *p.* for page or *s* for second), it is an abbreviation, and thus not included in algorithms to detect acronyms (Zahariev 2004: 368).

Definitions of acronyms mention that a string of at least two uppercase letters should be implemented (Callegaro et al. 2019: 54), although "marginal improvement" was detected (Zahariev 2004: 371), and the string is typically "from 2 to 6 characters" (Sánchez & Isern 2011: 311), also entailing that the shorter the string, the more interpretations are possible. Some scholars accept the ampersand (&) as joining two uppercase letters (Dannewitz Linder 2016: 253), whereas others have completely ignored it – to be detailed later. Park and Byrd mention the Acronym Finding Program, which cannot handle two-letter acronyms (Park & Byrd 2001: 131), but the upper limit of strings is mentioned to be either nine or ten (Park & Byrd 2001: 127), and it is explained that "approximate matching on anything less than 3 characters is very error prone" (Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 192).

However, the majority of algorithms are based on a string of at least three uppercase letters (Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 192, Yeates 1999, Bloom 2000: 4, Zahariev 2004: 371, Izura & Playfoot 2012: 870).

According to a source, an acronym may result from the situation when "half or more uppercase of the characters are upper case letters" (Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 1), thus excluding *N95* or *mRNA*. Nevertheless, the majority of authors (Park & Byrd 2001: 133, Callegaro et al. 2019: 54, Izura & Playfoot 2012: 870,

Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 5–6) do not accept lowercase letters in acronyms, thus excluding plural forms (*NGOs*), chemical abbreviations (*Ca*), units of measurement (*kJ*), or all lowercase letters (*radar*).

1.4. Stop words and ignore list

When searching for acronym candidates, it is important to create a list of *stop words*, which "have high frequency in documents, but have low retrieval value" (Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 192, Park & Byrd 2001: 127, Mattiello 2013: 92–93), hence they may be absent from the initials of the acronym (articles – *a*, *an*, *the*; conjunctions / coordinators – *and*, *or*; prepositions – *in*, *of*), also known as *function* words (Jacobs et al. 2018: 520) or *noise* words (Zahariev 2004: 368). Seemingly, these words create an exception category to the definition of acronyms, based on the "participation" of each constituting word.

Equally important is to introduce another type of restriction, namely the concept of *ignore list* (or *reject words*), which – although satisfy the condition of a string of at least two uppercase letters – has specific meanings in the text: Roman numerals starting with *II* (Taghva & Gilbreth: 1999: 192, Callegaro et al. 2019: 55), words explaining the main text, such as *TABLE*, *FIGURE*, but occasionally search algorithms may exclude countries (*UK* ← the United Kingdom), person and location names (*CJ* ← Christopher Daniel Soriano Jr., *LA* ← Los Angeles), currencies (*EUR* ← euro) (Park & Byrd 2001: 127) (Callegaro et al. 2019: 55), or "mainstream words" (Izura & Playfoot 2012: 870) not requiring definition or disambiguation. Very special entries for the ignore list are lines consisting of all uppercase letters (most importantly titles and headings; cf. Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 192).

1.5. Non-alphabet characters

The strictest rules concerning acronyms exclude all non-alphabet characters from a string. This is not difficult to implement, as the exact location of the alphabet letters in the table of ASCII characters is known: 65–90 for uppercase letters and 97–122 for lowercase letters.[7] Other sources offer implementations to remove non-letters from strings in various programming languages.[8] When searching for acronyms, some authors completely exclude non-letters (Callegaro et al. 2019: 54, Zahariev 2004: 366), while others explain that acronyms or initialisms may contain other characters as well (Mattiello 2013: 92–93), labelled as numbers (digits) and non-alphanumeric characters (symbols, logographic characters (Bloom 2000: 1).

7 http://www.csc.villanova.edu/~tway/resources/ascii-table.html. 7 February 2022.
8 http://www.codecodex.com/wiki/Remove_non-letters_from_a_string. 7 February 2022.

Numbers or "numerical characters" (Izura & Playfoot 2012: 870) are often used for company names or various products, but they are highly used to replace words or syllables in text messaging (*GR8* ← great), hence they have been coined as "mere graphic abbreviations" or "acronymic formations" (Mattiello 2013: 86–87). While some accept numbers in acronyms ("[i]ts first character is alphabetic *or* numeric" (Park & Byrd 2001: 127), others exclude them (Zahariev 2004: 366, López Rúa 2002: 38).

The situation is similar in the case of non-alphanumeric characters as well, as some are prone to appear in acronyms: hyphen (*COVID-19*), slash (*R/O* ← rule out), ampersand (*R&D* ← research and development), or parentheses (Callegaro et al. 2019: 54). Algorithms are mostly implemented to exclude them (Zahariev 2004: 366, Park & Byrd 2001: 127, Mattiello 2013: 92–93, Barnett & Doubleday 2021: 6128), but the most controversial symbol is the period: many scholars agree that "an acronym may not contain a full stop" (Dannewitz Linder 2016: 253, Sánchez & Isern 2011: 314), which may be related to the fact that web search engines do not distinguish punctuation symbols (Sánchez & Isern 2011: 316).

1.6. Limitations and partial conclusions

After having been excluded all the non-alphabet characters and lowercase letters, it is obvious that certain algorithms using this method "do[es] not handle" acronyms "adequately", especially the ones "written with all lower-case" (Park & Byrd 2001: 133). As such, they "missed a relatively large number of acronyms that included symbols, punctuation and lower case letters" (Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 8) and accept "with hindsight" that "the inclusion of '&' as an acronym character would increase recall" (Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 197), and the situation is similar for other non-letter characters as well.

In conclusion, we can state that the greatest concern of algorithm-driven approaches to acronyms is the rate of finding the embedded acronyms in scientific journal titles, abstracts, or any other text (usually around 95% or more), together with their most probable context-dependent extension (extended form) depending on the context. Hence, the majority of these approaches conventionally use the term *acronym*, but interesting limitations appear: some algorithms exclude strings of only two uppercase letters, while others disregard non-letter characters. However, the ones detected are predominantly valid instances for either abbreviations or acronyms/initialisms, and almost all of them have a most probable context-based explanation (extended version).

On unifying the results of linguistic and algorithm-driven approaches, we may have some tentative suggestions. First, no clear conclusion seems to be likely on defining abbreviation in the largest sense of the term, and categorizing various non-major word formation procedures is rather fuzzy, with overlapping

terms. However, this should not be an issue as the concept of fuzzy categories is known both in cognitive linguistics (since Rosch's seminal work (1975) followed by Lakoff (1987) and Brugman (1988)) and computer sciences. Finally, we have to accept that once clear-cut categories cannot be established (cf. exceptions and hybrid cases), and all definitions of the previously discussed terms are questionable and essentially contradictory. While Díaz Cintas concludes in an article that "Subtitling conventions are not set in stone" (Díaz Cintas 2005: 31), we tend to believe that defining acronyms and separating them from other word-formation processes is similar, and the best strategy is for all authors to define what they mean by *acronyms* and establish the relationship between acronyms and other procedures resulting in shorter phrases.

2. Developing a lenient set of algorithms

Studies on translation mention that abbreviations "are one of the most difficult for understanding and translating elements of foreign specialized texts" (Kuzmina et al. 2015: 552), a statement we completely agree with, which is why we have developed a special interest in acronyms. Not possessing an in-depth knowledge of the challenges of defining and categorizing these word-formation procedures resulting in shortened forms, we have implemented an algorithm that in the initial stage searched for all strings of two uppercase letters,[9] which – in fact – was a preliminary definition for what might be a potential candidate for an acronym, without dealing with meaning or disambiguation whatsoever. Thus, unless otherwise stated, *acronym* in our case stands for all terms made of a string of at least two uppercase letters.

2.1. Methodology

The relevance of research stems from the fact that the algorithm assumes acronyms are found in all sorts of texts, which seems to have been true since the 1940s (Yeates 1999: 117). While algorithm-driven approaches have focused on journals (titles and abstracts), Jewish law documents, the Internet, or various texts, we have specifically collected acronyms from American political TV series "using capitalization heuristics" (Sánchez & Isern 2011: 312). Thus, we could not find any other research on retrieving data from audiovisual material. The choice of TV series offers the possibility to check the consistency of acronym use throughout a number of episodes with similar content, and a comparison of repetitive terms can easily signal inconsistency. On the other hand, there are many American political TV series provided by streaming services such as Netflix.

9 See the *Acknowledgments* section.

Although it is known that "technical documents contain a lot of abbreviated terms" (Park & Byrd 2001: 126) and "government documents contain a large number of acronyms" (Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 191), it is important to see to what extent acronyms are used in transcripts and subtitles, adding to the popularity of many movies and TV series worldwide.

While a rather simplistic first approach may result in a lot of false acronyms signalled by previously mentioned sources (a string of two uppercase letters only is more error-prone, drawbacks of not excluding non-letters), we were much more interested in including all possible candidates for acronyms, not being able to estimate the possible number of findings in the case of TV series. Thus, the aim of the paper is to present our research results of spotting acronyms in five American TV series focusing on important aspects of US life (such as politics, military, administration, or finances), knowing that the "semantic spectrum" covered seven areas in Cannon's research: political organizations, systems, military, computers, space, chemicals, and transportation (Cannon 1989: 115).

The methods of research included the watching of American TV series (chronologically: *The West Wing*, 1999–2006; *24*, 2001–2014, *House of Cards*, 2013–2018; *Designated Survivor*, 2016–2019; *Blindspot*, 2015–2020) and then the collection of their English transcripts/subtitles (file format: .srt). This was followed by the code writing stage, as too many mouse clicks and scrolls were needed to collect the acronyms "manually" by using the CTRL + F shortcut and looking for all <[A–Z]{2,}> cases.

While testing the code, it soon became obvious that subtitlers may or may not use periods between the uppercase letters of acronyms (*DC* or *D.C.*), rather whimsically, and thus a first improvement was to implement the collection of both versions. However, specific symbols were not implemented, as the entire subtitle line was also collected to offer a preliminary context for possible disambiguation. One of the most important remarks in this respect is that plural forms or possessive forms are never separated in a different line from the acronyms, and hence the context line will display whether the acronym is suffixed this way. Similarly, hyphens, ampersands, or slashes (also known as solidus, oblique stroke, or virgule)[10] are relatively easy to search for in the context line. This is possible because after running the program, it displays the following:

A) 1. The list of so-called "unique values" (single instances of acronyms), 2. the number of findings, and 3. the option to save/export all findings to a .txt file;

B) 1. The list of total findings (all instances of each single instance), 2. file name,[11] 3. timing, 4. the context line of each finding, 5. the total number of occurrences, and 6. the option to save/export all findings to a .txt file.

10 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slash_(punctuation). 7 February 2022.

11 As TV series have many seasons and episodes, it was important to also store the origin (title, season, episode) of the acronym.

These .txt files can be easily exported to a unifying Microsoft Excel file with filters (leading to a database with separate columns for number, acronym, total number of occurrences, source, timing, context line, various remarks), which were completed later with extra columns with further Excel formula (to be discussed later). The practical value of such a database is that it will be easy to check typographical *consistency* (e.g. an acronym should be always spelled consistently, i.e. with or without periods). Another value lies in the possibility of forming a picture on acronym use in text types never tested before, involving millions of potential viewers not looking for relevant pieces of information but entertainment (cf. the importance of building a dictionary from a corpus of Hebrew acronyms (cf. Jacobs et al. 2018: 528)). A further practical value is that based on the original source-text number of acronyms a systematic comparison with the translated acronyms in the target text (subtitle) may become possible, including translation methods (cf. Kuzmina et al. 2015: 549). A final important advantage would be to find which specific acronyms belonging to the professional jargon (e.g. politics) go trivial, that is, become so popular by having been used in multimedia that no further disambiguation is needed (cf. Rébék-Nagy 2010), warning potential translators which acronyms of the target culture or specialized language are needed to deal with, supported by statistical data of frequency. Its importance is also proved by a very recent *Reader's Digest* list of 80 acronyms everyone should know.[12]

2.1. The corpus

After the data retrieval had been processed and exported to .xlsx files, the first results displayed the need for an improved data collection. On the first run of the program, the original English transcript results were collected "as is", thus including certain repetitive phrases at the beginning of the subtitles (usually signalled by the phrase *Previously on…*). These may contain acronyms as well, adding to the margin of error. Furthermore, certain entries reminded us of the importance of ignore list, which ultimately has led to an improved algorithm with the option to populate an ignore list first, including fully capitalized words which are not acronyms (spotted after skimming through the results of the first run), such as *GUNSHOT* (*Blindspot*) or *ONE MONTH EARLIER* (*House of Cards*), the latter resulting in three pieces of data (*ONE, MONTH, EARLIER* with three context lines), growing the number of both the unique values and the total number of occurrences. The ignore list of each series is discussed in a separate section.

The re-run offered a much more realistic database of acronyms without uppercase words recorded in the ignore list (separately for each TV series, as various "false alarms" were detected; see *Ignore List* in *Appendix 2*). The database

12 https://www.rd.com/article/acronym-examples/. 7 February 2022.

was exported into two separate Excel spreadsheets for each TV series (unique values and all occurrences), and then a summarizing statistics spreadsheet was created for figures and percentages, presented in five tables below.

The Excel files have offered the possibility to rearrange the list of collected acronyms according to certain statistical needs, stemming from the theoretical background:

a) alphabetical order (to find entries with and without periods);

b) merging occurrences with and without periods (e.g. *D.C.* and *DC*); the formula = ISNUMBER(SEARCH(".",cell)) finds acronyms with periods, returning TRUE/FALSE;

c) counting acronyms based on character length (2–9): the formula = LEN(SUBSTITUTE(cell,".","")) counts the number of letters constituting the acronym, without considering the periods between the uppercase letters;

d) the context line (the full line in which the acronym is situated) offers data on acronyms containing numbers, knowing that the number associated with the acronym may not be in a different line (e.g. *AK-47*); the formula = COUNT(FIND({0,1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9},cell)) > 0 searches for digits, returning TRUE/FALSE;

e) the context line offers data on acronyms with specific symbols, knowing that these symbols may not be in a different line; the formula = ISNUMBER(SEARCH("symbol",cell)) helps in spotting period (.), hyphen (-), and ampersand (&); while periods and hyphens were spotted with ease, the case of ampersand is more troublesome, as it typically connects two separate uppercase letters (e.g. *R&D*), which cannot be tracked with the algorithm (to be discussed later);

f) searching for plural forms, apostrophes, compound acronyms, or acronyms with affixes was possible in the same context line, but with certain limitations;

g) acronym frequency is calculated by our algorithm, which has also been imported into the Excel file, both for the unique values and all occurrences.

Table 1 below presents the results for unique values for the English subtitles of the five TV series.

Table 1. *Unique acronyms in TV series*

Unique values		2L	3L	4L	5L	6L	7L	8L	9L	Σ
The West Wing [155 ep.]	#	112	283	104	29	14	1	1	0	544
	%	20.59	52.02	19.12	5.33	2.57	0.18	0.18	0.00	100
24 [205 ep.]	#	64	151	31	6	3	1	0	0	256
	%	25.00	58.98	12.11	2.34	1.17	0.39	0.00	0.00	100
House of Cards [73 ep.]	#	37	77	26	9	6	0	1	0	156
	%	23.72	49.36	16.67	5.77	3.85	0.00	0.64	0.00	100
Blindspot [100 ep.]	#	81	142	46	9	5	1	1	0	285
	%	28.42	49.82	16.14	3.16	1.75	0.35	0.35	0.00	100
Designated S. [53 ep.]	#	55	133	43	17	6	1	0	1	256
	%	21.48	51.95	16.80	6.64	2.34	0.39	0.00	0.39	100
Σ	#	349	786	250	70	34	4	3	1	1,497
Average	%	23.84	52.43	16.17	4.65	2.34	0.26	0.24	0.08	100

Contrary to a few scholars, we have also considered acronyms with 2 letters, justified by the fact that this is the second most populous category behind 3-letter acronyms, which corroborates the previous research results (Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 2). On the other hand, acronyms made up of 7, 8, or 9 letters are negligible in number, as their combined percentage is below 1%.

As various sources mention the occurrence frequency of acronyms, we have also checked them in five categories.

Table 2. *Occurrence frequency for unique acronyms*

Unique values		Frequency					avg./ep.
		1	2–4	5–9	10–99	100+	
The West Wing [155 ep.]	#	249	171	59	61	4	3.51
	%	45.77	31.43	10.85	11.21	0.74	
24 [205 ep.]	#	118	69	30	32	7	1.25
	%	46.09	26.95	11.72	12.50	2.73	
House of Cards [73 ep.]	#	71	50	15	20	0	2.14
	%	45.51	32.05	9.62	12.82	0.00	
Blindspot [100 ep.]	#	132	78	36	35	4	2.85
	%	46.32	27.37	12.63	12.28	1.40	
Designated S. [53 ep.]	#	138	80	17	20	1	4.83
	%	53.91	31.25	6.64	7.81	0.39	
Σ	#	708	448	157	168	16	2.92
Average	%	47.52	29.81	10.29	11.33	1.05	

Table 2 reveals that all appearances have been counted for, including those with a single occurrence, as almost half of all acronyms appear only once (47.52%); however, it is known that other researchers opted for a minimum of five occurrences (cf. Jacobs et al. 2018: 522, Callegaro et al. 2019: 55), which – at least in our case – would have halved the research material. Furthermore, we

have also included acronyms appearing 2–4 times (29.81%) and categories with 5–9, 10–99, and 100+ occurrences, the last three categories totalling only 22.67% of the entire database. The average unique acronym frequency for the series is rather different, as it is only 1.25 per episode in the case of *Blindspot*, while it is almost four times more (4.83) in the case of *Designated Survivor*.

Although our collection contains fewer than 13,000 occurrences retrieved from subtitles, its frequency in percentage may be interesting compared to a study with 1.1 million occurrences (Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 2), focusing only on journal titles and abstracts:

Table 3. *Comparing database frequency*

#	Occurrence	%	%	Occurrence	#
1.1 million (titles, abstracts)	1	30%	47.52%	1	12,916 (TV Series)
	2–10	49%	29.81%	2–4	
			10.29%	5–9	
	No data	No data	11.13%	10–99	
	No data	No data	1.05%	100+	
	10,000	0.2%	–	–	

The authors conclude that "the re-use of acronyms has declined", but "most acronyms (79%) appeared fewer than 10 times" (Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 1), which is even more worrying in our research (87.62%), signalling that authors tend to create new ones, making it more difficult for the audience to decipher them, not to mention the translator's job.

While unique acronyms are important to be detected in a database, it is also important to check their overall frequency throughout the series, detailed in the following tables.

Table 4. *Overall acronym frequency in TV series*

Overall		2L	3L	4L	5L	6L	7L	8L	9L	Σ	>=5
The West Wing [155 ep.]	#	1,992	1,620	386	106	38	1	1	0	4,144	2,831
	%	48.07	39.09	9.31	2.56	0.92	0.02	0.02	0.00	100	68.32
24 [205 ep.]	#	840	2,903	206	14	3	3	0	0	3,969	3,665
	%	21.16	73.14	5.19	0.35	0.08	0.08	0.00	0.00	100	92.34
House of Cards [73 ep.]	#	250	434	88	16	15	0	1	0	804	444
	%	31.09	53.98	10.95	1.99	1.87	0.00	0.12	0.00	100	55.22
Blindspot [100 ep.]	#	492	2,014	236	30	24	1	3	0	2,800	2,554
	%	17.57	71.93	8.43	1.07	0.86	0.04	0.11	0.00	100	91.21
Designated S. [53 ep.]	#	359	604	172	49	13	1	0	1	1,199	846
	%	29.94	50.38	14.35	4.09	1.08	0.08	0.00	0.08	100	70.56
Σ	#	3,933	7,575	1,088	215	93	6	5	1	12,916	10,340
Average	%	29.57	57.70	9.64	2.01	0.96	0.04	0.05	0.02	100	75.53

Table 4 proves again the very high frequency of three-letter acronyms (57.70%), which is again followed by two-letter acronyms, and the use of more than five-letter acronyms is negligible (around 1%). The last column shows the overall use of acronyms with at least 5 occurrences, the high number (10,340) and percentage (75.53% but overall 80.06%) proving why scholars insist on this frequency to result in representative figures.

While almost all scholars advise the omission of periods, we have checked to what extent this "basic" rule is followed in the case of subtitles, also counting all acronyms containing numbers and other specific symbols. In these cases, we have relied on the context line, except for the ampersand symbol, for which we needed to check the raw database, explained in the next section.

Table 5. *Overall use of symbols*

Overall symbols		.	#	-	&	/
The West Wing [155 ep.]	#	1,523	109	166	26	4
	%	36.75	2.63	4.01	0.63	0.10
24 [205 ep.]	#	174	57	60	0	0
	%	4.38	1.44	1.51	0.00	0.00
House of Cards [73 ep.]	#	102	4	9	7	0
	%	12.69	0.50	1.12	0.87	0.00
Blindspot [100 ep.]	#	136	44	40	19	1
	%	4.86	1.57	1.43	0.68	0.04
Designated S. [53 ep.]	#	127	22	16	8	1
	%	10.59	1.83	1.33	0.67	0.08
Σ	#	2,062	236	291	60	6
Average	%	13.85	1.59	1.88	0.57	0.04

The table clearly shows that periods are still used between the letters of acronyms, although the average percentage is only 13.85%. However, this means a total of 2,062 cases, even if a considerable part of them is due to *The West Wing* subtitle, with much fewer instances in the other subtitles.

A final table is dedicated to acronyms with apostrophes, acronyms in plural, acronyms with suffixes, or hybrid acronyms, forming compound structures (e.g. *ex-CIA*).

Table 6. *Modified acronyms*

Modified		’	Plural	Affix	Compound
The West Wing [155 ep.]	#	150	15	3	7
	%	3.62	0.36	0.07	0.17
24 [205 ep.]	#	80	4	21	5
	%	2.02	0.10	0.53	0.13

Modified		’	Plural	Affix	Compound
House of Cards [73 ep.]	#	21	15	1	5
	%	2.61	1.87	0.12	0.62
Blindspot [100 ep.]	#	84	10	21	2
	%	3.00	0.36	0.75	0.07
Designated S. [53 ep.]	#	49	10	3	3
	%	4.09	0.83	0.25	0.25
Σ	#	384	54	49	22
Average	%	3.07	0.70	0.35	0.25

Table 6 shows that relatively few acronyms are followed by apostrophes or plural forms, which are nevertheless important from the point of view of spelling. Similarly, few of them can take affixes, and even fewer form compound structures.

2.1. Discussing results

Our algorithm spotted close to 1,500 unique acronyms with more than 12,000 occurrences in five popular American TV series. To put it into perspective, an author states that it is estimated that doctors actively use 2–300 medical abbreviations (acronyms included), and they can also understand a further similar amount (Bandur 2003: 14) – thus, it is near-impossible for a single person to understand and actively use all the acronyms we have collected. As such, disambiguation is needed, which – in ideal cases – happens during the first use of a particular acronym, unless they are widely circulated due to mass media. The most frequently used acronyms in these series are included in *Appendix 1*, which offers a clue as to what to be prepared for when a person wishes to enjoy political or thriller movies. Furthermore, this appendix also warns prospective translators of the series which acronyms should be searched for in the target language.

The results corroborate the findings of previous studies that three-letter acronyms are the most popular; in our case, they represent 52.43% of unique cases and 57.70% of the overall cases. The percentage of two-letter acronyms proves their importance, being the second largest category (unique values: 23.84%, overall occurrence: 29.57%), while acronyms made up of 6–9 letters are very rare. According to a source, there are “17,576 possible three-letter acronyms” based on the English alphabet, and it is staggering that “94% of these combinations had been used at least once” (Barnett & Doubleday 2020: 2). Our database is much more restricted in this respect, as only 786 three-letter acronyms were collected, but due to overlaps in the series, this shrinks to 535 unique values.

As for the punctuation, definitions of acronyms highlight that no periods should be used between the uppercase letters. Still, we have detected a relatively large number of cases with periods: 156 unique acronyms were spelled with periods, totalling 2,062 occurrences, which ultimately were considered together

with their forms without periods. The total number of occurrences may suggest various interpretations. First, the use of an established visual appearance (e.g. *D.C.* or *U.S.* – widely used in authoritative American media products)[13] seems to be more important compared to what linguists or algorithm developers recommend. On the other hand, considering that we have created the database from subtitles (supposed to be promoting economy of characters), it is very disturbing to spot highly frequent acronyms with both versions.

Table 7. *Acronyms with and without periods*

	U.S./ US	D.C./ DC	I.D./ ID	V.P./ VP	G.O.P./ GOP	D.O.D./ DOD	U.N./ UN
The West Wing	272/8	55/2	0/20	25/105	0/11	0/42	75/8
24	46/86	8/32	23/141	0/3	–	0/90	53/57
House of Cards	14/50	23/30	0/5	3/18	2/11	6/4	0/40
Blindspot	60/70	16/16	11/75	0/10	–	0/14	0/18
Designated S.	40/48	35/41	3/15	6/34	0/6	–	6/8

We have also found that acronyms containing prepositions and conjunctions are spelled inconsistently. For instance, eight cases of *DOD* were missed by the algorithm, as the preposition was spelled with a lowercase "o", breaking the algorithm rule of a string of at least two uppercase letters. Six cases were detected in *The West Wing* (e.g. *I called the DoD*; *Charlie, did you pull DoD's report…*), noting that the latter example is also a possessive form, which is beyond our statistics. As our study does not discuss the origin of acronyms and whether the internal prepositions or conjunctions contribute to the creation of acronym or not, we can only suspect that further mixed-letter acronyms are used, which is one of the limitations of the present study.

As for the symbols, another limitation is the detection of the ampersand symbol. In fact, only one acronym fulfils the minimum of two-letter uppercase string (five cases of *AT&T*), while 59 cases with ampersand are beyond the limits of our algorithm. 41 occurrences are made up of [uppercase]&[uppercase] formation (unique acronyms: *K&R*, *B&B*, *S&M*, *S&P*, *M&M*, *D&X*, *S&R*, *B&E*, *Q&A*, *R&D*, and *A&E*). However, a further 18 acronyms are spelled with spaces between the uppercase letters (unique: *R & D*, *R & J*, *S & L*, *Q & A*), and *q & a* is used twice in *The West Wing*, proving that spelling rules regarding symbols should be much more consistent. However, the overall frequency of acronyms with ampersand is less than 1%.

The 291 collected hyphenated cases (1.88%) suggest that they are predominantly used in technical, military, or medical descriptions (e.g. section *AB-33*, *AK-47*, *DC-10*, *CSS-6* missiles, *HIV-AIDS* research), but a hyphen may connect two acronyms (*AFL-CIO*, *CNN-USA Today*) although little distinction is

13 See, for instance, *The Washington Post* (https://www.washingtonpost.com/) or *The Wall Street Journal* (https://www.wsj.com/).

made between hyphen, en-dash, or em-dash in subtitles. Furthermore, spelling issues are also bound to appear, as we have found *DEFCON 2* (defence readiness condition), but *DEFCON-4* as well.

Interestingly, the number of acronyms with apostrophe is higher than expected (384 – 3.07%), which is both due to inconsistent spelling and various grammatical functions. Grammarians prescribe that the genitive/possessive form is formed by adding an apostrophe ('s) at the end of the word (*FBI's* most wanted), but there were cases when the acronym ended in a number and the "'s" referred to the plural form (e.g. 20 *SS-19's* in the quadrant), even if there is the other option to simply attach an "s" to the root (cf. the *1960s*). Furthermore, "'s" may be the abbreviation for *is* or *has* (e.g. the *VP's* going to Oklahoma, the *VP's* been positioning himself). Although other scholars mention that acronyms may contain slashes, we have only found six cases of them (0.04%), and thus their presence in the database is insignificant.

Our database also offers a few cases with affixed and compound acronyms (e.g. *ex-VP*, *non-ID*, the police *ID'd* her body, *AFL-CIO*, *DOD*-formatted), but their number is very low.

2.1. The ignore list

When running the code for the first time, we have spotted strings of at least two uppercase letters, which are not acronyms or stemming from abbreviations. Hence, a special ignore list was needed, which contains Roman numbers (e.g. *II*, *III*, *VII*, *IX*, *DCCVIII*), and special attention was paid to *IV*, which may be either a Roman number or the shortened *intravenous*.

Transcript writers have limited possibilities to draw the attention of viewers or people with special needs, and thus it may happen to rely on all uppercase words for explanatory lines, tags, sounds, names (personal, geographical, company), jobs, background noises, metaphors, puns, etc. (e.g. *ONE MONTH EARLIER*, *GUNSHOT*, *INTERPOL*, *JACK*, *ANGELA*, *PARAMEDIC*, *REPORTER*, *NEWSWOMAN*, or *FOX TELEVISION*). Certain algorithms can be "pre-processed to disregard lines of text that are all uppercase" (Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 192), but our algorithm was not designed this way. Thus, we had to run it twice, and based on the findings of its first run, we created the ignore list of all uppercase words not being acronyms. This list was completed with so-called "international" entries, including *CV*, *DJ*, *OK*, and *TV*. However, the greatest headache concerning the ignore list was caused by Season 1 of *House of Cards* (13 episodes), whose English subtitles is provided in full uppercase, so before managing to extract acronyms, it took a lot of time to convert them to lowercase and then spot all the acronyms and reconvert only them to uppercase. Our ignore list for each discussed TV series can be found in *Appendix 2*.

3. Conclusions

We have started the research to spot acronyms in subtitles with the help of an algorithm, both to exclude the possibility of human failure (e.g. distraction, tiredness, or not recognizing valid acronyms) and to speed up the process. Our hope was to find all instances of a particular acronym and check their consistency, which – to a certain extent – failed due to inconsistency. While the algorithm was implemented to detect both acronym versions (with or without periods), inconsistency in using only uppercase letters could not be handled unless the graphic appearance of acronyms displayed a string of at least two uppercase letters. Consequently, a few cases went undetected, such as *DoD* or *Seals*, although possessive or plural forms were extracted (*DOD's*, *SEALS* or *SEALs*). While an ultimate search in the full database may spot all these cases, they are not added to the present database of acronyms.

Our results show that transcript writers or subtitlers seem to be ignorant and/or careless about the use of uppercase letters, as too many non-acronyms are fully capitalized. Except for the outrageous case of Season 1 (*House of Cards*), countless various other subtitles are spelled with full uppercase letters although bracketed versions may be also used for them.

The various spelling issues connected to acronyms has clearly helped us spotting cases when acronyms are combined with numbers, followed by apostrophes or other symbols, and unifying versions with and without periods. Yet, we argue that the more instances, the more important it is to spell them consistently, at least in all the episodes of a single TV series, if this is not possible for all occurrences (cf. *D.C.* and *DC*). Although we have checked other symbols in acronyms as well, too few cases were spotted to consider them significant, except for the fact that they are possible (e.g. the use of slash in acronyms: "you have a joint *JD/MBA*").

Although other algorithms can skip all uppercase lines (cf. Taghva & Gilbreth 1999: 192), we do not favour this option in our research, as all uppercase lines in subtitles may contain acronyms.

Ambitious studies map the areas to which acronyms belong to, concluding that "they are concentrated in 7 areas", including political organizations, systems, the military, computers, space, chemicals, and transportation (Cannon 1989: 115). Although this was true decades ago, we tend to believe that part of it may be still relevant today, especially acronyms associated with global issues (e.g. politics, finances, and health). Nevertheless, this is beyond the scope of the present article.

Our basic rule was rather simplistic yet – compared to the linguistics of algorithm-driven approaches – stricter in the sense that acronyms combining single uppercase and lowercase letters cannot be spotted, similarly to two uppercase letters joined by a symbol, most importantly an ampersand. However,

we tend to believe that inconsistencies in defining and categorizing acronyms will inevitably lead to the impossibility to spot all valid acronyms by an algorithm, unless a complementary exception list is added to the algorithm, which may be perceived as the counterpart of the ignore list. This exception may contain more and more entries, knowing that acronyms in less formal communication tend to become more and more popular (Izura & Playfoot 2012: 862), often combining numbers and letters, resulting in "graphic abbreviations" (Mattiello 2013: 86–87) such as *L8R* or *4U*. Mass media will ensure to spread these new acronyms through all conceivable channels, including the entertainment industry with highly popular audiovisual products.

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Appendix

1. Most popular acronyms

#	Acronym	Overall	#	Acronym	Overall	#	Acronym	Overall
1	CTU	1513	27	SDI	57	53	GSA	23
2	F.B.I.	1485	28	E.M.P.	55	54	J.B.	23
3	C.J.	962	29	EPA	52	55	HMX	22
4	U.S.	694	30	NSC	48	56	P.A.	21
5	CIA	469	31	I.R.K.	47	57	PTSD	21
6	NSA	285	32	GPS	46	58	USB	20
7	I.D.	268	33	FAA	46	59	DEA	18
8	D.C.	258	34	F.E.C.	45	60	FDA	17
9	U.N.	207	35	GPA	41	61	MI	16
10	V.P.	191	36	AP	40	62	HUD	16
11	L.A.	180	37	I.P.	39	63	M.O.	15
12	D.O.D.	152	38	OMB	39	64	EKG	14
13	ZIP	151	39	HHS	36	65	DHS	13
14	NYPD	110	40	TAC	35	66	G.O.P.	13
15	MS	92	41	PDA	34	67	DOJ	12
16	NASA	88	42	AIDS	32	68	PR	11
17	CIP	87	43	SWAT	29	69	C.W.I.	11
18	ICO	87	44	E.T.A.	29	70	PAC	11
19	CNN	77	45	CDC	28	71	NRA	10
20	NATO	76	46	POTUS	28	72	FSB	9
21	D.N.C.	74	47	U.S.S.	27	73	NIH	8
22	LAPD	74	48	RNC	26	74	WITSEC	7
23	DNA	65	49	C.E.O.	26	75	FISA	7
24	HCI	62	50	FEMA	26	76	FERC	7
25	SEAL	62	51	NHS	24	77	DIY	7
26	UN	58	52	I.T.	23	78	DUI	7

Note: except for *C.J.* and *J.B.*, all acronyms with periods are also spelled without periods.

2. Ignore list

The West Wing	ASTRO BITE CV	ENGLISH II III	IX ME O.K.	SDI TIME TV	ULTRA UTAH VI
24	AGENT ALMEIDA ANCHOR ANGELA ARLO BAZHAEV BUCHANAN BURKE BURNETT CARA CENTURY CES CHLOE COLE CV DALIA DANA DANS DAVROS DEMMENT DISPATCH DISPATCHER	DRIVER EDEN ELAINE EMERSON ENGLISH ENTRE ERIKA ERROR ET ETHAN FORD FOX FROM FRS GALVEZ GENERAL HASSAN HASTINGS HAYWORTH HDTV HERE II	III JACK JANIS JOSEF JUMA KANIN KOENIG LEADER LITVAK LOGAN LUGO MACER MAN MARCOS MAYER MEREDITH MOSS NEMENTS NEWS NEWSCASTER NEWSMAN NEWSWOMAN	NOVAKOVICH OFFICER OK OLEG OLIVIA OPERATOR ORTIZ PARAMEDIC PARK PATTY PIERCE PILLAR PILOT PR PRESS RADIO REED RENEE REPORTER RICKER ROULENT SDH	SE SEAN SECRETARY SMITH SPOTTER STEPHEN SUBTITLES SUVAROV SYSTEM TAYLOR TEAM TELEVISION TERI TONY TV VLADIMIR WALLEKI WALSH WINNICK WOMAN
House of Cards	CV	DJ	II	OK	TV
Blindspot	AWH BFFF CREAM CV	DCCVIII DJ GUNSHOT GUY	ICE II III JANE	SDH SO THIS TV	VII WELLER WHO ZOMO
Designated Survivor	CV	II	III	TV	XIII

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Teacher Trainees' Vision of Their Future English Classes

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Abstract. In recent years, there has been a growing body of literature focusing on teacher identity and teacher beliefs, which are key aspects in understanding classroom processes. While there is an increasing number of studies regarding the identity and beliefs of practising teachers, studies on trainees are rare, and studies aiming to compare and contrast different learning environments are even less frequent.
The aim of the present study is to investigate the ways in which different socio-cultural contexts influence student teachers' vision of their future professional identity and that of their future ideal lessons.
Our participants are English-language teacher trainees from Szeged (Hungary) and Miercurea Ciuc (Romania). At the time of the data collection, they had not yet started their methodology courses or their teaching practice. As the first step of a longitudinal study, they were asked to create a visual image of their ideal future lesson by drawing or making a collage. Also, they were asked to supplement their images with a written explanation.
The results indicate that pre-service teachers have very specific ideas about their ideal lessons, and their images reflect plenty of details and a great variety of different aspects.

