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When the Border Crosses You

Aspects of Language and Identity in Transylvania between the Two World Wars

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Abstract. The article discusses the Transylvanian case of border crossings, the historical changes experienced by the communities living on this territory between 1918, the end of World War I, and 1944. The study starts with a short theoretical introduction to border studies and to the concept of border crossing, discussing aspects such as the issue of state and societal borders, power relations and sovereignty, and the negotiation of new identities within new state borders (understood both geographically and ideologically). The article analyses several fragments of texts that were published in one of the most important Hungarian newspapers in Transylvania, focusing on the concept of the border, on language rights, and minority rights as well as on some aspects of the linguistic landscape with special regard to the visibility or erasure of minority communities. The article concludes that the discussed instance of border crossing is particular in its nature as it shows similarities with the typical cases of border crossing; however, the staticity of the community itself and the movement of the border creates new possibilities for discussion.

Keywords: border studies, border crossing, negotiating identities, minority and majority communities, discourses of power

Conceptual framework

The present article analyses a particular case of border crossing, that of the Transylvanian society following the major historical changes of the period between 1918 and 1944 from a Hungarian perspective. In our analysis, we build upon the theoretical foundations of border studies both in their more traditional understanding, where “borders exert power as markers of sovereignty” (Kolossov–Scott 2013) and from the ethno-cultural perspective, in which borders “emerge through socio-political processes of border-making or *bordering* that takes place

within society” (id.). Our rationale is that with the changes of the physical and political borders between the Hungarian and Romanian states significant societal shifts emerged that resulted in the shaping of new identities and even new borders between the different ethnic and social groups whose lives were impacted by these historical events. According to Kolossov and Scott (2013), there is a powerful nexus between state and social borders: sovereignty is a product of power relations, and as such it affects all aspects of life, including the socially embedded power “to sort people according to the degree of their belonging to certain ethnic, cultural, political, and social groups” (id.). Sovereignty also justifies the alignment between territory, identity, and political community, articulated in our analysis as well: the attitudes towards shifting sovereignty are echoed in the newspaper articles published in one of the leading Hungarian newspapers of this period in Transylvania.

Border crossing in its most traditional understanding is moving across diverse borders such as race, gender, or geography (Anzaldúa 1987). In this approach, the border is understood as static and is crossed by the individual (or a group). Agency is assigned to the one who crosses the border or “decisively sits on a border, experiencing it as the central reference point” (Root 1996: xxi). It is associated with the individual’s movement, will, awareness, and strategies to cross the physically or socially defined border. Our analysis shows a somewhat different perspective: the fact that the border is not static at all and that political changes cause deep societal shifts result in changes in the role of the individual and that of the group as well. Agency is limited or even non-existent: people and communities experiencing the movement of the borders do not physically change their places, there is most probably no will to cross the border (as we shall see in our analysis), there is need to create strategies and negotiate new identities whilst in the same geographical space, and there is also a high sense of awareness regarding new political and social realities.

Historical background

Our examination focuses on experiences, negotiations, and reconstructions of borders (see Root 1996: xxi) among the ethnic communities in Transylvania, who lived through several changes of the political frontier after World War I and during World War II, from the point of view of the Hungarian community. We examine several texts published in *Keleti Újság* (‘Eastern Newspaper’), a Transylvanian Hungarian newspaper, to illustrate the attempts to negotiate and renegotiate the power relations between the new majority (the Romanian community) and the new minority (the Hungarian ethnic group). We will also try to identify the shifts in power discourse in the same news outlet when the

border is crossed time and time again. It is also significant to point out how the whole territory of Transylvania becomes understood as a contested border region, where “memory landscapes”, monuments, museums, historical sites but also place names, elements of the linguistic landscape and even street names become “sacred places of ethnic memory” with specific national interpretations of past realities and conflicts (Kolossoff–Scott 2013).

The end of World War I brought about great changes in Europe: several international treaties resulted in new national boundaries and new countries. The Versailles Treaty ended the process of consolidation of small European states into larger ones, and multinational empires, including the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were broken up (O’Dowd 2002: 15). The 20th century can be characterized not only by this proliferation of state borders but also by their geographic volatility (id.), and this had a significant impact on the communities and societies subjected to such shifts. As the literature shows, changes in political borders are typically not democratic processes “but rather a product of wars, invasions, dynastic settlements and the balance of power and coercion” (O’Dowd 2002: 16). Our analysis focuses on the Transylvanian situation with regard to the new minority (the Hungarian ethnic group), whose members are now citizens of the new political and geographical unit: Romania.

This region had always had a multi-ethnic and multicultural character: the 1920 census data on the mother tongue and ethnicity of the inhabitants show the coexistence of several ethnic groups, including Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews, and others, and this also meant the natural coexistence of the languages spoken by them (cf. Vargha 1997). Nevertheless, the new political realities impacted the Hungarian community in a way that defined the years to come, and they are echoed in today’s negotiations of identity as well. As Kántor puts it, “part of an already formed nation, which had been involved in the process of nation building, suddenly became a national minority. (...) the leaders of the Hungarian national minority in Romania organized their political and cultural organizations on an ethno-cultural basis and promoted a policy of self-defence concerning the nationalizing thrust of the enlarged Romanian state” (Kántor 2005: 255). This shifting of the borders also led to instances of border crossing as commonly understood: the repatriation of a significant part of the Hungarian middle-class, who preferred to move to the new state of Hungary (Fleisz 2005: 81). Paradoxically, the lack of geographical movement resulted in what border crossing, movement across the border is associated with: the need to find and negotiate a new identity and make decisions regarding the possibilities and strategies it involves.

Borders can be crossed in many ways. Root describes four ways of experiencing, negotiating, and reconstructing borders: in the first one, the border is bridged by having two feet in both groups, suggesting the ability “to hold, merge, and respect

multiple perspectives simultaneously” (Root 1995: xxi). The second possibility is the shifting of the foreground and background, which does not mean switching loyalties, but it focuses on the situationality of ethnicity and race, and in our case citizenship. The third interpretation is decisively sitting on the border, understanding and experiencing it as the central reference point, while in the fourth approach one creates a home on one camp for a period of time and “makes forays” into other camps at some point (Root 1995: xxii). Our research focuses on how this involuntary crossing of the border was understood by the communities involved and how the negotiations of identity, of rights and the understanding of self and the other are portrayed in texts published in *Keleti Újság*, a newspaper with a defining role in representing and shaping the new Hungarian minority in the new state. As the mother tongue became the primary bearer of the national identity of the Hungarian community, its protection and safeguarding against all dangers – from the inside (the community of speakers themselves) and from the outside (the representatives of state power) – became one of the most significant topics in these negotiations (for a more detailed discussion of the issue of language, see Fazakas 2014a,b).

Methodology and a short presentation of the database

As previously stated, the study focuses on the content analysis of texts selected from the *Keleti Újság* newspaper. It was one of the most significant news outlets of the period in question: the first issue hit the stands on 24 December 1918 in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár), and it became one of the longest-published Hungarian daily newspapers of the period between the two World Wars together with *Brassói Lapok* (‘Braşov News’) (Ambrus 2009: 22). Its name was changed to *Keleti Magyar Újság* (‘Eastern Hungarian Newspaper’) on 15 June 1944, and the last issue was printed on 6 October 1944. The editorial staff, and subsequently the readership, understood the newspaper as a minority institution, playing an important role in the organization of Hungarian cultural life and offering guidance regarding the general and linguistic rights of citizens and minorities in particular while also providing an important platform for publishing new literary works in the Hungarian language (cf. Ambrus 2009: 26–27). It aimed to represent the Hungarian community in Transylvania as a whole, to inform the readers, and to facilitate the peaceful reorganization of the Transylvanian society.

The ideological stance of the paper in its first years was a radical civic or democratic one, fighting against conservative and nationalist politics, striving to bring together the different ethnic communities of the region, especially the Romanians and the Hungarians, and working to create opportunities in this new minority existence. This is well illustrated by one of the first articles published in the paper:

Let us live with dignity, with understanding, with love side by side; the white moon shines for all of us, the acacia tree blooms for all of us and there is work for the good of the community for everyone.¹ (11 January 1919)

Another excerpt from the reaction piece to an article published by the Romanian nationalist newspaper *Patria* ('Homeland') reads:

Nevertheless, the professor is mistaken again. The Hungarian people do wish to live in peace and harmony with the Romanian people.² (11 July 1920)

Several articles discussed, however, the new political situation and everything it entailed on the societal level in Romania, in Europe, and in the world itself:

Mankind has been separated into first-class and second-class countries, and the new countries have third-class people in them, who are called national minorities; the previous ones are the new owners, the latter are the new servants (...) so that previous subservience can be replaced with new ones.³ (26 February 1922)

The first period of the newspaper lasted until 1927, when it was sold to the Magyar Party (in Hungarian: *Országos Magyar Párt*, in Romanian: *Partidul Maghiar*), becoming the official news outlet of the party (cf. Győrffy 2010). The editor-in-chief after the turn was Endre Szász (until 1939) followed by József Nyírő (id.). This also meant an ideological border crossing into more radical views.

The present study is the continuation of a post-doctoral research (POSDRU/159/5.1/S/140863) which analysed the issues of multilingualism, linguistic identity, and ethnolinguistic vitality in the *Keleti Újság* newspaper, with special regard to attitudes and ideologies. In this article, we applied a multidisciplinary approach, making use of historical, sociolinguistic, sociologic, and even anthropological aspects in outlining the complex changes and shifts that defined the Transylvanian society as a whole and the Hungarian minority in particular in the given historical period.

- 1 Élünk hát becsülettel, élünk megértéssel, élünk szeretettel egymás mellett; a fehér hold mindannyiunknak ragyog, mindnyájunknak nyit az akác és akad munka is, a Közre hasznos – mindnyájunk számára. (All extracts were translated by the author. The original Hungarian extracts are transcribed with the present orthographical rules).
- 2 Pedig a professor úr megint téved. A magyar nép igenis békében és harmóniában akar élni a román néppel.
- 3 Az emberiséget felosztották elsőrendű és másodrendű országokra, sőt az új államokba még harmadrendű népeket is osztályoztak bele, elnevezvén őket népkisebbségeknek. Vannak tehát néptöbbségek és népkisebbségek; az előbbiek az új gazdák, az utóbbiak az új szolgák. (...) hogy az eddigi alárendeltségek helyébe más alárendeltségeket tegyen közéleti rendszerré.

We selected a corpus of texts from the newspaper, focusing on the periods of high political and societal instability and volatility: the years between 1919 and 1922 (the first years after the shifting of the border, when Transylvania became part of Romania) as well as the years 1939 and 1940 (right before and after the Second Vienna Award, as the result of which the northern part of Transylvania was annexed to Hungary). The texts were included based on their relevance to the research topic and research objectives: they either express explicit standpoints on the issue of languages (such as Hungarian as mother tongue, Romanian as the language of the state, opinions on speaking and learning foreign languages, issues of minority language rights, issues of minority language use, etc.) or they include some kind of a reference to the languages spoken, used, or somehow present (for example, as parts of the linguistic landscape as defined by Landry–Bourhis 1997) in the region and in the country, together with the questions regarding teaching and learning foreign languages. A separate group of texts is represented by advertisements that are connected to the issue of languages in some way: advertisements of jobs that require some level of language skills, advertisements of people looking for jobs who decide to share information on their personal language skills, advertisements of dictionaries and textbooks (mainly of foreign languages but of Romanian as well) as well as advertisements written in foreign languages. Our database features approximately 50,000 words from texts of various genres (lead articles, articles, news, advertisements, literary texts, etc.). All of these were subjected to content analysis. This article focuses on the texts that discuss the issue of identity and the attitudes towards the shifting of the borders.

Shaping and reshaping identities

As stated above, the mother tongue, the Hungarian language, and the Hungarian culture as the primary bearer of identity is a recurrent topic in several texts published in the newspaper. One early example is the following:

Extract 1: We are and we shall always be Hungarians, as the kiss of a Hungarian mother made us Hungarians and we have been raised in the Hungarian culture. The inscription on our headstones will be Hungarian, too... No one can ask for a different faith from us, as the son of a Romanian mother wants to die in dignity, too, faithful to his roots, language, culture.⁴ (11 January 1919)

4 Magyarok vagyunk és magyarok leszünk, mert magyar anya csókja avatott magyarrá bennünket és magyar kultúrában nevelődtünk. Magyar lesz a fejfánk verse is... Senki se követelhet más hitet tőlünk, mert a román anya fia is becsületesen akar meghalni, hűséggel ragaszkodva származásához, nyelvéhez, kultúrájához.

The extract above shows an unquestionable loyalty towards the Hungarian national identity, which is defined by several biological and cultural factors. The figure of the mother on its own is a substantive element in the construction of a national identity, as “women are typically construed as the symbolic bearers of the nation” (McClintock 1993: 62). As Yildiz stresses, there is a “manufactured proximity between ‘mother’ and ‘language’”, which illustrates how the modern notion of the mother tongue is represented as something that “emanates from the mother’s body” (Yildiz 2012: 12). The same ideological position is outlined in the following fragment as well:

Extract 2: I was given birth to be a Hungarian by my mother, my blessed father educated me to be a Hungarian, I have always felt and declared myself to be Hungarian, even in this instant, I want to and I will live on this blessed land, which is an integrant part of Romania.⁵ (a speech given by György Bernády, the future mayor of Târgu-Mureş/Marosvásárhely, 26 May 1921)

Both fragments bear witness to the need of the Hungarian community in Transylvania to formulate their identities as opposed to the national identities of other ethnic groups living in the same region and in the context of the new state. This leads to the conclusion that the crossing of geographical and political borders (regardless of agency) most definitely results in the outlining, naming, and embracing of categories of identity that had not been as crucial in the definition of self and of the group. It becomes obvious that such attempts to shape identity make use of aspects that could be understood as internal and external: the internal ones focus on innate, biological, cultural arguments that exist on their own (*I am Hungarian because I was born Hungarian, I was taught this language, and I was raised in this culture*), while the external ones define identity as opposed to another one (*I am Hungarian because I am not Romanian or any other nationality*).