Keywords: teacher identity, vision, teaching English, teacher trainees, visual images

1. Introduction

Numerous studies have dealt with teacher identity development and teacher beliefs, yet there are only a few that involve pre-service teachers. The present research aims to explore how teacher trainees envision their future professional identity and their future ideal lessons by comparing two different socio-cultural contexts. In order to do so, we collected data from English-language teacher trainees studying at the University of Szeged (Hungary) and at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania in Miercurea Ciuc (Romania). This study reports on the first findings of a longitudinal study, the starting point of which is the trainees' second year of study, the final stage before they start studying subjects related to the methodology of teaching English as a foreign language, and the envisioned endpoint is their last year of study, after completing all their methodology courses and teaching practices, right before they graduate. As the first step of data collection, the participants were asked to create a visual image of their ideal future lesson by drawing or making a collage, and, additionally, they were asked to supplement their images with a written explanation.

2. Literature review

Studying teachers' beliefs and identity has been found to be of utmost importance in order to understand their classroom practices. Identity is known not to be a fixed and stable entity, but, on the contrary, it is constantly evolving and is continually constructed and reconstructed by teachers' previous and current experiences and also by their future aspirations (Barkhuizen 2016, Ruohotie-Lyhty & Pitkänen-Huhta 2020). We believe that teacher education plays an important role in shaping and influencing future teachers' and teacher trainees' professional identities, since previous experiences are evoked with "the future profession in sight" (Ruohotie-Lyhty and Pitkänen-Huhta 2020: 1). This identity perspective puts the teacher trainee in the centre of the learning process, and by understanding the identities and the work they envision, we as teacher trainers can have a closer understanding of who they are and more precise insights into how to support their development better. Even though the importance of professional identity is recognized in teacher education, and there are several studies focusing on how graduate students perceive their professional identities, little research has been done on the way teacher trainees envision their future work before starting to study the methodology of foreign language teaching in theory, before going to schools to observe lessons or starting their teaching practice.

2.1. Teacher identity

Teacher identity is understood to include individual teachers' beliefs and theories of teaching and learning combined with pedagogical knowledge and classroom practices (Barkhuizen 2017) as "tools through which teachers make sense of their professional practices" (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Pitkänen-Huhta 2020: 2). Furthermore, identities are social constructs; they are negotiated, influenced by traditions, roles, and practices that individuals have encountered throughout their socialization in their social context, reflecting the "constant interplay between individuals and their context" (Ruohotie-Lyhty et al. 2021: 2). This means that while they are socio-politically embedded on the one hand, they are also very personal on the other hand, since individuals are active participants and interpreters of the social practices they are surrounded by and participate in.

Teacher identities are formed as part of a reflexive process in which they try to understand who they are and who they desire or fear to be (Barkhuizen 2017: 4). Although the process of forming a teacher identity does not usually begin during teacher education, it is nevertheless the context where former beliefs and ideas of teaching and learning can be reflected upon and transformed to provide a basis for starting as a professional. In other words, teacher training provides an excellent opportunity for trainees to make a transition from former learners to teachers. Moreover, the existing body of literature shows that teacher training/ pedagogical education is a decisive time for identity development (Golombek & Doran 2014) and that "identities formed during teacher training have a significant role in teachers' professional development" (Ruohotie-Lyhty et al. 2021: 2). Moreover, Borg et al. (2014: 3) emphasize that "teacher education is more likely to impact trainees when they have opportunities to become aware of their prior beliefs about teaching and learning, to reflect on these and to make connections between theory and practice".

2.2. Teacher motivation and the use of narratives to visualize the future

The motivation of foreign language learners has been studied extensively and from several different perspectives. Recently, it has been suggested that learner motivation be viewed in terms of a motivational self-system (Dörnyei 2005) consisting of the learners' possible selves (ideal and ought-to self) and related to their past foreign language learning experiences. It has also been suggested that the motivational self-system could be applied to foreign language teachers as well (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova 2014): to both pre-service and in-service teachers. The ability to envision their teaching in the future is thus related to their identity and motivation. However, as pointed out by Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014: 125), the purpose is "not to identify some kind of idealized fantasy image of a

language classroom [...] but, rather, to develop a personally meaningful *possible* vision that is integral to who the teacher is and that is sensitive to the context in which his/her work is located".

In teacher education, different types of narratives have been used in order to enhance teacher development (see Barkhuizen 2017, Kalaja & Ruohotie-Lyhty 2019), since narratives have been acknowledged to be a means for pre-service and in-service teachers to make sense of themselves and their profession (Johnson & Golombek 2011: 2013), more specifically in constructing their identities and reflecting upon their experiences. Narratives can be thus viewed as means of understanding the course and processes of identity development where teachers can express their "beliefs, attitudes and values" (Kalaja & Ruohotie-Lyhty 2019: 80). Narratives can be used not only to describe past experiences but also to envision the future; as Kramp (2004: 107) puts it: "stories preserve our memories, prompt our reflections, connect us with our past and present, and assist us to envision our future". Narratives, however, do not necessarily mean written or oral (verbal) stories, but there are also other modes to express ourselves, such as visual or multimodal (e.g. texts complemented with pictures, figures, sounds, or video clips).

There has been a small number of studies focused on teacher trainees or their vision about their professional future. The results of an earlier study conducted by Hammerness were published in 2003 (see also Hammerness 2006), in which he asked novice teachers to imagine their ideal classroom. Data were collected by administering a survey followed by interviews with some of the participants involved in the survey. The author asked teachers to imagine their ideal classroom by taking the interviewer on an imaginary tour and answering some questions related to what they would teach, how and why.

Ten years later, a longitudinal study conducted by Kalaja (2016) focused on teacher trainees who were studying to become foreign language teachers and were to graduate from an MA degree programme in Finland. Teacher trainees were asked to imagine their future class and then to draw a picture of this image, completing it with additional short explanations.

In another study, Borg et al. (2014) asked fourth-year teacher trainees from the University of Barcelona to draw a picture that represents a successful primary ELT class and then to write a commentary in which they explain the meaning of the picture. The task was completed by teacher trainees before their so-called specialist methodology course, after already having completed an introductory ELT methodology course in the third year. Borg et al. (2014) carried out a longitudinal study in which they conducted interviews with the participants to get further insights into the teacher trainees' drawings, and at the end of the course participants were asked again to create a picture of an effective ELT lesson.

Kalaja and Mäntylä (2018) also had teacher trainees as subjects of their research and used visual narratives to look forward in time, to envision the future. The

subjects of this study were second- and third-year university students majoring in English; they were half-way through their teacher education, so all the participants had previously completed some pedagogical studies, some of them had even completed their teaching practice. The task was for the teacher trainees to create a visual representation of an ideal English class.

Ruohotie-Lyhty and Pitkänen-Huhta (2020) took the idea of envisioning further and examined the visual narratives of 61 first-year language students at a Finnish university regarding their imagined future teacher identities (desired and undesired profession). The authors identified two perspectives of looking at teaching as a profession, namely the societal status and the nature (characteristics, activities, environment) of the profession. The same idea was extended by Ruohotie-Lyhty et al. (2021) in order to compare the responses of Finnish and Brazilian students and explore the socio-cultural differences in identity construction. The authors highlight that such research not only "encourages the exploration of emotional self-awareness reflectively in relation to contexts, beliefs and identities" (Ruohotie-Lyhty et al. 2021: 9), but as teacher trainees become aware of these phenomena, their present and future practices might be strongly affected.

3. The study

3.1. Aim

Based on the literature reviewed above, we set out to investigate the ways in which different socio-cultural contexts influence student teachers' vision of their future professional identity and that of their future ideal lessons. As stated above in the introduction, the present paper reports on the findings of the first step of what is intended as a four-year-long study with the participation of teacher trainees studying at the University of Szeged, Hungary (N = 48), and at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania in Miercurea Ciuc, Romania (N = 16). At the time of the data collection (February 2022), both student populations were at the beginning of their fourth semester of study. At this stage, the students' backgrounds and experiences can be considered similar since neither group has attended any courses on English-language teaching methodology.

3.2. Data collection

The data were collected using Kalaja and Mäntylä's (2018) idea. The participants were asked to create a picture (either by drawing by hand or by using computer software or newspaper/magazine clippings, etc.): *An English Lesson of My Dreams* – depicting a lesson that they could imagine giving after graduation. The

participants were also asked to describe in a few sentences what is taking place in the lesson and give reasons why their lesson would be as envisioned by them. The task was set as a homework assignment, and the students had two weeks to complete it. Also, they were informed that the task was not going to be graded for quality, the only requirement being to hand it in.

A superficial look at the data – there were 64 images and descriptions altogether – already reveals that most of the participants carried out the task with great care, often paying attention to the minutest of details. They indeed used a great variety of visual representation techniques, starting from pen/pencil drawings of stick figures through using colour pens/pencils to collages and computer graphics in varying degrees of elaboration. Similarly, the descriptions varied in length and detail, but they typically provided excellently insightful supplements to the images. The data were examined carefully and studied for emerging patterns. At present, we can report on four major topic areas: (1) the learning/teaching environment (traditional classroom vs. outdoor spaces), (2) the teacher's position, (3) classroom activities, and (4) abstract visualizations reflecting on the learning/teaching process.

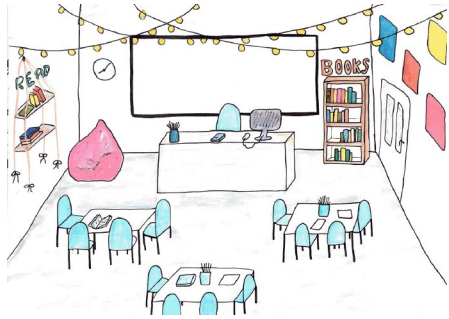
3.3. Findings

As stated above, the data lend itself for analysis from different aspects. In the four subsections below, we are going to elaborate on how the participants imagined the ideal learning/teaching environment, where they positioned the teacher, what classroom activities they visualized, and, finally, we are going to show some abstract visualizations reflecting on the learning/teaching process.

3.3.1. The learning/teaching environment

When taking a look at the images, one of the first conspicuous features is where the instruction is taking place. *Figures 1* and *2* represent the majority of the participants' imagined classroom environments, depicting classroom settings with an impressive amount of detail. *Figure 1* represents the traditional classroom, with orderly rows, where learners are seated in pairs (however, not all learners are at their desks because they are engaged in various activities, with the teacher standing in the corner monitoring the work). In *Figure 2*, we can observe a similarly traditional classroom; this time, however, the desks are arranged in a way to suit group work activities. Moreover, we can observe some changes in the way the classroom is decorated. There is a bookshelf in the right corner and a beanbag in the left one, probably allowing some extensive type of reading[1] possibilities for the learners.

1 Extensive reading is an approach to second or foreign language reading when learners read for pleasure/joy (see Harmer 2007: 283).



Figures 1–2. *Traditional learning/teaching environment*

Figure 3. *Non-traditional learning/teaching environment – At the Zoo*

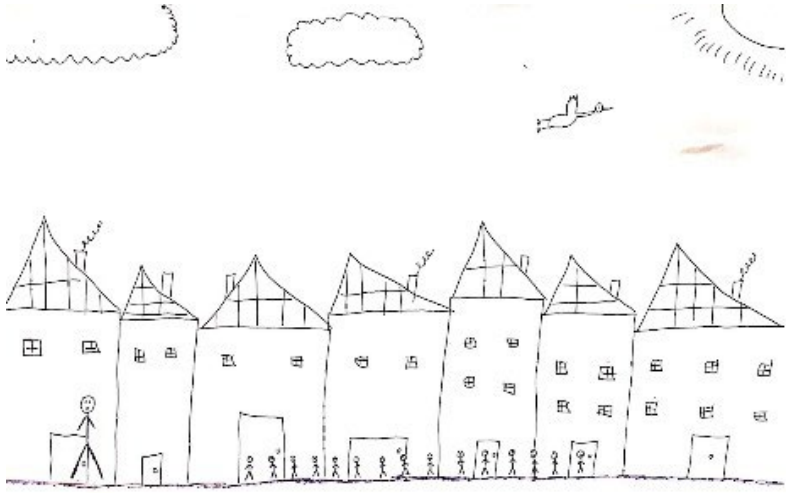


Figure 4. *Non-traditional learning/teaching environment – A Trip to England*

Among the numerous learning/teaching environment representations, there were only a few that depicted non-traditional environments. *Figure 3* shows how language learners are taken to the zoo for a better illustration of meaning, while *Figure* 4 represents a class excursion, where the learners are taken to England. The accompanying description reveals that: "It would be great to study about the culture if we travelled to the country. The students could find the language more interesting if they had the opportunity to travel there."

3.3.2. Teacher's position

Taking a close look at the pictures submitted by the participants, we can observe various ways in which the teacher is positioned in the classroom. In *figures 5* and *6*, the teachers are standing in front of the classroom. In *Figure 5*, we can see a scene where the teacher is standing at the whiteboard, probably providing an explanation or acting as a prompter or facilitator. The students are working in groups, interestingly all of them seated with their backs towards the teacher. In *Figure* 6, the teacher seems to be providing a whole-class instruction or monitoring group work activities. In these pictures, too, students are seated in groups. In *Figure 1* above, we can see the teacher standing almost unnoticed in the corner, while there is a student holding a presentation at the blackboard, with some other students listening in the benches, and two other students are engaged in a different activity at the blackboard.

Figures 5–6. *Teacher's frontal position*

Figures 7 and *8* depict the teacher positioned among the students, in *Figure 7* standing, and thus occupying a slightly more prominent position, while in *Figure 8*, without the help of the speech bubbles, the teacher would be difficult to distinguish from the learners.

Figures 7–8. *Teacher in the circle*

The richness of this part of the data indicates that teacher trainees have various ideas at their disposal as regards the position (and hence the role) of the teacher. While many drawings place the teacher in a central, more traditional and more authoritative position, there are ample examples for the teacher positioned among the learners, as their equal.

3.3.3. Classroom activities

In the pictures created by our participants, as the ones presented in the above subsections also illustrate, we can see a great variety of work forms and activities. We can see examples for group work, presentations, discussions, various forms of interactions, and communication. Another emerging set of examples is centred around games and movement: role-play, playing games (see *Figure 9*) and video games, dancing (see *Figure 10*), and singing. Outdoor activities involve school trips (see *figures 3* and *4* above), and we can also see examples for doing project work (see *Figure 5* above), learning vocabulary, and different forms of illustrating meaning, for example, by showing pictures.

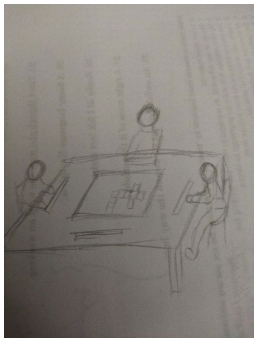


Figure 9. *Playing Scrabble*

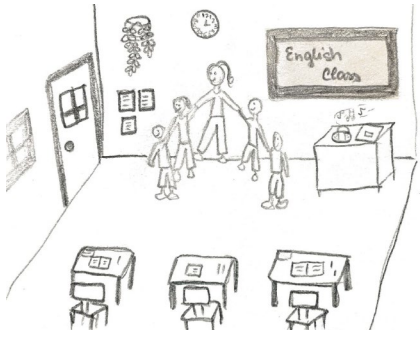


Figure 10. *Dancing*

Figure 11. *Collage 1: Various activities*

Figure 12. *Collage 2: Various activities*

Some of the participants created collages (*Figures 11* and *12*) to be able to capture a range of different classroom activities. In *Figure 11*, the focus is on "exercises that involve listening to music and paying attention to lyrics, watching short videos, and reading interesting stories", as stated by the creator of the montage.

The montage in *Figure 12* depicts a group work activity, because "students could be more active in groups, and group works teach students how to work together". As regards learning and teaching materials, we can see exercise books, books and dictionaries, because in books "we can follow thematics", dictionaries contain the new words, and there is a "special exercise book which students can decorate with anything and write just grammar in it". *Figure 12* also contains a mind map, since according to the student "mind mapping could help memorize well a new grammar part". Wordwall games and Quizlet also appear as interactive tools, "where teachers can check students' knowledge, what they learnt during the lesson". Last but not least, there is an interactive board, which, based on the student's description, is "a big help for teachers because they can demonstrate quickly and well, and teachers can use creative things for teaching better, interestingly".

We can safely maintain that many of the participants of the study – already prior to starting studying EFL methodology – have an elaborate repertoire of different work forms, classroom activities, and creative ideas regarding capturing students' attention.

3.3.4. Abstract visualizations

In subsections 3.3.1–3.3.3, we have presented data depicting classroom environments and scenarios that are easy to recognize in the images. Some participants, however, created abstract images to convey what they consider their future profession to be like. Below we are going to present some abstract visualizations, the interpretations of which rely heavily on the descriptions provided by the participants.

In *Figure 13*, the teacher is represented with a face featuring only a prominent mouth and no other organs, while the learners are depicted as having only eyes on their faces. The symbolism of the colours is also revealing: the mouth is coloured red, while the eyes are drawn black and white. At the same time, the speech bubble coming out of the coloured mouth is black and white, while the thought bubbles are colourful. According to the participant drawing the picture (as she later explained during a personal conversation), although the material taught by the teacher can be dry, monotonous, or boring, it is up to the learners to make it colourful, that is, to make the message meaningful for themselves and benefit from it. The hearts are all connected because, again according to the participant, this is how it is the best to learn: the teacher needs to be closely connected to the learners, the learners to the teacher, and the learners to each other. The connection is not primarily intellectual (as one might suppose when thinking about an environment for education), wherefore it is not the minds that are connected. Instead, it needs to be affectionate, which is why the wiring is drawn through the hearts.

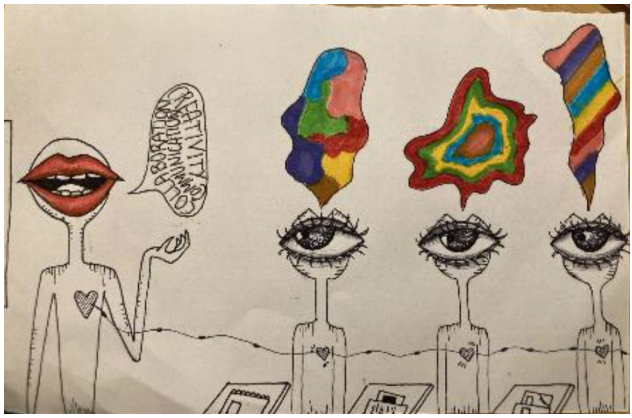


Figure 13. *Mouth and eyes*

Figure 14 is a mosaic, which, according to the participant's own description, is a metaphor for the type of classes that she would like to teach, "where every student can be unique in their own way and at the same time be part of a bigger picture. A group where we are able to combine our strengths and we motivate each other to learn new things; with this, we make our mosaic more and more colourful."

Figure 14. *Mosaic*

The participant creating the digital picture of the apple – taken from the Japanese anime *Death Note* – uses the apple as a symbol to represent their goal, namely to educate their learners about "new cultures and valuable knowledge" while teaching English. The pixels in the background symbolize some of the basic elements of language learning "such as grammar and translation".

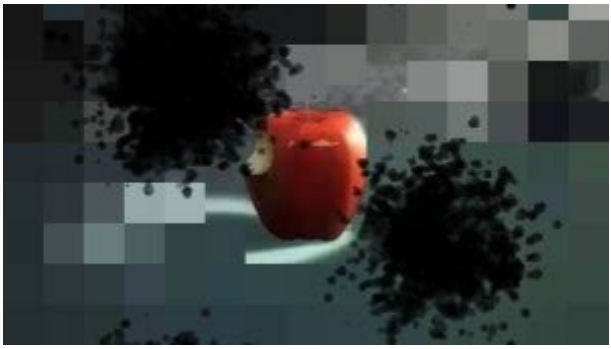


Figure 15. *Apple*

The richest symbolism is presented in *Figure 16*, where, according to the participant's explanation, the globe represents the language learner and the hand, holding and supporting the globe, symbolizes the teacher, since it is the "teacher's task to lead and guide the learners". The headphone symbolizes the learner's willingness to listen and internalize the material that way. It has the shape of a heart, meaning that even if the learner does not like the subject or the lesson, they still have a positive attitude. The question mark and the exclamation mark represent the learners' curiosity and the constantly ongoing dialogue during the teaching/learning process. The bulb symbolizes creativity and a richness of ideas, while the symbol X or + (either, according to the description provided by the participant) represents multiplying or adding up the work done in a language lesson and advocate the idea that there is always something for the learners to take home, after each and every lesson.

Figure 16. *The globe with a headphone*

Figures 13–16 reveal very complex ideas behind the seemingly simple task given to the participants. The many details and the rich symbolism allow us to

gain an insight into the participants' thoughts prior to actually being trained on methodology. We believe that the images and the descriptions presented above show how much background the participants already have, based on their own experiences as (language) learners.

4. Conclusions

In our paper, we have made an endeavour to explore what teacher trainees think about their future English lessons. We have applied a novel data collection method, with the help of which we surveyed visual representations and short descriptions provided by second-year teacher trainees at two universities (located in Szeged and Miercurea Ciuc). Although our primary expectation was to find patterns that are different in the two sets of data because of the different socio-cultural settings, interestingly, we have found no hints at such differences. We have, however, found that teacher trainees' previous learning experiences have a great impact on their vision of the perfect classroom, since most of the visual representations contain many elements of traditional classrooms, with some changes. This might mean that the trainees' thoughts are shaped according to what they consider "realistic" teaching/learning environments, rather than an ideal, imaginary but probably not realizable classroom.

Many classes were envisioned as being quite similar to the classes the trainees themselves attended when they were at school. Although at the time of creating the images and the descriptions our participants had no prior training in English teaching methodology, we believe that thinking about and implementing the task set for the purposes of the present research has given them an incentive to a (higher) awareness of their teaching beliefs and that in itself it is already a step taken in the direction of professional development.

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The Metaphor of *Light* – Perspectives on Conceptual Metaphors

Case Study on Anthony Doerr's *All the Light We Cannot See*

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Abstract. The language of perception, regarded from the perspective of the sensory modality principle, is common to all humans within similar cultural backgrounds. Its conceptualization, from a semantic standpoint is, however, language-specific. With this view in mind, the prime objective of this study is to investigate, from a cognitive linguistic perspective, various kinds of visual properties experienced in connection with the perceptual metaphor of LIGHT. Its cultural and emotional dimensions will be approached as an integrative part of the context provided by Anthony Doerr's novel *All the Light We Cannot See* (2014). The present investigation attempts to shed "light" upon the potential embodiment of meaning assigned to the metaphors of perception in a twofold, intrafield (Matisoff 1978, Evans & Wilkins 2000) and transfield standpoint. The conceptualization of the metaphor of light is observed in a contextualized approach of a single language (English), its secondary objective being that of providing the basis for a larger cross-linguistic investigation of similar matters on English–Romanian corpora.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, cognitive linguistics, light, perception, emotional meaning

1. Aim and objectives of the research

This study broadly aims at investigating the perception metaphor of *light*, focusing on contextualized examples from Anthony Doerr's novel *All the Light We Cannot See* with the scope of providing insight into the implications that semantic analysis might offer in regard to intrafield (within the perceptual domain mappings, from one sensory modality onto another) and transfield

(mappings outside the boundaries of the perceptual domain into such areas as mental, emotional, or physical domains) metaphorical conceptualizations through the use of visual perception metaphors. The study seeks to provide a better understanding of the contribution that perception metaphors have in the transfer of sensory experience towards abstract domains, appealing to the cultural and emotional dimension of metaphorical conceptualization, as such facilitating the development of further studies on similar or adjacent subject-matters.

The focus is laid on the visual metaphor of *light*, exploring the polysemic characteristic of the word in English, more precisely its use from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, corroborated with the recent advancements stemmed from scholarly investigations on matters of perception metaphors.

First, general theoretical considerations are presented. A subsequent step includes a detailed portrayal of metaphorical transfers associated with the domain of vision, with particular insight into the nuances implied by the use of the word LIGHT as part of a metaphorical construction. The study continues with an analysis of the abstract dimensions related to the aforementioned metaphor, showing its elaborate conceptual structure, along with its positive or negative polarity. Aspects of how light is linguistically coded into abstract domains reveal small-scale evidence that can constitute a departure point for further, more conclusive results.

Against the background of these remarks, this paper makes a contribution to the various possibilities in which the study of conceptual metaphors can be explored, building fruitful grounds for a broader study on cross-linguistic parallel corpora.

2. Background to the study

This section outlines some of the most relevant scholarly considerations that stand as pillars of the current study. It includes references to literature and studies on perceptual linguistic investigations addressing the cultural and emotional facets of literal perceptual language. It is this twofold subdivision embedded in perceptual language that will be the bedrock for the interpretation of the metaphor of light against the background of the profusion provided by the conflictual, strained, warlike atmosphere presented in Doerr's novel.

2.1. Theoretical considerations

The profusion of scholarly input on the intrinsic relationship established between the world and its linguistic representation commands reflection upon the new vistas of conceptualization related to the study of perceptual language. The two concepts, language and perception, stand as a primary function of language, being associated with our ability of communicating about perceptual content. However,

there are numerous instances in which words linked to perception are used in order to metaphorically refer to sensory experiences that do not invoke their initial meaning. In this vein, a definition of the term metaphor is convenient. The Cambridge Dictionary defines it as "an expression, often found in literature, that describes a person or object by referring to something that is considered to have similar characteristics to that person or object" (Cambridge Dictionary, n. d.).

In recent years, several studies have focused on human beings' ability to conceptualize perceptual experiences through metaphorical constructs. A growing body of literature has centred on studies concerning *linguistic synaesthesia* (Shen 1997), a term implying a conceptual mapping of two domains and a cross-modal usage of their meaning. Metaphorical mappings of *sensory information across domains*, for instance, sound into colour as in *loud colour* (Caballero 2019: 130), illustrate the rationale behind the concept of *synaesthetic metaphor*, a concept derived from the neurological phenomenon known as synaesthesia. However, studies conducted on perceptual content have reached conclusions that go beyond a *synaesthetic metaphor*'s mere characteristic of crossing the senses. Bodo Winter (2019) even ruled out the synaesthetic or metaphorical layers altogether, grounding his research in the evaluative function of sensory lexeme, the key in his argumentation being the cultural construction and the potential emotional encoding assigned to perception metaphors.

It is the *concept of embodiment* originally referred to by Johnson (1980) that alerts us to the importance of discovering the complementarity between the sensorimotor and sociocultural experience, implying sensory underpinnings of our culture or emotions. This inclusive perspective, reflecting on issues of the external world, as well as on the mental and social ones – although not embraced by all CMT researchers –, will be addressed in the subsequent parts of the present paper.

Decoding the cultural and emotional dimension of metaphorical language has its grounds in philosophical writings (Wittgenstein 1922, Kant 1781, Nietzsche 1889), considerations on accessing abstract concepts through logical or pure theoretical reasoning providing insight into language as source for deciphering sensory domains, a means of portraying reality through the felt world, much like the *concept of embodiment*. Another argument in favour of the interaction among language, thought processes, and reality is the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, also known as the linguistic relativity hypothesis. Linguistic relativity stands in close relation to semiotic-level concerns with the general relation of language and thought, as well as to discourse-level concerns with how patterns of language used in cultural context can affect mental processes.

Our thought is governed by conceptual structures that play a significant role in how we perceive everyday realities, as George Lakoff and Mark Johnson claim (1980, 1999) in one of the first systemic studies covering the matter under debate. Their Conceptual Metaphor Theory links metaphor to the realm

of collective imagination and philosophy, providing an even closer linkage among metaphorical usage, perceptual meaning implied, and culture in general. Transferring the "ARGUMENT OF WAR" into an imaginative cultural realm where the terms of winning or losing a battle have no conceptual meaning and exchanging them with the unconventional "ARGUMENT OF DANCE" provides a reconceptualization of reality in and through metaphorical usage. Cognitive linguistics at large states that figurative schemas which may include metaphor, metonymy, simile, etc. stand at the basis of the way in which we construct and perceive the world, metaphors being considered a matter of thought inasmuch as they are regarded as an integrative part of language. The term which emerged from studies conducted in the area of cognitive linguistics (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Sweetser 1990, Kovecses 2002, Johansson Falk & Gibbs 2012) is that of *conceptual metaphor*, a construction through which "semantic relationships that exist in the source domain are carried over to the target domain" (Julich 2019: 170), being inextricably linked to abstract thought reasoning. Our physical experiences are grounded in figurative language, governing our thoughts and being transposed into metaphorical conceptualizations through the fusion of two unrelated conceptual domains. The most recurrent exemplified juxtaposition is that of Life (target domain) and Journey (source domain), part of the "Life is a Journey" construct, where the source domain is conceptualized into the target domain.

Other complementary approaches to CMT are the Primary Metaphor Theory (Grady 1997) and the Theory of Objectification Framework (Szwedek 2011), both approaching the controversial points of the initial Conceptual Metaphor Theory, constituting an important advancement for the hypothesised reasoning of Lakoff and Johnson. The former acknowledges that the nature of conceptual metaphors resides in the recurrent correlation with a particular environment. The cognitive operation is exemplified by Lima (2006) who adverts to the simultaneous feeling of hunger and desire for food. The recurrence of the events of hunger, having direct implications in the experience brought about by the source domain of hunger, generates the metaphor DESIRE IS HUNGER. The latter theory addresses the issue of transposing meaning from a concrete conceptual domain into another, more abstract, conceptual domain (for example, thought, love, time, etc.). This concrete-to-abstract metamorphosis catalyses the emergence of impalpable abstract entities, as Szwedek himself claims, on account of the physical object image schema.

Directionality is yet another recurrent and complementary pattern of investigation in the study of metaphors. Ullman's (1945, 1957) hierarchy of sensory modality, where the five senses: touch, taste, smell, sound, and sight are ranked from lower to higher, has been used as methodology in sensory modality, while, on the other hand, it provided the grounds for the emergence of opposing perspectives as to the foundation of such a ranking or the overall number of the senses at large. Assumed to be a Western cultural construction, the encoding of

sensory modality was challenged by Viberg (1983), who observed that languages differ in their number of basic perception verbs.

What the previous works failed to cohesively analyse and cover were the evaluative subdomains implied in the use of metaphorical mappings, namely cultural factors, emotional or mental layers. Although still scarce, recent research on matters of metaphor and perception has focused on interdisciplinary studies, such as mappings of the brain, going a step forward from previous assumptions towards theories supported by neuroimaging studies. "Transfield" and "intrafield" metaphorical patterns have been investigated in relation to their ability to transpose meaning from the perceptual domain to the conceptual one and, in doing so, proved that they provide stimulus for the brain, activating specific perceptual processing systems. Metaphorical language used to describe wine has provided fruitful grounds for investigation, studies such as those conducted by Rosario Cabarello (2019) explaining the implications of cultural constructs and emotional meaning in the context of wine evaluation. Sight- and sound-related terms concurrently demonstrate the validity of sensory metaphorical usage insofar as the acquisition of knowledge through sensory experience is concerned. In an analysis of five studies on the cultural success of sensory metaphors, Ezgi Akpinar and Jonah Berger (2015) suggest that associative cues contribute to a wider usage of sensory metaphors, making them more likely to be retrieved from memory. Extrapolations among moral beliefs and the cleanness paradigm or investigations concerning the opposition of dark and light in relation to the concepts of depression versus optimism are analogies used to connect metaphorical usage and thought, judgement, or social life. Salience, situatedness, and frequency, especially as part of collocations involving perception metaphors, are also distribution markers approached in the study of CMT in order to identify cross-linguistic data. Such analysis corroborated with corpus investigation methods reveals the sophisticated variations and perspectives falling within the scope of the metaphors of perception. It is based on the evidence provided by this recent research that this paper explores *light* as a perception metaphor, focusing on its transfield potential and outlining the possibilities of exploring it on a larger scale from a cross-linguistic perspective and with the use of corpus methods.

2.2. The metaphor of vision – The particular case of light

Sight, along with its object, light, falls under the category of universal metaphors of language, being placed at the top of the directionality of metaphorical mapping principle. Its extension into the domain of emotions can lead to both intrafield and extrafield mappings, attesting to its versatile semantic potential. Its meaning can be decoded in perceptual terms, as a synaesthetic metaphor, but approached in terms of its evaluative expression is linked to the emotional and affective dimension

that goes beyond the range of reason, encapsulating an abstract meaning. Its usage as a perceptual verb or as an adjective related to perceptual experience reveals a plethora of variations far beyond its monosensory interpretation. Hence, a fundamental characteristic of the conceptual structure of *light*, interpreted in emotional terms, allows instances of the unconscious to be decoded into utterance.

Previous studies exploring vision and collocations related to vision in association with the metaphors of perception have proved that its interpretation extends to abstract domains, as well as to feelings or mental thought processes. Mappings among visual senses and the domain of knowledge, for instance, have suggested the usage of light having the meaning of mental enlightenment. Proos (2019) regarded Estonian verbs of vision, with focus on the verb *nägema*, providing insight into its transfer of meaning towards the domains of intellect and knowledge, along with its possible interpretation as 'experience', thus extending its abstract potential towards the emotional domain. Other studies have focused on its intrafield valences as applied to auditory terms. One of the most accessible exemplification is that of *bright sound*, a perception metaphor encompassing a positive meaning. In fact, most of the thought processes related to its usage in connection to other senses, such as smell, taste, or touch, have a positive nuance. Its correspondence in meaning is, in many instances, associated with the equivalent of soft, slight, or not intense. Such sensory mappings can be exemplified through its relation to the sense of touch – "I can't take my eyes off her" (Kövecses 2019: 328) – or that of taste in the case of wine: "it shines bright" (Caballero 2019: 137). The intensity climb of wine acidity constitutes the figurative schema "ACIDITY IS LIGHT", as shown by Caballero, who lists other sight-related words that function in a synaesthetic manner (bright, flare, glow, shine, spark, etc.). Manifestations of the *negative* are less commonly related to the perceptual metaphor of light, this attribute being ascribed to its antonym, *darkness*.

Its transgression into the tactile sensation domain requires an allusion to the polysemic characteristic of the word. As such, the semantics of light is perceived in terms of lightness/heaviness of an object. As a result of searching for verbs and adjectives referring to the visual properties of light and its polysemic use, understood as the linguistic phenomenon that implies the coexistence of many possible meanings of a word, some of its dictionary meanings, as listed in the Online Oxford Collocation Dictionary, are listed below.

Table 1. *Meaning of the word "light"*

Light – verb	Light – adjective	Light – noun
– make something begin to burn – give light to something	– soft – slight – not intense – not dark – not weighting much	– brightness – something that produces light

3. Methodology

In order to ground the investigation of visual properties as derived from the studies testing the different theories and approaches to the conceptual mappings of light as a perception metaphor, along with its polysemy, the following part of the current paper will focus on its literary usage in Doerr's novel. The analysis is to be regarded as complementary to the studies that have dealt with the abstract dimension of perception metaphors, being a *contextualized linguistic approach* and focusing on the *conceptualization of the metaphor of light in a single language – English.*

3.1. Literary discourse and metaphorical conceptualization

Literary discourse is a rich ground for investigation in relation to perception metaphors. The nuances implied in a literary work exploring the inhumanity and profusion of experiences linked to war emphasize the potential of the visual perceptual metaphor. It is with this view in mind that the present paper examines the metaphor of light in the novel written by Doerr. Titled *All the Light We Cannot See*, the novel tells the story of a blind girl and a German orphan boy during World War II, placing light in the foreground of his work, purposely conveying an aura of ambiguous dimension. Light captures a value of hope and is linked to the idea of survival against the turmoil triggered by the misfortunes of war, while on the other hand it receives the attribute of darkness being associated with the flares shot in order to illuminate possible targets for snipers. Hope and fear, as connected to war, have been transposed in an antagonistic relationship, as far as the retrieval of meaning is concerned, with the concepts of lightness and darkness. Light can be observed as a means of obtaining insight into repressed memories, but also "constructing new meaning from a past traumatic event" (Stumm 2015: 47). The perception of sight, especially used as a metaphor by the blind character, in the case of Doerr's work, reveals a potential far beyond its regular sense.

Preceding the cognitive process of metaphor conceptualization, meaning finds its ground in both the physical and social/cultural experience. This claim poses difficulties when exploring the process of metaphorical conceptualization in the case of loss or malfunction of senses. Studies on sign language have provided in-depth understanding of how signs, articulated to perception expressions and assigned to a particular body part, are understood through conceptual metaphors. This way, the conceptualization of the metaphor of LIGHT is a case to be explored in relation to blindness, where the dichotomy exposed by the concept of embodiment lacks its complete sensorimotor implications, the cultural and behavioural factors, thus outweighing in the evaluative scope of conceptualization.

Besides this particularity pertaining to the perceptual conceptualization of light, overlapped with a physical state of blindness, there is the emotional component that is to be considered. To give just one example, plenty of literary works explore the idea of love, referred to as "falling in love", not rising in love. The metaphor of movement is in this case employed with the meaning of surrendering, of letting go and losing control. A physical sense of *falling* extends to an abstract domain of emotionality, the meaning to be decoded being that of an act of faith, a gamble in search of a deeply rooted, purely subjective state. Similarly, a parallel with the metaphorical construction involving the concept of *light* and its affective meaning is convenient as a key component of a perception metaphorical construction. *Kövecses* (2010) goes so far as to address the conceptual metaphor of EMOTION IS PERCEPTION, pinpointing to the concordance among external factors and internal, emotional, or cognitive states.

4. Examples and analysis

Light, along with its polysemic usage, decoded in the lines set as aim for the current study, is addressed in the following section from three standpoints:

1. Contextual – as part of the narrative of the novel *All the Light We Cannot See*;

2. Conceptual – analysing the connection between the domain of vision and other abstract domains, as part of conceptual metaphorical constructions;

3. Emotional valences – connected to its usage as part of metaphorical constructions.

4.1. Feel the *light (cross-modal conceptual metaphor)*

Conceptual metaphor involving the mapping of the source domain of touch onto the target domain of vision

Contextualization

"A trio of airborne ducks threads toward them, flapping their wings in synchrony, making for the Seine, and as the birds rush overhead, she imagines she can *feel the light* settling over their wings, striking each individual feather." (Doerr 2014: 42)

Conceptualization – LIGHT IS HOPE

An apparently simple cross-modal metaphor, but one that requires perceptibility in order to capture its meaning. Correlation with the background of the Second World War set by the novel acquires meaning pertaining to cultural and historical

factors, playing a central role in defining reality for the blind character. Western civilization has associated light with a positive meaning, especially in connection to the institution of war. Blindness, set in contrast with the vivid perceptual representation of light, creates a device of poetic imagination that transcends the physical domain, its conceptualization being connected not only to matters of the intellect and thought processes. The sensation of warmth created by light integrates perception in order to render a degree of emotionality that involves a general feeling of hope.

4.2. Muted *lights (cross-modal conceptual metaphor)*

Conceptual metaphor involving the mapping of specific source auditory content (silence) onto the target domain of vision

Contextualization

"He tries to imagine their descent, sporadic and *muted lights* passing and receding, cables rattling, everyone quiet, sinking down to that permanent darkness where men claw at the earth with a half mile of rock hunched on top of them." (Doerr 2014: 63)

Conceptualization – LIGHT IS DARKNESS

An emotional state expressed metaphorically through the use of salience encompassing a general state of progression towards a sunless horizon. When light is muted, you "sink into permanent darkness". Here, light captures the antithesis of its previous interpretation of HOPE. It unfolds as a device that transposes the reader into the dark circumstances and emotional states brought about by conflict. The conceptual metaphor of light highlights and amplifies the dark implications of being silenced, exposing the consequence of having everything reduced to a quiet state – death unfolds.

4.3. Light is soft *(cross-modal conceptual metaphor)*

Conceptual metaphor involving the mapping of specific source touch content onto the target domain of vision

Contextualization

"No other sounds; no motors, no airplanes, no distant pop of gunfire or howling of wounded men or yapping of dogs. He takes her hand to help her over the piles.

No shells fall and no rifles crack and the *light is soft and shot through* with ash." (Doerr 2014: 344)

Conceptualization – LIGHT IS LIFE

The conflictual states and emotional turmoil generated by warlike surroundings are purposely expressed in the language of the narrative. The cycle of violence, the impact of war, and famine are accounted for but cease through the inference to silence. Light comes as a rebirth, a phoenix announcing the rise of a new dawn out of the ashes. The softness of light generates a type of detachment from reality, it reinterprets the utterances of the tempestuous, lifeless present into a breath of much-needed oxygen.

4.4. Boots spark against the pebbles

Conceptual metaphor involving the mapping of the source domain of vision onto the target auditory domain

Contextualization

"A brass pin weighs lightly on each of their lapels; one hundred and fourteen hobnailed boots *spark against pebbles* on the trail." (Doerr 2014: 141)

Conceptualization – LIGHT IS WAR

Cultural and situational underpinnings derive from the abovementioned conceptual metaphor. Taken out of context, the sound of numerous boots against the hard surface of the rocks might trigger inferences to a bustling day, numerous people rushing to and from work, but the background of the narrative, the gravity of the sound, which is mapped onto sight through the sparks produced in the process of stamping, takes you to a different, much grim scenery. Grounded in figurative language, the conceptualization through re-experiencing, inasmuch as through imagining, settles language as a key element in the processes of thought and emotionality. Similarly important is its usage as an attribute of darkness. "Western thought systems are not exclusively products of 'light', but 'seem to be built upon negotiations between clarity and obscurity, or light and darkness, rather than any absolute preference for only one aspect of the continuum'" (Italiano 2020: 11) – it is this line of thought that seems to be rendered in the conceptualization, or rather reconceptualization, of light as an attribute of obscurity.

4.5. Shoot the "*very lights*"

Conceptual metaphor involving the mapping of the source domain of auditory onto the target domains of vision, implying the use of movement as well; fear and war

Contextualization

"Most nights the enemy would *shoot* pistol flares called 'very lights' over the trenches, short-lived stars suspended in the air from parachutes, meant to *illuminate possible targets for snipers*." (Doerr 2014: 123)

Conceptualization – THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF SOMETHING IS A VISUAL PERSPECTIVE / LIGHT IS DEATH

This particular conceptual metaphor makes use of an intensifier in order to augment the discrepancy between the conceptual domain of light, associated with a positive emotional state, and the conceptual domain of war, whose immediate mental construction transfers the reader into a negative emotional state. Light loses its functionality as a purely visual concept, being transposed as part of the narrative in a trigger of death. Associating a cultural concept that prototypically renders positivity and hope with a macabre consequence that unfolds after a sniper attack creates a state of confusion for the reader. Light is dissociated from its positive meaning and inverted into an opposing state, emphasized by the adverb "very".

4.6. The fizzling of the flares

Conceptual metaphor involving the mapping of the source domain of auditory onto the target domains of vision, implying the use of movement as well

Contextualization

"It would be so quiet, *the only sound the fizzling of the flares*, and then you'd hear the whistle of a sniper's bullet streak out of the darkness and bury itself in the mud." (Doerr 2014: 123)

Conceptualization – LIGHT IS DEATH

Once more, context derived, light shifts its interpretation away from a constructive cultural attribute. Synaesthetic transfers from sound onto vision accentuate its

mapping into an opposite meaning. It alerts to a dangerous, life-threatening situation, raising questions regarding the universality and limits of the dichotomy between light and darkness. Thought processes encapsulate continuous shifts of mapping physical or psychic experiences, being reflected into conceptual, metaphorical language.

5. Findings

The findings suggest that different cognitive processes may lead to the perception and conception of trauma (expressed culturally and emotionally) in terms of other sensory domains, creating a recontextualized view of *light* as part of the conceptual domain of vision.

Privilege is given to visual words in cross-modal use, its dominance over the five senses being supported by the directionality principle. However, there are plenty of investigatory endeavours that can be conducted which might lead to revelatory findings. LIGHT decoded not only in terms of positive meaning but also in regard to the negative emotional valences brought about by the use of visual imagery unfolds a novel interpretation of the word as part of a metaphorical construction. The study reveals usage of light as having a negative connotation, in contrast with what we might have initially regarded as an "up orientational metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 462) – light is up, dark is down. Regular uses of light, in accordance with Western fundamental cultural values (light my way / his face lit with pleasure), imply a positive usage of this visual sense in a metaphorical construction, while two exemplifications from Doerr's work place it in the abstract domains of darkness, respectively death. As such, the dichotomy between light and darkness triggers connections to both the rational and the emotional hemisphere. Doerr's literary work purposely reveals the embodiment of meaning connected to war triggering the affective side, using light as part of a conceptual metaphor that involves the physical domain of vision with reference to other abstract, sometimes opposing domains.

Deriving from their initial intrafield characteristics, the conceptual metaphors mentioned above and analysed reveal transfield characteristics along with their semantic shifts within the domain of perception. The sensory concept of vision attributed to light is mapped onto abstract domains, thus rendering conceptual structures such as the ones comprised in the following table.

Table 2. *The conceptual structure of light*

Light	
EXTENDED MEANING	
- Opposition to darkness/hope	- Negative connotation
- Spirituality	- Salience
- Understanding	- War
- Seeing	- Obscurity
- Knowing	- Death
- Life	

As such, the study testifies to the emotional and cultural valences of the perception metaphor of light, a causal relationship enhanced by the context of Doerr's narrative, together with the characteristics defining the two main characters. Extrapolating from this specific case, similar instances can be looked into from similar perspectives in other literary texts; however, the larger impact yields cues to its significance for the area of conceptual thought processes at large, attesting to the vital bond between language and thought processes.

6. Future developments

Literature as a domain context is not governed by the same terminological boundaries and domain-specific ontologies as other restricted domain contexts might be. It offers room for proper investigation of new meaning areas, as it includes a full portrayal of context for perceptual metaphorical mappings. Besides the focus of analysis of the current study, there is still plenty of room for future development. Cross-linguistic investigations based on methodologies implying the use of parallel corpora, for instance, seem to favour new discoveries as to the scope of perception metaphors in different languages, as well as to the differences in perception brought about by trauma against an ideological context.

Other studies might favour extrapolations into the systematic relations among the particularities of correspondence across languages, hence encouraging further examinations in order to determine the strategies of expressing conceptual metaphors in various languages. Additionally, reliable future research for the analysis of lexical units can apply the MIPVU method (Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit – Amsterdam), involving a complementary perspective among the contextual and basic meaning of a metaphor.

7. Conclusions

This study is an incipient step towards enabling insight into how metaphorical structures, via a cognitive linguistics perspective, are reflected at the linguistic level. *Light* as part of a conceptual metaphorical construction was examined, revealing its potential as a metaphorical embodiment of different abstract domains. Tracing the various extended meanings of *light* promises feasible results as to its potential as a conceptual structure that transcends a purely visual meaning, encapsulating nuances that have cultural and affective implications. As such, further investigations, especially on large-scale corpora and from a cross-linguistic perspective, are needed in order to certify the validity of these initial deductions.

The approach of the current study complements rather than supplements the findings of previous studies that have focused on semantic level concerns in relation to the meaning of conceptual metaphors and patterns of language connected to perception, making a contribution to the understanding that future research carried out in this field of study ought to consider an understanding of cultural, historical, anthropological, cognitive, and linguistic features and their significance, along with a multi-methodological analytical process. More importantly, it paves the way for further analysis of metaphorical concepts and the equivalence of their deep nuances in translated texts.

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Hungary and Transylvania in Women's Travel Writing in the 19th Century

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Abstract. Travel narratives written in the mid-nineteenth century served as valuable sources of information for the Western society regarding remote and exotic places as well as different cultures. Hungary and Transylvania became increasingly interesting and challenging destinations for British and American travellers, especially in the pre- and post-revolutionary periods. Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Magyar, or Hungary and Her Institutions in 1839–1840* (1840) and Nina Elizabeth Mazuchelli's memoir, *Magyarland* (1881), provided extensive accounts of a multi-ethnic Hungary, discussing various populations as being distinct from the mainstream society, as well as their folklore, history, manners, and customs. In analysing Pardoe's and Mazuchelli's memoirs, I am interested in the ways in which they portray Hungarian otherness as contrasted to Western, more precisely British national ideals. Making use of the theories of imagology, I will argue that the perceptions of a national character (hetero-images) as well as the defining of the (travellers') self against the Other (auto-images) are determined and perpetuated by cultural distinctions and by the various forms of cultural clash of the British and the East-Central European. Moreover, through a comparative approach, I will also look at the differences in the travellers' perception of the same country but in two very different historical and political time periods: Pardoe's journey in Hungary took place in 1840, before the War of Independence, while Mazuchelli visited the country in 1881, long after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867. The findings will indicate that the main features of the image of Hungarian national identity, as it is represented in the travelogues, are generated by the historical, cultural, and socio-political developments before and after the Hungarian War of Independence (1848–49).[1]

Keywords: travel writing, historical time, 19th-century Hungary and Transylvania, otherness

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1. Introduction

"Only the English go there" (Mazuchelli 1881, vol. I: 12), says the Italian "Inspettore" to Nina Elizabeth Mazuchelli and her husband upon being asked in which direction Hungary lies and whether other nations travel there frequently. One might correctly assume from this answer that Hungary in the nineteenth century seemed to be a strange, foreign place for the travellers of other nations, a *terra incognita* in East-Central Europe, a land of both exotic barbarism and civilized progress. Yet this country became one of the most favoured destinations of English travellers[2] throughout the century, who, very often after establishing relationships with the Hungarian elite, wrote quite passionately and positively about the Hungarian nation in their travelogues, thus raising the sympathy of Western Europe towards them. Among the most interesting travelogues, one can find Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Magyar or Hungary and Her Institutions in 1839–1840* (1840) and Nina Elizabeth Mazuchelli's memoir, *Magyarland* (1881).[3]

These texts are intriguing subjects of analysis not only because the writers visited Hungary and Transylvania in two different historical periods but also because there is a lack in the scholarship regarding their journeys in Hungary that needs to be filled. Both Pardoe, English poet and historian, and Mazuchelli, the wife of an army chaplain, were courageous explorers of exotic countries and thoroughly reported their experiences and observations, yet their accounts of Hungary and Transylvania did not raise extensive academic interest. Pardoe, for example, was the first travel writer who described Hungary's institutions and contributed to the construction of the nineteenth-century British image of Hungary.

Pardoe travelled to Hungary in 1839, a decade before the Hungarian War of Independence (1848–49), and provided an image of a nation, of enlightened Hungarian people – members of the gentry and of the aristocratic elite – who were ready for great social and political changes as well as welcomed technical and economic progress – in short, attempted to establish good relations with England in order to ensure the future of their country. Pardoe was greatly impressed by the open-mindedness of her Hungarian friends and found that Hungary is similar to England in many aspects and that the Hungarians are receptive to many British ideas not only in terms of culture and civilization but also in terms of economy and politics. A spirit of optimism and enthusiasm pervades Pardoe's text.

2 In a previous research (funded by Sapientia Foundation – Institute for Scientific Research), we have analysed travelogues by John Paget, Charles Loring Brace, Arthur J. Patterson, and Archibald Andrew Paton (https://en.partium.ro/hu/kutatas/angol-es-amerikai-utazok-a-19-szazadi-magyarorszagon-es-erdelyben).

3 This essay is part of a larger research that analyses the travelogues written by women: Julia Pardoe, Nina Elizabeth Mazuchelli, Emily Gerard, and Julia Clara Byrne (https://en.partium.ro/hu/kutatas/angol-noi-utazok-a-19-szazadi-magyarorszagon-es-erdelyben). Making use of the current findings, further research will explore the travelogues of Gerard and Byrne.

In the Age of Reform, members of the wealthy Hungarian elite – mostly István Széchenyi and Miklós Wesselényi – became the advocates of liberalism, of transforming Hungary from a feudal state into a modern, democratic one. The Hungarian gentry had been abroad and adopted many West European, predominantly British examples, and thus their liberal ideas became increasingly influential. The proposed political transformation did not only cherish the idea of national self-determination but also brought about numerous economic and socio-political reforms: transforming the feudal economy into a capitalistic one, regulating the Danube and the Tisza rivers, promoting railway constructions, navigation, regulating commerce and speeding up credit transactions, promoting external trade, and renewing social life through various civil associations and societies.[4] As András Gergely and Gábor Máthé argue, "[f]rom about 1830 on, a powerful revolutionary movement started developing with the aim to transform the feudal economy into a capitalistic one, and the half-feudal, half-absolutist political system into a bourgeois-liberal one" (Gergely and Máthé 2000: 176). They also add that "it was the reform era that made it possible for Hungary to come abreast of the most advanced parts of contemporary Europe" (2000: 179).

Mazuchelli's description of the same country roughly thirty years later offers an entirely different view: while the cities and the people are portrayed in a similar manner – highlighting the contrast between urban and rural areas –, the general atmosphere of the country seems to be dominated by depression, and the population is seen as extremely backward and uncivilized. Such differences are due to various reasons: on the one hand, Mazuchelli visited the country in 1881, that is, long after the defeat of the 1848–49 War of Independence and after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867, a historical period in which, despite significant social, economic, and political development, there were still regions in the country that seemed less developed. The economic development was slower in Transylvania and in Northern Hungary after the Compromise due to the geographical limitations (mountainous regions) and problems of transportation, but one could also observe a significant development compared to earlier periods, for example, in the construction of railroads.

In the age of dualism, the post-Compromise Hungarian governments brought about the development of the bourgeois state. Dualism is often regarded as a calm and stable period in which certain progress could be observed such as the development of the railroad network, of public administration, the telegraph and banking networks, the proclamation of the freedom of industry and that of the press. As Miklós Kásler claims, "the country experienced breath-taking development in the fields of economy, culture, health care and education. The GDP grew fifteen-fold and the railway and road network tenfold. Growth in other areas

4 István Széchenyi established the Casino in Pest and organized the first horse races, thus bringing about a social life very similar to British standards.

of the economy was similar to that. Hungary produced one of the highest rates of development in Europe. One issue, however, could not be solved: the matter of the nationalities" (2017: 313). However, as László Kósa argues, the country lacked a significant manufacturing industry, and when major public works, such as regulating rivers, railway constructions were completed, many people remained without work, and for them emigration became the only possibility: "One and a half million people left the country, most of whom chose America as their destination" (Kósa 1999: 182). Mazuchelli refers to this massive emigration many times throughout her travelogue, and truthfully describes the general poverty and apathy that characterizes many of the nationalities living on the territory of Hungary. According to Miklós Kásler, based on the last authentic census made in 1910, in the second half of the nineteenth century, 54 per cent of the entire population was ethnic Hungarians. "The population was reduced by the wars in the 19th century, permanent emigration to America totalling up to one and a half million by the time of World War I, and by epidemics" (2017: 314). It is also worth mentioning that, based on the findings of József Galántai, one can observe a certain shift in the ethnic composition of Hungary in the half century of the dualistic era.

> According to statistics of 1880, the proportions of Magyars in Hungary was 46.7%, while it is 54.5% in the 1910 statistics. This shift, though not without significance, did not bring about any change in the nationality composition of Hungary. This shift was motivated by several factors: the growth of the Magyar population was slightly higher than that of the nationalities, and emigration on the side of the nationalities was also more significant at the turning of the century. (Galántai 1993: 184)

Mazuchelli also provides a somewhat similar number when she mentions that the Magyar language is spoken by 40 per cent of the entire population (vol. II. 1881: 253).

On the other hand, the differences between the two travelogues might also be due to the fact that Pardoe did not travel beyond the eastern borders of Hungary – as Judit Kádár mentions, Budapest "can be regarded as Ms. Pardoe's base of operation" (1990: 223) –, while Mazuchelli's journey consisted of mostly travels in Transylvania, and a considerable part of her text is dedicated to the detailed description of the various ethnic groups living there. In Mazuchelli's text, one can also observe a striking difference between more and less developed places, that is, between cities and villages. Moreover, while Pardoe's text prefers to employ mostly the viewpoint of the Hungarian elite, the members of the gentry being her friends and guides, and she rarely talks to the common people, Elisabeth Mazuchelli actually engages in conversations with the members of the various ethnic groups, local communities, and lower-class people. Thus, Mazuchelli's

narrative contains the perspective of the average people on various issues (politics, economy, etc.), as well as local stories, legends, customs, and lots of adventurous incidents. We see her entering the house of a Romanian priest, sketching the Slovaks, talking to a Gypsy girl, engaging into a quarrel with an Austrian officer, and so on, thus providing first-hand experiences and information.

2. Cultural shocks, auto- and heterostereotypes

The images of Magyars and other ethnic groups living in Hungary and Transylvania as depicted by the two women travellers reflect the conflict between the readiness to apply well-established stereotypes and preconceived notions about the visited nations and the urge to offer a somewhat objective perspective and empirical data for informative purposes. In both texts, English standards are constantly juxtaposed with the strange, foreign customs of the locals, often resulting in cultural shock and the affirmation of the travellers' cultural superiority. Studies in imagology look at the origin and spread of prejudices and the various ways that contribute to the development of certain stereotypes – as Waldemar Zacharasiewicz states, the "concepts of one's own group (the autostereotype) and notions of the 'other' with which they are juxtaposed (the heterostereotype)" (2010: 12). According to Joep Leerssen, "[t]he nationality represented (the *spected*) is silhouetted in the perspectival context of the representing text or discourse (the *spectant*). For that reason, imagologists will have particular interest in the dynamics between those images which characterize the Other (*hetero-images*) and those which characterize one's own, domestic identity (*self-images* or *auto-images*)" (2007: 27).[5]

In the case of the two travelogues, it is safe to say that autostereotypes and heterostereotypes are constantly intertwined. Pardoe's and Mazuchelli's descriptions of the local people many times relate them back to the autostereotype of the English, more precisely, the English genteel woman (even if Pardoe and Mazuchelli were genteel only in their manners since they had a middle-class background). Such a cultural model brought about a certain style of superiority, a patronizing tone of the travelogues, as the travellers encountered supposedly inferior cultures. Susan Bassnett argues that the British models "posited their own culture as the most desirable, yet at the same time there was widespread interest in those cultures perceived as less developed, less civilized, and more primitive" (2014: xii). Therefore, the tone of superiority in the texts can be attributed to the travellers' cultural background on the one hand but also to the general travel writing conventions, that of blurring the line between novel and travel book on the

5 Leerssen also asserts that "[t]he ultimate perspective of image studies is a theory of cultural or national stereotypes, not a theory of cultural or national identity. Imagology is concerned with the *representamen*, representations as textual strategies and as discourse" (Leerssen 2007: 27).

other. Christopher Mulvey talks about a certain mythopoesis coming into play, as soon as "nations and national characteristics were described" (1990: 7). He adds that as travel literature is a form of fiction, and in the nineteenth-century travel literature the text reflected the "gentility of the writer and reader" (1990: 7), "the writer-travellers were therefore obliged to adopt a tone of voice which suggested very often that they were of higher social standing than that to which their actual incomes or birth might otherwise entitle them" (1990: 7). The genteel ideal spread quickly in several levels of English society, which, according to Mulvey, "reinforced class prejudices and assumptions even as it seemed to deny them" (1990: 10).

Although Pardoe and Mazuchelli offer a sympathetic view of Hungary and its inhabitants, they are also very critical about social and cultural progress, and many times bitterly reflect on the backwardness of the visited nation, especially when certain elements are in sharp contrast with their English standards. At the beginning of her journey, for example, Mazuchelli makes ironic statements about the laziness of Hungarians, that they do not have any sense of punctuality. "No one thinks of hurrying himself in Hungary, where everybody has plenty of time for everything […] The traveller seems here to have been suddenly carried back to some remote period of the world's history, everything is so heavy and so slow" (vol. I. 1881: 31–32). It is quite a cultural shock for her that neither trains nor people respect time or schedules. "[T]ime, as we have seen, being no object in this primitive country" (vol. I. 1881: 33). However, she immediately tries to find excuses for the backwardness of the country by saying that "[t]he Hungarians are a manly, brave, and chivalrous race, but lately emerged from barbarism, for the Turks held the greater part of their country in possession until a comparatively recent date" (vol. I. 1881: 21). Pardoe also complains about the ill-treatment of time, but as she begins her journey in Germany, she considers it a typically German cultural backwardness: "in Germany time is never considered, and appears to be of no value" (vol. I. 1840: 1).

Both travellers mention the problems of infrastructure and the bad condition of the roads. Pardoe admits that Hungary can actually become a great tourist attraction, but only through extraordinary reforms, as in its present state it brings about "delay, disappointment, and even danger" for the traveller who has to endure "the trials both of nerve and patience" (vol. I. 1840: 55). She adds that innovations will be difficult to carry out because "the ancient and obsolete laws of Hungary have condemned the peasant to repair the public roads and to keep up the public bridges" (vol. I. 1840: 57). She admits that the open-minded Hungarian politicians were striving to "render the Danube, the great highway of Europe […] a magnificent mean [sic!] of opening out the treasures of their country to other nations", but adds that they should not neglect the country roads, the by-ways, "which should equally allure strangers to its mountain wonders" (vol. I. 1840: 60).

Both travellers showed a fascination for the country and the nation, the beautiful landscapes, the curious manners, and loved the excitement of venturing

into a less developed land and observing strange cultures. Cultural shocks stemmed from the various encounters with the locals and, sometimes, from the misperception of each other's cultural standards. Pardoe's text is less focused on such cultural shocks, as she meets almost exclusively members of the nobility, and her journey does not include any visit to Transylvania. Mazuchelli, on the other hand, not only gets into conversations with the locals but is also able to reflect on concrete and detailed cultural differences. One cultural shock that she recounts occurs when she and her husband find accommodation in a fine hotel in Budapest and are eager to taste some specific Hungarian food for dinner, but the waiter, who learns that the guests are English, offers them "ros-bif" or "bif-stek", if they do not mind waiting for the dish a bit longer. Elizabeth Mazuchelli feels offended by this gesture and says:

> Now, as an Englishwoman, I object to the belief commonly entertained by all foreigners that in our island habitat we live and move and have our being solely by the agency of those two sources of nutriment. […] But here, not only in the heart of the Magyar capital, but in the seclusion of a Magyar hotel, where English persons so rarely come, to be thus reminded of our national weaknesses, and have them in a manner thrust down our throats, is more than provoking. […] [W]e sank considerably in the waiter's estimations, for how could we be true Ángolok and not require our ros-bif and bif-stek! (vol. I. 1881: 127)

What this excerpt divulges is precisely the clash of auto- and heterostereotypes. Mazuchelli's irritation at what were rude manners to her showed that due to the British social codes, she did not register the fact that the waiter was, in fact, demonstrating his social refinement as much as his cultural knowledge by the gesture of offering them a British national food. Ironically, she presumed the rudeness of the Hungarian waiter, who was, according to his own standards, giving expression to a highly cultivated, civilized behaviour.

On other occasions, the cultural shock occurs due to a limited knowledge of each other's cultures and national characteristics. For Mazuchelli, the locals' knowledge of England (*Ángolország*) gives ground to funny and bizarre incidents, which are somewhat offending for her, but she is able to write about these with a pleasant and humorous style, also demonstrating the tone of British superiority in her narrative. Upon visiting a Slovak village and entering an inn, a young Slovak girl learns that they are English and says the following:

> "English? Then you live in London; and is it possible that you have come all the way to see this country, where there are no fine houses and shops

> and streets? What can you have come here for?" and she looked at us attentively, as though to feel quite sure we were not demented.
> We did our best to convince her that although we were English we did not live in London; but in a fair green country like this. (vol. I. 1881: 189)

Later on, when visiting Transylvania and meeting the Saxons, a local resident tells her that a few years earlier another Englishman stayed there many months, and wrote a book about them. This man was named Mr Bonar, but then he never returned.

> [A] happy thought occurred to him, "You live in the same country and may see him; if so tell him how he lives in our memories still."
> "We will", I replied, thinking that as England was such a very small place we should in all probability be able to deliver the message! (vol. II. 1881: 118)

The hetero-image of the English formulated by the Slovak girl in the first scene stems not only from a limited geographical knowledge but also from the constraints of the social class to which she belongs. To her, the measure of civilization is urban life, pretty shops and streets, in short, a rich and genteel lifestyle, and, as a consequence, she could not understand the motivations of the travellers, who, leaving behind their safe and beautiful city, came here to see wild, foreign places for pleasure. The British traveller, however, interprets this question and behaviour as coming from the girl's narrow-mindedness and limited geographical knowledge. In the second case, again, the heterostereotype triggers an autostereotype: the British mentality, that of taking pride in being an extremely civilized nation and empire that has colonized many lands, feels deeply offended by the Saxon's remark. The remark triggered a national anxiety, that of being a little, insignificant island, an average nation among nations. Therefore, what was intended to be a simple courtesy, a kind gesture on the part of the Saxon host, brought about an unsettling experience for the British traveller.

The heterostereotype of the British, more broadly speaking of Western culture, as being more "civilized" and advanced appears many times in the travelogue, especially in the second volume, where Mazuchelli notes that she had witnessed painful scenes, as "[m]ore emigrants are starting for 'Amurica', that country whose streets are paved with gold" (vol. II. 1881: 246). In the age of dualism, indeed, as work opportunities were very scarce, more and more people decided to leave the country and go West, especially to the United States, the land of dreams. Mazuchelli is wondering what the reason behind so many people emigrating is and blames the Hungarian government, which does not "offer inducements to the laboring classes under these circumstances to remain in their

own country" (vol. II. 1881: 206). Although Mazuchelli does not mention the ethnic composition of those who emigrated in this period, and she generally talks about Hungarians, it is worth mentioning, however, that from the masses who emigrated a significant part was composed of different nationalities. This is why, as we have previously seen, the proportion of Hungarians in Hungary and Transylvania actually increased from 46.7% to 54.5% according to the 1910 statistics. Ferenc Glatz asserts that mass emigration started in the 1880s, and people emigrated from the less developed regions of Hungary. The most popular destination was the United States. It was not only poverty that made people leave their homeland but also a sense of adventure. Agents travelled across the country and persuaded the poor to emigrate. The emigration fever started in the Polish regions as well as in the south-western regions of the Monarchy, gradually moving towards the central areas. In Transylvania between 1880 and the First World War, approximately 170,000 people emigrated to the United States. One third of them were Hungarians, especially Szeklers (Glatz 2006: 503).[6]

Upon meeting a Hungarian gentleman who has just come back from America and has been there for ten years, Mazuchelli gets many answers to her questions regarding emigration. The man tells her that when Hungarian emigrants arrive to the Unites States, they do not speak the language, and, therefore, no one will employ them, so they spend all their money and starve right away. The man claims that it is the government newspapers that spread lots of lies and misinformation about the wonderful things people might find overseas, that they would become rich very quickly, come back home with lots of money, and be able to buy lands and, thus, become landowners. Referring to the Austrian government, and the ways in which they manipulate young Hungarians, this man says: "they only want to get them out of the way that they may Austrianize our country the easier by colonizing it with their own people" (vol. II. 1881: 208).

What is revealed from this discussion is the intertwining of two heterostereotypes: one of the American dream, of the more civilized and cultured West, where everyone can thrive and become rich very quickly, and the other one is the image of the wicked German, the Austrian government, the source of all Hungarians' suffering, because it deprives the Hungarian nation of its own national independence. In this case, Mazuchelli has a quite objective and detached attitude, and she does not take sides. She says: "[w]ether the above statement is correct or not, I cannot say; I only repeat exactly what we heard" (vol. II. 1881: 208).

Throughout the travelogue, one can also find several examples of autostereotypes and various episodes in which the traveller is able to reflect on her own nation with a critical eye. On another occasion, while being among Slovaks and sketching them, Mazuchelli finds herself in a group of simple Slovaks all begging

6 Translated by the author of this article.

her to sketch them and take their picture to England. She completes her task, pays everyone a drink, lets an old Slovak man kiss her hand, and thinks back home of what certain genteel ladies and members of the elite would have said could they have witnessed the previous scenes:

> [T]heir voices came wafted towards us over the Alföld and Felföld, as they exclaim one to the other:
> "How dreadful my dear! What vulgar people! We cannot read any more of this horrid book. Fancy fraternizing with those low-born savages the Rusniaks and Slovaks! So dirty, and common, you know, and all that sort of thing!" (vol. I. 1881: 194)

With such humorous remarks, Mazuchelli proves that she is open-minded enough to look beyond English prejudices and steps out of the perspective of the English superiority.

Another cultural shock that comes to the light, especially in Mazuchelli's travelogue, is the English traveller's perception of the religion of Hungarians and of other nations living in Hungary. She looks at "Hungary, a country peopled by many nations" (vol. I. 1881: 40), as also a place where one can find a great variety of religions (Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, and so on). During her journey to Hungary, Mazuchelli and her husband, being good Protestants, decide to visit a Reformed church but become very disillusioned by the experience:

> The Protestant religion as represented in Magyarland is, however, of a very unattractive character. Its buildings, painfully destitute of all ornamentation, are bare and wretched. The one we visited had white washed walls; the women sat on one side of the church, the men on the other (vol. I. 1881: 109)

She compares this type of church to a Catholic one, which they visit on their way back home: "What a contrast everything presented to the 'Reformed Church' which we had left so bald in its surroundings! What earnestness was there in the devotion of the people! Some of whom were kneeling, with clasped hands […] How different! how pathetic! And, above all, how sad!" (vol. I. 1881: 109). What emerges from this fragment is the appreciation of the Catholic religious culture in contrast with the Protestant one. As Marius Crişan argues that "the religious and the cultural links between the Protestants of Transylvania are frequently emphasized in 19th century British travel literature" (2011: 87), yet Mazuchelli finds the Reformed church and its religious practices dull and disappointing, thus suspending the discourse of Protestant cultural superiority as well as appraising the more intense devotion of Catholic and/or Orthodox worshippers.

Such devotion and deep religiosity appears in the second volume of the travelogue, when she visits Transylvania and observes the Romanian (Wallach) churches and people. In Grosswardein (Nagyvárad, Oradea), she observes the very different ceremonials of the Eastern Churches (Orthodox and Greek Catholic) on Good Friday. In the Greek Catholic church, "there was perfect stillness and a hush almost supernatural, and our hearts were moved by the strong faith and love which the people evinced in and for the Holy Hero of the day" (vol. II. 1881: 73).

Travelling throughout Hungary and Transylvania, observing and describing the beautiful manners and customs of the various ethnic groups, Mazuchelli many times goes against the typical British colonialist attitude and feels sad about such beautiful, old traditions fading away because of the intrusion of Western civilization. When she and her husband arrive to Pest, she mentions that travellers who expect to see the locals in national costumes might feel disappointed, as Pest is already very much similar to any Western capital city. The loss of old values, the slow but steady disappearance of the local customs are due to the expansion of the railway. According to her: "The so-called civilization of the West is likewise toning down not only the costumes, but the primitive customs of this part of Eastern Europe" (vol. I. 1881: 132). Then, in the second volume, she goes on with this idea:

> The railways, extending their iron arms into the very centre of Transylvania, are gradually weaving this former terra incognita into the duller web of Western civilization, and the beautiful and graceful costumes, which so delighted us once, are day by day being absorbed and replaced by those Gallic abominations invented to conceal and render hideous the human form. […] [T]he silent march of – in this case misnamed – "civilisation", which threatens ere long to obliterate all the distinctive external characteristics of nations and render every country alike. (vol. II. 1881: 58–59)

This fragment not only reflects the travellers' ability to appreciate otherness without constantly linking it to Western standards but also proves how she is able to display herself as someone capable of admitting the shortcomings of Western civilization. Moreover, this also demonstrates how she believes that diversity, rather than uniformity, would ensure the survival of national values and traditions.

3. Images of "other" groups and of "other" women

The images of Hungarians are very similar in the two travelogues, and one can observe that both Mazuchelli and Pardoe speak about them with sympathy and enthusiasm. The descriptions of the people differ based on the historical period in which the journeys took place, the visited geographical region and the social class

to which the locals belong. Both travellers are very familiar with other European cities, so they have a keen eye on everything that renders a city a truly civilized milieu. In both travelogues, the image of Budapest and its inhabitants are depicted as the most advanced ones, very close to British standards, while the regional towns and villages are seen as less civilized and their people as less refined. Pardoe, for example, writes about the capital in the following way: "Pesth is decidedly one of the most cheerful-looking cities in Europe […] [M]any of the streets are as handsome as any in Vienna, and most of them considerably wider; […] and the shops handsome and well fitted-up" (vol. II. 1840: 175). In Pardoe's text, one can see a capital city that is on its way towards progress: "all so fresh, so bright, and so indicative of growing prosperity" (vol. II. 1840: 41). Mazuchelli also describes the city forty years later with words of astonishment, and mentions that one can find in the streets "a mosaic of nations" (vol. II. 1881: 247), a Babel of tongues, a real cosmopolitan city, which, in "the matter of costumes and diversity of peoples and tongues, differs little from that of other countries" (vol. II. 1881: 249).

The Hungarian character is described similarly in both travelogues although Pardoe deals more extensively with the national characteristics of the Hungarians: "The Hungarians are ardent in their love, and fervid in their hate; full of animal courage and stern endurance; capable of strong attachment, and chivalric in their ideas of right and wrong" (Pardoe, vol. II. 1840: 143). A similar description of the passionate Magyar character can be found in Mazuchelli's text when she claims:

> There is an inborn chivalry and heroism in the character of the Magyars – traits evinced not only in their past, but recent history; the same noble and dauntless spirit that dwelt in their heroes of the Middle Ages lives in them now, and there is a bold but fearless independence, a straightforwardness, and high principle that cannot fail to win the love and admiration of all who really know them. (vol. I. 1881: 40)

Such a heterostereotype reinforces the autostereotypes, that is, the ways in which Hungarians had seen themselves for centuries: the true protectors of Europe and Christianity, men of great honour and chivalry. Moreover, it also reinforces the image of freedom-loving Hungarians, an exotic stereotype that appeared in the age of Romanticism. As László Marácz rightly observes, "the romantic image of freedom-loving Hungary was especially popular among Western liberals who saw the Hungarians as champions of national self-determination in Central and Eastern Europe against Viennese absolutism" (2007: 175).