The issue of the new state borders and everything it entails is also discussed in several texts published in the newspaper. The next extract is an early example:

Extract 3: New borders have been rounded up and outlined for us before the tribunal of the Paris panel of judges, and it is not the first time this newspaper publishes the repeated statement that we do not want to bring harm to the integrity of these borders by any means here. However, within the outlined and determined framework, the emergence of a new life

5 Magyarnak szült édesanyám, magyarnak nevelt áldott emlékű jó atyám, magyarnak éreztem és vallottam magamat mindig, annak érzem és vallom magamat e pillanatban is, magyarként akarok és fogok itt ez áldott, ma Románia integráns részét képező földön tovább élni.

unfolds, the goodness or heaviness of which is not indifferent to anyone who has been assigned to this land by his or her own fate.⁶ (16 March 1921)

The fragment illustrates the conflicting attitudes towards the new geographical border: it is both something that is artificial and manufactured, thus dynamic and volatile, but also something that needs to be respected and fully accepted by the communities impacted by it, and – from this point of view – it is best understood as something decided by fate. In this approach the border is reiterated by the decision of the people to respect it and to continue their lives according to it, and this can also be interpreted as a form of re-claiming agency.

The fight for minority rights and minority language rights stems from similar approaches to the new border and the new state it defines: the in-group definition and shaping of minority identity is usually followed by the endeavour to have this identity accepted and recognized by the majority. And as the majority holds sovereignty, it is the one to decide upon the rights of minority groups, may those be political, linguistic, cultural, or educational. It is not the aim of this present paper to give a thorough analysis of the issue of minority rights in Romania between the two World Wars; nevertheless, it is important to stress how the right to use one's mother tongue in official settings as well as the right to education in the mother tongue became crucial in the negotiations of personal and group identities within the new Romanian state. Many texts included in the database invoke arguments from the realms of both emotions and reason. According to these, the emotional connection to the mother tongue is natural, and it is reasonable for people to use their mother tongues in every aspect of life. This is why the granting of minority language rights could lead to a harmonious society:

Extract 4: Here the use of language is not defined by territorial assignment but by individual or joint determination (...) However, today more than ever, the eternal laws of progress make it the most sacred individual right for everyone to use any language of the state-forming nations in all walks of life. And this is not only about justice or equity or expediency. But for the spiritual harmony of the peoples living within the same state community. Now the love of one's mother tongue is most natural and one of the most majestic human things.⁷ (3 July 1921)

6 Számunkra új országhatárokat kerekítették ki és rajzoltak meg a világháborút befejező párizsi döntőbíróság ítélszéke előtt s nem először jelenik meg ezeken a hasábocon az az ismételt kijelentés, hogy e határok épségét egy betűvel sem kívánjuk itt sérteni. A megrajzolt és elrendelt keretek között azonban új élet keletkezése bontakozik ki, amelynek jósága, vagy terhesége nem közömbös senkire, akit e földterületre rendelt a maga sorsa.

7 Itt nem a területi beosztás, de az egyéni, vagy testületi elhatározás szabja meg a nyelv használatát. (...) Ám a haladás örök természetű törvényei ma még inkább, mint ezelőtt, egyik legszentebb egyéni joggá teszik mindenkinek az államalkotó nemzetek bármelyik nyelvének az

Although the border is not explicitly mentioned in this fragment, the state defined by it is central in this reasoning as well as the need for the peoples living within the state to have the same rights. It is another example when the writer tries to build an argument by trying to find a connection with the other, in our case, the Romanian majority: the universal love of one's mother-tongue can function as a common denominator in negotiating minority language rights for the Hungarian community. This type of reasoning is important not only in order to address the majority but also to shape the ways the minority community conceptualizes and constructs its own identity invoking inalienable, universal rights.

Old spaces, new spaces: Memory landscapes or contesting the border?

Borders define and shape space: in the context of our analysis, the border crosses over spaces which are thus reinterpreted in terms of the power relations between the different cultures inhabiting that particular area. Linguistic landscape analysis provides a valuable tool in understanding the visibility of specific populations and communities based on the presence and distribution of languages in a particular linguistic landscape. According to Blommaert and Maly, public spaces are not only social arenas but also instruments of power, discipline, and regulation: they organize the social dynamics deployed in that space (Blommaert–Maly 2014: 3). This is closely connected to the above-discussed notion of memory landscapes or contested border regions, where elements of the linguistic landscape become places of ethnic memory.

The question of space and visible presence is discussed in several texts in our database, and this signals their importance not only from the point of view of the minority community, who wish to keep as much of their “old spaces” as possible, but also from the point of view of the new majority, who wants to take over these places and shape them according to their new functions and representations. This becomes possible as signs (in our case, place names, street names, street signs, advertisements, etc.) point towards the past, the future, to their intended audience but also to the present through their “emplacement” (Scollon–Scollon 2003, qtd by Blommaert–Maly 2014: 4). Thus, linguistic landscape and its regulation is much more than public administration policy: it defines, acknowledges, or ignores groups living in that particular space. This is the reason why the issues connected to linguistic landscapes were always of a

összes életviszonyokban használhatóságát. És pedig nemcsak a jog és nemcsak a méltányosság, vagy célszerűség szempontjából. De az egymással egy államközösségben élő népek lelki összhangja érdekében. Most az anyanyelv szeretete a legtermészetesebb s egyik legfenségesebb emberi dolog.

particular importance in multicultural and multilingual communities, especially around shifts in administrative power and state sovereignty.

Several texts published in the newspaper discuss the question of the regulation of street names, names of businesses, inscriptions, etc. The minority approach is always striving for visibility and trying to secure this right by law: the ministerial decree of 1920 regarding the bilingual use of street names in bilingual communities, however, was not taken into consideration by the local authorities, something that was discussed at length in the paper. Granting such rights was decided thus by local authorities, who frequently chose to disregard minority communities by the erasure of minority language elements from the linguistic landscape:

Extract 5: It has been disposed under serious fines that the merchants and businesses use signs and inscriptions in the future that are displayed mainly in the Romanian language.⁸ (4 December 1920)

Our following example describes the intolerant attitudes not only of some local authorities towards minority language inscriptions but also of citizens who do not agree with displaying such elements of the linguistic landscape and decide to tear them down:

Extract 6: The mood was especially negative in the Saxon towns in connection with the intolerant attitudes of the governing committee that allows only Romanian inscriptions. There are several purely Hungarian and Romanian towns in Transylvania and Banat, where only Romanian language inscriptions are tolerated, and it even happened that at night irresponsible elements tore down the business inscriptions they did not like.⁹ (19 January 1921)

The practice of destroying or vandalizing minority language inscriptions can be observed even today in frequent cases of painting over Hungarian place names, sometimes using the colours of the Romanian flag.¹⁰ This indicates the symbolic importance of the visible presence of minority communities and the historically embedded responses of “gaining back” territory and the inclination to interpret

8 Súlyos pénzbírság terhe alatt elrendelte, hogy a kereskedők és kereskedelmi vállalatok a jövőben csak oly cégtáblákat és címfeliratokat vehetnek alkalmazásba, amelyek elsősorban román nyelven vannak kiállítva.

9 Különösen a szász városokban volt éles a hangulat a kormányzótanács akkori türelmetlen politikája miatt, mely nem akart csak román felírásokat megtűrni. Ma is igen sok szinte tiszta magyar vagy német város van Erdélyben és Bánátban, ahol csak román nyelvű feliratokat tűrtek meg, sőt megtörtént, hogy a rendelet végrehajtóiul felelőtlen elemek szegődtek, akik egyszerűen éjjel letépték a nem tetsző cégtáblákat.