As both travellers had observed, the country was a multi-ethnic one, where lots of ethnic groups lived together, and there were great tensions between them. Pardoe writes about the conflicts and the stereotypes between the nations in the following way:

> The Sclave hated the Magyar, as the smitten warrior ever loathes the strong hand that has beaten him down; the Magyar despised the Sclave because he had permitted himself to be vanquished; and the German looked with contempt on both, as on savages, who could neither comprehend, nor value him. (vol. II. 1840: 267)

As a result, all these nations refused to learn each other's languages. The conflicts persisted even stronger in a later historical period, as Mazuchelli's travelogue demonstrates. When Mazuchelli visits the country, although there is a relatively peaceful period of the Dualism, the wounds after the lost War of Independence are still deep in the Hungarian mind, and the hatred towards the Germans is stronger than ever. "The Hungarians entertain a deep-rooted dislike to Germans individually as well as to everything German; and to pretend to mistake a Magyar for one of the hated race is a favourite and very effective mode of insult" (Mazuchelli vol. II. 1881: 80–81).

Both travellers compared these three nations, the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Slovaks, and dedicated lengthy descriptions to the differences between their languages, customs, physical appearance, and national characteristics. Pardoe, while describing the common people of both nations, mentions that:

> The Magyar peasant is bold, warlike, and courteous; of melancholy temperament; […] and universally proud of his nation and of the antiquity of his descent. […] The Sclavonians[7] are […] much poorer, but infinitely more cheerful in temperament than the Magyars; fond of music and dancing, good-humoured, totally devoid of national pride, insinuating in their manners, deceitful, and intriguing. (vol. II. 1840: 272)

Mazuchelli describes the hostility and the jealousy between the Slovaks and the Hungarians in an almost identical way, when she says that the Hungarians despise their neighbours so much that they do not even consider them human, as the Magyar call them "'tót', a word signifying 'not a man at all.' 'A tót nem ember' being a favourite motto of the ancient Magyars when alluding to the Slavs" (vol. II. 1881: 316). The exact same proverb and national heterostereotype appears in Pardoe's narrative (vol. II. 1840: 273). Such quotes demonstrate that, because of the ongoing conflicts and hostilities between the various nationalities in Hungary, the hetero-images of Hungarians changed throughout the nineteenth century. In the period of the Dual Monarchy, "Western, in particular British and French, sympathy for 'liberal and constitutional Hungary' was replaced by criticism of 'Magyar Hungarians as brutal oppressors of the country's other nationalities'" (Marácz 2007: 176).

7 Pardoe refers to the Slovaks here.

As much as Pardoe and Mazuchelli sympathize with the Hungarian nation, they also talk about the defects in their national characteristics. Pardoe, for example, openly claims that the "besetting sin of the Magyar is vanity. He is proud of his nation, of his liberty, of his antiquity, and above all, of his privileges. In short, he admits no superior, and scarcely an equal" (vol. II. 1840: 287). Mazuchelli also gives us a little story when she met a Magyar gentleman, who, being well aware of the deficiencies of his own nation, was able to reflect on the characteristics of his own people:

> we Magyars are the proudest race living, and likewise I fear the most prejudiced. A Magyar who has not travelled beyond his own country is deeply imbued with two ideas, one being that the world was created for his express benefit, the other that his is the only language that ought to be spoken. Another characteristic trait is his dislike of all foreigners with the exception of the English, whom he condescends to regard as an enlightened and advanced people […] Hungarians often speak of themselves as the "English of the East!" (vol. II. 1881: 192)

The differences between the nations and the heterostereotypes are also very visible in the case of Mazuchelli's travels when she visits Transylvania. Transylvania, according to her, is "the border-land separating civilization from barbarism" (vol. II. 1881: 96). Besides offering very vivid descriptions of the Transylvanian cities, she dedicates long chapters to describing the various traditional costumes, manners, habits, and even local legends. The most extensive encounters that she recounts happen with the Saxon and the Wallach nations, and a great part of her narrative is dedicated to the images of these ethnic groups. Prejudices and stereotypes appear in the ways the two nations look at each other:

> The Wallachs regard their "Saxon" neighbors as a "canny folk", prone to get rich too fast and sometimes by practices that are scarcely within the bounds of honesty; whilst the "Saxons" look down upon their Wallach brethren as idle, thriftless loons, possessing lax notions as to the respective merits of meum and tuum, and the exclusiveness of individual property. (vol. II. 1881: 126)

The cultural stereotypes are further mentioned in the part where Mazuchelli talks about the Oriental hospitality with which they are welcome wherever they go in Transylvania, and she goes on with recording the differences between the Wallachs and the Saxons not only in terms of differences in their clothing but also in their manners. "The Wallachs as they pass us lift their hats, and in their soft and melodious tongue exclaim "Bune deminiace!" (good morning) […] 'Saxons' take

no notice of us whatever, and go trudging on their way in dogged silence" (vol. II. 1881: 137). The traveller admits that the courtesy of the Wallachs is very pleasing, and, as English manners require, they are always very careful to return it.

The English traveller, however, finds that the Saxons are more "industrious and prosperous," but they are "not only losing their political ascendency but are fast dying out, and the Wallachs will soon take their place as the dominant race" (vol. II. 1881: 99). Mazuchelli describes how the heterostereotypes come alive based on each nation's cultural standards: the Saxons, for example, consider the Wallachs as inferior ("Mean, dirty, shabby, idle Wallachs!" [vol. II. 1881: 125]), and, in their eyes, the respectability of a nation is estimated by the number of "washes" they may have. "The Wallach women, therefore, muddling in their weekly wash-tub, are held in great contempt by the thrifty 'Saxon' dames, who possess clothes in their lockers they have never even worn" (vol. II. 1881: 126). Images of Wallachs (Romanians) in the nineteenth century as being lazy and indolent were "perpetuated as a cliché by foreign observers" (Deletant 2007: 224). Dennis Deletant also mentions that "[a]pathy and resignation are traits singled out in early nineteenth century accounts by foreign travelers of their contacts with Romanians" (2007: 224).

Mazuchelli sees, however, Wallach women to be very industrious, real hard workers, so the prosperity of a Wallach household is generally due to the wife's industry rather than to the husband's. Comparing Wallach and Saxon women and their households, the traveller experiences another cultural shock. Upon entering the cottage of a Wallach, she thinks that such cottages are shops meant for selling native manufacture, as "the walls were covered, not only with rows of jugs and cups, but square pieces of striped drapery likewise" (vol. II. 1881: 130). To her great astonishment, she learns that these serve merely as decorations, a strange habit she has already observed in Magyar households. "[W]hereas the 'Saxon' Hausfrau prides herself in her stock of linen, the glory of the Wallach matron, like that of her Magyar sister, consists in the number of articles of crockery she has hanging round her walls" (vol. II. 1881: 130). This, to the Englishwoman's eyes, is a very confusing habit, as she cannot understand why the Wallach women decorate their walls with such "useless […] patches of woollen fabric" (vol. II. 1881: 130).

The Englishwoman's standard for being civilized and advanced as a nation is determined by such expectations as hard work, industry, orderliness as well as cleanliness. In both Pardoe's and Mazuchelli's travelogues, we find references to certain national characteristics as being civilized or less civilized based on someone's level of industry and cleanliness. For the English genteel woman, idleness is a sin, a true mark of a nation's backwardness, and in both travelogues we find numerous references to the laziness of either the Hungarians or other nations. Mazuchelli, for example, scorns both the Magyars and the Wallachs for their laziness. The Wallachs are very sympathetic, because of their courtesy and

hospitality, but she mentions that the men are very superstitious as they believe in "ghosts, vampires, and changelings" and spend a lot of time "inventing charms against the machinations of the Devil" (vol. II. 1881: 129). As for the Hungarians, she elsewhere mentions that she has observed a group of men working on the construction of a new railway line, but they were rather smoking instead of working, and Mazuchelli adds "we marveled that anything was ever completed in this land of slow workers. […] These slow […] Hungarian navvies would soon drive an English engineer absolutely mad" (vol. II. 1881: 88).

On another occasion, while travelling towards Grosswardein, she observes two scenes: once she sees a woman making brick, while her husband is just standing near her, smoking and watching her movements, "for the male Wallach is a creature who loves to take life easily" (vol. II. 1881: 67), while a little further a similar scene is visible: a local woman is working hard on the "hard, sunbaked ground of her cottage garden", while the man is sitting on the doorstep, nursing the baby. "In this country it would seem that 'women must' not only 'weep,' but women must also work; whilst, by an inversion of the order of things, the men remain idle" (vol. II. 1881: 66). This kind of attitude was impossible to reconcile with British social patterns.

The image of the Wallach women, with all their positive features, is also strengthened by physical descriptions in the travelogue, as Mazuchelli depicts them as beautiful and graceful. "The delicate and refined features, the pouting lips, the broad, low forehead, the lithe figures of women" (vol. II. 1881: 58) fascinate the traveller. Discussing the image of Romanian women in fiction and in travel literature, Judit Pieldner argues that the beauty of Romanian women becomes an international stereotype in the nineteenth century, and the Otherness, represented by the Romanian women, is viewed with sympathy and respect and is based on an already established ethno-cultural stereotype (2011: 208). The same appreciation can be observed in Mazuchelli's travelogue: she praises not only the beauty of the Wallach (Romanian) women but also their diligence, modesty, and endurance.

Genteel women's view of certain nations as being idle should be seen, as Domotor argues, in the context of "Protestant European discourse on idleness" (2014: 95). In such a context, idleness was not only seen as a sin but also as an activity that stood in sharp contrast with the Christian work ethics. Therefore, "it becomes very clear why respectable British women were sometimes offended by the sight of idle people who did not seem to make the best use of their time" (Domotor 2014: 95). Much in the same fashion, the two travellers, Pardoe and Mazuchelli, provided a somewhat very similar description of another ethnic group, that of the Gypsies. The ethnographic account of the Gypsies is similar in both texts, yet in Mazuchelli's travelogue is more detailed as she recounts many more encounters with this ethnic group throughout her journeys in Transylvania, as well. The images of the Gypsies are contradictory not only in the travelogues

but also in general. As Jean Kommers states, "at times they even shaped the prototype of 'the stranger.' The images oscillated between positive (romantic) ideas and negative (felonious) representations" (2007: 171). They were mostly seen as "thieves and impostors, as lazy, as immoral, and even as cannibals. As a rule, these pictures are in absolute contrast with the social and cultural ideals cherished by non-gypsies themselves" (Kommers 2007: 171). When Pardoe first encounters them, she is shocked by their appearance:

> Nothing can be more wretched than their appearance – the men scantily covered by a single garment of woollen cloth; the women veiled rather than clad in rags and patches; and the children without the covering of any kind. Like the gypsies of England, Zigeuner wander over the face of the land, voluntary outcasts. (vol. I. 1840: 167)

Their nomadic lifestyle, their darker skin colour, as well as their idle, lazy behaviour shocks the English traveller. Mazuchelli also offers a similar description of this ethnic group, but she paints a more complex picture of their national characteristics and records more details about their lifestyle and customs. She enumerates different types of Gypsies: the musicians, the "sátoros czigánok" (vol. I. 1881: 53), i.e. the ones who still follow the wandering life, and the settled ones, who have become blacksmiths. She mentions that the wandering Gypsies, "sátoros czigánok", are considered to be the most despised, "the worst specimen of the race", while the musicians are considered to be the most respectable ones (vol. I. 1881: 63). Notwithstanding, she calls them "wild, half-savage-looking beings, with their secret language" (vol. I. 1881: 249), who cannot understand the notions of Christian religion, and, therefore are extremely difficult to integrate. In a rather judgmental tone, she adds that "these settled gypsies seem no more civilized than their wandering brethren, and possess the same sad, oppressed and down-trodden expression of countenance inseparable from their race" (vol. I. 1881: 248).

Otherness in the case of the Gypsies is thus not appreciated by the travellers but is seen as a serious social and cultural backwardness. As Domotor argues, "the work ethic and housing were thus two issues that were fundamental to the judgement and classification of other people" (2014: 95). Since the nomadic, Gypsy culture differed to a great extent from the two genteel women's social standards, they produced a description of their way of life from a heterostereotypical point of view, always highlighting the superiority of their own class norms. Deborah Epstein Nord states that Gypsies were considered the "perennial other […] a recurrent and apparently necessary marker of difference" (Epstein Nord 2006: 3). In describing the Gypsies, British travellers often used a certain colonial attitude, but "unlike colonial subjects […] Gypsies were a domestic or internal other" (Epstein Nord 2006: 3) onto whom lots of cultural stereotypes were ascribed.

Such stereotyping is well visible in both travelogues, yet in Mazuchelli's case one can observe a certain tendency towards romanticizing the Gypsies. While on many occasions she considers them entirely backward, even dangerous, utterly incapable of civilized life, she still feels fascinated by and finds beauty in their wild, exotic lifestyle. In her ethnographic descriptions, she offers quite picturesque descriptions of the Gypsies, as in the case of the encounter with a Gypsy girl with a baby on her back in Transylvania. This girl was singing a specific Romanian song, a *doina*, and Mazuchelli and her husband found her voice very sweet and tender. "Like nearly all the Transylvanian and Roumanian Gypsies, she was exceedingly pretty, with small features, full lips, and large lustrous eyes" (vol. II. 1881: 143). She was carrying some baskets, which she said she would take to Hermannstadt for sale. When Mazuchelli asked her where she would sleep at night, she pointed to the woods opposite. The travellers imagined the lonely girl sleeping alone in the woods, in the darkness, but Mazuchelli immediately added the following statement:

> To the free, unfettered, true-born gypsy, however, the canopy of heaven is her roof, the horizon the boundary of her habitation, the stars her companions, and grim nights itself the kind and gentle mother soothing her to sleep, for familiarity with nature has made her one with it, and it with her. (vol. II. 1881: 144)

This description is an excellent example of romanticizing a representative of an ethnic group, in which the formerly negative stereotype, that of homelessness, wandering, living as outcast, turns into a positive one, that of freedom, and living in close connection with nature. Moreover, in my reading, it reveals an attitude of admiration towards a(n Other) fellow traveller, a female adventurer, for whom, just like for Mazuchelli, travelling is a way of life, a way of expressing personal freedom, and a way of breaking free from social norms. What is revealed by this quote is the secret, Romantic wish of being on the road, of escaping society's judgmental eyes, as well as the exotic attraction towards a more primitive, more ancient, and consequently a purer, more innocent way of living.

Conclusions

Pardoe's and Mazuchelli's travelogues share one striking similarity: both travellers portrayed Hungarian otherness against Western, more precisely British national ideals. The level of civilization and progress is always and almost entirely measured against their own social and national patterns and models, thus bringing about various images that might stem from the history of colonial ways of perceiving (and misperceiving) the Other, as well as from the class background of the two genteel women travellers. While their travelogues are abundant in reciprocal "misunderstandings" and "misperceptions" whenever they encounter the shocking otherness of the Hungarians, Pardoe and Mazuchelli are also able to look at Hungary and Transylvania with an open mind, and thus, on many occasions, to move beyond the rhetoric of English cultural superiority.

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Music Autobiographies – Performing Selves

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Abstract. The article pays tribute to four artists of the music scene, i.e. Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, Patti Smith, and John Luther Adams. It walks in their footsteps through their autobiographies and features the major landmarks in their artistic and creative evolution. Despite the various incongruent traits in their music style, background, or gender, music autobiographies prove to be valuable assets, based on which correlations and contrasts can be elucidated, the road to growing into an artist can be followed, and the creative spirit can be grasped. We hereby conclude that autobiographies can constitute a bridge towards the artistic soul and deepen the understanding of how these musicians project themselves as performers and position themselves in society.

Keywords: music autobiography, art, creativity, inspiration, influence

1. Introduction

The paper intends to explore how music autobiographies can serve as statements of art and creativity, how they can represent the voice of musicians and simultaneously describe the plights of society. In particular, it offers a brief excursion into the world of four artists, Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, Patti Smith, and John Luther Adams. It therefore retraces the moments of paramount importance in the life and work of the aforementioned musicians by emphasizing how their music style and artistic identity have been forged. Not only does the article pinpoint to what the creators attribute their success, it also displays the inner battle the artists have faced on the bumpy road towards self-accomplishment.

In the light of these standpoints, the paper delineates the stages of their artistic development and implicitly the experiences that have marked their career or, conversely, led to temporary impasse.

In order to systematically investigate the memoirs, we have established several parameters, based on which we attempt to scan the lifeline of the artists. More precisely, we focus on the artistic impetus they recount having felt, on the personality of their music and of their groundbreaking songs as well as on some prevailing aspects of the creation process. On the other hand, within the confines of a comparative study, we analyse the common traits, permeating the career of each figure. Our choice of artists is based on their closeness in age, on their cultural impact, the wide reception of their music along with the value of the literary work itself.

We adhere to the view of life writing as a "creative practice" (Gudmunsdottir 2019: 114), as a remediation of the self rather than an unmediated reality (Gudmunsdottir 2019: 114). So, across the gender and genre divide, we attempt to show how they reconstruct the past selectively while walking the line between their private and public selves and shaping an artistic self-consciousness.

2. Autobiographies

Music autobiographies have achieved widespread recognition in the past years and have been acknowledged as having literary value by receiving important prizes such as the National Book Award in 2010 or the Norman Mailer Prize in 2011. Music itself has been awarded literary prizes such as the Pulitzer Prize for music or the Nobel Prize for Literature (Lovessey 2021: 2). They have both a literary and a cultural value by the way of "coming to an artistic self-consciousness" (Smith & Watson 2010: 169) through the narrative development.

Lejeune defines autobiography as a "retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning their own existence, where the focus is his own life, in particular the story of his personality" (Lejeune 1989: 4). While the autobiographical pact guarantees that the narrator is the same as the author's name on the cover that recounts some verifiable real-life events, autobiographical truth is an intersubjective exchange between narrator and reader aimed at producing a shared understanding of the meaning of a life (Smith & Watson 2010: 13).

The discussion of life writing has to take into consideration also the fact that there is no immutable self that can remember everything that happened in the past, but there is a successive selection of events deemed important, wherefore autobiographical telling is a performative act (Smith & Watson 2010: 47). Autobiographical subjectivity can be examined by looking at the coaxers, the reason for telling their story, the sites that proved meaningful, the producers of

the story and their significant others, as the self only develops in relationship to others (Eakin 1999: 43). In studying an autobiography, we also need to question the methods of introspection. Sometimes the narrator attributes their action or choices to particular kinds of experiences – like dreams – and to intuitive knowledge (Smith & Watson 2010: 71). Alternatively, they explore the self through other media, for example, using visual means, thereby also allowing other's images of them to flow into the text.

In the passages below, the portraits of four musicians, as illustrated through the lenses of their autobiographies, come to the forefront. We become acquainted with Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, Patti Smith, and John Luther Adams and reach an understanding of their values along the memoirs, *Chronicles*, *Born to Run*, *Just Kids*, and *Silences So Deep. Music, Solitude, Alaska*.

We scrutinize the life stories in terms of the "autobiographical I's", namely the life experiences that have led the musicians to choose their profession and the memories the narrative voices consider significant. In addition, we study the others they relate to, the means of self-enquiry the artists employ, to paint an image of themselves, by establishing which people and topics have been meaningful to them. We again cast a glance at the places that have determined their self-realization as well as at the paratexts they use in their writing (Smith & Watson 2010: 107). In doing so, we employ a qualitative content analysis, identify meaningful patterns and common themes, and inductively develop conclusions based on these memoirs after recontextualizing our findings according to the theoretical framework of the analysed autobiographical studies (Bengtsson 2016: 8–14).[1]

This presentation is closely supported by quotations from their autobiographical books with the aim to offer insights into the lyrical elements of their work and the timeless universality of their messages.

While the autobiographical narrative does not necessarily grant "true" access to an artist's thoughts or emotions, we examine how they connect the image of their public selves with their personal introspection and how it blends into the ongoing discourse about the musicians and their music (Stein & Butler 2015: 116–117).[2]

2.1. Bob Dylan – *Chronicles*

As Bob Dylan's life story gradually unfolds on the pages of his autobiography, *Chronicles*, we learn about the artist, the singer, the songwriter, the poet, and the person together with the events that loom as important junctures in his career.

Dylan earns reputation for the albums *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*, *The Times They Are A-Changin'*, *Another Side of Bob Dylan*, *Bringing It All Back Home*,

1 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001 (downloaded on 16. 09. 2022).
2 https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2014.994324 (downloaded on 10.02. 2022).

Highway 61 Revisited, *Blonde on Blonde*, *The Basement Tapes*, *John Wesley Harding*, *Nashville Skyline*, *New Morning*, *Blood on the Tracks*, *Time Out of Mind*, etc. (Varesi 2004: 13–17, 31). He is awarded important recognitions, specifically 12 Grammy awards, a Golden Globe Award, an Academy Award, and the Nobel Prize for Literature (Miller 2018: 74).

His music is deeply anchored in folk songs. He states: folk songs "were the way I explored the universe" (Dylan 2004: 18), they "transcended the immediate culture" (Dylan 2004: 27), they "are evasive" (Dylan 2004: 71), have "over a thousand faces" (Dylan 2004: 71), and are "so more true to life than life itself" (Dylan 2004: 236). Yet Dylan's input manifests itself in a creative adaptation and internalization of folk songs, through which this genre is taken to new dimensions (Hampton 2019: 26–27). Being a keen observer, he imbues his songs with his own interpretation of the world, embellishes them with own experience (Dylan 2004: 72, 121) and enriches them with features from blues, rock, gospel, and country music (Varesi 2004: 16).

In his view, songwriting requires a "new template, some philosophical identity that wouldn't burn out" (Dylan 2004: 73). Therefore, he uses the structure of the folk songs as starting points, transfigures them into ballads, and thus engulfs them with his own emotional resonance (Dylan 2004: 227–228). Hence, Dylan describes the creation process as follows: "[…] what I did to break away was to take simple folk changes and put new imagery and attitude to them, use catchphrases and metaphor combined with a new set of ordinances that evolved into something different that had not been heard before" (Dylan 2004: 67).

How Dylan relates to music can also be depicted in his own perception of what playing implies: "I wanted to play for anybody. I could never sit in a room and just play all by myself. I needed to play for people and all the time. You can say I practiced in public and my whole life was becoming what I practiced" (Dylan 2004: 16).

Dylan's name is interwoven with monumental songs such as *Blowin' in the Wind*, which becomes a symbol of young people's search for change (Schuman 2019: 46), and *Like a Rolling Stone*, which in its turn signposts a new direction of pop music (Kallen 2012: 56). In his autobiography, Bruce Springsteen recognizes the power, the novelty, and singularity of Dylan's *Like a Rolling Stone* and evokes the very moment when he hears this masterpiece along these lines: "[…] gave me the faith that a true, unaltered, uncompromised vision could be broadcast to millions, changing minds, enlivening spirits, bringing red blood to the anemic American pop landscape and delivering a warning, a challenge that could become an essential part of the American conversation" (Springsteen 2016: 184).

As for the political aspects, it can be noted that Dylan's earlier creations come to life in the turmoil of the 1960s and are regarded as protest songs or even anthems of the generation. Dylan, however, distances himself from this label (Ryan Manzella

2012: 23–25). In his memoir, he comments on it in the following manner: "[…] big bugs in the press kept promoting me as the mouthpiece, spokesman, or even conscience of a generation. That was funny. All I'd ever done was sing songs that were dead straight and expressed powerful new realities" (Dylan 2004: 115).

Through *Chronicles*, Bob Dylan will appear in our mind's eye, stepping out, singing, playing the guitar and the harmonica. For sure, he will enchain the readers by the poetry of his words, the depth of his personality, and his reflections not only on contemporary artists but also on the weighty questions of society.

2.2. Bruce Springsteen – *Born to Ride*

The autobiographical work *Born to Run* is a first-hand account of Bruce Springsteen's life, portrait, legacy, his statement of art and voice of social awareness.

His career is marked by albums like *Born to Run*, *Darkness on the Edge of Town*, *The River*, *Nebraska*, *Born in the U.S.A.*, *Tunnel of Love*, *Human Touch*, *Lucky Town*, *The Ghost of Tom Joad*, *The Rising*, *Devils and Dust*, *We Shall Overcome: The Seeger Sessions*, *Magic, Working on a Dream*, *Wrecking Ball*, *High Hope*s and by collections of songs such as *The Promise* or *American Beauty* (Moskowitz 2015: 105–112), which make him an iconic figure in music history. For achievements on the music landscape, he has received various prizes and honours; he is the winner of Grammy awards, Golden Globe awards, and of an Academy Award for the hit *Streets of Philadelphia* (Pegels 2011: 173).

Springsteen uses his art and captures the working class, the average American, (Marcus 2004: 110), channelling his own background into his music. He affirms: "on the streets of my hometown was the beginning of my purpose, my reason, my passion. […] in my family's neighborhood experience, I found […] the beginning of my song: home, roots, blood, community, responsibility, stay hard, stay hungry, stay alive" (Springsteen 2016: 266).

As a master of entertainment, he is in a permanent dialogue with his audience and enthrals them with marathon productions infused with energy, dynamism, and life (Hall 2014: 184). In his own definition, playing entails "a life-giving, joyful, sweat-drenched, muscle-aching, voice-blowing, mind-clearing, exhausting, soul-invigorating, cathartic pleasure and privilege every night" (Springsteen 2016: 186).

His legendary songs *Born to Run* and *Born in the U.S.A.* have merged into the collective consciousness of the general public (Pegels 2011: 172). The former stands for the metaphor of the drifted, of the stranded, and the bewildered in an urge to evade (Massaro 2016: 241–254). Springsteen will reminisce the creation process of the record carrying the same name as the song itself, as follows: "I wanted to craft a record that sounded like the last record on Earth, like the last

record you might hear … the last one you'd ever NEED to hear. One glorious noise … then the apocalypse" (Springsteen 2016: 208).

The song *Born in the U.S.A.* fuels many controversies and is subject to various interpretations. It refers to a dichotomy between patriotism and anti-Americanism, between the glorification and social criticism of Vietnam (Cavicchi 2005: XXI). In Springsteen's recollection, it "remains one of my greatest and most misunderstood pieces of music. […] its demand for the right of a 'critical' patriotic voice along with pride of birth, was too seemingly conflicting […]" (Springsteen 2016: 314).

Springsteen's social and political sensitivity comes to the fore during his concert in East Germany in 1988 (a year before the fall of the Berlin Wall) along with his revolutionizing message to the German audience: "I'm not here for any government. I've come to play rock 'n' roll for you in the hope that one day all the barriers will be torn down" (Kay, 2017: 34).

Likewise, his *Tunnel of Love* tour in Africa under the aegis of Amnesty International can be considered as a catalyst for the changes that have ultimately culminated in the removal of the apartheid system (Springsteen 2016: 352–354). He admits "I'd always felt rock music was a music of both personal and political liberation" (Springsteen 2016: 353). No doubt that the 9/11 events provide the inspiration for the album *Rising* (Springsteen 2016: 437–443).

Due to the complexity of his character, music, and involvement, it is impossible to grasp Bruce Springsteen's work and life exhaustively. Therefore, the above highlights can only encompass some of the pivotal moments of his career. Similarly, the enchantment given by his music cannot be reproduced in words.

2.3. Patti Smith – *Just Kids*

Patti Smith's autobiography *Just Kids* is a testament to the friendship of the singer, writer, and performer with visual artist Robert Mapplethorpe. It is an ode to their shared exploration of forms and dedication to art. Smith opens with an author's note, which can be interpreted as a defence of Mapplethorpe's provocative work, arguing the freedom of ingenuity and the blamelessness of depicting the body and desire as topics of art.

Tracing the past in Patti Smith's *Just Kids* is prompted by the promise made by the rock icon to her dying friend about telling the story of the unwavering confidence the two artists have in their childlike ability to animate an object with their imagination (Smith 2010: 136). They trust themselves and each another that they can see the world in a different way (Smith 2010: 136), that they will be able to challenge people outside their comfort zones and create a bond between artist and audience (Smith 2010: 218). Throughout the transformation of their relationship, they find inspiration in the books they read, the records they listen

to, the albums they look at, the exhibitions they attend, the performances they watch, and the people they meet. "Patti Smith has always measured her own life against the lives of those who have influenced her, analysts of her work would remark" (Johnstone 2017: 4).

The autobiography contemplates Smith's birth, her religious upbringing during which she develops her love of telling stories and redirects her faith in God to a faith in the possibilities of the creative mind until the moment she intersects with Mapplethorpe. It is he who encourages her to perform and sing. *Just Kids* renders lovingly and full of elegy the life-long inspiration and support Smith and Mapplethorpe offer one another from the early stages of struggling to make ends meet up to the point when they reach a unique form of artistic expression. In this fruitful alliance with Mapplethorpe, she dedicates herself to writing, sketching, drawing, acting, and later performing, whereas he is preoccupied with drawing, crafting, collaging, sculpting, and then photographing. Mapplethorpe eventually finds fame as a visual artist, and Smith recognizes her voice at a reading event organized by Mapplethorpe for her at St Mark's Church. On this occasion, she tailors Brecht's, Lotte Lenya's, Bob Dylan's, and Lou Reed's tradition of the speech-song to her own purpose, "infus(ing) the written word with the immediacy and frontal attack of rock and roll" (Smith 2010: 180).

With the help of the guitarist Lenny Kaye "Patti would take one of her poems, chant over a one- or two-chord guitar background, then segue out of the poem into a classic rock song" (Bockris 1999: 105).

Following the positive reception, the publishing offer for poems and further invitations to perform and record, she forms the Patti Smith Group and reaches lasting recognition for her seminal album *Horses*, for the emblematic cover of which she is photographed by Mapplethorpe. This album (1975) is born out of a strange collision of high and low art (Shaw 2008: 4) and includes one of her most famous songs, which starts with the lines based on her earlier poem *Oath*: "Jesus died for somebody's sins / but not mine" (Smith 2015: 11). In *Gloria (in Excelsis Deo)*, she explores the clash between liberty and authority (Shaw 2008: 4) and recontextualizes Van Morrison's lyrics to alter the male–female view and thus the power balance. The themes of innocence and empowerment of women appear throughout the autobiography as well, both in the metaphor of the children playfully discovering their abilities and in the image of the horse. The latter is sketched as delicate yet powerful and is associated with the iconic yet fragile Edie Sedgwick, Amelia Earhart, Anita Pallenberg, Marianne Faithfull, and Georgia O'Keeffe – bold women whom she sees as being free.

Smith's further album, *Easter* (1976), is also a nod to art's capacity to deeply move others and is dedicated to Arthur Rimbaud and the sculptor Constantin Brâncuşi (Johnstone 2017: 87). It contains Smith's greatest commercial hit, *Because the Night*, a collaboration with Bruce Springsteen, in which she reclaims

space and time for intimacy and love in a world oriented towards production and success. She subsequently creates her fourth album, *Wave*, and publishes her second poetry book, *Babel*, which helps her refocus her attention on her origin as a poet (Johnstone 2017: 117).

In 1980, Smith marries Fred "Sonic" Smith, and after 1982 she steps away from performing while devoting herself to raising their children. In 1988, she releases the album *Dream of Life* with Fred Smith, which not only comprises the single *Power to the People* but also exposes her concerns about contemporary social and political issues. She continues creating albums and publishing books and is named Commander of the Ordre des Arts et des Lettres in 2005 by the French Minister of Culture. In 2007, she is introduced into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and is awarded the National Book Award for *Just Kids* in 2010 (Wendell 2015: 16–17).

Patti Smith's autobiographical work sets a monument to the purity of the artistic soul and to the creative endeavours of a time before she has reached success.

2.4. John Luther Adams – *Silences So Deep. Music, Solitude, Alaska*

The Pulitzer-Prize-winning composer John Luther Adams's memoire ascertains the role his prolonged stay in Alaska has played for the composer he has turned into. Nostalgically, but also critically and poetically, he meditates on his experiences there while offering the reader an unmediated approach to his work. He states: "[m]usic is my way of understanding the world, of knowing where I am and how I fit in" (Adams 2020: 4).

Born in 1953, Adams grows up in awe of Martin Luther King, taking part in civil rights marches and anti-war protests: "[a]s a composer I believe that music has the power to inspire a renewal of human consciousness, culture and politics. And yet I refuse to make political art" (Adams 2020: 6).

In his youth, he spends much time absorbed in literature and in the music of Frank Zappa, Coltrane, John Cage, Edgar Varèse, and Igor Stravinsky. At the age of twenty, he is one of the first students to graduate from the California Institute of the Arts. There, under the influence of his teachers, mentors, and colleagues, such as Peter Garland, he comes to the conclusion that music does not have to be complicated to be good. It can be alluring and of quality at the same time. During his studies, he wins the second prize for an organ composition, and, supported by Lou Harrison, he decides on becoming a composer.

Upon graduating, he creates his first orchestral works and engages in environmental politics. In his creations, he is inspired by Oliver Messiaen, and due to his own love of nature he embeds birdsongs in his compositions. In *songbirdsongs*, "by providing the performers with only an event map, individual musical phrases, and performance instructions that reflect the singing behaviour

of each featured bird species, Adams preserves the essential freedom of birdsong" (Herzogenrath 2012: 11).

In order to embrace environmental causes, he moves to Alaska. This change feels like running away from the uncertainties of a life, which has not seemed fulfilling. It is as a director of the Environmental Center in Fairbanks that he attains a sense of belonging. Likewise, in Alaska, he meets his second wife, Cindy, and finds kindred artistic spirits in the poet John Haines, whose poems he puts to music and whose lyrics also inspire the title of the autobiography. Through their work, he acquires the skill to "search for the music within words" (Adams 2020: 64). In Fairbanks, he also meets Gordon Wright, professor and Musical Director of the Fairbanks Symphony Orchestra, who assists him in developing his orchestration.

Drawing inspiration from Thoreau's *Walden* in the northern silence and landscape, he learns to "listen deeply to this world that we share" (Adams 2020: 6). However, he does not "represent nature through music. He creates tonal territories that resonate with nature" (Herzogenrath 2012: 1). In this way, he enriches the musical texture by using it to recreate cosmic phenomena. "*The Light That Fills the World*, *Dark Wind*, *The Farthest Place*, and the *Immeasurable Space of Tones* can all be seen as 'lightscape' compositions – sonic equivalents of the natural cycles of light that occur in the atmosphere of Alaska, and universal characteristics of light itself" (Herr 2012: 188).

Adams relishes the sense of community characteristic of Alaska. He incorporates native rhythms into his work, with the explicit permission of the local tribes and, in return, makes a small contribution by creating melodies that help children learn their native languages. He also agrees to their view that art connects all fabric of life rather than just being a means of self-expression (Adams 2020: 100). The piece *Inuksuit* can be considered as the best example in this respect. "It was only when I heard the first performance of *Inuksuit* that I realized that this is a piece about community. Although the experience of each solitary listener is unique, out of the experience of shared solitude an extraordinary sense of community emerges" (Adams 2021: 136).

Adams's prolific output in vocal, symphonic, operatic, and electronic music culminates in *Become Ocean*, which is awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 2014. He also receives the Grammy Award in 2015 (Herzogenrath 2020: 259). Music critic Alex Ross reports on the premiere of this work as "the loveliest apocalypse in musical history", "a disorienting, unsettling creation", "a gigantic palindrome, ending where it began" (Ross 2013).[3]

While John Luther Adams leaves Alaska for longer periods to teach at Harvard or at Oberlin, after 2014, he eventually moves to Mexico, with the realization that

3 https://www.therestisnoise.com/2013/07/jlas-become-ocean.html (downloaded on 15. 02. 2022).

the "visions of music and of the world that emerged in that cabin have sustained me ever since" (Adams 2020: 76).

He references this continuation and progression in the piece *Become Desert*. By exploring the orchestration of space, Adams regards himself as working towards a new culture in the hope of discovering a new way of being on this planet (Adams 2021: 138).

3. Comparative study

This section proposes to explore the common threads running through the artists' rich experiences as perceived in their autobiographies. It expounds some of the aspects pertaining to their struggle for success, surveys the major influences that have left their imprints on the musicians' style, and, finally, sheds light on important sites that have a direct impact on their work.

In general, as *Chronicles* and *Born to Run* predominantly illustrate, the way to public recognition has often been overshadowed. From time to time, the studied musicians will have to reconfigure their creation process, readapt their style, and deal with the emotional load of nadir. Similarly, staying on track requires a lot of effort. Bob Dylan admits: "[m]y own songs had become strangers to me" (Dylan 2004: 148). His inner duel is described in the following lines: "I felt done for, an empty burn-out wreck. […] I'm a '60s troubadour, a folk-rock relic, a wordsmith from bygone days […]. I'm in the bottomless pit of cultural oblivion" (Dylan 2004: 147).

Undoubtedly, Dylan will be reborn and will reinvent himself. He confesses: "[b]ut then miraculously something internal came unhinged" (Dylan 2004: 151), "[e]verything came back, and it came back in multidimension" (Dylan 2004: 153). His revelation is dressed up in the words: "I had a gut feeling that I had created a new genre" (Dylan 2004: 155) or "I realized that this way of playing would revitalize my world" (Dylan 2004: 157).

To the same extent, Bruce Springsteen does not believe in insurmountable difficulties either. The zeal for a constant remodelling and improving accompanies his entire career path. He reckons that the combination of talent, persistence, and hard work are the prerequisite for success (Springsteen 2016: 215). His perseverance serves as the perfect ingredient in the pursuit of perfection. "I had to make a record that was the embodiment of what I'd been slowly promising I could do. It had to be something epic and extraordinary, something hadn't quite been heard before" (Springsteen 2016: 203).

In the quest to find his inner voice, Bob Dylan has been powerfully influenced by folk singer and songwriter Woody Guthrie. In fact, this bond is so strong that he even writes one of his earliest creations, entitled *Song to Woody*, for his hero

(Varesi 2004: 22). Dylan will remember the Guthrie-experience in the following way: "Guthrie had such a grip on things. He was so poetic and tough and rhythmic. There was so much intensity, and his voice was like a stiletto. He was like none of the singers I ever heard, and neither were his songs" (Dylan 2004: 244).

On the other hand, Springsteen's musical development is profoundly marked by the point when he first sees Elvis on the Ed Sullivan Show. In his autobiography, he names this event as "the big bang" (Springsteen 2016: 38–40). Within the same show, he gets to know The Beatles, a memory that is presented as the "second coming" in his book (Springsteen 2016: 48–49). Aside from that, he has been influenced by Woody Guthrie (Springsteen 2016: 254) and views Sinatra, Dylan, and The Rolling Stones as his idols. For this reason, he applauds the very moment when the opportunity to sing with the Stones comes along (Springsteen 2016: 490).

Concerning the important sites in the artists' life and work, it can be outlined that Dylan's, Springsteen's, and Smith's debut is closely linked to New York. As a matter of fact, in the 1960s, Dylan comes to this city in order to meet Guthrie, and thus he gets to be introduced to the music scene of his time (Sawyers Skinner 2011: 12–13). Springsteen, being from New Jersey, will cling to the same area. He even exclaims: "New York City […]. We had to break in there" (Springsteen 2016: 91). Obviously, he spreads his wings to other geographical areas, but eventually returns to his roots: "I had to get back to where I was who I was, a son of New Jersey, gunslinger, bar band king, small-town local hero, big fish in a little pond and breadwinner" (Springsteen 2016: 163).

Again, Patti Smith arrives in New York with the dream of entering "the fraternity of the artist […] both muse and maker" (Smith 2010: 12). She harbours this dream, influenced by the works and lives of Picasso, Diego Rivera, and Frida Kahlo.

In the early days of her stay, while at a Doors concert, she feels both a kinship to Jim Morrison and a hyperawareness that performing in such a manner is something she could also do (Smith 2010: 59). This episode suggests she has always been preparing to become just the rock and roll star she is seen as. Alongside Mapplethorpe, she explores the possibilities and connections the city offers, and soon they gather an impressive array of significant cultural personalities around them. Essential to this effect is their stay at the Chelsea Hotel, where they meet Sandy Daley and where Janis Joplin becomes an acquaintance whom Smith writes a song for. Through the people at Chelsea and in the neighbourhood, Smith also gets to know and exchange ideas with Jimi Hendrix, Allen Ginsberg, William Burroughs, and Bob Neuwirth, who encourages her to write a song. Her future friendship with Sandy Pearlman, a music critic and producer, will also shape her style.

With her writing, she inscribes herself in the tradition of Romanticism and French Symbolism by cherishing extraordinary individuals and a personal

encoding of language by placing an emphasis on imagination and by the aesthetic inclusion of any artistic motif. Her biggest literary models are William Blake, Arthur Rimbaud, and Jean Genet, whereas from the playwright Sam Shepard she gathers the value of improvisation.

Smith adopts and adapts all the ideas and voices that have touched her, with her own spin, growing into a complete artist. With Bob Dylan, at one of her concerts, she muses: "I had to become fully myself in the presence of the one I had modeled myself after" (Smith 2010: 248). *Just Kids* is therefore a compliment to Smith's friend, to her youth but also to her idols; thus, it is all too suitable that in the foreword she places the autobiography under the scope of the aria *Vissi d'arte* from *Tosca*, praising a life devoted to art and love.

Evidently, John Luther Adams is an artist who is also open to different types of aesthetic experiences. He studies not only Western classical music, such as Debussy, Sibelius, and Bruckner, but also shows an interest in recordings of Javanese, Balinese, Japanese, Indian, and African music and instruments. Similarly, he feels attracted to rock and roll and jazz, to The Beatles and John Coltrane, to literature and nature (Adams 2020: 168–169).

His meeting and collaboration with Alaskan poet John Haines provides him with the "temerity to entertain artistic aspirations to match the landscapes of Alaska" (Adams 2020: 68). What he strives for and achieves to do is to sonically recreate the feeling of vastness of Alaska, a loss "of scale and distance – floating in undifferentiated space, suspended in time" (Adams 2020: 73). Owing to John Luther Adams's close friendship to Gordon Wright, both a conductor and a violinist, he composes music for strings, an example being *The Wind in High Places*. Adams and his fellow artist share the "quest to see clearly and to speak truthfully" (Adams 2020: 161).

Upon reflection whether it is Alaska that has defined his style of composing, John Luther Adams realizes, however, that his creations are just a natural progression from his early years (Adams 2020: 175). Alaska has echoed in his inner self, making him more aware of his thoughts and feelings, which materialize in a heightened form through music: "I began to feel that my music was no longer about a place, but had in a real sense become a place of its own" (Adams 2020: 176).

What distinguishes creative minds is that "the individual no longer passively accepts external authority, but starts listening to his or her inner voice and making judgements based on his or her own standards" (Kaufman & Gregoire 2015: 134).

Dylan, Springsteen, Smith, and John Luther Adams have in common that they approach issues unprejudiced, which helps them reach original solutions and enlightening truths people can identify with.

Another trait that artists share is the openness to try and absorb new things and information. This capacity endows them with a more elaborate knowledge base from which to generate novel ideas. Moreover, it prompts them to identify

opportunities for creation. They derive pleasure from the sustained engagement with complex issues and are intrinsically motivated by the attempt to put across their potential they are already aware of (Batey & Hughes 2017: 196).

The four artists we have focused our study on guide themselves by these principles. They actively integrate art in their daily lives, dedicate themselves to continuously exploring new forms, and involve themselves with art and nature, keeping an attentive mind to their surroundings. This incites their own artistic output as a way to mark their being in the world.

Through the episodes and musings they recount, they also paint a historical moment, the portrait of the community and the society they were part of. What is more, Smith, Adams, and Springsteen underpin their autobiographies with photos of the people, places, and times that have impacted their lives, hence offer another medium of self-presentation.

As seen above, the launching and the developing of the artists' musical career have asked for sacrifices, commitment, and endurance. The potential threat of derailment and the feeling of insecurity have lurked around many corners. Still, the willingness to achieve their dreams has far outweighed the difficulties. This ongoing quest to discover and engage themselves in the world has allowed them to envision success. In the same manner, the direct and indirect artistic encounters as well as the significant scenes in the lives of the four musicians have immensely affected their creative evolution, leading them to self-awareness and self-accomplishment.

4. Conclusions

We have provided an overview of four different contemporary artists whose autobiographies have appeared since 2004. While their situations differ based on background, gender, or music style, we have shown how they all use their memoirs to position themselves in relation to their fellows, to society, and art.

Along the autobiographies *Chronicles*, *Born to Run*, *Just Kids*, and *Silences So Deep. Music, Solitude, Alaska*, we have disclosed Bob Dylan's, Bruce Springsteen's, Patti Smith's, and John Luther Adams's vibrant personality, the paths they have pursued towards creating a cohesive image of self, reconstructed from pieces of their past. They establish a deeper connection to their public by presenting themselves as complex personalities while experiencing success, recognition, but also frustrations and difficulties. We gain an understanding of the challenges they have overcome, of the values they have promoted and represent and, through this, of their own perspective on their role on the music scene and within society. Bob Dylan's, Bruce Springsteen's, Patti Smith's, and John Luther Adams's autobiographies consolidate their artistic personae concomitantly with

further stirring their supporters and unlocking fascination in their readers. These books can therefore be regarded as a pledge to art and, implicitly, to literature, a depiction of the performing selves.

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The Complexities of the Field in a Linguistic Ethnographic Research

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Abstract. In critical sociolinguistics, language is viewed as a fundamentally social phenomenon that is defined discursively, rather than in terms of individual beliefs and attitudes, and because linguistic practices are themselves intersubjective. Moreover, the broader cultural, historical, and political aspects have also become relevant in the study of language, requiring new ways of addressing sociolinguistic issues. Linguistic ethnography may be a central tool in this inquiry, as it looks at everyday practices in order to understand wider social structures. In this paper, I argue that a festival as a place of encounters provides an adequate context for such research. After discussing the different concepts of the field in doing ethnographic work, I examine the online presence of the festival in question. Tusványos is an event organized in Transylvania every year, with the intention of bringing together Hungarian participants from Hungary and Romania, as well as Romanians.

Keywords: critical sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography, field, festival studies, Hungarian–Hungarian encounters

1. Introduction

The globalization processes of the last decades have called for a paradigm shift in the conceptual and analytical systems of sociolinguistics, whereby working with previously established categories is being replaced by a sociolinguistics of mobile resources defined by trans-contextual networks and movements (Blommaert 2010). According to Jan Blommaert, beyond the traditional subject of linguistics, cultural, historical, and political aspects are also given a prominent role, i.e. "the sociolinguistic side of a larger social system" (Blommaert 2010: 2) becomes the subject of new research. Globalization has highlighted the importance of not only cultural but also linguistic diversity; as a result of the increasingly intensive

migration processes, the "predictability" of mobility pathways has disappeared (Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 22), and the social characteristics of those involved in the migration process have become more diverse. Vertovec (2007) describes this emerging phenomenon with the concept of superdiversity, which has become the dominant interpretative framework for a growing body of sociolinguistic works (e.g. Creese & Blackledge 2010, Rampton et al. 2015, Arnaut et al. 2016a,b).

Those who object to the use of the concept of superdiversity argue that this theoretical framework is not generally applicable, as the increase in the scale and intensity of migration is characteristic of Western Europe alone. But even in this highly Eurocentric context, it should be taken into account that European countries are not by default characterized by linguistic diversity (Pavlenko 2018), as the nation-state presupposes the existence and dominance of the national language. However, globalization and superdiversity characterize not only metropolises – despite the fact that the flow of people and languages is most easily captured there – but also "margins" (Wang et al. 2014: 24). In interpreting migration processes, not only are aspects of nationality, ethnicity, and language prevalent, but the motivations behind them and integration into the host society are also of linguistic interest (Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 22), and for Blommaert (2010) the mobility of semiotic resources themselves is a central concern.

Globalization is constantly reflected through new media and communication tools and changing economic activities, while the flow of social, political and cultural, linguistic and other semiotic resources is also present in marginal spaces. The classical social science paradigm tended to represent spaces, and thus the people and their linguistic resources, as fixed and closed systems. However, changing mobility overrides this as well, and connection between interrelated people, including their linguistic practices, are viewed as much more complex while becoming less predictable (Blommaert 2010). In the critical sociolinguistic framework, the focus shifts to the ways in which social and linguistic categories are created and maintained (Bodó & Heltai 2018: 505).

On the basis of the conceptual framework described above and as a consequence of the social, political, and cultural events of the last three decades, I argue that superdiversity can also emerge in a space where diversity within the same language is characterized by increased mobility. Transylvania, as a historically interethnic and linguistically heterogeneous space, is a prime example. The volume and intensity of Hungarian–Hungarian encounters (between Hungarians from Hungary and Hungarians from Romania) began to increase after the fall of communism. This goes hand in hand with the emergence of previously unknown paths and processes of migration and new discourses on these, such as economic migration from Transylvania to Western Europe or students from Hungary studying in Transylvania.

Thus, the context of this research is burdened by narratives of language, nation, and identity. The field of study is Bálványos Free Summer University and

Student Camp, more commonly known and hereinafter referred to as Tusványos, which from the beginning aimed to create an opportunity for dialogue between Hungarians from Hungary and Hungarians from Transylvania, as well as Hungarian and Romanian communities, creating an environment that does not entirely belong to Hungary or Transylvania and is constructed as a "third space" in the Bhabhan sense. By introducing the concept, Bhabha aims to overcome the dichotomy of spatial interpretations prevalent in different disciplines, the polarization of spaces, when he writes about cultural hybridity, as the third space "quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People" (Bhabha 1994: 37).

2. A linguistic ethnographic approach

According to Blommaert and Rampton, a linguistic ethnographic approach can be a central tool for a linguistically-based study of superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 35–36). The linguistic ethnographic framework relevant to this paper is based on the premise that if social realities are created and shaped by everyday interactions, then linguistic tools can help us understand the complexity of the social world without the need to draw generalizing and essentialist conclusions. It is important to note, however, that linguistic ethnography is not a paradigm but rather a "discursive space", and also a "place of encounter" (Rampton et al. 2015: 44), which leaves room for questioning dominant discourses given that knowledge production is achieved through interactions between different levels of society. While many fields of linguistics examine language through the lens of culture and society, the dominant approach of these sub-disciplines is to interpret language as universal and to assume that linguistic structures can be isolated and studied in this way.

In linguistic ethnography, the personal positioning of the researcher also plays a significant role. Awareness of the motivations behind the assumptions made about a given issue is an important aspect of research, as the researcher's own social and linguistic background, as well as knowledge of the subject, will determine how to interpret the practices under study and their wider context. Traditional anthropological research has sought to make forms of life and cultural perspectives that seem distant accessible, resulting in "making the strange familiar" (Hymes 1996: 4–5). In contrast, a linguistic ethnographic approach examines the embeddedness of practices of everyday life in wider social contexts and structures, thus focusing on "making the familiar strange" (Shaw et al. 2015: 7).

3. Festivals as places of encounters

In anthropology, the concept of the contact zone has traditionally been used to capture instances of communication between people from different cultural backgrounds and unequal power relations (Pratt 1991, 1992; Clifford 1997). A critique of the use of the concept is that, on the one hand, although it is intended as an analytical tool to model the interaction of certain groups in an asymmetric space, it does not focus on the dynamics of the process itself, the problem of "internal cooperation between the communities involved" (Wilhelm 2017: 43). On the other hand, the perspective offered by the contact zone can be a disadvantage in seeing and understanding a particular field, as the contact zone ultimately focuses attention on immediate, evidential situations while neglecting wider networks (Bennett 2013). As a result, encounter has become a central concept in cultural anthropology; in relation to encounter-based ethnographies, Faier and Rofel note that culture is not understood as "temporally fixed and spatially bounded", but rather the making and remaking of culture in everyday life becomes the object of study (Faier & Rofel 2014: 364).

Fictive contact zones are mentioned separately among the spatial determinants of the relations that emerge in the encounter; they are based on the encounter of the past with the future, on contact with the ancestor and the original, which implies a sense of authenticity. These types of spiritual encounters are mostly fuelled by what Bucholtz (2003) calls sociolinguistic nostalgia, a sense that the state or object sought no longer exists. The illusion of re-creating these states is the basis for tourism marketing or even cultural encounters (Régi 2017: 15). Academic interest in festivals comes mainly from business studies and marketing sciences, which aim at a quantitative analysis of the economic impact of events (Kim & Uysal 2003, Diedering & Kwiatkowski 2015); the latter usually investigates the success of the communication of events on various platforms (Bernstein 2007, Allen et al. 2011, Oklobdžija 2015). Thus, the disciplinary framework in which festival studies have been conducted so far has tended to interpret events as tourism activities, ignoring their potential political implications (Zhang et al. 2019: 95).

However, it would be a mistake to claim that festivals are only a relevant field of research in economics, marketing, and tourism. In the context of festival studies, Getz (2010) identifies three major discourses: the roles, meanings, and impacts of festivals in society and culture, festival tourism, and festival management. Research on authenticity, communal and cultural identity, social cohesion, celebration, ritual, myth and religion, as part of the first discourse, belongs to the field of anthropology. It is important to note that these have typically been studied in festivals for small communities (Cohen 2007, Frost 2008, Mackellar 2009).

Festivals can be diverse in their subject-matter, but all festivals are characterized by being held at a particular time (and place) and being repeated over and over

again (Wilson et al. 2017: 196). Festivals celebrate community values, ideologies, identity, and continuity (Getz 2005), while at the same time they are spaces for the expression, performance, and rediscovery of identity (Nurse 1999). Since the aforementioned political dimension has been neglected in the analysis of festivals, there is only a small body of recent works (Zhang et al. 2019) that discusses the role of festivals in the context of national identity formation. The festival that is the focus of the present paper is in the same category as other Hungarian music festivals in Transylvania in terms of the number of visitors, but it also emphasizes the promise of a community experience that is characteristic of smaller festivals.

4. The concept of the field

One of the methodological principles of anthropological research is that the site of research is not the same as the object of research. In the case of the present research, however, this view cannot be validated because in addition to the festival as a site framing the Hungarian–Hungarian encounters examined, the role of the festival itself in shaping the identity of place and group (Getz 2010: 4) is also part of the research question. At the same time, Margit Feischmidt's assertion that the object of anthropological research is "that which is strange, different, and at the same time local" (2007: 224) is also valid. A festival is characterized by these particularities at its core, as they bring the promise of escape from the mundane by having been present in societies as rites and celebrations for a very long time (Getz 2010: 7).

The steps in the construction of the field are traditionally captured by Gupta and Ferguson (1997: 12) in three moments: 1. the radical separation of field and home; 2. the valorization of certain modes of empirical cognition; 3. the construction of the researcher "self". In our case, the first and third of these steps will be less applicable since the field may be accessible from the home (more on this below, in the context of the online–offline nexus) and the researcher "self" outlined by Gupta and Ferguson presupposes the construction of a normative anthropological subject that is sharply distanced from the persons interviewed in the field.

Not only the nature of the festival framing the research but also the mobility of social and cultural phenomena in the 21st century calls for a revision of the theoretical and methodological foundations of anthropology in relating to the field. The validity of the single-, fixed-field concept of classical anthropological research first became uncertain in the context of migration research. In response to this and the theoretical dilemma it poses, George Marcus (1995) developed the concept of multi-sited ethnography, which "inevitably involves a body of knowledge of varying depth and quality, an incessant journey between the meanings of the field sites" (Lajos 2015: 165), which also overcomes the temporal and spatial demarcation of the field in the classical sense. The selective

knowledge production that results from the latter also defines ethnography in multiple arenas, but the knowledge acquired at the micro level is complemented by forms of knowledge from the macro perspective (Lajos 2015: 169–170).

The mobility paradigm shift also challenges the sedentary understanding of space in linguistics, including dialectology, as it contradicts the assumption that stability, being bound to a place, is a natural state of being (Britain 2016). One consequence of this is that the image of the authentic speaker – who lives isolated from urban modernity – is transformed, questioning expectations of "linguistic isolation" (Bucholtz 2003: 404) and a well-defined, static, homogeneous social environment (Britain 2016: 10).

The processing of the material collected during fieldwork and the knowledge gained there is complemented by the researcher's relationship to the field and their own ideologies. Reflecting on the unfinished nature of ethnographic knowledge production, Veronika Lajos echoes Anthony P. Cohen's dilemma that this two-level knowledge production makes it difficult to ensure the authority of ethnographic texts due to the changes that take place in the researcher's academic and everyday life and in the field (Lajos 2019: 595).

The macro level, which defines multi-sited ethnography, also includes knowledge produced in the virtual space. Blommaert and Dong (2019) point to the theoretical and methodological gap that arises from the failure to recognize that our lives are permeated by the online world in myriad ways. Therefore, as researchers, we must also examine the online mapping of all offline spaces, i.e. the entire online–offline nexus. It is also pointed out that when researching online interfaces, three questions arise that are not as straightforward to answer as in the offline space: What do we see? Who is there? Where are we? This is because of the bubble effect created by different algorithms, which requires awareness of distortions; we cannot be sure of the identity of the people speaking different content, and we have to be aware of the trans-contextual changes caused by invisible threads.

5. The characteristics of the field

Bálványos Free Summer University and Student Camp (more commonly known as Tusványos) is an annual event, currently organized by Pro Minoritate Foundation and the Hungarian Youth Council of Romania (MIT). The former is an organization that defines itself as an "independent and public benefit" organization "that aims to support European and national ethnic and national minorities, with a particular focus on helping Hungarians beyond the border",[1] while MIT is an umbrella organization for advocacy and has been co-organizing

1 https://prominoritate.hu/bemutatkozo/english/ (downloaded on 24. 09. 2022).

Tusványos since 2008. The history and beginnings of the festival are presented below on the basis of the film *Tusványos 30*, as there is no reference to them in other materials made available by the organizers.

There is no introductory content on the official website of Tusványos, but on the festival's Facebook page, under the *About Us* section, there is a text published on 19 June 2019, which gives a detailed account of the mission of Tusványos. According to the text, the aim of the event is to serve the reconnection of the peoples living in the Carpathian Basin, to provide a forum for cross-border cooperation and political dialogue, "contrasting Hungarian and Romanian perspectives on issues of public interest". 80,000 participants are expected to attend a rich programme of events, with lectures in the morning on topics of interest to both countries, with "a number of well-known and respected politicians and experts from all three sides – Hungarian from the motherland, Hungarian from Romania, and Romanian from Romania". The programmes during the day are mostly lectures and roundtable discussions on current political and social issues, while in the evenings there are cultural programmes and concerts. The text also reveals that the most popular event of the festival is the roundtable discussion, in which Viktor Orbán, the Prime Minister of Hungary, takes part and "makes important observations".

5.1. The narrative of the *Tusványos 30* documentary

Bálványos Free Summer University and Student Camp was held for the thirtieth time in the period of 23–28 July 2019. On the occasion of the round anniversary, a documentary entitled *Tusványos 30* was released by Pro Minoritate Foundation, featuring the founders of the free university, public figures, former and current organizers, performers and participants of Tusványos. Zsolt Németh, member of the National Assembly of Hungary, is one of the creators of the event. In December 1989, he was part of a group of friends who visited Romanian towns with the largest Hungarian population that had just been liberated from communism and met with local student unions and youth. According to David Campanale, a British journalist who joined the group in Hungary, their primary aim was to continue the dialogue that began during the December visit. That is when they came up with the idea of a summer retreat to celebrate their youth and to give them a chance to discuss their ideas.

One of the first frames of the documentary is the poster advertising the very first "summer camp", which took place between 21 and 30 July 1990; the title of the poster refers to the central theme and motto of the camp: the transition from dictatorship to democracy. Attila Sántha, who was initially a local organizer, also mentions the regime change when reflecting on the atmosphere of the free university: "We came from communism and we were hit by freedom." The very first edition of the summer university, however, basically had no infrastructural

background; in a few years, following a change of the initial location and a "marriage" between the summer university and an already existing student camp in Transylvania, the event was able to welcome a much larger audience in a more comfortable environment. One of the participants says in the documentary that prior to the plethora of festivals in recent years, Tusványos used to be "THE festival" for those living in Transylvania (referring to Hungarian-speaking people). Barna Fancsali, President of MIT, believes that: "Tusványos will always be the main meeting point for young people."

In addition to providing detailed information on the founding of Tusványos, its early years, and the turning points that have led to its development into an event that attracts tens of thousands of participants every year, the documentary features a number of public figures who articulate the ideological significance and mission of Tusványos. Szilárd Demeter, the current Director of the Petőfi Literary Museum, characterizes Tusványos as a "forum for nation unification and nation building" and a "hotbed of national policy decisions". Demeter highlights some of the initiatives that were conceived in Tusványos, where "a national narrative was built, we could tell each other who us Hungarians are". He says that Tusványos was always good at conveying strong messages because "we were able to formulate messages that were the result of looking at the world through Hungarian eyes".

László Tőkés, politician and one of the permanent guests and speakers at the free university, puts the role of Tusványos in a different light than before in regard to the relations between Hungarians from Hungary and those from Romania: "the orphaned, small motherland is looking for new blood in the regions beyond its borders, even in the field of political thinking". In this sense, the already mentioned national unification and the attempts to achieve it are made to satisfy a mutual need. Tőkés also praises the natural environment itself and its symbolic significance, in which Tusványos takes place year after year; he believes that going back to the ancient site "sets a fundamental direction of thought", which he believes is very much needed today, as Europe and its nationalities "are struggling with an identity crisis". The ancestral site referred to presents the idealized and isolated image that is often the starting point for nationalist narratives, as well as the identity crisis that results from a sense of threat from unions (e.g. the European Union) that aim to unify by diminishing a supposed national uniqueness.

In the documentary, very little is said about Hungarian–Romanian relations, although one of the initial aims of the event was to bring the three communities (Hungarians from Hungary, Hungarians from Romania, and Romanians from Romania) closer together. László Tőkés addresses this when he mentions future plans and prospects: "the Romanian–Hungarian dialogue must also be restored". In recalling the early years, one of the speakers in the documentary describes the Romanian participants of the event as seeing the Hungarians of Szeklerland

as "exotic" and as being characterized by a constant sense of wonder during their time at the festival, but at the same time as being keen to return in the years that follow.

David Campanale, former creator of the summer university, who is now a Liberal Democrat politician in the UK, sees the main reason for his appreciation of Tusványos as ideological and as a medium free of Western trends but still offering opportunities for open dialogue:

> I think one of the most difficult things in Western countries is that because of political correctness, they are very careful about what you say, how you say it, how it might be misunderstood. Here, the philosophy of the East and the West, and even Christian ideas, can work together, and it is quite natural to talk about the spiritual issues and the spiritual identity of the Hungarians living here. About the spiritual identity of Europe and what it means to be European.

In the closing shots of the documentary, current Prime Minister Viktor Orbán sums up the role and mission of Tusványos in the life of the Hungarian community: "Tusványos is the answer to the question of whether national unification is possible."

5.2. Tusványos in the social media

The Facebook page of Tusványos currently[2] has 32,000 likes, the event's official Instagram page has around 7,500 followers, and both sites list www.tusvanyos.ro as the official website of the event although it is important to note that the latter only contains material from after 2015, while the archives of previous events and galleries are available at www.old.tusvanyos.ro. These archives also contain the mottos of the previous festivals, which change from year to year (up to 2014, the relevant data are listed on the aforementioned website, while the mottos of the following years can be traced back from the images in the archives or other press material). These strongly emotional, almost community-forming mottos may explain why Tusványos defines itself as a *community* on its Facebook page, while for other similar events, Facebook page creators typically choose to classify them as *music event*, *festival*, *concert venue*, *event location*, or *event organizer*.

It is also clear from the presence of Tusványos on social media, namely Facebook, that it is different from both the festivals in the narrower Transylvanian context and the music festivals in Hungary. The comparison below is based on the content and posts uploaded in 2020 on the Facebook pages of Tusványos and a total of 5 other festivals, 2 from Transylvania (Double Rise, Vibe) and 3 from Hungary

2 The quantitative data of this section were collected in February 2021.

(Sziget, Balaton Sound, VOLT). As the main criteria of the comparison are the use of the Hungarian language and the posts on the social media pages of the events in connection to different (national) holidays, no Romanian festival was included that communicates exclusively in Romanian and/or English with its target audience.

Today's central industries are organized around the trade in textual content and other text-based services, and this is why language has become central to various economic phenomena, whether in terms of the products or even the processes of distribution and consumption (Pujolar 2007: 72). The resulting globalized and globalizing discourses threaten the political and economic foundations of nationalism (Bauman 1998 – qtd in Pujolar 2007) and may undermine the position of language and culture as stable in the one language – one nation paradigm. From this comparison, it follows that the opening up to international audiences as a result of globalization also has an impact on the Internet language policies of Hungarian festivals, as communication in English becomes dominant or at least equally prominent.

In the case of the festivals examined from Hungary, a globalizing trend can be clearly identified, which is developing along the lines of the economic impact that is being sought. All entries for Sziget (421,000 followers) and Balaton Sound (297,000 followers) are in English and Hungarian, while entries for VOLT (204,000 likes) are in Hungarian only. All three festivals in Hungary post festive content on their page on New Year's and Valentine's Day. In the case of the latter, the related economic factor becomes explicit: those who buy/reserve a pair ticket to the festival on 14 February or the days before will get a discount. In addition to the two holidays mentioned above, Balaton Sound and VOLT also dedicated a special post for Christmas wishes, and VOLT greeted its followers on the occasion of Women's Day. The three festivals in Hungary did not upload any content related to holidays other than those listed, one of the likely reasons being that they wish to attract a wider, international audience to their events, and commemorating events and holidays specific to different national or regional holidays, which may not be known to some of the page's followers, would not necessarily serve this purpose. The fact that the managers of the Sziget Facebook page did not greet their audience on Christmas, as this would not have appealed to their non-Christian followers, is also an indication of economic interest and inclusive communication in a globalized world.

The two other Transylvanian festivals studied alongside Tusványos, Double Rise (20,000 followers) and Vibe (19,000 followers), typically greeted their Facebook followers on the same holidays: New Year's Day, Valentine's Day, Women's Day, Easter, and Christmas. In addition, both festivals commemorated a national holiday, with Vibe posting on 15 March (the anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848) and Double Rise on 4 June (the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Trianon). Vibe also made an environmental appeal to its followers

on the occasion of Earth Day. Double Rise publishes content exclusively in Hungarian, while Vibe occasionally includes elements of English, although not to the extent of the bilingual communication seen in the case of Sziget or Balaton Sound. Although Vibe is the only one of the three Transylvanian festivals to feature international performers, attracting an international audience would be too bold an undertaking for a festival in a city that is not specifically a tourist destination (Târgu-Mureş), especially in the context of increasing economic impact through cultural events. However, it is important to note that the Vibe festival does not exclude potential Romanian-speaking audiences, and more specifically potential performers, as its call for entries for amateur local performers has been published in both Hungarian and Romanian.

Compared to the previous festivals, Tusványos has published a playlist for only one international holiday, World Music Day, but no entries for the internationally celebrated Valentine's Day and New Year's Day. In contrast, Tusványos has a much higher number of posts on Christian, family-related, cultural, and national holidays: Hungarian Poetry Day, Easter, Mother's Day, Children's Day, Pentecost, 4 June (the text of the post reads "We belong together"), 23 October (the anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956), Christmas. On the Facebook page of Tusványos, only Hungarian-language posts are published, which is justified by the fact that, like Double Rise, it only has performers from Transylvania and Hungary. However, if we take into account the statement in the introductory text, namely that its permanent aim is to promote a dialogue between Hungarians from Hungary, Hungarians from Romania, and Romanians from Romania, the fact that there is not a single post in Romanian besides Hungarian may be a source of unease, excluding a participant from the think tank who is identified by the event itself and who is excluded from its online presence precisely by creating and maintaining language barriers. All this seems to outline the community-building endeavour that has already been mentioned, and the common parameters of this community become apparent even in their online communication: language and nation.

6. Conclusions

The increased mobility of people, languages, and semiotic resources has made the reconsideration of previous theoretical frameworks and methods necessary. Linguistic ethnography sees itself as a "place of encounter" where interactions between different levels of society become possible. The field does no longer exist isolated in space and time but is in a continuous dialogue with the ideologies and dominant discourses that constitute it. Since festivals are meant to bring together people with different backgrounds yet with common interests, current sociolinguistic questions may be elaborately explored in such settings. The

festival analysed in this paper, Tusványos, functions as a third space as it does not belong in its entirety either to Romania or to Hungary.

First, I presented the narrative outlined from the documentary entitled *Tusványos 30*. Initial creators, former organizers, and current politicians and participants have made attempts to point out the significance of Tusványos. Be it related to the mission, ideology, or even the natural environment of the festival, they all agreed that it is a place of encounter with historical significance, where a sense of national unity is achieved. Further, I analysed the social media presence of Tusványos as compared to the Facebook activity of other music festivals with a Hungarian background. Based on the language use, and the selection of holidays that give an opportunity to festival organizers to establish communication with their public unrelated to the event in question, it can be concluded that Tusványos does not target an international audience, nor a Romanian one, as the Facebook page has posts written only in Hungarian. Moreover, their choice of holidays worth a post reflect a Christian set of values closely connected to the importance of family and national history, while there is no mention of international holidays often referred to by other festivals.

According to Bloomaert and Dong (2019), the online mapping of offline spaces must also be of academic interest, as only by considering the complexity of the online–offline nexus may social phenomena be examined thoroughly. Following the analysis of Tusványos's online presence and the narratives created in their official communication, further ethnographic fieldwork has to be conducted during the event itself, where a series of issues related to language may be addressed.

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From Proletarian Internationalism to Transnational Consciousness

Hungarian Literature and Cultural Policy in Transylvania from World War II until the End of the 20th Century

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Abstract. Following the Treaty of Trianon, in Transylvania, which had been detached from historical Hungary and attached to Romania, besides the Romanian majority, there lived a considerable Hungarian- and German-speaking minority. Although in the last two decades of the communist dictatorship – in the 70s and 80s – as a consequence of emigration to Germany, the number of ethnic Germans decreased substantially, the number of Hungarian speakers is over one million even today. Regarding the characteristics of the post-World War II literary discourse and cultural policy, in the second half of the forties, the communist power gained control over all manifestations of community life in Romania. It regulated culture and the arts, banned, abolished, or restructured all forums that had enjoyed some kind of independence, and completely revised the literary and artistic canon. In this era, the discourse emphasizing the aspects of revolutionary transformation and radical policy change decisively builds on the enemy image; the fault-line between past and present and the necessity of continuous political struggle prevail in both poetry and prose. In order to achieve the intended social goals, this kind of communist sacrifice ethics regards the annihilation of resisters, protesters, and even of the internal opposition not only as a possibility but as an assumed necessity. This paper aims to present the ideological/political and aesthetic/poetic tendencies that determined Transylvanian Hungarian literature and cultural policy from the mid-40s until the end of 20th century.

Keywords: Transylvanian Hungarian literature, communist power control, literary discourse, cultural policy

1. Introduction

After World War I, the advocates of Transylvanianism, one of the Transylvanian Hungarian community's leading ideology, declared that Transylvania was a specific entity and home to the three Transylvanian ethnic communities, Hungarians, Romanians, and Saxons, who had been living together for centuries. The start of this political/cultural movement is frequently related to the publication of the pamphlet *Kiáltó Szó* (Calling Voice), whose authors and supporters were prominent Transylvanian Hungarian writers and intellectuals, among them – to name but a few – Károly Kós, Árpád Paál, István Zágoni, Endre Dózsa, and Sándor Reményik. The Transylvanianists set themselves the goal of realizing cultural autonomy (See: Balogh 1999). As Géza Szávai, a contemporary Hungarian writer from Transylvania discusses: Transylvanianism mainly consisted of three different ideological orientations: emphasizing the rights of Hungarian speakers to surviving on the native land as a moral imperative, highlighting the specificity of "Transylvanian Spirit", and creating the historical background of national consciousness (Szávai 2004: 166–179). However, these issues suffered significant changes from the late 40s when the requirement to survive on the native land was redefined in different strategies of adaptation to the social/political goals of (the communist) power or protest against assimilative aspirations, censorship, and abolition of minority institutions. The idea of common values and interests of nationalities living together and the historical extension of interdependence of cultures were increasingly replaced by (emotional) attachment to the mother tongue and Hungary, as well as by emphasizing the need for Hungarian national identity. All the more so since official forums barely made it possible for Transylvanian Hungarian intellectuals to do so. In 1940, as a result of the second Vienna Treaty, Northern Transylvania was reunified with Hungary, but this partial reunification only lasted until the end of World War II, when the allies granted Romania the whole territory again. At the beginning of the 40s, during a period of less than five years, approximately 160 000 Northern Transylvanian Jews (most of them ethnic Hungarians) were deported and killed by Nazi Germany. Between 1941 and 1948, the Hungarian Transylvanian community decreased from 1 706 000 to 1 481 000 persons (Varga 1988: 39–41).[1]

1 All scholarly literature not originally written in English is referred to by the author in his own translation.

2. Literature and cultural policy from the mid-40s to the end of the 50s

After the instauration of the communist regime in Romania, the "revolutionary" process of consolidating the Soviet-style new power, in Transylvania the idea of opposition between the Romanian majority and the Hungarian minority was increasingly replaced by propagating the necessity of "class struggle" and radical social change. At the same time, almost nobody noticed that the gradually developing machinery of the totalitarian state almost completely destroyed all individual and collective forms of organizations created through no small effort between the two world wars to promote Hungarian culture and identity, and, eventually, the historic churches. "Following World War II", observes Stefano Bottoni, "the Transylvanian Hungarian world integrated into the Romanian state structure—and after 1948 into the Romanian communist state without being forced to abandon cultural identity. That is why the permission to use the mother tongue and national symbols, and actually the utopia of building socialism in Hungarian obscured the fact that many Hungarians unconsciously assisted in developing an extremely harsh dictatorship" (Bottoni 2008: 14–15).