10 See, for example: <https://kronika.ro/erdelyi-hirek/trikolor-a-magyar-helysegnevtablakon>.

these to achieve and enforce minority rights as an attack against the majority community and the state itself.

Another fragment describes the situation in Târgu-Mureş/Marosvásárhely at the beginning of the 1920s:

Extract 7: It has been reported from Târgu-Mureş that the new police superintendent has started his activity by decrees on language use. The coachmen are supposed to know only Romanian street names, they are not supposed to go and to lift the whip ('drive') to old Hungarian street names. This is how he wants to whip out the memory of Hungarian street names.¹¹ (11 May 1922)

Extract 7 illustrates the way such cases were understood by the writers of the newspaper as well as the interpretations that were provided for the readership: space is never neutral, space is owned, and this ownership is visible. This fragment also represents a case of explicit erasure: the very existence of previous Hungarian names is being actively denied by the authorities; not only street names but the history and memory of the place itself is being overwritten.

From the point of view of critical discourse analysis, the texts published in the *Keleti Újság* newspaper before 1940 can be classified as belonging to what Fairclough calls "dominated (marginalized, 'alternative') practices" in the sense that the practices and representations are not those of the dominant group within the social network (Fairclough 1995: 12). This changes with another border crossing: society and subsequently power relations were rearranged as the result of the Second Vienna Award, where the frontiers between the two countries were moved again, and Northern Transylvania became part of Hungary once more. Discourses are reordered, and dominating practices can now be identified within the newspaper. We call these "echoes of re-crossing" that are conceptualized as a "return" to the natural order. What used to be the willingness of the minority in the dominated practice is now the expectation of the majority in the dominant one in terms of state sovereignty:

Extract 8: We are unbrokenly loyal to our kind, and our hard, veritable Hungarianness is complemented by an understanding nationality policy. However, it is an indispensable condition for the sons of the Hungarian motherland who speak different languages to understand and express

11 A rendelet szerint a bérkocsisoknak csak román utcanévet szabad tudniuk, a régi magyar utcanévekre nem szabad hajtaniuk és ostort emelniük. Ilyen finoman akarja kiostorozni a magyar utcanévek emlékét.

their attachment and loyalty to the state [i.e. the new Hungarian state].¹² (3 August 1943)

The extract continues with an illustration of the shift in discourse from dominated to dominant:

Extract 9: If we had suppressed the foreigners who moved here in the past one thousand years as they say we did, there would be no nationalities living here today.¹³ (3 August 1943)

History did not stop with this second border crossing: on 12 September 1944, the borders shifted again, and the ones defined in the Treaty of Trianon were reaffirmed in 1947. The last issue of the *Keleti Újság* was printed on 6 October 1944, less than a month after the establishment of the new political order, and most of the last issues were destroyed in the war.

Conclusions

Our analysis shows that the concept of the border and of border crossing in the case of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania between the two World Wars is a particular instance of border crossing: there is no will, no agency, and ultimately there are no clearly established strategies to manage it. The border was crossed by Transylvania as a whole, or, more precisely, Transylvania was crossed by the border.

The negotiations and renegotiations of identity in terms of minority language use, language rights, minority language education but also the issue of the visibility of the former majority is crucial in understanding the media representations of this new minority trying to find its place in a state which is not always benevolent towards the nationalities “stuck” within its borders. In our understanding, the repercussions of the volatility of the European borders still affect the Hungarian community in Transylvania today, meaning that one hundred years after the first border crossing there are still no clear strategies to experience and negotiate borders and crossing them in Root’s terms.

12 A magunk fajtájához való töretlen hűség, a kemény, gerinces magyarságunk mellett megértő nemzetiségi politikát folytatunk. Ennek elengedhetetlen feltétele azonban, hogy a magyar haza más ajkú fiai megértést tanúsítsanak és kifejezzék az államhoz való ragaszkodásukat és hűségüket.

13 Ha mi elnyomtuk volna az ezer éven át ide beköltözött idegeneket, mint ahogyan ezt ránk fogják, akkor ma még hírmondója sem lenne a nemzetiségeknek.

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The Translation of Ellipsis as Identity Marker in the Literary Dialogue

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Abstract. Apart from the ellipsis occurring in discourse as a fairly common cohesive device, the literary dialogue oftentimes uses ellipsis as a stylistic or rhetorical device or as a means of endowing characters with idiolectal or sociolectal features. This paper examines such instances of ellipsis which contribute to the construction of the literary heroes' identity through their speech, while providing them with features distinguishing them from the other characters either in terms of social identity or emotional state. The study is based on examples depicted from the dialogue of a number of literary works written in English and selected so as to exhibit a variety of functions which ellipsis acquires to complete some heroes' identity or state of mind. Considering the importance of the information embedded in such ellipses, a contrastive approach to translation is obvious. The analysis focuses on the translation of ellipsis from English into Romanian and scrutinizes the situations when structural differences between English and Romanian prevent formal equivalence, which triggers an important loss of information in translation. The findings lead to conclusions relative to translation solutions that can be adopted to compensate for the scarcity of structural similarities between the two languages in contact in translation.

Keywords: ellipsis, translation, contrastiveness, literary heroes' identity, stylistics

1. Introduction

Research into fictional dialogue can adopt multiple perspectives as it can fall within the scope of several disciplines. Broadly speaking, it can pertain to areas within literary and cultural studies (narratology, stylistics, critical analysis, etc.) or within linguistics (pragmatics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, language studies, etc.). The study presented herein adopts a primarily linguistic approach, which nevertheless is highly interdisciplinary in nature, stretching its reach up to areas of literary studies.

Considering that the objective of the study has been a contrastive analysis of ellipsis from a translational perspective, there are necessary conceptual borrowings from translation studies, contrastive linguistics, and discourse analysis. In addition, being an analysis based on a corpus of literary works that focuses on dialogue, it requires methodological and conceptual input from corpus linguistics and sociolinguistics but also from literary studies, literary and linguistic stylistics.

In more concrete terms, the aims of this study have been to (i) identify the elliptical dialogic turns that carry stylistic, idiolectal, or sociolectal functions, (ii) to investigate their translatability from English into Romanian, and (iii) to examine them contrastively.

The motivation triggering this approach is the recurrent recognition of language markers employed by quite a number of novelists and short-story writers so as to display features of the interacting literary characters' personal and social identities, their state of mind, emotional involvement and/or to reveal information about the social context. An illustrative selection of the investigated dialogic utterances of each category will be presented in the analysis section.

Ellipsis has been identified to be often engaged as a stylistic, idiolectal, or sociolectal marker. This, from a translational angle, raises the question whether formal equivalence becomes relevant in a literary context in which overall dynamic equivalence – to use Nida's denomination – is undisputedly desired (Nida 1964). This problem is also tackled in the analysis section below. The extraction of the examples took account of the functions and values of ellipsis beyond what qualifies it as a fairly common cohesive device. The analysis section pursues some functional categories of ellipses that have been identified in the corpus compiled for this particular purpose.

2. Theoretical considerations

2.1. The literary heroes: Speech and identity

As Thomas (2012) claims, experimenting with dialogue is a key constituent of modernist and postmodernist literature. In the same line, Genette asserts that experimentation with the speech of literary heroes is “one of the main paths of emancipation in the modern novel” (Genette 1980: 173). For dialogue is not only vital in advancing the plot and providing information about characters' actions, but it is also crucial in introducing the readership into their social worlds (Thomas, 2012). Sundry scholars have delved into the variety of devices used by fictional prose writers to capture the stylistic load and speech peculiarities of literary heroes (Bishop 1991, Fludernik 1993, Herman 2006, Kinzel–Mildorf

2012, Thomas 2012, etc.). Some even seem to appreciate writers' success by the extent to which their "ear" is fine-tuned to dialogue (Thomas 2012).

Besides the direct immersion into the characters' nature via the auctorial voice, the dialogue offers the possibility for the indirect inference of the characters' thoughts, feelings, habits, desires, preferences, etc. Their speech is an excellent source for retrieving the "linguistic fingerprint" that exhibits their idiolect (Coulthard 2004) in an unmediated way, when the author steps back. This, along with the information about the social environment they are part of, distinguishes them from the other interacting individuals.

In this particular context, sociolinguistics is the discipline which primarily offers the scientific grounds and overall conceptual framework for the present study. This is because sociolinguistics deals with the study of language in its social context. The manner in which language is socially dependent has been granted substantial scholarly attention (Bell 1976, Hudson 1996, Bonaffini 1997, Trudgill 2000, Gardiner 2008, Holmes 2008, Spolsky 2010, Wardhaugh 2010, etc.). One of the reasons is that "[t]he way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the social relationships in a community, and the way speakers signal aspects of their social identity through their language" (Holmes 2008: 1). Spolsky (2010) explains that sociolinguistics examines the social and individual language variation, which, according to Bonaffini, "not only pertains to the depiction of local colour, but plays a key role in distinguishing and individualizing the various characters of a work of literature" (Bonaffini 1997: 280). Language variation further determines the sociolect, which is defined as "a variety or lect which is thought of as being related to its speakers' social background rather than geographical background" (Trudgill 2003: 122) and separates social groups by social factors such as age, gender, class, ethnicity, education, or religion (Hudson 1996).

With all this in view, sociolinguistics can be claimed a matter of the literary heroes' self-portrayal, crucially contributing to the full construction of their identity.

2.2. Ellipsis

A synthetic definition of ellipsis derived from scholarly considerations would describe it as the omission of a second mention of some language items the meaning of which is implicit and can be effectively retrieved from the context (Toolan 1998, Wilson 2000, Merchant 2001, McShane 2005, Johnson 2008). Thereby, an unnecessary repetition is avoided, which generates a cohesive textual relation, ensures propositional development, and enhances the communicative effectiveness. A point in the flow of the text is made sense of by making a mental connection to some adjacent text, the so-called co-text. Cohesion by means of

ellipsis is especially common in two-party dialogues, in which the second party can customize his/her responses so as to incorporate the substance of the first party's claim without actually repeating it verbatim.

But the syntactic gaps or lexical omissions present in fictional work are not only matters of enhanced cohesion but often provide stylistic effect. Deviations from complete or explicit syntactic patterns as well as the lexical scarcity determined by ellipsis can foster the expressiveness of the discourse (Arhire 2011). Merchant even claims that “[n]owhere does this sound–meaning correspondence break down more spectacularly than in the case of ellipsis” (Merchant 2001: 1).

The occurrence of ellipsis as a cohesive device or formal link pertains to the linguistic norms, while its use for stylistic purposes is excluded from the grammatical framework. What is more, besides its being a cohesive and stylistic device, ellipsis can also be employed in the construction of personal and social identities of literary heroes. This is the case when elliptical structures are used in a deviant or idiosyncratic manner in some characters' speech only, distinguishing them from the others. Ellipsis can thus become a speech marker meant to point out some literary heroes' idiolect or sociolect and integrate them in a particular social category. The idiolectal or sociolectal functions that ellipses can acquire in the dialogue of some literary characters are presented in the analysis section along with their translatability from English into Romanian.

3. The translation of ellipsis: Analysis

Considering the different possible values of ellipsis presented in the previous section, its translation requires different, dedicated approaches. Moreover, since ellipsis makes a contribution to the semantics and stylistics of the text, the question arises whether its translation should not be approached formally in the attempt to preserve ellipsis as an idiosyncratic or stylistic marker in the target language. To what extent this is possible will be investigated below.

The examples analysed in the following sections are divided by the functions ellipses carry: as formal links, as markers for some literary heroes' idiolect or sociolect, or as stylistic devices. They have been selected for this investigation from several English works of fiction in prose, the translation of which is discussed, while indicating contrastive aspects between English and Romanian.

3.1. Ellipsis as a cohesive device

As with any formal link, the translator resorts to whatever cohesive device is reasonably available in the target language. The examples below are just meant to illustrate that, if no additional values are attached to ellipsis (marked by Δ) apart

from its being a cohesive device, a meaningful translation poses no problems irrespective of the cohesive device used in the target language. What is to be obtained is only a similarly cohesive and meaningful version, with no point in preserving ellipsis as a formal link:

- (1) *“I don’t remember, Cynthia. I really don’t Δ.”*
“You got to Δ.” (Paley 1983: 392).
 – Nu-mi amintesc, Cynthia. Chiar nu-mi amintesc.
 – Trebuie să-ți amintești.
 ‘I don’t remember, Cynthia. I really don’t remember.
 You got to remember.’ (back translation)
- (2) *“If I wanted, I could call her up right now and tell her and she’d start back tonight.”*
“Why don’t you Δ?” (Jones 1983: 77)
 – Dacă aș vrea, aș putea s-o sun chiar acum să-i spun și ar fi înapoi în seara asta.
 – De ce n-o suni?
 ‘If I wanted, I could call her up right now and tell her and she’d start back tonight.
 Why don’t you call her?’ (back translation)

The use of ellipsis is not possible in Romanian, but the repetition of the same lexical item is suitably applied twice in the translation of example (1) and once in example (2). Thereby, the cohesive texture of the Romanian version is well established.

3.2. Ellipsis as sociolectal or idiolectal marker

The analysis in this section follows the distinction of elliptical structures by the functions they bear to mark some literary characters according to their belonging to a social class. Therefore, the dialogic turns have been selected so as to illustrate their particular sociolect or idiolect as well as power relationships between heroes interacting in the dialogue.

The following examples exhibit either some characters’ language variety, their low educational background, or their belonging to a lower social class as compared to their interlocutors. They all comprise deviant grammatical speech acts, all of which make recurrent use of ellipsis.

3.2.1. Low-class sociolect and non-standard language

Ungrammatical, elliptical utterances have been identified consistently in the speech of characters from a number of literary works. These language features sometimes indicate some heroes' belonging to a low social class, but some other times they can be just indicators of familiar speech. Non-standard language occurs frequently in dialogue as colloquial speech and to implicitly mark the close relationship between the interacting literary heroes, without necessarily individualizing any character's personality. This is evident especially when both interactants in the dialogue use the same register level, and it substantially impacts the social context of the literary work. Whether they are matters of personal or social identity, the language phenomena are similar for low-class sociolects and for familiar, non-standard language. As will be demonstrated below, Romanian familiar speech does not resort to ellipsis in a similar way as English does. The most frequent ellipses occur in the English verb phrase and entail the omission of auxiliary verbs in English (have, do, be, would, etc.) but sometimes also of the copular verb. They often occur in interrogative sentences:

- (3) “*Δ You divorced?*” (Miller 1983: 130).
 – Ai divorțat?
 ‘Have you divorced?’ (back translation)
- (4) “*Δ You really want me to stay?*” (Jones 1983: 75).
 – Chiar vrei să rămân?
 ‘Do you really want me to stay?’ (back translation)
- (5) “*Δ You comin in here and have a drink?*” (Jones 1983: 75).
 – Intri să bei ceva?
 ‘Are you comin in here and have a drink?’ (back translation)

The translations of all these examples are complete and correct utterances in Romanian. There is no possible way to use ellipsis of auxiliary verbs since Romanian interrogatives are not constructed with any auxiliary verb. Instead, the main verb inflects the information about the subject.