The 1946 note entitled "Itt élned, halnod kell" [Here You Must Live and Die] by Edgár Balogh, a prominent representative of the Transylvanian Hungarian left-wing intelligentsia between the two world wars, can be considered an instructive ideological precedent. In this note, he mentions that at the people's meeting held on the occasion of the anniversary of world peace in Kolozsvár (Cluj), a Transylvanian city, which at the time was still inhabited by a Hungarian majority, Hungarian speakers were booed by the Romanian-speaking audience. Apart from blaming the Hungarian proletariat for being passive, in his writing, Balogh regards this extreme nationalist gesture as an open demonstration of power on the part of Romanian bourgeois "reaction", and gives voice to the hope that in the spirit of the new internationalism represented by the working class, manifestations of this kind will disappear from Transylvanian public life once and for all:

> On 10 May, in front of the Romanian Cathedral in Kolozsvár, I wasn't surprised by the whistle storm that broke out when Hungarian speakers rose to speak but by the relatively small number of workers present. [...] I shouted words into the microphone, and I couldn't even hear my own voice. I was speaking on behalf of all of us who want a better world, and my words elicited a negative response. [...] Those who had instigated Romanian students and advised Hungarian workers to stay away knew very well what they were doing. Their double game stabbed democracy in the back. (Balogh 1957: 286–287)

Nevertheless, Edgár Balogh's words seem interesting not only from the perspective of that truth-seeking intellectual attitude which states firmly that "people's democracy", that is to say, the new socialist politics will no longer tolerate nationalist rhetoric, but also because they appeared, along with the unintentional references to the Hungarian revolution of 1956, in the collected edition of his works in 1957.

In the period immediately following World War II, texts of literary history and cultural policy analysing the relation between literature and the new state power system apparently do not emphasize party loyalty and militant revolutionary attitude but the superiority of socialist ideas and service for "the people", "freedom", and "humanity" by means of a certain kind of "representation of reality". In one of his books published in 1946, Lajos Jordáky, a Hungarian sociologist, critic, and essayist in Kolozsvár talks about the mutual relationship between literature and socialist state, as well as about their common goals, highlighting that the writer's duty is to reshape society, to strengthen socialist ideals, class consciousness, and to represent reality:

> The writer now wants the new form of literary expression to be the manifestation of the social class to which they belong. [...] Socialism creates the precondition for the birth of great literary works: freedom; and it allows the masses access to these literary works: through people's well-being. Literature, on the other hand, serves and facilitates the implementation of socialism through the assessment and artistic representation of reality. For this very reason, socialists and writers must find each other, recognizing that they actually want the same thing and must work closely together. (Jordáky 1946: 8)

In Jordáky's view, it is not yet party or ideological loyalty that primarily determines literary activity but rather the idea of serving the truth, the people, and freedom. Knowing the Soviet model, the following sentences probably seemed ironic even at that time: "Socialism, unlike any other ideology, doesn't want the writer to be a party writer; it doesn't even expect them to be a party member. [...] The writer serves humanity, the good, the truth, and freedom just as much as socialism does." Yet, Jordáky contradicts himself when in a later chapter of the book redefines the concept of "party poet": "In a socialist sense, the party poet is the poet of the class and progressive mankind, just as the self-conscious and militant party of the working class is the party of the class and progressive mankind. [...] At the same time, they who, by their art, promote socialism are party poets, even if organizationally they are not members of the Labour Party" (Jordáky 1946: 76–77). The same idea can be found in Gábor Gaál's writings on topics concerning aesthetics and history of poetry (Gaál 1950: 286–291, 301–310), and

also in the unambiguous gesture that as chief editor of the literary journal *Utunk*, he provides an opportunity for right-wing authors debuted between the two world wars (Gáll 199:15) to publish their works. Even István Nagy, probably the fiercest defendant of Soviet communist patterns of propaganda literature, appreciates Sándor Kacsó's, Emil Grandpierre's, László Szabédi's, or Sándor Fodor's works and rejects the most extreme clichés of communist consciousness and class struggle. In a 1948 article, he says: "Our writers very often err in describing the party and the class enemy. They give the impression that party members are ideally good people while endow the class enemy with the evilest monstrosities. So, they distinguish the most conscious characters of the two classes by extremely striking colours. That's a mistake because it has no educational value, nor is it true that only white and black colours oppose each other" (Nagy 1957: 106). Of course, this dictatorial and radically change-demanding period in Transylvanian Hungarian literature was far from being without any – ideological – conflicts. For example, let us just mention the controversy erupted over János Arany's, one of the greatest 19th-century Hungarian poets', best-known epic poem, *Toldi*: in the spirit of socialist realism, Gábor Gaál severely condemns his fellow writer, Marcell Benedek, accusing him of anachronistic aestheticism and disregard for class categories (Gaál 1950: 334–339). His opinion about Transylvanian Hungarian literature between the two world wars is very ambivalent. While he speaks highly of István Petelei's short stories, he attacks with the same fervour Sándor Reményik's "bourgeois", "nationalist" poetry (Nagy 1957: 221–233, 112–124). As a general characteristic of internal showdowns in Central and Eastern Europe, a few years later the accuser himself becomes the accused one, in consequence of which Gábor Gaál is forced several times to "practice self-criticism" due to "ideological unpreparedness".

Probably the greatest difference between Stalinist literature in Romania and Hungary can actually be attributed to their different positions reflected in the relation between the author and state power. While Transylvanian Hungarian literature – due to its minority status – was always treated by the Romanian communist regime as an extraneous phenomenon,[2] the mother country writers were able to participate more directly in the definition of the aesthetic/ideological orientation of cultural and art policy and in the exercise of power. It follows from the necessity of this kind of subordination that in the literary works of the late 40s and early 50s the contemporary Transylvanian Hungarian literature emphasized a new, reinterpreted version of Transylvanianism: fraternity between nations and joining forces in the ideological/political struggles (Balogh 1957: 301–305, 314–319; Gaál 1950: 280–285; Nagy 1955: 268–272). Nonetheless,

2 In this respect, it is an interesting fact that after 1956 the Romanian secret police began to listen and keep under constant surveillance not only ethnic Hungarian writers but also Hungarian members of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee.

this proved to be a rather futile attempt since Romanian writers did not really reciprocate these gestures. Of course, contemporary literary criticism and history writing in Hungary also sought to consolidate the same ideological/political position inasmuch as they were extremely careful to avoid even the appearance of somehow offending the sensibilities of the "friendly" socialist countries while making efforts to strengthen the identity of transborder Hungarian communities.

Nevertheless, while within Hungarian literature and cultural politics in Romania in the late 40s and early 50s prevailed – maybe precisely because minority discourse was left out of mainstream ideology – a more or less permissive attitude which under the circumstances allowed various voices of leftism to assert themselves, in Rákosi's Hungary the Stalinist internal showdowns were much more radical.

> After all, the intensification of class struggle, the enhancement of political and ideological vigilance, the pressing demand for theoretical firmness, the search for the hiding places of the enemy even in the cultural frontline – these sparked the controversy over comrade Lukács's certain opinions, which, in fact, did not help us, the working class, the Party but the waverers, the opponents of the Party's policy, in a word: the enemy. [...] Comrade Lukács's [...] literary slogans did not comply with the Party's increasingly harsh political and economic slogans. [...] When the Party intensified its struggle against capitalists, when revolution was far behind us, then, in the spring of 1949, comrade Lukács turns to the right and begins to fight – not for socialist realism but basically against it, against those literary currents and their representatives who – in one way or another – stood for progress towards socialist realism.

– concludes József Révai, the omnipotent leader of cultural and literary life in Hungary, briefly summarizing the era's arts policy "objectives" in a damning article written against György Lukács (Révai 1950: 284, 287).

The somewhat more open nature of Transylvanian Hungarian literary and cultural discourse of the time may also be put down to the fact that, unlike in Hungary, the worldview of left-wing writers and intellectuals in Transylvania received impulses from very different sources, largely influencing the development of left-wing ideology after World War II (Bottoni 2008: 170–171). Nándor Bárdi speaks of four left-wing generations who played a more or less significant role in shaping the political orientation of Transylvanian Hungarians after the communist takeover (Bárdi 2004: 71–85). According to Bárdi's classification, the third and especially the fourth generation assumed a leading role in organizing literary and cultural life after the consolidation of communist power mainly in the 50s and 60s, namely: Ferenc Szemlér, Edgár Balogh, István

Asztalos, József Méliusz, István Nagy, Győző Hajdu, Géza Domokos, Ernő Gáll, András Sütő, Sándor Huszár, etc.

In the early 50s, when – in concordance with Stalinist Soviet nationalities policy – the Hungarian Autonomous Region was established, Transylvanian Hungarian left-wing intellectuals undoubtedly experienced it as a triumph of freedom and sincere gesture of socialist ideology. They believed that ethnic conflicts would definitively end, or at least dissolve in an idealistic post-nationalist/internationalist view particularly emphasized by the communist propaganda, despite the fact that the political decision also created an opposition between the Hungarian intelligentsia (writers, journalists) of Cluj/Kolozsvár – the most important Hungarian cultural centre in Transylvania – and the same of Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureş, the new centre of the Autonomous Region. "There is no doubt that in the old Romania the communists proved to be consistent defenders of minorities, and they were also the allies whom one could rely on against the anti-minority right-wing, against fascism [...] It is also a fact that in 1946 Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej stated: the ethnic Hungarian community is considered an ally of Romanian democracy, and at that time this statement did not remain mere rhetoric", says Ernő Gáll (one of the prominent literary, journalistic, and cultural political personalities after World War II) in his memoirs written in the 90s (Gáll 1995: 9).

However, the fact that in Transylvanian Hungarian culture – which, in some respects, may be considered an ethnic subculture – conflicts between different political/ideological tendencies within the party did not arise as acutely as in Hungary does not even remotely imply that free speech or at least a certain "polyphony" was allowed to be part of the literary life of the era; authors referred to as "rightists" or "bourgeois" were completely silenced after the communist takeover in Romania, as well. Let us only mention here the tone of the debate erupted in the mid-50s in the literary journal *Utunk* on the occasion of republishing the works of Jenő Dsida, a Transylvanian Hungarian poet who lived between the two world wars and died young, as well as the attitude of those in power and the subsequent harsh political attacks (Panek 1998: 208–257). The old bourgeois writer, the "parasitic" intellectual – as Gábor Gaál puts it in several of his studies published in the second half of the 40s – must go into the dustbin of history (Gaál 1950: 269–274, 275–279). In consequence of such cultural struggles, a growing number of writers are forced to choose to temporarily remain silent, while others drop out of literary and public discourse because they are sentenced to several years in prison on fabricated charges (e.g. Lajos Jordáky).

In a social context where all manifestations of minority existence and search for identity were subject to strict limitations, literature was the only medium that gave the possibility of taking a stand on various issues. The suppression of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 was followed by reprisals in Romania, as well; communist

authorities tried to intimidate young Hungarian intellectuals. Many writers and poets, such as Géza Páskándi, Ferenc Bartis, Lajos Páll, and Gyula Dávid, were sentenced to serious jail time on fabricated charges, while others – for instance, Domokos Szilágyi – "escaped" retaliation probably only through collaboration with the secret service (cf. Selyem 2007: 5–38). Another impact of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution was the abolition of the Hungarian Autonomous Region and the Bolyai University, steps toward the „nationalizing" communism in Romania.

3. The short decade of relief in Romania (1965–1973)

From the mid-60s until about the first half of the 70s, Hungarian culture and literature in Romania gained some freedom for a relatively short time. This meant that as a result of "socialism with a human face," it was no longer absolutely necessary to follow the patterns of socialist realism, glorification of the Party, and building communist society. The new leader of Romania, Nicolae Ceauşescu, in his needing to make a compromise with Hungarian intelligentsia, accepted to establish some new Hungarian institutions – for example, the Kriterion Publishing House and the weekly journal *A Hét*. At the same time, the previously rejected "individualism", the private sphere, the representation of subjective and existential issues, and the topics pertaining to historical tradition or Hungarian national identity (in fact, rather the identification with the Transylvanian, Székely[3] community) also came to the fore in the literary works of the period. For half a decade, Transylvanian artists enjoyed a greater degree of freedom than those living in Hungary. However, the limits of this relative freedom are well illustrated by the controversy erupted in connection with the "double bond" of Transylvanian Hungarian literature (which meant that it belonged both to Hungarian and Romanian literature), in consequence of which the Romanian party leadership ordered the writers and editors of literary journals to publicly distance themselves from the idea raised by the Hungarian Writers' Association as a "nationalist deviation" (Kántor 2005). It is obvious that until the regime change in 1989 in such a context intellectuals were forbidden from using the expression "Transylvanian Hungarian literature" instead of "Hungarian literature in Romania". Lajos Kántor and co-author Gusztáv Láng were accused of revisionism because in the title of their literary history summary they indicated the year 1945 although in Romania "liberation" began on 23 August 1944. The story told by Aladár Lászlóffy is also worth mentioning as one of the first young Transylvanian Hungarian poets whose poems were published in the *Forrás* book

3 The Székelys (Hungarian pronunciation: [ˈseːkɛj]), sometimes also referred to as Szeklers, are a subgroup of the Hungarian people living mostly in the Székely Land in Romania; they played a key role in the defence of the Kingdom of Hungary.

series,[4] reserved for first-book authors, which functioned from the 60s until the end of the 80s. The story is about to what extent the relationship with those in power was relaxed and about why, despite all caution, an unforeseeable coincidence or unexpected political event posed enormous risks to the writers and editors of the period:

> The *Forrás* series is filled with Mihály Babits, Gyula Illyés, and Dezső Kosztolányi, not to mention Attila József. The whole past, along with the Battle of Mohács, has appeared in these texts. Censors were often quite sensitive to certain verses, "Well, that's no good!", and then you had to come to an agreement with them. Yet, at other times, if something fitted in with their ideas as progressive tradition – and everybody fitted in as progressive tradition –, they didn't protest. In this regard, embracing progressive tradition was not only allowed but also desirable. What irritated censorship was often of an entirely personal nature or was in the air. For instance, for a while, I edited the Sunday supplement of *Előre*. One day, a young man named Péter Cseke comes to me and says: "I have written a report about the village of Recsenyéd, about the things they did at the turn of the century; terrible, but these people emigrated to America. That is not correct ideologically, but I also criticize them." Its title was: *We Skated over to America*. I enthusiastically approved the report. How could I have known that the following week Ceauşescu would go to America? That could have caused a lot of trouble if we hadn't noticed it in time. (Hevesi et al. 2001: 45)

4. Ideological and political terror from the mid-70s until the end of the 80s

From the second half of the 70s, however, after Nicolae Ceauşescu's visit to China and North Korea in 1971, this relative freedom would gradually disappear within a few years' time. In Romanian politics, nationalism comes to the fore; the Securitate, the Romanian secret service resorts to increasingly drastic methods to intimidate society. In the 80s already, the purpose of the regime is to assimilate,

4 "Forrás Generation" is a term for writers whose works were published in the series called *Forrás,* reserved for first-book authors, from 1961 onwards. The first of the Forrás authors was Zoltán Veress, followed by Gyula Szabó, Sándor Kányádi, András Sütő, Andor Bajor, János Székely, and Géza Páskándi; the second "generation" was represented by Aladár Lászlóffy, László Király, Árpád Farkas, Ferenc Kenéz, Zsigmond Palocsay, Ádám Bodor, etc.; the third generation consisted of those writers, essayists, and philosophers that assumed a leading role in organizing literary and cultural life in the 70s and 80s, namely Gusztáv Molnár, Sándor Szilágyi N., Vilmos Ágoston, Gáspár Miklós Tamás, Géza Szőcs, Péter Egyed, Mária Adonyi Nagy, etc.

annihilate ethnic minorities, and as a result of forced resettlement policies coordinated by state authorities, Hungarians become an insignificant minority in many Transylvanian cities (See: Varga 1988). The government seeks to abolish or merge cultural and educational institutions that have earlier possessed some degree of autonomy; at the same time, it subjects all literary forums to strict, centralized political control. Vilmos Ágoston, a Transylvanian Hungarian writer and critic who emigrated to Hungary in the 80s, remembers the forced engagement between public life, art, and literature as follows: "*Magyar Műhely* [Hungarian Workshop in Paris] was not banned for being avant-garde but for being Hungarian. […] We had to avoid the possibility of direct confrontation to express our opinion on that particular situation in which we were living because if I had written that here Hungarians are oppressed, that's a sentence, a general statement, but it surely would not have been published" (Ágoston 1994: 12, 16).

Although, from a certain point of view, the recollections of Aladár Lászlóffy, Lajos Kántor, or Vilmos Ágoston can only be regarded as fiction, part of the communist "grand narrative", it is unquestionably a matter of fact – despite that it does not strictly fall within the scope of literary studies – that in the 80s Romania faced the most horrible totalitarian dictatorship in Central and Eastern Europe. In these years, the excessively pervasive personality cult, the ideological terror, and the – disguised or undisguised – assimilative aspirations made the life of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania extremely difficult. Zsófia Balla, a Transylvanian Hungarian poet who debuted at the end of the 60s, aptly points out one of the distinctive aspects of the 80s in the Ceauşescu era: "This society has already got used to the Party always telling them how to be moral and how to write" (Balla 1994: 22). This historical and social/political context most obviously influenced the Transylvanian Hungarian literary canon and the orientation of the critical reception of literary works, since all public figures were fully aware that resistance to power would easily lead to expulsion, silencing, or even physical destruction.

Consequently, knowing the situation in Romania in the 80s, any approach according to which literature functioned as unconditional political engagement or as the only possible (counter-)discourse can be re-evaluated; not to mention that on such a predetermined path the aesthetic/poetic function of literary works, creative freedom, and inventiveness were inevitably pushed into the background. Literary works created before the 1989 regime change usually "suggest a moral system which displays the ideal of dutiful steadfastness rather than that of fruitful initiative", states Éva Cs. Gyimesi, one of the best-known Transylvanian Hungarian critics of the 20th century (Cs. Gyímesi 1999: 10). In Transylvanian Hungarian literature, we might add, this ambition was especially abandoned by those "artistic" endeavours which strove to serve the goals of the existing power (in some cases, the same authors also represented the former

tendency, the tradition of dutiful steadfastness). However, defying power through literature became not only an artistic imperative in the 70s and 80s but also an expectation on the part of the readers. The social role of the writer, the noble fight for the "right cause" was of vital importance to the reading public, which highly contributed to the appreciation and revaluation of literature and all creative work in general. In this way, the social prestige of a particular literary text was often more important than its aesthetic quality. On the other hand, literary criticism in Hungary – if it wished to deal with the issue of "transborder" Hungarian literature at all – could only confirm this necessity, which had become a tradition, and, regarding the cult and canon formation mechanisms of the 70s and 80s, significantly contributed to the strengthening of the value system that legitimized the fetishizing of the creative role and the revelation-like, exalted discourse as an aesthetic/poetic expectation. The aspirations most often represented exactly by the institutionalized reception itself in judging literary works are dictated not only by aesthetic but also ideological considerations, which can certainly affect the acceptance or rejection of a particular author, text, or literary tendency (see: Szilveszter 2020).

Thus, while in the context of the 60s and 70s, the artistic representation of the (existential) problems of the Transylvanian Hungarian community was still possible through a heroizing/mythical or tragic/ironic discourse, later, in the 80s, references to community identity and traditions, or any form of religious expression, immediately put both author and text on a blacklist. "At first", recalls Vilmos Ágoston, a Transylvanian Hungarian writer and critic who emigrated to Hungary in the 80s, "they watched very carefully so the word 'Hungarian' would not occur twice on a page, and then they watched very carefully so it would not occur at all" (Ágoston 1994: 17). Nevertheless, the authors referred to by the critical reception as the Third "Forrás" Generation wished to create their own value system within a stylistic/poetic orientation that in some respects got much closer to trends in European literature than to traditional Transylvanian discourse. The most characteristic feature of this mode of speech is probably language game and ironic self-reflection: "Much could be said about this different kind of intellectual orientation. On the one hand, it's more disillusioned, and, on the other, it's more playful and lighter", says Zsófia Balla, talking about her contemporaries (Balla 1994: 8–21). This literary attitude, instead of presenting the exposure of the individual to power as a universal human problem, focuses increasingly on allusions to real events and persons or on the ironic/allegoric mode of representation as a means of protest. Consequently, the artistic representation of various repressive mechanisms, abuses of power, as well as the more and more concrete references may limit the contextual background determining the act of reception in such a way that within a broader interpretative horizon, it evidently deprives its censor of the meaning of the text. "Only fairies know the boundaries

of Fairyland", says, with no small amount of irony, Ferenc Bréda, a well-known representative of young intellectuals in Kolozsvár, who debuted in the second half of the 70s and was editor of the Hungarian pages of the *Echinox* periodical (of Babeş–Bolyai University) between 1977 and 1979 (Bréda 1994: 44).

5. Culture, community, and literature after the collapse of the communist regime in 1989

For the Transylvanian Hungarian community, the 1989 regime change was supposed to mean the end of nationalist dictatorship, of the infinitely intensified ideological/political terror, of the deliberate policy of ethnic homogenization, and the solution of minority issues as well as of internal and external conflicts. But, after a few months of cloudless enthusiasm, in 1990, Transylvanian Hungarians had to face the rearrangement of previous power structures. They confronted national and ethnic conflicts, disguised assimilation, and economic vulnerability. The National Salvation Front led by Ion Iliescu, which as a party easily won the first elections due to its dominant position, adopted an anti-intellectual and anti-minority policy from the very beginning. After a very short pause, Romanian secret services resumed their activities, largely based on the repressive machinery of dictatorship, the former Securitate staff, supporting political organizations formed from second-line members of the communist nomenclature. Thus, until the mid-90s, Romania functioned as a semi-authoritarian state, where former beneficiaries of the communist regime consolidated their political and economic positions. "December 1989", points out Stefano Bottoni, "successfully ousted the old regime and its elite: Ceauşescu's direct subordinates. The new power elite stepped out from the second line of the old ruling class. If the Romanian Communist Party had not been dissolved, we could only have talked about a radical elite change within the party" (Bottoni 2014: 265–266).

The continuous denial of the historical presence of Hungarians in Transylvania, the expropriation of cultural and community spaces, the tendentious reinterpretation of recent events defined the electoral messages of both left- and right-wing political parties for a quarter of a century after the 1989 regime change. Right from the first months after the regime change, radical nationalists gained ground, who saw the presence of ethnic minorities, especially the self-organizing efforts of the Transylvanian Hungarian community, as a major threat and sought to undermine them by all means possible (cf. Illyés & Kántor 2012: 79–98). At the same time, as part of subtle political manipulations, there developed an old/new national ideal and "hero-worship" that tried to enhance the prestige of the military, state security organs, and law enforcement authorities, particularly by alluding to external and internal "threats" and by maintaining "historical" enemy

images. In fact, this ideology relied on militaristic rhetoric just as that of the Ceauşescu era, more or less openly establishing the continuity with the minority policy and repressive strategies of the past forty years. So, deliberate intimidation and discrimination were present to a greater or lesser degree in Romanian political and cultural forums, print and electronic media in the same way as in some court decisions or during various official inspections. Double-talk played an active role in this kind of policy, which promised the European Union and the Atlantic Alliance "exemplary" solutions to minority issues, while the selective – or tendentiously biased – application of laws and incitement against minorities for the sake of electoral success was part of the daily practice (Szilveszter 2020).

However, compared to previous years, after 1989, a radical change of direction occurred in the political and cultural life of the Transylvanian Hungarian community, especially with regard to the openness of the newly created community spaces, the opportunities provided by literary journals and newspapers, and the various forms of self-organization. Following the abolition of censorship, free speech and freedom of expression, under the circumstances, was ensured, just as there also existed a relative freedom of movement, at least to Hungary and the former communist countries (smooth travel to the European Union became possible only after Romania's accession in 2007). Amid new opportunities, almost at all levels of society, the question emerged as to whether to remain on the native land or emigrate. All the more so since a new kind of dialogue began to develop between Hungary and the Transylvanian Hungarian community in the first half of the 90s – this was a slightly cautious but productive and equal partnership until the early 2000s.

There is no doubt that intellectuals were able to integrate into Hungarian society more easily and were much less exposed to different experiences of discrimination. "Graduates who immigrated to Hungary", states Ildikó Zakariás:

> are different from temporary migrant workers with respect to their social status, labour market situation, and network of contacts: they leave one kind of environment and arrive in a different one. If they managed to find a job according to their qualification – and that is more probable among graduates than among other groups –, they did not have to deal with the difficulties of low-prestige work or labour market and residential isolation. Due to less stringent immigration regulations in the early 90s, obtaining Hungarian citizenship encountered fewer obstacles in the labour market. (Zakariás 2008: 37)

Even so, the attitude of Hungary towards "Transylvanians" wishing to move to Hungary was by no means always so unambiguous. The "guest worker", who in the maze of bureaucracy was treated in the same way as immigrants coming

from other continents, the "foreigner", who had to wait for (permanent) residence permit or was forced to cross the border from month to month because of their illegal status, rightly felt that in the eyes of the mother country they are the second-rate, unwelcome, and unpleasant "relative". They, if possible, should hide their identity in order to avoid the tactless questions, the ignorant wonderment about their language skills. It took almost twenty years to overcome fears fuelled politically as well and to solve this unfair situation. In this context, of course, it is also obvious that the Transylvanian Hungarian community often assessed the gravity of the motherland promises, as well as the various intentions and opportunities available in the given economic/political environment, incorrectly. Especially in the first decade of the 2000s, Transylvanian Hungarian national identity and consciousness were characterized by a duality that, on the one hand, expected stimulus and support for their cultural, political, and economic struggles, for the realization of their individual and collective goals almost exclusively from Hungary. On the other hand, because of the non-fulfilment of their – sometimes perhaps excessive – hopes, they defiantly turned against the theatrical gestures, overly cautious attitude of Budapest public life and state leadership, as well as against all manifestations that took the issue of transborder Hungarians to the arena of daily political skirmishes.

Transylvanian Hungarians, particularly intellectuals, always laid claim to some kind of independence, especially regarding the manipulative intents of Hungarian party politics. In the spirit of equal partnership, they mostly rejected all efforts aimed at controlling public discourse, at monopolizing the shared values of the past and present, the historical tradition or the feeling of national unity. From such a perspective, the dreamy nationalist rhetoric or the colonialist attitude caused the same dissatisfaction as the political/ideological orientation that treated transborder Hungarians as Hungarian-speaking "Romanian" guest workers, or immigrants. This attitude was certainly changed after the year 2010.

As for the cultural and literary life, with the disappearance of external and internal boundaries, the 1989 regime change offered many new possibilities for intellectuals. Transylvanian Hungarian authors can freely publish their works in Hungary, as it is quite natural for authors living in Hungary to publish their works in Transylvania: "[…] authors who have remained in Transylvania also get the attentive reader to browse the Budapest book catalogues if one is curious about their writings" – notes Imre József Balázs in a 2001 review (Balázs 2001: 94). It is also worth mentioning that the aspects of "transborder issue" play an increasingly minor role in the reception of literary works, which mostly earns positive feedback from both writers and readers. Owing to the strong partnership between the two nation parts, in the 2020s it is less important whether one lives on one or the other side of the border.

In the first two decades of the 21st century, Transylvanian Hungarians have established their own social, cultural, and literary forums, educational networks, and civil organizations that have effectively promoted the process of parallel nation building, the development of a "transnational consciousness" (see: Bárdi 2013). There are new publishers, new literary journals and academic institutions that enable communication in the mother tongue and the representation of the specific problems of Transylvanian Hungarians. As a consequence of the technological innovations, Hungarian news sources, cultural and literary initiatives are reachable, and with the development of the Internet and the online media, information is accessible in the same way and at the same time to both the community living in the Carpathian Basin and Hungarian communities living in other parts of the world. Therefore, the aims that would have been important in the cultural and political/economic life of Transylvanian Hungarians after World War II seem to have increasingly been achieved since the 1989 regime change; especially since Romania's accession to the European Union. Still, emigration and population decline, the state of fear and deprivation of rights, and the constant struggle to preserve one's identity pave the way for scepticism, as well.

Now, if we try a little more carefully to delineate the differences that distinguish the aesthetic/poetic tendencies of the 90s Transylvanian Hungarian literature from previous (value) orientations, we can clearly state that, besides certain new tendencies, pre-regime change ideologies have always had followers, and not only among older generations. In a somewhat polarized manner, we might even say that the seemingly more traditional trends are interested in the continuation of the Transylvanianist discourse, including the aesthetic/poetic patterns emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, while other tendencies are concerned with the naturalization and further consideration of the discourse seeking to break with this tradition (see: Szilveszter 2020). The first, apparently more conventional attitude is generally associated with a need for tragic/nostalgic (self-)reflection, while a different kind of orientation, besides humour and language game, emphasizes the intention of redefining culture, society, and national image, as well as the idea of representing the 21st-century-mediated reality. As a matter of fact, in contemporary Transylvanian Hungarian literary works, these issues are at the same time linked to an external approach, focusing on Hungarian and Transylvanian characteristics from the outside, which, along current social, political, ideological tendencies, asks about the future of mother tongue, culture, and art in a somewhat pessimistic, often ironic manner. The playful/ironic portrayal of the narrow-minded provincialism is as much part of this (world) representation, which contemplates things in a "distorting mirror", as the superficial adherence to local traditions and social patterns or the (self-)reflexive examination of the 21st-century identity crisis disguised as intellectual independence.

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Christa Wolf und die Verortung von dem Selbst

Eine Analyse der Selbstverwirklichung in Christa Wolfs Roman *Nachdenken über Christa T.*

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Abstract. Christa Wolf was born in 1929 in a country that shortly thereafter had to end its existence. The famous German writer then studied, lived, and wrote in another system, which in turn was dissolved after decades. Such events have a dramatic effect on the life of an individual. The paper attempts to identify some features related to writing and identity in Wolf's novel *Nachdenken über Christa T* (Reflections on Christa T.). In her texts, the author writes about her characters who encounter existential contradictions: on the one hand, there is a totalitarian system in which human beings have to survive; on the other hand, there is Wolf's protagonist who tries to locate his or her individuality and thus create an ethic of his/her life. Christa Wolf's analysis of identity is focused on the attempt to be authentic in a milieu that gives her few opportunities for development. Wolf's writing describes our world. The texts written in the 60s, 70s, and 80s are still full of relevance today. By reading Christa Wolf, we discover a system full of violence, where the individual develops strategies for survival. The author suggests an existential recipe: through critical questioning and through a meticulous analysis of our own self, we are able to find a solution for ourselves and for others.

Keywords: Christa Wolf, literature of East Germany, identity

1. Einführung

Die Eroberung der Neuen Welt wurde im 16. Jahrhundert von „meistenteils Männern" vorangetrieben, „…[die] begierig darauf waren, täglich etwas Neues zu sehen, was die Natur des Mannes erfreut, waren sie [die Spanier auf Hispaniola] nicht gewillt, länger an einem Ort zu verweilen, vor allem wollten sie täglich wieder neue Länder erobert sehen" (Schülting 1997, 24). Autoren konstruieren

Texte. Texte konstruieren ihrerseits Autoren und beinhalten Teile, die einer bestimmten Topografie der Gesellschaft folgen. So wie der Arzt die Symptome einer Krankheit an einem Patienten ortet, so kann die Untersuchung von Texten die Konflikte in einer Gesellschaft lokalisieren. Diese Topografie besagt, dass Texte strategisch platzierte Stellungnahmen widerspiegeln, die über Macht, Normen und Männlichkeit sprechen. Eine kritische Untersuchung besagt aber auch, dass Gesellschaft nicht nur mit Normen, sondern auch mit *ab*normen Regeln operiert. Darf also nur der Mann neue Territorien **er**obern? Gehört zu der Normalität, dass der Mann den Diskurs der Gesellschaft dominiert?

Christa Wolf ist eine Autorin, die zu denen gehört, die Normalität und Abnormität der Gesellschaft kritisch untersuchen. Sie schreibt Texte, in denen **M**acht, **M**ann, **M**onosemie und **M**onotheismus bezweifelt werden. Die Autorin schreibt auch über **L**iebe, **G**efühle und **S**elbstverwirklichung von Individuen, die sich dem starren Diskurs der Gesellschaft widersetzen. Wolfs Protagonistinnen sind immer anders, sie streben ihren Idealen nach, sie sind krank und sie sterben.

Der vorliegende Artikel untersucht die Facetten der Identität, der Selbstverwirklichung und des reflektierenden Schreibens in Texten von Wolfs Roman *Nachdenken über Christa T.* und blickt dazu auf einige biographischen Etappen zurück, die Wolfs Konfrontation mit der DDR-Regierung verdeutlichen. Diese Untersuchung zeigt uns Textstellen, wo sich die Autorin durch ein reflektierendes Schreiben gegen das oppressive System wehrt. Sie identifiziert sich mit ihren Titelfiguren und signalisiert dem Leser ethische Grundprinzipien.

2. Hauptteil

2.1. Christa Wolf: die Schriftstellerin

Wolf ist eine Autorin, die sich mit der Gesellschaft auseinandersetzt. Aber nicht nur das. Sie schreibt auch über die „unvermeidlich, doch rätselhaft vergehende Zeit", über Vergessen, Vergänglichkeit und Vergeblichkeit. Konfrontiert wird sie auch mit dem „Bedürfnis, gekannt zu werden" und dazu über ihre „Irrtümer und Fehler" zu schreiben, die allerdings „aller Literatur zugrunde" (Ein Tag im Jahr, 2003, 5–7) liegen. Dass die Autorin über das System und über sich selber kritisch schreibt, ist ein Grund dafür, dass ihre Texte zu heftigen Debatten geführt haben. Wichtig ist außerdem die Tatsache, dass Wolf als eine der bedeutendsten Schriftstellerinnen der deutschen Nachkriegszeitliteratur gilt.

Christa Wolf wurde 1929 in Landsberg an der Warthe geboren. Heute gehört der Landkreis zu Polen. 1945 ließ sich Wolfs Familie in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern nieder. Christa machte 1949 ihr Abitur, sie arbeitete dann als Schreibkraft und im selben Jahr trat sie der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED) bei. Sie

studierte Germanistik, arbeitete für den Deutschen Schriftstellerverband, dann als Verlagslektorin. Ab 1962 wirkte sie als freie Schriftstellerin. Ihr erster Roman, *Der geteilte Himmel*, war eine Auseinandersetzung mit zwei ideologischen Konzepten: Sozialismus einerseits und Kapitalismus andererseits, wobei die Autorin sich für die erste Variante positioniert hatte. 1968 erschien ihr zweiter Roman *Nachdenken über Christa T.* Der Text schlägt uns eine für die DDR der 50er Jahre neue, kühne Vision vor. Durch subjektiven Stil und die Behandlung kontroverser Themen (Christa T., die Hauptfigur, ist keinesfalls eine Heldin des sozialistischen Realismus) geriet die Autorin in Konflikt mit dem System. Mit Zensur und Stasi-Überwachung hat die Autorin oft gekämpft, trotzdem hat sie weiter geschrieben und sie ist der Idee des Sozialismus konstant treu geblieben. Der Roman *Kindheitsmuster* (1976) ist ein autobiografischer Erinnerungsroman, wobei die Ich-Erzählerin über Nationalsozialismus, Krieg und Flucht erzählt. 1979 wurde *Kein Ort. Nirgends* veröffentlicht. Das Thema der Erzählung ist eine erfundene Begegnung zwischen Karoline von Günderrode und Heinrich von Kleist. Sie sind zwei Autoren des 18. Jahrhunderts, die mit der Inflexibilität des patriarchalischen Systems kämpfen und darunter leiden. Im Text wird vor allem die Problematik der Selbstverwirklichung behandelt, die die Kreativität beeinflussen kann. 1983 erschien *Kassandra*. Der Text thematisiert den Geschlechterkonflikt und greift auf die Geschichte des trojanischen Kriegs zurück. Die Protagonistin, Kassandra, warnt vergeblich vor dem Krieg mit den Griechen. Die Stimme der Frau wird ignoriert eben deswegen, weil die Männer immer die Macht haben. Das nächste Werk *Medea. Stimmen* (1996) ist ein Monolog-Roman. Die Hauptdarstellerin, die Königstochter Medea, ist eine reinterpretierte griechische Heldin, die keine Kinder ermordet, sondern selbst zum Opfer einer Intrige wird. Wie im Falle von *Kassandra* werden auch hier die zerstörerischen Folgen eines patriarchalischen Systems geschildert. Während in *Kassandra* die Auseinandersetzung mit dem System auf einer formalen Ebene dargestellt wird, sind die Stimmen von *Medea* eher persönlicher, direkter und mit der Realität des Romans verbunden.

2.2. Christa Wolf und der Konflikt mit dem System

Wolf war in erster Linie eine Frau, die schon nach ihrem ersten Roman bemerkt hat, dass ihr ein selbstbestimmtes Leben nicht möglich war. Bald nach der Begeisterung, die sie als junge Bürgerin eines jungen Staates (der DDR) kannte, stellte sich in den kommenden Jahren Frustration ein. Wolfs Biografie und Werk stehen in enger Verbindung mit der deutschen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Sie wurde in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus geboren und ist aufgewachsen. Als junge Frau wurde sie dann zu einer überzeugten Jungsozialistin, indem sie in die Partei eintrat. Später konfrontierte sie sich mit den Ideologen der Partei, als sie die sozialistische Doktrin zu kritisieren wagte.

Erwähnenswert sind die Krisenjahre, die Christa Wolf in ihrem Tagebuch-Projekt *Ein Tag im Jahr* dokumentiert hat: 1965, 1968, 1976, 1989 und 1990 beschreiben die Etappen einer nicht erfüllten Erwartung, über die sie sich mehr oder weniger im Verborgenen geäußert hat.