But even in a situation when Romanian does resort to auxiliary verbs, as in the conjunctive mood (*conjunctiv*), the auxiliary cannot be omitted. Although this would be practically possible, it would create an unnatural Romanian utterance, comprising a mistake that no low educated Romanian would ever make. Therefore, the omission of the auxiliary verb would be rather indicative of a foreigner's speech and would thereby change the hero's identity. In the following example, besides the auxiliary *would*, the subject *you* is also omitted. Neither this ellipsis

can be formally transferred to Romanian due to the main verb inflection. The translation is a fully correct sentence in Romanian, as well:

- (6) “ Δ Δ Like to win some money?” (Miller 1983: 129)
 – Ai vrea să câștigi niște bani?
 ‘Would you like to win some money?’ (back translation)

The translation of the ellipsis of auxiliary verbs present in positive sentences follows the same patterns, whether they would be needed for the correct expression of perfect, continuous, and future tenses or modalities in Standard English:

- (7) “You Δ done all right.” (Miller 1983: 132)
 – Ai făcut ce trebuie.
 ‘You have done all right.’ (back translation)
- (8) “I Δ been married four times in five years.” (Jones 1983: 77)
 – Am fost căsătorit de patru ori în cinci ani.
 ‘I have been married four times in five years.’ (back translation)
- (9) “That Δ be fun.” (Paley 1983: 390)
 – Va fi distractiv.
 ‘That will be fun.’ (back translation)
- (10) “You ought to Δ seen their faces.” (Miller 1983: 130)
 – Trebuia să le fi văzut fețele.
 ‘You ought to have seen their faces.’ (back translation)
- (11) “They Δ be glad.” (Miller 1983: 129)
 – S-ar bucura.
 ‘They would be glad.’ (back translation)

In rare cases, even the copular verb is omitted from some speaker’s utterance:

- (12) “He Δ a natural gift giver.” (Paley 1983: 391)
 – E un generos înnăscut.
 ‘He is a natural gift giver.’ (back translation)

The ellipsis of the copular verb in Romanian would be forced and rather unnatural. The translation therefore is rendered in its full expression.

The ellipsis of the subject occurs at times as well. As previously mentioned, in Romanian, the information about the subject is inflected by the main verb

and is not explicitly mentioned – so, its omission is not possible. The following examples are indicative thereof:

- (13) “ Δ *Don’t know.*” (Miller 1983: 132)
 – Nu știu.
 ‘I don’t know.’ (back translation)
- (14) “ Δ *Might go north, I think.*” (Miller 1983: 132)
 – S-ar putea s-o ia spre nord, cred.
 ‘They might go north, I think.’ (back translation)
- (15) “ Δ *Might not like some of the passengers.*” (Miller 1983: 132)
 – S-ar putea să nu-i placă unii pasageri.
 ‘He might not like some of the passengers.’ (back translation)

The subject and the auxiliary verb are sometimes simultaneously omitted. The translation of such language instances also generates correct utterances in Romanian for the same reasons as in the examples above:

- (16) “ $\Delta \Delta$ *See what I mean?*” (Jones 1983: 77)
 – Înțelegi ce vreau să zic?
 ‘Do you see what I mean?’ (back translation)
- (17) “ $\Delta \Delta$ *Hear?*” (Paley 1983: 390)
 – Auzi?
 ‘Can you hear?’ (back translation)

Other grammatical items are sometimes omitted from the speech of characters also without affecting the semantics of the utterances but indicating or confirming some identity features of certain characters. Here is the ellipsis of the definite article:

- (18) “*My last wife left me Δ day before yesterday.*” (Jones 1983: 77)
 – Nevastă-mea m-a părăsit alaltăieri.
 ‘My last wife left me the day before yesterday.’ (back translation)

The only Romanian equivalent of *the day before yesterday* is the single lexical item *alaltăieri*; so, no ellipsis is possible.

3.2.2. Foreigner's speech

Idiolectal features might appear in the speech of foreigners. As compared to the deviant structures attributed to native speakers, the ones occurring in the speech of foreigners are less structured, less typical and might be quite unexpected. However, their translation can be easier since the language mistakes do not need to be necessarily authentic ones made by native speakers of a target language. That is why they allow for more flexibility and dynamism in translation. What is nevertheless necessary is the consistency of deviant patterns used by the respective literary character throughout his/her speech. Some of the mistakes identified in the elliptical utterances of a foreigner in the short story *Goose Pond* by Thomas Williams (1983) are similar to those discussed in the previous sections:

- (19) “ $\Delta \Delta$ Do for you?” (Williams 1983: 147)
 – Δ În regulă pentru tine?
 ‘ Δ It all right for you?’* (back translation)

The double ellipsis above, that of the auxiliary and the subject, can be rendered in Romanian by a single ellipsis. Even if there is no equivalent in Romanian for the omitted subject *it*, which cancels the possibility of ellipsis, the omission of the verb is possible. The result is a meaningful interrogative sentence with no explicit verb, which could be a believable expression for a foreigner.

The ellipsis in the following example affects only the auxiliary verb in an interrogative sentence, which cannot be translated by a reasonable equivalent into Romanian:

- (20) “ Δ You going to shoot?” (Williams 1983: 150)
 – Ai de gând să tragi?
 ‘Are you going to shoot?’ (back translation)

Just like in other examples presented above, the Romanian main verb inflects the information about the subject and no auxiliary verb is used in questions. Therefore, the translation can only be a correct interrogative sentence.

Some other times, the foreigner in the short story issues untypical utterances, which no English native would use:

- (21) “*In the umbrella stand Δ is some arrows.*” (Williams 1983: 150)
 – E niște săgeți în suportul de umbrelă.*
 ‘In the umbrella stand there is some arrows.’ (back translation)

This dialogic statement includes the ellipsis of the subject only, which is implicit in Romanian. Therefore, the ellipsis is not possible. But the other language mistake, namely the disagreement between the plural subject and the singular verb can be preserved in Romanian.

The ellipsis of the auxiliary verb in the construction of the continuous aspect, as in the example below, provides a convincing illustration of a foreigner's speech:

- (22) "*The children Δ going crazy they couldn't shoot.*" (Williams 1983: 150)
 – Copiii înnebunesc că n-au tras.
 'The children are going crazy they couldn't shoot.' (back translation)

Romanian does not possess a continuous aspect and has only one present tense (*prezent*), which is constructed with no auxiliary verb. So, the ellipsis is not possible, and the translation can only be fully and correctly expressed.

The ellipsis of the preposition also occurs in rare cases:

- (23) "*Just a couple Δ small herds left.*" (Williams 1983: 132)
 – Au mai rămas doar câteva turme mici.
 'Just a couple of small herds left.' (back translation)

The omission of the preposition in Romanian would create an unnatural way of expression even in careless speech. Therefore, it is not a desired solution.