1965 fand das 11. Plenum des ZK (Zentralkomitee) der SED statt, auf dem Erich Honecker, damals Berichterstatter des Politbüros, in seiner Rede über neue Maßstäbe der Ethik und Moral sprach. Das Plenum war eine politische Manifestation, die sich ursprünglich mit den wirtschaftlichen Problemen der DDR beschäftigen sollte und weniger mit den Reformversuchen im Bereich Kunst und Kultur. Die Parteiführung befürchtete, die Autorität zu verlieren und vor den Intellektuellen zur Witzfigur gemacht zu werden. Christa Wolf, die auf der Kandidatenliste des Zentralkomitees stand, setzte sich bei ihrer Rede für das „freie Verhältnis zum Stoff (Magenau 2002, 122) ein, die Schriftstellerin meinte weiter, die neue Generation der Literaten in der DDR dürfte nicht auf der Strecke bleiben und auf den Begriff des Typischen zurückfallen, den wir schon mal hatten und der dazu geführt hat, dass die Kunst überhaupt nur noch Typen schafft" (Magenau 2002, 124). Ihre Rede wurde scharf kritisiert. Die Autorin wurde dann von der Kandidatenliste gestrichen. Später erinnert sie sich, dass sie damals in eine klinische Depression geriet, die psychiatrisch behandelt werden musste.

1968 erteilte der Zensurapparat die Genehmigung zur Publikation des Werkes *Nachdenken über Christa T.* Die Autorin hatte mehr als ein Jahr auf die Veröffentlichung ihres dritten Buches warten müssen. Die Zensur des Systems war zu streng, um mit den Visionen des Romans einverstanden zu sein. Im Vergleich zu den ersten Werken: *Moskauer Novellen* und *Der geteilte Himmel*, entsprach *Nachdenken…* nicht mehr den Richtlinien des sozialistischen Realismus. Der Roman markiert eine Zäsur in den Werken von Christa Wolf, in dem Sinne, dass die Autorin sich von dem offiziellen Diskurs der Partei distanziert. Selbstverständlich verzichtete sie nicht auf ihr Ideal. Aber sie stieß auf Hindernisse, so dass sie nicht selten über Schreibhemmungen klagte. Der Druck des Systems war so stark, dass sie manchmal mit Schwierigkeiten zu der Entscheidung kam, ein Werk zu veröffentlichen. Auch *Nachdenken über Christa T.* hätte sie, so manche Experten, schon früher veröffentlichen können. (Mohr 1971, 217)

Im November 1976 wurde Wolf Biermann aus der DDR ausgebürgert. Der konkrete Anlass war ein Konzert des Liedermachers, das er am 13. November in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland hielt. Kurz danach wurde eine Petition geschrieben und Christa Wolf war eine der ersten, die den Brief unterschrieb. Das war ein öffentlicher Protest.

Die Jahre nach der Wende waren für viele DDR-Bürgerinnen und DDR-Bürger eine Zeit totaler Veränderung, sie haben aber auch Verunsicherung ausgelöst. Am 4. November hielt die Autorin eine Rede vor über 500.000 Menschen über die *Sprache der Wende*. Die Autorin war auch diesmal gezwungen, sich mit einem

System auseinanderzusetzen. Kurz darauf schrieb sie *Was bleibt*: einen Text über den deutsch-deutschen Literaturstreit. Die Wiedervereinigung betrachtete sie mit kritischem Auge. Kapitalismus war eigentlich keine Lösung für eine gesunde Gesellschaft.

Wolf war als Literaturkritikerin schon in den 50er Jahren eine Vertreterin eines moralischen Rigorismus. Auf einem sozialistischen Ideal insistierte sie schon damals. Dass sie sich aber der Realität bewusst war, sollten wir nicht vernachlässigen. Die Prosaautorin hat sich immer mit dem System (der DDR oder der Bundesrepublik Deutschland) kritisch auseinandergesetzt.

2.3. Nachdenken über die Deutsche Demokratische Republik

Christa Wolf begann schon 1966 mit der Arbeit am Roman *Nachdenken über Christa T.* (1968). Damals war die Prosaautorin 37 Jahre alt. Berühmt war sie schon durch ihren Bestseller *Der geteilte Himmel* (1963). Mit *Nachdenken...* wird eine neue Etappe in Wolfs Schreiben eingeleitet, wobei die Autorin ihren eigenen Stil verfeinert. Sie verzichtet auf ihren Realismus sowjetischer Art, den sie in den ersten Werken (mehr oder weniger) verfolgt hat. Diesmal wählt Wolf eine subjektive Authentizität. Die Prosaautorin definiert ihr Schreiben als eine essayistische Erzählform, in deren im Mittelpunkt das Individuum und seine existenziellen Fragen stehen. 1968 erscheint auch *Lesen und Schreiben*, eine Essaysammlung, in der sie die subjektive Authentizität als Funktion und Selbstverständnis des Schriftstellers postuliert.

Im Roman *Nachdenken...* schreibt Wolf über eine Freundin – Christa Tabbert-Gebauer. Diese studiert Germanistik, wird dann Lehrerin und verliert letztendlich im Alter von 35 Jahren den Kampf um ihr Leben. Mittels einer kunstvollen Erzählstruktur nähert sich die Autorin bedachtsam, persönlich und subjektiv ihrer Titelfigur, indem sie Tagebücher und Briefe als Material nutzt.

> *Nachdenken, ihr nach-denken. Dem Versuch, man selbst zu sein. So steht es in ihren Tagebüchern, die uns geblieben sind, auf den losen Blättern der Manuskripte, die man aufgefunden hat, zwischen den Zeilen der Briefe, die ich kenne. Die mich gelehrt haben, dass ich meine Erinnerung an sie, Christa T., vergessen muss. Die Farbe der Erinnerung trügt.*
> *So müssen wir sie verloren geben? (NCT, 9)*

Schon am Anfang des Romans tauchen wichtige Elemente dieses Prozesses auf: Reflexion, Erfindung und Erinnerungen. Die Ich-Erzählerin versucht durch Schreiben, eine Person zu rekonstruieren. Christa T. ist keine vorbildhafte Heldin. Das widerspricht der herrschenden Literaturdoktrin der DDR. Sicherlich ist die Protagonistin kein Mensch des Systems. Die zentrale Thematik im Roman ist

eben dieser Prozess: befreit von gesellschaftlichen Wertungen über eine Person zu reflektieren und gezwungen zu sein, die bis jetzt gepflegte Haltung zu verändern.

Wolf lehrt uns nachzudenken. Sie kritisiert sich selbst und ihre damalige Vision über Menschen, die keine Vorbilder für die Gesellschaft sind. Die Erzählerin meint, dass sie „erst heute" (NCT, 68) imstande ist, das Leben ihrer Freundin zu schätzen, indem sie eine Distanz zwischen der utopischen Gesellschaft des Systems und der Wirklichkeit ihres Landes bemerkt. Sie tut das, weil die von dem System vermittelte falsche Perspektive die Autorin daran hindert, über ihre Freundin zu reflektieren. Wolf nimmt daher die Fiktionalität in Anspruch. Anders gesagt: erfinden „um der Wahrheit willen" (NTC, 33). Das wäre also ein Mittel, das die Figur von Christa T. besser zum Ausdruck bringt, wobei Gegenwartsperspektive, Erinnerungen und Erfindung den Rahmen des Romans bilden. Erinnerung, sich erinnern heißt jedoch, mehr als Begebenheiten aus einer Vergangenheit wachzurufen. Was Christa Wolf versucht, ist, das komplexe Interpretationsraster, das unsere Erinnerungen prägt, genauer unter die Lupe zu nehmen. Wir Menschen sind imstande, unsere Vergangenheit aus mehreren Perspektiven zu interpretieren. Aus der Perspektive der Ideologie – und Wolf ist sich dessen bewusst – ist es möglich, dass das Individuum seine Erinnerungen positiv oder negativ bewerten kann. Der ganze Prozess: über eine andere Person nachzudenken, kann Gefahr laufen, dass die Erinnernde die Existenz der Erinnerten falsch beurteilt. Man kann daher eine andere Person ignorieren oder verurteilen, eben deswegen, weil er oder sie die Normen der Gesellschaft nicht beachtet hat.

Durch subjektiv-reflektiertes Schreiben will die Prosaautorin ihre Perspektive auf die Vergangenheit so verändern, die Erinnerungen an Christa T. derart gestalten, dass „man sie [Christa T.] sieht" (NCT, 204). Man betrachtet eine Person und man bewertet die Existenz dieser Person mit der Überzeugung, dass ihr Bild als Vorbild in unserer Gesellschaft fungieren kann. Der Prozess geschieht, indem man durch Fakten aber auch durch Erfindungen eine subjektive Analyse des/der Protagonisten/Protagonistin gestaltet.

Die Erzählerin will über Christa T. sprechen und der Grund dafür wäre, dass sie ihrer Freundin nicht die Chance gegeben hat, von ihr und von der Gesellschaft als Leitbild akzeptiert zu werden. „Das ist mein Grund über sie zu sprechen. Erbitterung" (NCT, 148). Die Erbitterung der Autorin lässt sich dadurch erklären, dass das System ihr Ziel verfehlt hat. Selbstverständlich ist Christa T. keine repräsentative Figur für Wolfs Gesellschaft. Die Ideologen der DDR-Propaganda hätten auf keinen Fall eine derartige Protagonistin fördern dürfen. Die Autorin schreibt, Christa T. wäre „nicht beispielhaft, als Gestalt, kein Vor-Bild" (NCT, 55), zu Christa T. „passt keines der rühmenden Worte, die unsere Zeit, die wir mit gutem Recht hervorgebracht haben" (NCT, 55). Wichtig sind für die Protagonistin nicht die Helden der Gesellschaft, sie schätzt diejenigen, die sich von Normen

nicht bestimmen lassen. Die Gesellschaft ist für Christa T. ein Mechanismus, der ihr keine Freiheit gibt. Die Protagonistin nennt diese Struktur: „die Gesellschaft der anderen" (NCT, 30), auch deswegen, weil sie die Brutalität nicht vergessen kann. Im Roman werden Gewalttaten erwähnt, mit denen sich Christa T., damals als Kind im Deutschland des Nationalsozialismus, konfrontiert sah. Die Folgen waren eine Distanzierung und die Feststellung: „ICH bin anders" (NCT, 32).

In der Anfangszeit der DDR teilt die Protagonistin die Ansichten der Ich-Erzählerin. Sozialismus beruht auf einer richtigen Ideologie. Die Gräueltaten des Nationalsozialismus sind nicht mehr möglich und das Individuum ist imstande seinen Weg zu finden. Später stellt sie aber fest, dass die Menschen auch nach dem Krieg weiter Gewalt an den anderen begehen können. Die neue Welt, die ein neues System vorschlagen will, ist voller Brutalität wie die alte Welt. Die Protagonistin arbeitet als Lehrerin mit jungen Menschen, die ihre Aufgaben mit Fleiß erfüllen, gleichzeitig können diese aber Gewalt ausüben, ohne auch nur minimale Konsequenzen befürchten zu müssen. Repräsentativ sind die Taten eines Jungen, der ein Vogelnest plündert und die Eier gegen einen Stein schlägt. Ein anderes Beispiel ist das Schleudern des Katers an die Stallwand (NCT, 42).

Ein moralisch korrektes Verhalten, das in der Theorie von dem neuen System postuliert wird, kann im Alltagsleben kaum Platz finden. Christa T. hat den Eindruck, dass ihr die Gesellschaft fremd ist. Die Diskrepanz zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit wird immer mehr deutlich. Wie die Autorin, so findet auch die Protagonistin eine Möglichkeit, dieses Gefühl des Fremdseins zu überwinden. Sie schreibt. Durch Schreiben gelingt es Christa T., sich Gewissheit darüber zu verschaffen, dass sie fähig ist, ihre Welt zu organisieren – letztendlich versucht sie, sie selbst zu sein.

Die Schwierigkeiten, die Christa T. bewältigen muss, können nicht beseitigt werden. Eine Lösung wäre, das System zu verlassen. Die Protagonistin hat aber keine Intention, „sich davonzumachen". Auch Ritta in Wolfs früherem Roman *Der geteilte Himmel* ist nicht in den Westen gegangen. Ideologisch bleibt die Autorin dem Sozialismus treu. Westdeutschland ist für Wolfs Protagonistinnen ein System, dass die Schuld am Nationalsozialismus nicht aufgearbeitet hat. Für so eine Haltung empfindet sie „nur Verachtung" (NCT, 140). Inzwischen betrachten sie die sozialistische Ideologie als Basis für eine Verbesserung der Gesellschaft. Die Protagonistin akzeptiert den Sozialismus, so Christa Wolf, aber den Weg dorthin hält sie für wichtiger als seine eilige Verwirklichung durch die Vertreter der DDR-Regierung. Das sind die Ideologen, die Individuen, die „Phantasielosen", „die Hopp-Hopp-Menschen", „die Tatsachenmenschen", die sich hinter „überlebensgroßen Papptafeln" (NCT, 63) verbergen und unter anderem auch die Existenz des neuen Menschen glorifizieren.

> *Christa T., sehr früh, wenn man es heute bedenkt, fing an sich zu fragen, was denn das heißt: Veränderung, die neuen Worte? Das neue Haus, Maschinen, größere Felder? Der neue Mensch, hörte sie sagen und begann in sich hineinzublicken. (NCT, 67)*

Christa T. ist einerseits auf der Suche nach dem Konzept des neuen Menschen. Sie weiß andererseits auch, dass sie darauf warten muss. Der neue Mensch wäre ein Bild, ein Vorbild der Zukunft, eine Person, die von „Unruhe, Zweifel, Phantasie […] und vor allem […] Sehnsucht nach Selbstverwirklichung" (NCT, 78) geprägt sein muss. Das neue System – der reale Sozialismus muss sich nur unter diesen Bedingungen realisieren. Bis dahin soll die Gesellschaft diejenigen Menschen suchen, die bereit sind, eine „halb reale, halb phantastische Existenz" (NCT, 79) zu übernehmen. Phantasie und Selbstverwirklichung sind also die Voraussetzungen für den Fortbestand der Menschen. Nur mit Phantasie, nur durch Unruhe, Hinterfragen und moralisches Bewusstsein kann man die neue Zukunft planen.

Sollen wir uns nun fragen, ob uns *Nachdenken über Christa T.* eine utopische, realitätsfremde sozialistische Gesellschaft vorschlägt? Sowohl Christa Wolf, die Autorin, als auch Christa T., die Protagonistin, sind sich dessen bewusst, dass wir Menschen die Hoffnung nicht verlieren müssen. Hoffnungen gehören zu der Natur der Menschen und sie sind für den Fortbestand der Menschheit wichtig. Der neue Mensch ist letztendlich kein politischer Zweck für die Zukunft. Das ist eher ein individueller Plan für die Menschen, die mit Phantasie – d.h. vorurteilsfrei eine bessere Gesellschaft organisieren können.

Mit 35 Jahren verliert Christa T. ihren Kampf mit dem Tod. Leukämie war stärker als sie. Christa T.s Tod kann auch als Metapher interpretiert werden. Verlieren heißt aber nicht aufgeben, eher: sich für eine große Aufgabe opfern. Die Zukunft wird bestimmt, so die Autorin, ein Heilmittel für Christa T.s Krankheit finden.

3. Zusammenfassung

Christa T. war eine Figur, die in ihrem Leben versucht hat, die Hindernisse des Systems zu überwinden und sich selbst zu finden. Sie hat von Anfang an einen Kampf gegen die anderen, gegen die Gewalt, gegen die Krankheit geführt. Ihr Charakter, ihre Sensibilität, ihre Entscheidung, hartnäckig auf das Leben zu beharren, haben dazu beigetragen, dass sie am Ende des Romans nicht kapituliert. Hätten die Ärzte das Heilmittel gefunden, hätte sie die Krankheit besiegt. Christa T. ist somit ein Opfer der Gesellschaft, aber auch ein Vorbild für diejenigen, die trotz allerlei Schwierigkeiten weiterleben möchten. Der Roman *Nachdenken über Christa T.* gibt uns zwei Ebenen: einerseits versucht die Protagonistin in einem repressiven System zu überleben, indem sie versucht, sich als Individuum zu realisieren. Andererseits versucht die Autorin des Werkes, Christa T. besser zu verstehen und dabei den Lesern einen Weg zum exemplarischen Leben zu vermitteln.

Das Motto von Johannes R. Becher: „Was ist das: Dieses zu-sich-selber-Kommen des Menschen?“ (NCT, 5), das dem Roman vorangestellt wird, kann man als eine Präambel der menschlichen Selbstverwirklichung interpretieren. Dieses Motto kann man durch ein Zitat aus Christa Wolfs *Selbstinterview* ergänzen: „Es ist ein großer Gedanke, dass der Mensch nicht zur Ruhe kommt, ehe er zu sich selber gefunden hat“ (Wolf, Die Dimension des Autors, 141).

Selbstverwirklichung bedeutet: sich selbst finden, sich als Mensch behaupten und sich dabei mit Moralität, Humanismus und Kreativität für die Gestaltung einer besseren Zukunft einsetzen.

Wolfs Texte sind auch heute aktuell. Die Gewalt eines Systems können wir nur dann überwinden, wenn wir uns Fragen stellen. Haben wir uns selber gefunden? Kennen wir die anderen? Sind wir imstande, die anderen zu akzeptieren? Nur dadurch können wir zur Ruhe kommen.

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Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt in der Figurenrede des Romans *Die Peschl* von Otto Seidmann im Kontext des Czernowitzerischen der Zwischenkriegszeit

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Abstract. The present paper analyses the German–Yiddish contact variety of the first chapter of the novel *Die Peschl* (1969) written by the Czernowitz-born author Otto Seidmann. The novel *Die Peschl* is written in German; however, the discourses and inner monologues of the main character, Gitl Peschl, as well as most of the dialogues with her appear in a German–Yiddish contact variety. My contact linguistic analysis identified 25 subtypes of transference from Yiddish in the inner monologues of Gitl Peschl in the first chapter of the novel. As a result, the German–Yiddish contact variety of the first chapter of the novel *Die Peschl* can be classified as code mixing, with congruent lexicalization as its subcategory. Congruent lexicalization is typically the case when the languages involved in language contact exhibit a high amount of grammatical and lexical similarities. According to literary historian Hartmut Merkt, Otto Seidmann's texts stand in the tradition of sketch writings that aim to depict the everyday life and vernacular of the Bukovinians in the first half of the 20th century.

Keywords: German–Yiddish language contact, code mixing, reconstruction of a Bukovinian vernacular language

1. Einleitung

Es gibt kaum eine andere ostmitteleuropäische Provinzstadt, die zur jiddischen und zur deutschsprachigen Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts einen wichtigeren Beitrag geleistet und weltweit mehr Interessierte fasziniert hätte, als Czernowitz in der Bukowina. Eine der Einzigartigkeiten von Czernowitz und der Bukowina besteht in ihrem multikulturellen Charakter: Die Bukowina war nicht nur das kleinste und

östlichste, sondern auch das multiethnischste Kronland des Habsburgerreiches. Auch noch in den 1930er Jahren galt die ethnische Vielfalt von Czernowitz, der Hauptstadt des gleichnamigen rumänischen Kreises, als ungewöhnlich: Laut der rumänischen Volkszählung von 1930 lebten 42 592 Juden, 30 367 Rumänen, 16 359 Deutsche, 11 130 Ruthenen und 8 986 Polen in Czernowitz.[1]

Zwar spielte die deutsche Sprache im Leben der ethnisch Deutschen und der jüdischen Bevölkerung von Czernowitz auch noch in der Zwischenkriegszeit eine wichtige Rolle, zur gleichen Zeit war jedoch neben dem Rumänischen, Ruthenischen und Polnischen auch das Jiddische im kulturellen Leben sowie im Alltagsleben der Stadt intensiv präsent. Hiervon zeugt auch, dass etwa 76% der Czernowitzer Juden (32 731 Menschen) bei der rumänischen Volkszählung von 1930 Jiddisch als Muttersprache angaben,[2] welche Tatsache eine positive Spracheinstellung zum Jiddischen an den Tag legt.

Die ethnische Heterogenität und die gesellschaftliche Mehrsprachigkeit von Czernowitz und der Bukowina führten dazu, dass die gesprochenen Varietäten des Deutschen im Czernowitz der Zwischenkriegszeit durch den Einfluss der koterritorialen Sprachen geprägt wurden. Obwohl eine umfassende Auseinandersetzung mit den sprachlichen Kontaktphänomenen in der gesprochenen Czernowitzer deutschen Stadtsprache – dem Czernowitzerischen – der Zwischenkriegszeit derzeit noch aussteht, gibt es in der Erinnerungsliteratur zahlreiche Hinweise darauf, dass das Czernowitzerische der Zwischenkriegszeit sprachliche Kontaktphänomene aus den koterritorialen Sprachen aufwies. Exemplarisch seien hier diesbezügliche Erinnerungen des deutschen Schriftstellers Georg Drozdowski und des Historikers Zvi Yavetz zitiert.[3]

Drozdowski widmet dem ‚Czernowitzer Deutsch' ein ganzes Kapitel in seinem Buch *Damals in Czernowitz und rundum. Erinnerungen eines Altösterreichers* (1984). Einige Auszüge davon:

> *Daß wir in unserem täglichen Leben, im Verkehr mit den Behörden, in Handel und Wandel vielerlei einschmuggelten, mochten es die erwähnten Silben, mochten es markante Wendungen aus fremder Sprache sein, ist nicht zu leugnen. Und tat man es zunächst oft nur des Spaßes halber und setzte ein Ahi neben das längst im Westen heimische Nebbich, langsam wuchs es*

1 http://archive.org/stream/recensamntulgene02inst#page/120/mode/2up, (abgerufen am 15.05.2022).

2 http://archive.org/stream/recensamntulgene02inst#page/120/mode/2up, (abgerufen am 15.05.2022).

3 Auch der Historiker Moritz Csáky weist in seiner Monografie *Das Gedächtnis der Städte. Kulturelle Verflechtungen – Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* auf das „Ineinandergreifen von unterschiedlichen sprachlich-kulturellen Kommunikationsräumen" (Csáky 2010: 297) unter anderem im Czernowitz der Zwischenkriegszeit hin, indem er Erinnerungen Rose Ausländers an das Czernowitzer Deutsch und einen Auszug aus Gregor von Rezzoris autobiographischem Werk *Blumen im Schnee* zitiert (Csáky 2010: 295–296).

> *in unseren Disput ein und erwarb sich Heimatrecht, was der ursprünglich angestrebten Korrektheit keineswegs bekam. Das Bürgertum akzeptierte da manches und scheute sich nicht, es zu gebrauchen, auch wenn man sich wohl hütete, in der Gesellschaft mit No und dem hinweisenden O sündig zu werden, es sei denn, man gab einem Witz auf solche Weise sein Gewürz. (Drozdowski 1984: 71, 75)*

Der israelische Althistoriker Zvi Yavetz thematisiert das ‚Czernowitzer Deutsch' im Kontext des Czernowitzer Humors in seinem Buch *Erinnerungen an Czernowitz. Wo Menschen und Bücher lebten* (2007).

> *Solche Witze wurden in einem Gemisch von Deutsch und etwas Jiddisch erzählt, eine Sprache, die man «Czernowitzer Deutsch» nannte […].*
> *Nur Juden sprachen «Czernowitzer Deutsch». […]*
> *Niemand schrieb Czernowitzer Deutsch. Das wurde nur im tagtäglichen Leben gesprochen; es war dem österreichischen Deutsch ähnlicher als dem deutschen Deutsch. Ein Imperfekt gab es nicht. […] Im Czernowitzer Deutsch sind die Sätze kurz, und das Zeitwort erscheint sofort nach dem Hauptwort. […] Im Czernowitzer Deutsch gab es keinen Umlaut; «über» war «iber» und «möglich» war «meglich»; […].*
> *Um zusammenzufassen: Im Czernowitzer Deutsch gab es zahlreiche Hebraismen, obwohl nur wenige Czernowitzer Hebräisch verstanden, zum Beispiel: «Sollst werden meine Kapure (Chutzpe/Frechheit), meschugge (verrückt), Tinnef (Schund, dummes Zeug) usw. Ebenso existierten viele Ruthenismen wie Matzionik (Zuhälter), Huligan (Hooligan), Laidak (Lump), Burlak (Lausbub) und Holodnik (Hungriger). (Yavetz 2007: 199–201)*

Von sprachwissenschaftlicher Seite war es das Verdienst des Dialektologen und Sprachhistorikers Kurt Rein, einer der drei Gründungsprofessoren des Augsburger Bukowina-Instituts, auf das ‚Czernowitzer bzw. Bukowiner Deutsch' aufmerksam gemacht zu haben. Professor Rein, der in Deutsch-Alt-Fratautz/Bukowina geboren wurde, hat einerseits selbst deutschsprachige Interviews mit ehemaligen Czernowitzern durchgeführt (vgl. Rein 1995: 127–136), andererseits Elemente und Merkmale des ‚Czernowitzer Deutsch', die in der Abhandlung *Bukowiner Deutsch*[4] aus dem Jahr 1901 festgehalten wurden, in seine sprachgeschichtlichen Aufsatzpublikationen über das ‚Czernowitzer bzw. Bukowiner Deutsch' integriert und sie dadurch der breiten Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht (vgl. Rein 2001: 65–70; Rein 2006: 109–122). Auch in diesen Publikationen werden sprachliche Kontaktphänomene aus dem Jiddischen, Rumänischen und den slawischen Umgebungssprachen im ‚Czernowitzer und Bukowiner Deutsch' thematisiert.

4 Sie wurde vom Bukowiner Zweig des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins herausgegeben.

Nachweise für den jiddischen Einfluss im Czernowitzerischen der Zwischenkriegszeit liefern außerdem meine kontaktlinguistischen Aufsatzpublikationen über konzeptionell mündliche Texte in der Czernowitzer deutsch-jüdischen Presse der 1930er Jahre (vgl. etwa Nagy 2010: 1–24; Nagy 2016: 287–296; Nagy 2020: 123–138).

Neben den bisher genannten Quellen bietet sich auch der Roman *Die Peschl* von Otto Seidmann (1969) als ein mögliches Zeitdokument einer deutsch-jiddischen Czernowitzer Kontaktvarietät an.

Über den bisher weniger bekannten Autor Otto Seidmann erfährt man aus einem Eintrag in Hartmut Merkts literaturgeschichtlicher Monografie *Poesie der Isolation* […] Folgendes:

> *Otto Seidmann. Geboren 1910 in Czernowitz, gestorben 1981 in Bukarest. Seidmanns Texte stehen in der Tradition von Porubski und seinen Bukowiner Lokalskizzen, in denen dieser die Bukowiner Umgangssprache wiederaufleben läßt. So auch Seidmanns Roman „Die Peschl", in dem er das jüdische Leben in Czernowitz bis 1940 thematisiert. (Merkt 1999: 272)*

Salcia Landmann fasste den Inhalt des Romans in einer Rezension in der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* folgendermaßen zusammen:

> *Die arme Jüdin [Gitl Peschl] ist Witwe, Mutter eines hochbegabten Knaben, den sie studieren läßt, dabei kann sie nicht einmal die Bahnspesen und einen Koffer bezahlen, als er zur Universitätsstadt fährt! Wohltätige Freunde springen ein, und der Sohn, der den Ursprung des Geldes richtig vermutet, verläßt die Stadt bleich vor Scham![5]*

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass bis jetzt keine literaturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zu den Werken von Otto Seidmann vorliegen, sei mir hier erlaubt zu erwähnen, dass ich den Hinweis auf den Roman *Die Peschl* dem aus dem bukowinischen Câmpulung stammenden jiddischen Schriftsteller und Dichter Alexander Spiegelblatt im Rahmen eines Briefwechsels aus dem Jahr 2010 über mein Forschungsinteresse am deutsch-jiddischen Sprachenkontakt im Czernowitz der Zwischenkriegszeit verdanke. Er machte mich auf den Roman durch folgende Anmerkung aufmerksam:

> *[Otto Seidmann] stammt aus Czernowitz und ich bin ihm nach dem Krieg in Câmpulung begegnet. Er hat 1969 ein Büchlein mit dem Titel „Die Peschl" im Bukarester Literaturverlag veröffentlicht, in welchem die Sprache der*

5 Landmann, Salcia. 1969. Seidmann, Otto. Die Peschl. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (20.10.1969): 21.

> *Czernowitzer Juden widergespiegelt wird. (Selbstverständlich nicht die der jüdischen Intellektuellen, die über die Reinheit der deutschen Sprache wachten.)*[6]

Wie ein Blick in den Roman *Die Peschl* zeigt, enthalten die umgangssprachlichen Textpassagen der Figurenrede offensichtlich zahlreiche jiddische Elemente. Vorliegender Beitrag geht angesichts der bereits erwähnten Hinweise auf die Existenz einer deutsch-jiddischen Kontaktvarietät im Czernowitz der Zwischenkriegszeit von der Annahme aus, dass Seidmann – wie Alexander Spiegelblatt das andeutete – durch die Figurenrede seines Romans eine deutsch-jiddische Kontakt- bzw. Nonstandardvarietät aus dem Czernowitz der Zwischenkriegszeit rekonstruieren wollte. Folglich beruht der Beitrag auf der Hypothese, dass die umgangssprachlichen Textpassagen der Figurenrede des Romans *Die Peschl* im Kontext des Czernowitzerischen sprachgeschichtliche Relevanz besitzen können.[7]

Aus Platzgründen werden hier die umgangssprachlichen Textpassagen der Figurenrede aus dem ersten Kapitel des aus zwölf Kapiteln bestehenden Romans *Die Peschl* kontaktlinguistisch analysiert. Sie umfassen zwar nur die Redebeiträge und inneren Monologe der Hauptfigur, Gitl Peschl, in den weiteren Kapiteln des Romans lässt Seidmann jedoch auch andere Figuren in einer deutsch-jiddischen Kontaktvarietät sprechen.

2. Untersuchungskorpus und kontaktlinguistische Terminologie

Die Redebeiträge und inneren Monologe der Hauptfigur Gitl Peschl aus Czernowitz umfassen im ersten Kapitel des Romans 442 Wortformen, die im Folgenden wiedergegeben werden:

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6 Übersetzung aus dem Rumänischen von mir – Á. N. Im Original: „[Otto Seidmann] era originar din Cernăuți şi după război l-am întâlnit la Câmpulung. El a publicat o cărțulie sub titlul *Die Peschl* (Literaturverlag Bukarest 1969) în care este oglindită limba evreilor cernăuțeni (bineînțeles nu a intelectualității evreieşti, care veghea asupra purității limbii germane)." Persönliche briefliche Mitteilung von Alexander Spiegelblatt. Petach Tikva, Israel, 14. November 2010.

7 Es sei hier angemerkt, dass die Erschließung historischer Nonstandardvarietäten oft auf literarischem Material basiert. Beispielsweise entstammen die Forschungsergebnisse zur deutschen Umgangssprache vom Esseg der Zwischenkriegszeit der kontakt- und varietätenlinguistischen Analyse von Lujo Pleins *Die essekerische Sprechart* (Plein, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1938). Auf Temeswarer deutsche Nonstandardvarietäten des 20. Jahrhunderts lässt sich unter anderem aus den humoristischen Zeitschriftenbeiträgen Heinrich Büchelbauers („Josefstädter Franzi") aus den 1920er Jahren und dem Band *Erlebtes Temeswar. Alttemeswarer Mosaik* (1992) von Hans Mokka schließen. Zwar handelt es sich bei diesen Sprachdaten um konstruierte Sprachformen, sie sind jedoch mit dem Ziel entstanden, Elemente und Merkmale der jeweiligen städtischen Nonstandardvarietäten möglichst realitätsnah wiederzugeben (vgl. Gehl 1997: 35–36).

Taiere Frau Nowak, dieses Stickl Leber kann man abschickn dem Keïßer, a so a Jahr zu mir und auf alle meine Liebe gesagt, und wann Sie nemen es nicht, behalt ich es mir aus fir Filiun, […]. (S. 6)
Oi! Taiere Frau Minzer, schaun Sie sich nur an diese Plustn, von alle meine Koinim sind Sie take der greßter Meïwn, schaun Sie sich an a Plustn – nur wie a Stickl feine Butter zerlaßt sie sich, wann man haltet ihn in der Hand. Nu, wer versteht sich noch so gut achitz Ihnen? Sie sind a Meïwn auf die Griwn, was sie werdn sich austoppn. Scheen wie Gold und mirbe wie a Butterteig. (S. 7)
Das hab ich spiziel wegn Ihnen auf der Seite gelegt, es war ein Geriß nach diesn Stick, was nur. Und wann die Frau Nowak mechtet wißn, daß ich gib es Ihnen, mechtet sie sich abeckn. (S. 7)

Innerer Monolog über ihren Sohn:

Besser mechtet ja sein, ihm zu gebn in der Lehre, irgendwo, auszulernen einen Fach. Nach die drei Lehrjahren is er freigesprochn, ein Gesell, und verdient sich allein… aber nein, mein Filiu soll lernen, vielleicht kann er werdn ein Dokter, und ich wer' nicht mißn auf die alte Tage gehen in die Haiser. Er wird sich reich verheiratn … und die Schnier meine wird sich schemen mit der Schwiger mit ihrer, mit der Marktsitzerin, mit der Gänserke. […] die Fieß wer' ich ihr ausreißn, diesn Schleppl, diesn aufgekommenen, ihr zu gebn so a taieren Dokter fir a Mann und sich schemen mit der Mutter mit seiner… Ah, nur derworgn soll sie werdn! Ot geh ich laufn, ihr gebn Filiun… a so a Machliarke, ahi auf ihrn Kopp… […] Vielleicht wer' ich ihm mir verheiratn mit einen anständikn armen Kind, was sie wird legn Kuwed auf der Schwiger. […] Vielleicht wird er gar nicht werdn kein Dokter, ein Advokat vielleicht mit einer Kanzelei und mit Prozeßn, was es wird gehn a Schem mit ihm in ganzn Lande, was er gewinnt sie… ja! Oder ein Herr Apteker. Oh! take ein Apteker, das is take das Beste von Bestn. Man geht in einen weißn Mantl punkt wie a Dokter und verkauft in einen scheenen Geschäftslokal mit Spiegelfenster und auf Tischn von Marmor sowie a echter Kaufmann. Oh! Was is etwas, der Apteker Sager is schlecht zu sein? Das Maßl ihn im Bauch, was sie handelt mir ab immer beim Schmalz. (S. 8–9)

Weitere Redebeiträge von Gitl Peschl:

Filitschku, anu komm herein in Zimmer, ich gib dir etwas iberzuchappn, weil ich geh schon weg, und ich weiß nicht, wann ich komm zu Hause. […] (S. 9)

> *Filitschku! Mein Kind, mein Herr Student, ich komm später. Spiel dich in Hof, wann du willst, aber deche durch den Schal, weil es hat angefangn zu gehn a kalter Wind in draußn. (S. 9)*

Zum Zweck der kontaktlinguistischen Analyse werden im vorliegenden Aufsatz – wie auch in der Monografie *Sprachliche Imitation. Jiddisch in der deutschsprachigen Literatur (18.–20. Jahrhundert)* von Schäfer – „die literaturjiddischen Merkmale […] ihrer literarischen Funktion enthoben und in der Analyse der Teilphänomene **wie**[8] Daten natürlicher Sprache behandelt." (Schäfer 2017: 35)

Die Analyse des jiddischen Einflusses in der Figurenrede des ersten Kapitels wurde anhand der Kategorie ‚Transferenz' durchgeführt, zumal sie eine differenzierte kontaktlinguistische Analyse ermöglicht. Transferenzen lassen sich einerseits als die Übernahme, andererseits als die Nachbildung von Elementen, Merkmalen oder Gesetzmäßigkeiten einer Kontaktsprache konzeptualisieren (vgl. Földes 2005: 73). Logischerweise können sich Transferenzen auf allen sprachlichen Ebenen manifestieren und ihre möglichen Typen und Untertypen hängen von den jeweiligen Sprachenkonstellationen und dem Untersuchungskorpus ab. In der Figurenrede aus dem ersten Kapitel des Romans *Die Peschl* wurden von mir phonetisch-phonologische bzw. graphematische, lexikalische, grammatische und phraseologische Transferenztypen und -untertypen aus dem Jiddischen nachgewiesen. Sie werden im Folgenden summarisch dargelegt.

Es soll angemerkt werden, dass die Ermöglichung einer differenzierten kontaktlinguistischen Analyse durch die Kategorie ‚Transferenz' den einzigen Grund für die Verwendung dieses Terminus in der vorliegenden Untersuchung darstellt. Die Erforschung der jiddischen Transferenzen im Untersuchungskorpus impliziert meiner Meinung nach lediglich eine Forschungsperspektive: Da die Vielfalt und Häufigkeit von Transferenzen aus einer Kontaktsprache unbegrenzt ist, wird von mir durch diesen Terminusgebrauch nicht angenommen, dass das Untersuchungskorpus eine höhere Zahl von deutschen als von jiddischen lexikalischen Elementen und grammatischen Merkmalen enthalten würde.