3.3. The stylistic value of ellipsis

Apart from its being a cohesive device or having the function of displaying literary heroes' idiosyncratic speech, ellipsis can also be engaged in the expression of emotionally charged utterances. In the following example, it is the ellipsis of an adjective which makes nostalgia traceable, whereas the explicit version would have been neutral:

- (24) "*We really had some Δ times.*" (Jones 1983: 80)
 – Ce timpuri Δ am trăit!

The ellipsis of an adjective specifically determining the noun is possible in Romanian, too, with the emotional content preserved.

However, the Romanian structural peculiarity in the next example prevents the translation by ellipsis, thereby reducing the level of the hero's hesitant position:

- (25) “*Anyway, I’ll be goddamned if I know what to do. Δ Wait around? Δ Pretend she’s never coming back?*” (Friedman 1983: 308)
 – Oricum, să fiu al naibii dacă știu ce să fac. Să aștept? Să mă prefac că nu se mai întoarce?
 ‘Anyway, I’ll be goddamned if I know what to do. Shall I wait? Shall I pretend she’s not coming back?’ (back translation)

The back translation in example (25) illustrates the equivalent complete Romanian translation, which cannot omit the full expression of the conjunctive mood needed to render the meaning. The speaker’s lack of authority and self-confidence can be inferred from the repetition of the conjunctive mood in the two questions, but it is significantly reduced in intensity.

4. Findings

The analysis focused on the translation from English into Romanian of ellipsis identified in the dialogue of several works of fiction. Three types of ellipses have been subject to investigation: (i) as a cohesive device, (ii) as sociolectal and idiolectal marker, and (iii) as a stylistic device.

In the cases when ellipsis had the exclusive function to establish the cohesive flow of the discourse, its equivalent in Romanian was repetition. The use of repetition as a cohesive device did not affect the meaning or the cohesive texture of the dialogue. This proves that cohesiveness is not a matter of one-to-one formal equivalence in translation. Even if the ellipses in the source-language text cannot be translated by ellipses, another formal link can suitably take its stead.

It is evident though that when ellipsis bears additional functions, affecting either the social context or the stylistic content of the work, a formal approach to translation might be desirable. However, the investigation revealed that the translation of ellipsis is most of the times impossible due to structural differences between English and Romanian, which triggers certain losses of either information regarding the characters’ identity and emotional state or of stylistic effect.

The most frequent elliptical identity marker traced out in the dialogues is the omission of auxiliary verbs in interrogative sentences but also in some positive ones. From a contrastive perspective, the preservation of such ellipsis is not possible in Romanian due to the main verb inflecting the information about the subject in terms of person, number, and gender. For the same reason, the additional or sole omission of the subject in some utterances is formally untranslatable as well. Another finding is that ellipsis pertains both to the verb phrase and the noun phrase, both categories displaying lack of equivalence in translation. Even if the translation can preserve the surface semantics of the message (as it always

can), there is a significant loss of information in terms of social context and/or stylistic load. Therefore, the translation of such ellipses lies beyond the formal equivalence level, but a dynamic or functional equivalence approach is needed although formal equivalence might be desired.

This study revealed also that the particular idiolectal or sociolectal values of ellipsis embedded in the dialogic turns require different, dedicated approaches. More precisely, the implicit information about the heroes' low social status or their use of non-standard language is more difficult to render in translation because the deviant structures that occur in their speech need to be translated by authentic deviant structures of the target language. In contrast, the foreigner's deviant elliptical speech allows for a more flexible approach since the language mistakes do not need to be typical of the native target-language speakers.

5. Conclusions

The variety of literary works used as corpus for the extraction of the examples for analysis indicates a noteworthy occurrence of ellipsis with sociolectal/idiolectal information and stylistic content. The contemporary authors' experimenting with dialogue brings about new challenges in the act of translation. Ellipsis is but one of the language devices employed in the delivery of additional content at deep semantic level. The lack of equivalence between English and Romanian causes significant losses in the target readership reception and perception in the absence of some compensatory measures. The strategy to be adopted for the compensation of the full semantic and stylistic content ultimately envisages the functional equivalence of language devices. Moreover, due to the diversity of the functions embedded in language devices, this compensation strategy is to be designed in a dedicated manner, taking into account the macro-contextual level of each literary work. In such an encounter and in the particular case of translations into Romanian, the authentic deviant language structures can be searched for in collections of typical language mistakes made by native speakers of Romanian. Such language mistakes can be others than the ones used in the source language. Important is that they authentically display the personal or social features of the speaker and they are consistently used throughout his/her speech acts. Possible deviant Romanian structures that can be introduced wherever possible and suitable in the dialogue would be: subject–predicate disagreement, incorrect use of demonstrative articles and connectors, etc. (Sporiş 2013: 18–29).

In short, when ellipsis is a cohesive device only, its translation is not problematic. Even if ellipsis cannot be formally translated by ellipsis, other cohesive devices will be used to effectively provide the cohesive texture of the target-language text. Nevertheless, as Baker asserts, “[t]he lack of a grammatical device can make the

translation of the entire conceptual information very difficult indeed” (1992: 86–87). It may even change the load of information in the target language as compared to the source-language text (Baker 1992: 86). When ellipsis acquires additional values and cannot be translated as such, it needs dedicated means of compensation with authenticity and consistency being crucial selection criteria and functional equivalence being the aim even if formal language means carry essential information.

The conclusions and the suggested translation solutions in this study can be extended to other language pairs and used in translator-training environments. Nonetheless, further investigations could complete the findings and adjust the conclusions if other language devices were scrutinized and additional or different corpora were used as grounds for investigation.

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The Image of Women in Romanian Advertisements: The 1930s. A Discourse Analysis Approach

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Abstract. This article aims at picturing the image of women as portrayed in Romanian advertising during the 1930s. Torn between forward-looking associations fighting for equal rights and traditionalist tendencies confining the woman to the household, the female image, as captured by adverts, underwent spectacular changes, as a reflection of the mentalities and implications generated by the historical and social background.

Keywords: female image, feminist movement, inter-war years, the discourse of advertising, discourse analysis

1. Introduction: Aims and methodology

The present study starts from the assumption that the discourse framework of advertisements represents an important mechanism through which one can investigate how a society is built, viewing it as a cultural, political, economic, and social microcosm. Advertising captures, registers, and renders in a faithful manner the realities of an epoch, evaluating its various constitutive elements synchronically. The canvas of the advertising discourse is imbued with and absorbs the image of the background against which it is painted, committing to the long-term memory of humanity the features and characteristics of the period of time it mirrors.

Part of a larger study dedicated to capturing, portraying, and rendering the image of women throughout time, in Romania, from a discourse analysis point of view, this article is focused, synchronically, on one period of time, i.e.: the 1930s, and it is based on a corpus of 99 adverts, with further studies centred around other time spans. For this, mention needs to be made regarding the corpus of

images that we compiled from the public domain of @ReclameVechiRomanesti. OldRomanianAds (see *Figure 1*) for the purpose of the present study: a selection from the total corpus of 279 advertisements amassed by the authors was operated for the current analysis, focused on the 1930s, as the rest of the database will represent the raw material for the next periods of time we intend to research into:



Figure 1. *The database collection*

Moreover, a further subdivision is worth defining, from the point of view of discourse strategy, considering the fact that the items found made the subject of a categorization as either image-focused ads, from which text is not excluded, or solely written text ads, where there is no image present, the latter category comprising articles, announcements, or manifestos.