3. Phonetisch-phonologische und graphematische Transferenz

Es werden hier nur Korpusbelege angeführt, bei denen eine direkte lexikalische Übernahme aus dem Jiddischen ausgeschlossen ist: d. h. Belege, die über keine homophonen Äquivalente im Jiddischen verfügen.

8 Hervorhebung im Original.

3.1. Entrundung von gerundeten vorderen Vokalen

Im Ostjiddischen gibt es – außer in einigen wenigen zentral- und südostjiddischen Dialektgebieten, in denen eine Palatalisierung von /u/ und /u:/ zu beobachten ist (vgl. Schäfer 2017: 146) – keine gerundeten vorderen Vokale. Zumal die Entrundung auch in den meisten ober- und mitteldeutschen Dialekten anzutreffen ist, können die Belege in dieser Kategorie sowohl auf jiddischen als auch auf deutsch-dialektalen bzw. – durch den Einfluss des Wienerischen – auf bairischen Kontakteinfluss zurückgeführt werden.

Man vergleiche die Folgenden: *fir* (N= 2), *mechtet* (N= 3), *mirbe* und *scheen*.

3.2. Schwa-Elision in der Infinitivendung <-en>

Dies lässt sich in den folgenden Belegen beobachten: *ausreißn, abschickn, gehn, laufn, legn, schaun, verheiratn, werdn* (N= 4). Im Zusammenhang mit einem möglichen jiddischen Kontakteinfluss wird hier Folgendes erwähnt: Wenn der Verbstamm im Jiddischen auf einen unbetonten Vokal bzw. – mit Ausnahme von [n], [m], silbischem [l] und der Graphemkombinationen <ng> und <nk> – auf einen Konsonanten endet, ist die Endung des Infinitivs <n>. Eine Ausnahme von dieser Regel bilden die Verben *geyn* (stdt. ‚gehen'[9]), *shteyn* (stdt. ‚stehen'), *ton* (stdt. ‚tun') und *zayn* (stdt. ‚sein'). In allen anderen Fällen ist die Endung des Infinitivs <en> (vgl. Jacobs 2005: 212). Zugleich soll angemerkt werden, dass die Schwa-Elision in der Infinitivendung auf zahlreiche deutsche Dialekte, darunter auch auf das Bairische zutrifft bzw. dass sie auch als ein Merkmal der gesprochenen Sprache interpretiert werden kann.[10]

3.3. Schwa-Elision in der Endung des Partizip Perfekts bei unregelmäßigen Verben

Die obige Feststellung trifft auch auf die Schwa-Elision in der Endung des Partizip Perfekts bei unregelmäßigen Verben zu: Auch bei dieser Erscheinung geht es nicht ausschließlich um eine Regel der jiddischen Grammatik.

Hierfür gibt es im obigen Korpus lediglich zwei Belege: *angefangn* und *freigesprochn*. Das Partizip Perfekt von unregelmäßigen Verben wird im Jiddischen mit den Flexionsendungen <n> oder <en> gebildet.

9 Die deutschen Äquivalente wurden – sofern nicht anders gekennzeichnet – dem *Jiddischen Wörterbuch* (2018) von Roland Lötzsch und Simon Neuberg entnommen. Die Abkürzung ‚stdt.' steht für standarddeutsch.

10 Die Schwa-Elision im Beleg *schaun* ist beispielsweise nicht mit einer Gesetzmäßigkeit des Jiddischen zu erklären.

4. Lexikalische Transferenz: Direkte Transferenz von jiddischen Wörtern

Insgesamt gibt es im Korpus 44 Wortformen, die als direkte lexikalische Transferenzen[11] aus dem Jiddischen betrachtet werden können. Da manche von diesen mehrfach vorkommen, lassen sich von den 442 Wortformen der Figurenrede im ersten Kapitel 72 Wortformen (16%) als direkte Transferenzen aus dem Jiddischen interpretieren.

Diese können in zwei Gruppen unterteilt werden: direkte Transferenzen, bei denen eine deutsch-jiddische Homophonie oder Quasi-Homophonie vorliegt, und direkte Transferenzen, die keine deutsch-jiddischen interlingualen Homophone oder Quasi-Homophone bilden.

4.1. Direkte lexikalische Transferenzen, bei denen eine deutsch-jiddische interlinguale Homophonie oder Quasi-Homophonie vorliegt

Bei der Feststellung der interlingualen Homophonie bzw. Quasi-Homophonie wurden auch die deutschen Dialekte in Betracht gezogen. Folglich können manche der folgenden Wortformen sowohl als deutsch-dialektal als auch als jiddisch interpretiert werden: *a* (N=14) (stjidd.[12] *a*[13] – stdt. ‚ein, eine, ein'), *Apteker* (N= 2) (stjidd. *apteyker* – stdt. ‚Apotheker'), *Dokter* (stjidd. *dokter* – stdt. ‚Arzt'), *Fieß* (stjidd. *fis*, Pl. – stdt. ‚Füße'), *Gäns*[14] (stjidd. *gendz*, Pl. – stdt. ‚Gänse'), *gebn* (N= 3) (stjidd. *gebn* – stdt. ‚geben'), *gib* (1. Person Singular Indikativ Präsens) (N= 2) (stjidd. *gib* – stdt. ‚gebe'), *greßte* (Superlativ von *groys*) (stjidd. *grest* – stdt. ‚größte'), *Griwn* (stjidd. *grivn*, Pl. – stdt. ‚Grieben'), *Haiser* (stjidd. *hayzer*, Pl. – stdt. ‚Häuser'), *is* (3. Person Singular Indikativ Präsens) (N= 4) (stjidd. *iz* – stdt. ‚ist'), *Keïßer* (stjidd. *keyser* – stdt. ‚Kaiser'), *Kopp* (stjidd. *kop* – stdt. ‚Kopf'), *Mantl* (stjidd. *mantl* – en. ‚coat, overcoat,

11 Mit ‚Transferenz' werden in der vorliegenden Arbeit sowohl die kontaktlinguistische Kategorie als auch deren Typen und Untertypen bzw. deren konkrete Ausprägungen bezeichnet.

12 Die Abkürzung ‚stjidd.' steht für standardjiddisch.

13 Bedeutungsangabe für *a* im *Jiddischen Wörterbuch* von Lötzsch/Neuberg: „1 (unbestimmter Artikel bei konsonantischem Anlaut des folgenden Wortes) ein, eine, ein; […]". (Lötzsch/Neuberg 2018: 37)

14 Dieser interlingual quasi-homophone Korpusbeleg kann entweder als die apokopierte Pluralform von *Gänse* oder als die phonetisch-phonologisch bzw. graphematisch integrierte Variante der jiddischen Pluralform *gendz* betrachtet werden. Er wird von mir als ein Transferenzbeleg aus dem Jiddischen interpretiert, zumal im Korpus auch der Beleg *Gänserke* (stjidd. *gendzerke* – en. ‚poultry seller', vgl. Beinfeld/Bochner 2013: 213) vorkommt. Er wurde mit dem jiddischen Movierungssuffix slawischer Herkunft *-ke* gebildet, wobei die Berufsbezeichnung *Gänser* im Deutschen nicht vorhanden ist. Hierfür spricht auch, dass Seidmann den Beleg *Gänz*, der an einer späteren Stelle im Roman vorkommt, mit der Bedeutung ‚Gänse' in seine *Worterklärungen* aufgenommen hat (vgl. Seidmann 1969: 93).

cloak‘[15]), *Maßl* (stjidd. *mazl* – stdt. ‚Schicksal, Glück‘), *mißn* (stjidd. *muzn* – stdt. ‚müssen‘), *nemen* (stjidd. *nemen* – stdt. ‚nehmen, anfangen‘), *punkt* (stjidd. *punkt* – stdt. ‚ebenso wie‘[16]), *Schleppl*[17] (stjidd. *shleper* – en. ‚vagabond, tramp‘), *Schnier* (stjidd. *shnur* – stdt. ‚Schwiegertochter‘), *Schwiger* (N= 2) (stjidd. *shviger* – stdt. ‚Schwiegermutter‘), *sich schemen mit* (stjidd. *shemen zikh mit epes* – stdt. ‚sich (einer Sache) schämen‘), *Stick* (stjidd. *shtik* – stdt. ‚Stück‘), *Stickl* (stjidd. *shtikl* – stdt. ‚Stückchen‘), *stoppt* (3. Person Singular Indikativ Präsens) (stjidd. *stopt* – stdt. ‚stopft, nudelt‘), *taier* (N= 3) (stjidd. *tayer* – stdt. ‚lieb, teuer‘), *wegn* (stjidd. *vegn* – stdt. ‚von, über, um‘), *wißn* (stjidd. *visn* – stdt. ‚wissen, kennen‘).

Von den obigen Transferenzen sind *mißn* (stjidd. *muzn*) und *Schnier* (stjidd. *shnur*) südostjiddische Dialektbelege.

Es gibt 28 direkte Transferenzen innerhalb dieser Kategorie und insgesamt 51 Belege. Die meisten direkten Transferenzen (N= 15) sind Substantive.

4.2. Direkte lexikalische Transferenzen, die keine deutsch-jiddischen interlingualen Homophone oder Quasi-Homophone bilden

Die direkten lexikalischen Transferenzen dieser Kategorie (16 Transferenzen, 21 Belege) gehen vorwiegend auf jiddische Lexeme hebräischen und slawischen Ursprungs zurück. Auch hier überwiegen die Substantive: *Gänserke* (N= 2) (stjidd. *gendzerke* – en. ‚poultry seller‘), *Koinim* (stjidd. *koynim*, Pl. – stdt. ‚der Kunde‘), *Kuwed* – (stjidd. *koved* – stdt. ‚Ehre‘), *Machliarke* (stjidd. *makhliarke* – en. ‚peddler, street hawker, smooth talker, cheat, swindler‘[18]), *Meïwn* (N= 2) (stjidd. *meyvn* – stdt. ‚Experte‘), *Plustn* (N= 2) (stjidd. *ploster* – en. ‚poultry fat‘), *Schem* (stjidd. *shem* – stdt. ‚Name, Ruf, Reputation‘). Transferierte Verben: *dechen* (stjidd. *dekhen* – stdt. ‚hauchen‘), *derworgn* (Partizip Perfekt) (stjidd. *dervargn* – stdt. ‚erwürgen‘), *iberchappn* (stjidd. *iberkhapn* – stdt. ‚einen Imbiss schnell einnehmen‘[19]).

Ferner wurden in der untersuchten Figurenrede auch die jiddischen Interjektionen *anu* (stjidd. *anu* – stdt. ‚na los‘), *nu* (stjidd. *nu!* – stdt. ‚na!‘) und *oi* (stjidd. *oy* – stdt. ‚ach!‘[20]), die Adverbien *take* (N= 3) (jidd. *take* – stdt. ‚wirklich‘[21])

15 Die englischen Äquivalente stammen aus folgendem Wörterbuch: *Arumnemik Yidish-English Verterbukh. Comprehensive Yiddish-English Dictionary* (Beinfeld/Bochner, 2013).

16 Diese Bedeutungsangabe wurden Seidmanns *Worterklärungen* entnommen (vgl. Seidmann 1969: 100). Diese sind ein Glossar der im Roman vorkommenden nicht standarddeutschen Wörter.

17 Es handelt sich dabei um eine Diminutivbildung mit dem jiddischen Diminutivsuffix deutsch-dialektaler Herkunft *-l.* In Seidmanns *Worterklärungen* wird ‚Hergelaufene‘ als Äquivalent angegeben. Ebd., S. 101.

18 In Seidmanns *Worterklärungen*: ‚Verlogene‘. Ebd., S. 97.

19 Laut Seidmanns *Worterklärungen*. Ebd., S. 95.

20 Laut Seidmanns *Worterklärungen.* Ebd., S. 99.

21 In Seidmanns *Worterklärungen:* ‚tatsächlich, natürlich, wirklich, wahr‘. Ebd., S. 102.

und *ot* (stjidd. *ot* – en. ‚(while pointing) here, there; just; at this moment; soon; (before an adverb) precisely') und die Präposition *achitz* (stjidd. *akhuts* – stdt. ‚außer') transferiert.

5. Lexikalische Transferenz: Hybridbildungen

Lexikalische Transferenzphänomene mit hybrider Wortstruktur sind im obigen Korpus durch hybride Derivate mit Lexemtransfer vertreten: Aus dem Jiddischen transferierte Basen werden mit deutschen Affixen versehen.

Es liegen zwei hybride Präfixderivate und zwei Suffixderivate vor. Bei den Präfixderivaten handelt es sich um zwei hybride Verbformen: die Hybridbildungen *sich abeckn* und *sich austoppn*.

> „Und wann die Frau Nowak mechtet wißn, daß ich gib es Ihnen, mechtet sie sich abeckn." (S. 7)

Im obigen Kontext fungiert das Verb *abeckn* laut Seidmanns Glossar mit der Bedeutung ‚das Leben nehmen' (Seidmann 1969: 89). Im Jiddischen gibt es zwei Verben, die als Vorlage für diese Hybridbildung gedient haben mögen: das reflexive Verb *zikh ekn* mit der Bedeutung ‚be in agony, death throes; not be able to stand it anymore (because of impatience, anger, etc.)' und das Verb *opekn* <*mit*> mit der Bedeutung ‚break (off) (with); finish (with), put an end (to); settle (dealings) with'. Das aus dem deutschen Verbpräfix *ab-* und der jiddischen Basis *ekn* bestehende hybride Derivat steht aufgrund des Kontextes und der Bedeutungsangabe von Seidmann der Semantik des jiddischen *zikh ekn* näher. Das Präfix *ab-* verleiht der Hybridbildung *abeckn* eine perfektive Aktionsart.[22]

> „Sie sind a Meïwn auf die Griwn, was sie werdn sich austoppn." (S. 7)

Im Glossar von Seidmann wird das Verb *austoppn* mit der Bedeutung ‚schmelzen' versehen (Seidmann 1969: 90). Im *Jiddisch-Englischen Wörterbuch* von Beinfeld/Bochner findet sich das Verb *zikh topyen* mit der Bedeutung ‚(candle) drip', das die Vorlage für die obige Hybridbildung geliefert haben mag (Beinfeld/Bochner 2013: 317). Im ersten Band des *Großen Wörterbuchs der jiddischen Sprache* gibt es sowohl für *oystopyen* als auch für *zikh oystopyen* einen Eintrag (Joffe/Mark 1961: 245). Während das Verb *oystopyen* mit der Bedeutungsangabe ‚oysshmeltsn

22 Im Jiddischen können „verbale Präfixe und Ergänzungen germanischer Herkunft Aspektfunktionen nach dem Vorbild slawischer Sprachen übernehmen" (Katz 1983: 1029).

(gikh fun vint tropnvayz)‘[23] und ‚dertrenken a tsol‘[24] versehen wird, steht hier das Verb *zikh oystopyen* für ‚zikh oysveykn‘[25] bzw. ‚dertrunken vern‘.[26] Folglich trägt die Hybridbildung *sich austoppn* die Bedeutung ‚oysshmeltsn‘ (‚zum Schmelzen gebracht werden‘) des jiddischen Verbs *oystopyen*.

Die Suffixderivate sind durch zwei Hypokoristika mit jiddischen Suffixen *Filiu* (N= 3) und *Filitschku* vertreten. Laut Seidmanns *Worterklärungen* sind sie auf den Vornamen *Filip* zurückzuführen (Seidmann 1969: 92). Sowohl das jiddische Diminutivsuffix *-tshko*[27] als auch das Diminutivsuffix *-liu*[28] kann in der einschlägigen Literatur nachgewiesen werden.[29]

6. Lexikalische Transferenz: Transferenzübersetzung

Hierbei handelt es sich um die wortwörtliche Übersetzung von kontaktsprachlichen lexikalischen Elementen. Es ließen sich im Korpus die folgenden Belege ermitteln:

a) die Übersetzung der jiddischen Präpositionalphrase *in droysn,* wobei es sich beim Transferenzbeleg *in draußn* bei genauer Betrachtung um eine deutsch-jiddische Kompromissform handelt.

b) Der Beleg *was nur*, der der Form nach mit der jiddischen Konstruktion *vos nor* (dt. ‚was auch immer‘) in Bezug gesetzt werden kann:

„Das hab ich spiziel wegn Ihnen auf der Seite gelegt, es war ein Geriß nach diesn Stick, was nur.“ (S. 7)

Seidmann versieht den Beleg *was nur* mit der Bedeutungsangabe ‚unglaublich, nicht zu beschreiben‘ (Seidmann 1969: 103).

c) Transferenzübersetzung der jiddischen Relativpartikel *vos:*

23 ‚zum Schmelzen gebracht werden (schnell durch den Wind; tropfenweise)‘ [Übersetzung aus dem Jiddischen von mir: Á. N.].

24 ‚in großer Zahl ertränken‘ [Übersetzung aus dem Jiddischen von mir: Á. N.].

25 ‚durchnässt werden‘ [Übersetzung aus dem Jiddischen von mir: Á. N.].

26 ‚ertrinken‘ [Übersetzung aus dem Jiddischen von mir: Á. N.].

27 Der Unterschied zwischen dem Diminutivsuffix *-tshko* und dem im Korpus vorhandenen *-tshku* lässt sich auf die bereits erwähnte *o/u*-Isoglosse zwischen dem Nordostjiddischen (dem sogenannten *o*-Dialekt) und dem Südostjiddischen (dem *u*-Dialekt) zurückführen.

28 Es handelt sich dabei um ein aus dem Polnischen stammenden Suffix zur Bildung von Hypokoristika. Man vergleiche die Einträge *lyubelyu* und *lyubenyu* im *Arumnemik Yidish-English Verterbukh* (Beinfeld/Bochner 2013: 368), beide mit der Bedeutung ‚my love, darling‘ und die Belege *mamelyu*, *tatelyu* bei Noyekh Prilutsky (Prilutsky 1917: 286).

29 Vgl. https://www.jewishgen.org/databases/GivenNames/yidnames.htm, (abgerufen am 15.05.2022).

„von alle meine Koinim sind Sie take der greßter Meïwn auf die Griwn, was sie werdn sich austoppn“ (S. 7)

„mit einen anständikn armen Kind, was sie wird legn Kuwed auf der Schwiger“ (S. 8)

„ein Advokat vielleicht mit einer Kanzelei und mit Prozeßn, was es wird gehn a Schem mit ihm in ganzn Lande, was er gewinnt sie“ (S. 8–9)

„Das Maßl ihn im Bauch, was sie handelt mir ab immer beim Schmalz.“ (S. 9)

Im Jiddischen, genauer gesagt im Ostjiddischen, können „Relativsätze unabhängig von Genus und Semantik des Bezugsnomens generell durch unveränderliches, auf mhd. *waz* ‚was‘ zurückgehendes *vos* eingeleitet werden“ (vgl. Fleischer 2007: 37). Beim Dativ- und Präpositionalobjekt wird „die syntaktische Rolle des Bezugsnomens im Relativsatz […] durch ein das Bezugsnomen wiederaufnehmendes resumptives Personalpronomen angezeigt“ (ebd.). Beim Subjekt und Akkusativobjekt ist das resumptive Personalpronomen nach der Relativpartikel fakultativ.

d) Die Transferenzübersetzung der Präpositionen der direkt transferierten Substantive *Kuwed* (stdt. ‚Ehre‘) und *Meïwn* (stdt. ‚Sachverständiger‘, ‚Experte‘):

„der greßter Meïwn auf die Griwn” (S. 7) – stjidd. *zayn a meyvn af epeß*[30]
„sie wird legn Kuwed auf der Schwiger“ (S. 8) – stjidd. *leygn koved oyf*

e) die Transferenzübersetzung der jiddischen Partikel *epeß* (stdt. ‚etwas‘):

„Oh! Was is etwas?“ (S. 9)

Lockwood betrachtet *epeß* als ergänzende Partikel und bescheinigt ihr eine hohe Gebrauchsfrequenz (Lockwood 1995: 113–114). Im Glossar von Seidmann wird angemerkt, dass dieser Transferenzbeleg auch im Sinne von ‚eigentlich‘ verwendet werden kann (Seidmann 1969: 92).

7. Grammatische Transferenz: Transferenzen im nominalen Bereich

Die Gemeinsamkeit der ermittelten grammatischen Transferenzen besteht darin, dass sie Phänomene der jiddischen Grammatik *nachbilden*.

30 Sowohl *af* als auch *oyf* sind Äquivalente der Präposition *auf*.

7.1. Nachbildung des jiddischen Genus

Das Substantiv *Fach* erscheint in Analogie zu seinem jiddischen homophonen Äquivalent (*der fakh*) als Maskulinum:

„Besser mechtet ja sein, ihm zu gebn in der Lehre, irgendwo, auszulernen einen Fach." (S. 8)

7.2. Alle Präpositionen regieren den Dativ

„Das hab ich spiziel wegn Ihnen auf der Seite gelegt." (S. 7)
„ihm zu gebn in der Lehre" (S. 8)
„Das Maßl ihn im Bauch." (S. 9)

7.3. Kasussynkretismus im Plural

„Meïwn auf die Griwn" (S. 7)
„von alle meine Koinim" (S. 7)
„nach die drei Lehrjahren" (S. 8)

7.4. Artikelelision nach der Präposition „in"

„es wird gehn a Schem mit ihm in ganzn Lande" (S. 8–9)
„komm herein in Zimmer" (S. 9)
„Spiel dich in Hof" (S. 9)

7.5. N-Suffigierung bei Personennamen im Dativ und Akkusativ

„behalt ich es mir aus fir Filiun" (S. 6)
„Ot geh ich laufn, ihr gebn Filiun" (S. 8)

7.6. Die Personalpronomen der 3. Person Singular Maskulinum fallen im Akkusativ und Dativ in „ihm" zusammen

„ihm zu gebn in der Lehre" (S. 8)
„Vielleicht wer' ich ihm mir verheiratn" (S. 8)

7.7. Dativus ethicus nach jiddischer Vorlage

Laut Lockwood wird der freie Dativ im Jiddischen auffallend häufig gebraucht (Lockwood 1995: 113).

„Vielleicht wer' ich ihm mir verheiratn mit einen anständikn armen Kind" (S. 8)

7.8. Nachbildung im Bereich der Adjektivdeklination

„der greßter Meïwn" (S. 7)
„auf die alte Tage" (S. 8)

7.9. Deklination des Demonstrativpronomens „dieses" nach jiddischer Vorlage

Das jiddische Äquivalent des Demonstrativpronomens *dieses* ist *dos dozike*. Das Adjektiv *dozik* bekommt im Dativ Singular Neutrum die Flexionsendung *-n (dem dozikn*) (vgl. Lockwood 1995: 46). Meines Erachtens wird in den folgenden Belegen das Demonstrativpronomen *dieses* nach jiddischer Vorlage dekliniert:

„ein Geriß nach diesn Stick" (S. 7)
„die Fieß wer' ich ihr ausreißn, diesn Schleppl, diesn aufgekommenen" (S. 8)

7.10. Possessivadjektive nach jiddischer Vorlage

In Verbindung mit dem bestimmten Artikel wird das Possessivadjektiv im Jiddischen nur flektiert, wenn es dem Substantiv nachgestellt wird (vgl. Lockwood 1995: 53).

„die Schnier meine" (S. 8)
„mit der Schwiger mit ihrer" (S. 8)
„mit der Mutter mit seiner" (S. 8)

8. Grammatische Transferenz: Transferenzen im verbalen Bereich

8.1. Reflexivierung von nicht-reflexiven Verben

„Spiel dich in Hof" (S. 9)

Man vergleiche das jiddische Äquivalent *zikh spiln*.

8.2. Apokope der Flexionsendung von Verben in der 1. Person Singular Indikativ Präsens

behalt, gib, hab, komm (N= 2)

8.3. Aufhebung des Stammvokalwechsels bei unregelmäßigen Verben in der 2. und 3. Person Singular Indikativ Präsens nach jiddischer Vorlage

„wann man haltet ihn in der Hand“ (S. 7)

8.4. Negationskongruenz

„Vielleicht wird er gar nicht werdn kein Dokter“ (S. 8)

8.5. Extraposition

„dieses Stickl Leber kann man abschickn dem Keïßer“ (S. 6)
„behalt ich es mir aus fir Filiun“ (S. 6)
„schaun Sie sich nur an diese Plustn“ (S. 7)
„schaun Sie sich an a Plustn“ (S. 7)
„vielleicht kann er werdn ein Dokter“ (S. 7)
„und ich wer` nicht mißn auf die alte Tage gehen in die Haiser“ (S. 8)
„weil es hat angefangn zu gehn a kalter Wind in draußn“ (S. 9)

8.6. Verbzweitstellung im Nebensatz

„und wann sie nemen es nicht“ (S. 6)
„wie a Stickl feine Butter zerlaßt sie sich, wann man haltet ihn in der Hand“ (S. 7)
„was sie werdn sich austoppn“ (S. 7)
„dass ich gib es Ihnen“ (S. 7)
„was sie wird legn Kuwed auf der Schwiger“ (S. 8)
„weil ich geh schon weg“ (S. 9)
„wann ich komm zu Hause“ (S. 9)
„weil es hat angefangn zu gehn a kalter Wind in draußn“ (S. 9)

Laut Schäfer handelt es sich bei der Extraposition und der Verbzweitstellung im Nebensatz um einige der „am häufigsten genannten sprachlichen Markierung jüdischer Figurenrede, die sich in der aktuellen Forschungsliteratur finden lassen“ (Schäfer 2017: 32). Zugleich soll allerdings angemerkt werden, dass

zahlreiche der obigen grammatischen Besonderheiten nicht ausschließlich auf einen jiddischen Kontakteinfluss zurückgeführt werden können, sondern auch als dialektale Merkmale oder Merkmale der gesprochenen Sprache betrachtet werden können.

9. Phraseologische Transferenz

Im Korpus der Untersuchung lassen sich in Anbetracht der jiddischen Vorlagen phraseologische Übersetzungstransferenzen und phraseologische Übertragungstransferenzen eruieren. Übersetzungstransferenzen zeichnen sich durch eine wortwörtliche Übersetzung einer kontaktsprachlichen Vorlage, Übertragungstransferenzen durch eine nicht wortwörtliche Wiedergabe eines kontaktsprachlichen Phraseologismus aus, wobei die phraseologische Bedeutung jedoch erhalten bleibt. Ein weiterer Untertyp von phraseologischen Transferenzen, die durch die Nachbildung einer kontaktsprachlichen Vorlage entstanden sind, ist die Modelltransferenz.[31] Hierfür ließen sich im Untersuchungskorpus keine Belege ermitteln.

9.1. Phraseologische Übersetzungstransferenz

„auf alle meine Liebe gesagt“ (S. 6)

Matisoff nimmt eine Einteilung jiddischer pragmatischer („psycho-ostensive[r]“) Phraseologismen bzw. phraseologischer Gefühlsausdrücke, darunter auch Wunsch- und Fluchformeln, aufgrund ihrer Semantik in zwölf Kategorien vor. Dabei erfasst er auch Grundstrukturen von bestimmten Wunsch- und Fluchformeln, wie etwa die Struktur „oyf + NP + gezogt (gevorn)“ (Matisoff 2000: 26). Man vergleiche die jiddische Formel *oyf vemen gezogt gevorn? – oyf ale mayne libe* (Stutchkoff 1950: 634), die als Vorlage für den obigen Transferenzbeleg interpretiert werden kann.

„a so a Jahr zu mir“ (S. 6)

Man vergleiche die jiddische Vorlage *aza yor oyf mir* (Matisoff 2000: 28).

„Ah, nur derworgn soll sie werdn!“ (S. 8)

31 Nach Földes werden unter der Kategorie ‚Modelltransferenz‘ Nachbildungen subsumiert, bei denen „nicht das Wortmaterial, sondern lediglich die Prägweise, d. h. die Bildungsart entlehnt wird.“ (Földes 2005: 123)

Man vergleiche die jiddische Vorlage *Oy, zol er nor dervorgn vern, der ganev!* (‚Ah, may he only be strangled, the thief!') (Matisoff 2000: 82).

„auf die alte Tage gehen in die Haiser" (S. 8)

Man vergleiche die jiddische Vorlage *geyn iber die hayzer* (‚betteln gehen') (Stutchkoff 1950: 480).

„Ahi auf ihrn[32] Kopp" (S. 8)

Die jiddische Interjektion ukrainischer Herkunft *ahi* drückt laut dem ersten Band des *Groyser verterbukh fun der yidisher sprakh* [Großes Wörterbuch der jiddischen Sprache] „Ekel, Zorn, Wut bzw. den Wunsch aus, dass etwas nicht passieren soll"[33] (Joffe/Mark 1980: 52). Als Vorlage zu dieser Übersetzungstransferenz dient wohl die Fluchformel *ahi tsu dayn kop, dayn layb un lebn* (ebd.).

Seidmann kommentiert den Beleg *ahi* in seinen *Worterklärungen* folgendermaßen: „Familienname des Henkers für Galizien und Bukowina unter der Regierung Kaiser Josefs des II. Als Fluch in jener Gegend bis in unsere Tage gebräuchlich: ‚Ahi auf dein Kopp' ist gleichbedeutend mit: ‚Der Henker soll dich holen.' Im übertragenen Sinn: Verflucht noch mal, verdammt. Ausruf des Erstaunens, na so etwas!" (Seidmann 1969: 89–90).

9.2. Phraseologische Übertragungstransferenz

„das Maßl ihn im Bauch" (S. 9)

Die Interpretation dieses Beleges als Übertragungstransferenz liegt darin begründet, dass in den bereits zitierten Quellen für jiddische Phraseologismen kein modellsprachiger phraseologischer Prototyp dafür ermittelt werden konnte. Bei Stutchkoff findet sich der Phraseologismus *a gezunt*[34] *dir in boykh*,[35] auf dessen Grundlage der vorliegende Beleg als Übertragungstransferenz betrachtet wird (Stutchkoff 1950: 64).

32 Die Flexionsendung *-n* entspricht den Regeln der jiddischen Grammatik nicht, zumal das Possessivpronomen (im Jiddischen eher Possessivadjektiv) im Singular nicht flektiert wird, sofern es dem Substantiv vorangestellt wird.

33 Übersetzung aus dem Jiddischen von mir: Á. N.

34 stjidd. *gezunt* – stdt. ‚gesund, Gesundheit'.

35 stjidd. *boykh* – stdt. ‚Bauch'.

10. Fazit

Insgesamt konnten im Rahmen der Analyse 25 Typen und Untertypen von Transferenz aus dem Jiddischen in einem Untersuchungskorpus von 442 Wortformen nachgewiesen werden.[36] Damit ist die Vielfalt und Häufigkeit der jiddischen Transferenzen so hoch, dass die untersuchte Figurenrede meines Erachtens als eine Ausprägung von Code-Mixing betrachtet werden kann. Mit diesem kontaktlinguistischen Terminus wird im Allgemeinen das Mischen von zwei oder mehr Sprachen bzw. Varietäten innerhalb einer Äußerung bezeichnet. Muysken stellt im Rahmen seiner Code-Mixing-Theorie unter anderem die Kategorie der ‚kongruenten Lexikalisierung' (vgl. Muysken, 2000) auf. Dieser Untertyp von Code-Mixing kommt laut Muysken schwerpunktmäßig beim Kontakt zwischen genetisch und typologisch verwandten Sprachen vor, bei denen auch zahlreiche interlinguale Homonyme vorliegen. Die kongruente Lexikalisierung bezieht sich auf eine derart intensive Ausprägung von Sprachenkontakt, dass nicht festgestellt werden kann, welche der beteiligten Sprachen die Matrixsprache und welche die eingebettete Sprache ist.

Aufgrund der durchgeführten kontaktlinguistischen Analyse bin ich der Ansicht, dass die kontaktlinguistische Kategorie der kongruenten Lexikalisierung als ein Untertyp von Code-Mixing auf die Figurenrede aus dem ersten Kapitel des Romans *Die Peschl* eindeutig zutrifft.

Zwar wurde mit dem vorliegenden Aufsatz zur Erforschung des deutsch-jiddischen Sprachenkontaktes im Czernowitz der Zwischenkriegszeit hoffentlich ein Beitrag geleistet, die Beantwortung der soziolinguistischen Frage „wer sprach im Czernowitz der Zwischenkriegszeit welche Varietät des Deutschen mit wem und wann" muss jedoch weiteren Forschungen vorbehalten bleiben.

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36 Zur deutschen Komponente der untersuchten Figurenrede lässt sich sagen, dass sie auch bairisch-österreichische Merkmale enthält. Außer den im Rahmen der Korpusanalyse erwähnten Merkmalen vergleiche man im Untersuchungskorpus etwa die Verwendung des Frageadverbs *wann* als Konjunktion zur Einleitung von Konditionalsätzen, die bairische Form des Hilfsverbs *werden* in der 1. Person Singular Indikativ Präsens (*wer*') (N= 3) und die Verwendung der Präpositionalgruppe *zu Hause* statt *nach Hause*.

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Fazakas Noémi–Sárosi-Márdirosz Krisztina: *Bevezetés a tolmácsolás elméletébe (Introduction into the Theory of Interpreting)*

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In a setting such as Transylvania, bilingual speakers tend to devalue the profession of translation and interpreting as they assume that one only needs to speak two or more languages in order to perform such tasks successfully. Therefore, teaching these skills in higher education programmes may increase the prestige of translation and interpreting. When it comes to the Hungarian minority, it is important to note that there is only one higher education institution in Romania that includes the Hungarian language as one of their working languages, namely Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania. *Bevezetés a tolmácsolás elméletébe* (Introduction into the Theory of Interpreting) by Fazakas Noémi and Sárosi-Márdirosz Krisztina may be considered a unique course book both because it is written in Hungarian for Hungarian language students and because it provides an introduction into the theory of interpreting for undergraduate students, while most translation and interpreting programmes are offered at the graduate level in Romania.

The book is divided into two main parts with the first one's focus being on interpreting studies (Chapter 1–13) and the second part exploring interpreter studies (Chapter 14–20), following the structure of the two-semester course. Thus, the first part presents the historical background of the profession, the different epistemological interpretations of the concept of interpreting, and its existing typologies. In addition to discussing the most recent EU regulations and the applicable Romanian legislation relevant to interpreting, the authors demonstrate their expertise even in terms of the technical aspects of the profession in the chapters on remote interpreting, media interpreting, and machine interpreting.

The second part of the book shifts the focus to the interpreter as a person: psychological-cognitive aspects, personality traits and concepts such as intelligence, introversion, extroversion, and concentration are introduced. The readers of the book may consciously assess the inherent features and challenges of working as an interpreter, while becoming familiarized with the theoretical frameworks of memory, creativity, and stress in interpreting. There are no definite criteria for the quality assurance of interpreting available, yet the last chapter attempts to shed light on the different factors that may play a role in it, the (mostly linguistic) norms one must adhere to.

Although there is a clear distinction between translation and interpreting in the scholarly literature, the two concepts often overlap when discussed by certain institutions, organizations, or other legal/official entities in formulating directives and proposing standards in relation to one or both of these activities. Fazakas and Sárosi-Márdirosz deliberately rely on and make use of the similarities between translation and interpreting, while they explicitly differentiate them. An instance of this is the competences for professional translators, experts in multilingual and multimedia communication as outlined by the European Commission's EMT (European Master's in Translation) expert group. In Chapter 15, while noting that these were drawn up for translation training programmes, the authors of the book apply this set of competences to interpreting: (1) service provision competence, (2) language competence, (3) intercultural competence, (4) information mining competence, (5) thematic competence, (6) technological competence (Gambier et al. 2009). In identifying these competences, the aim was not to determine a hierarchical but rather an interdependent relation between them. Yet the service provision competence is presented as more prominent in interpreting together with the interpersonal challenges it implies, an aspect which is further addressed in the contexts of community interpreting, interpreting as profession and business, quality assurance, etc.

As promised by the authors, the practical dimension of each topic is explored in detail, and some chapters may be considered a practical guide on their own. Chapter 11 on interpreting as profession and as business gives an in-depth analysis of the process of becoming a certified interpreter on the Romanian market. It discusses the different undergraduate and graduate programmes that offer interpreting training in the country, the Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community, as well as the financial aspects and legal procedures of starting and operating a company in Romania. A separate chapter is dedicated to the duties and obligations of the client so that future interpreters are aware not only of what can be expected of them but of the demands they can make such as being provided all available information prior to the event and ensuring optimal conditions for interpreting.

The structure of the book reflects its educative purposes: there is a summary of the topic discussed at the end of most chapters, and the Hungarian and international bibliographical references and online sources are listed separately for each chapter. Moreover, there is a glossary at the end of the book that includes the definitions of certain linguistic terms and elaborates on the background of the legal terminology used.

Bevezetés a tolmácsolás elméletébe (Introduction into the Theory of Interpreting) is intended to be a guide for translation and interpreting students and as such provides a comprehensive overview of the subject. The greatest asset of the book is that the authors are experienced professionals in the field of interpreting, echoed not only by the thorough inquiry into each topic but also by their very own voices and personal insights that bring the profession closer to students than the mere theoretical frameworks would. At the same time, the book remains a useful resource for all those interested in making a living out of interpreting.

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