Thus, in order for the final graphic of the feminine image to be portrayed, a comparative diachronic approach of the changing image of women against the background of the Romanian society will be considered necessary by the authors of the current research, as depicted and reflected by the vivid discourse of advertising.

As a main target, this paper aims at identifying a Romanian prototype of femininity which could make the profile of a feminine figure around the period of time mentioned. It also intends to depict the stereotypes used in the epoch to portray a certain type of image which was desired to be associated to that of women as influenced primarily by the domestic social context and interests as well as by the external factors which could have contributed to the artefact called “woman”.

2. The social, educational, legal, and political context of the 1930s with regard to women: The premises of a new emerging trend and its new claims

According to the analysis provided by Vighi (2018), the changing status of women in Romania in the 1930s was driven, first of all, by external factors which contributed to influencing their mentality as a result either of widening their physical horizons, by means of travelling and getting into real contact with international trends, or of having access to education. Their emancipation came as a result of their readings, all against the background generated by World War I and the necessity of women to take over some of the roles of the missing men.¹ Here is what a written advertisement (see *Figure 2*) portrayed regarding the exact above-mentioned tendencies when depicting the phenomenon called *the masculinization of the woman* in an article by N. Adrian, issued in *Sănătatea* [*Health*] magazine in February 1938 on page 11:

MASCULINIZAREA FEMEII

În toate timpurile și la toate pazele, au existat femei, cari s'au dovedit a fi de aceeași energie ca și bărbații, ba uneori i-au și întrecut.

Dovezi avem destule în istorie și e suficienți să amintim de Caterina cea Mare, împărăteasa Rusiei; Maria Theresza a Austriei sau Margueritte d'Anjou, soția lui Henric al VI-lea, regele Angliei.

Toate aceste femei au reușit să învingă în epocile lor, numai grație energiei fără seamăn de care au dat dovadă. Pe lângă energie însă, aceste femei au mai avut și o altă virtute: curajul.

Acestea sunt cele două calități principale cari se cer pentru a răzbi în viață și cu atât mai mult unei femei. Dar cele mai multe femei xresc confundând energia cu brutalitatea sau curajul cu obraznicia.

a) **Omul energie** este acela care poate începe și duce la bun sfârșit o acțiune;

b) **Omul brutal** este acela care n'are alt argument de opus decât forța;

c) **Curajosul**, e individul capabil a săvârși fapte mari, demne de fiinta omenescă, riscându-și de multe ori viața;

d) **Obraznicul** este individul indolent care desfășoară față de ceilalți oameni o acțiune insuportabilă, dându-și pe față porțile urâte.

Până la izbucnirea războiului mondial, femeia și-a îndeplinit rolul ei de mamă, educatoare și bună gospodină, menținând echilibrul căsniciei. De la război însă, femeia a început să-și schimbe mentalitatea. Dorind să mînte pe bărbat în toate privințele, a studiat dreptul pentru a deveni **femeia-avocat**, a început a urma cursurile școlii de soțeri, iar în timpul din urmă școala de pilotaj pentru avion. Acestea sunt de altfel numai câteva din ocupațiile femeii de astăzi.

Afară de acestea, femeia a căutat să ia și în alte direcțiuni locul și obiceiurile bărbatului. Sunt, de pildă, în Anglia și America, femei polițiste și detectiv, precum și câteva cari ocupă posturi de marinari pe vapoare de comerț. Multe femei se ocupă și cu pescutul, fiind pentru unele o sursă de câștig, iar pentru altele un sport, de altfel mult mai potrivit decât automobilismul sau boxul. Pentru acest din urmă sport, s'au găsit câteva amatoare tot printre femeile americane și engleze.

În îmbrăcămintea și portul femeii s'au produs de asemeni mari schimbări: rochiile s'au modificat, imitând croiala bărbătească.

Sunt unele femei cari stădează pe bărbați prin atitudinile pe cari le iau față de aceștia. Personal, am avut ocazia să văd o tânără doamnă, în costum de călărie, care, după descălecare, și-a scos part-figuratul din buzunar și luând o figură și-a aprins-o. În fața acestei amazoane stătea un domn, care din politețe primea în nas fumul pe care i-l trimitea drăgălașa doamnă.

Masculinizarea femeii a cauzat omenirii un foarte mare rău, intru cât a îndepărtat pe femeie dela rolul ei de mamă și educatoare, distrugând căsnicia și căminul și lipsind pe soț de îngrădirea și mîngăierile atât de necesare, în viața shucimată de azi.

N. ADRIAN

11

Figure 2. *The masculinization of the woman*

1 All quotations or paraphrases from Vighi are rendered into English by the authors of the paper.

Briefly summarizing the main features captured by the article, all the traits identified by Vighi as being part of the new woman are present, including the desire of women after WWI to be equal to men, thus changing their mentality and their role from that of mother, educator, and good housewife into that of lawyer, driver, airplane pilot, or police detective. Even the fun or the sports activities can be listed next to those which were previously associated to those of men and men only: fishing, car racing, boxing, or horse riding. The conclusion of the article comprises men's almost general belief in the epoch, which will be dealt with later on in the paper, that "the masculinization of the woman caused humanity a lot of negative things because it drove the woman away from her role of mother and educator, destroying marriage and home and depriving man of the care and tenderness so necessary these tormented days".²

2.1. The public image of women in the society of the 1930s

What is yet to be considered before evaluating the new claims and demands regarding the desire to have their position in society changed is the status they "enjoyed" at that time, in all respects. The social, political, and economic contexts that constituted the background of cross-gender relations at the time render the profile of women in the Romanian society of the epoch under discussion.

Thus, from a legal point of view:

[T]he married woman, having the same status as the underage and the ostracized, was not considered a legal person, thus not being allowed to close contracts and to appear at court without her husband's approval. If married to a foreigner, she would lose her nationality. Moreover, "paternity testing" was forbidden. Consequently, exclusively the maternal side had responsibilities towards common children, resulted from an illicit relationship, while the natural father was absolved of any obligation; the woman was deprived of any right regarding the guidance of her children, even when she was a widow; she was also restricted from managing her own or her children's fortune during marriage, and her trusteeship rights over her children were very limited. The exclusive right to use the dowry was entrusted to the husband, and, upon his decease, the dowry of the married woman, alongside all inherited fortune, would be passed on to the relatives of the man or even to the children. In case of divorce, the ex-husband was obliged to return the dowry to the woman only after one year, even if proven that the woman had no means of subsistence whatsoever.³ (Mihăilescu 2002: 23)

2 The translation of all advertisement texts belongs to the authors of this paper.

3 All ideas belonging to Ștefania Mihăilescu and rendered in this paper under the form of either quotations or paraphrases are translated by the authors of the present study.

A report on the harsh life conditions of Romanian women presented in 1929 by Alexandrina Cantacuzino – a report to be found in the anthology of texts dedicated to the history of Romanian feminism compiled by Ștefania Mihăilescu – showed that:

[M]ost women performed not only household chores but also the most difficult works in the field, such as ploughing, harvesting, taking care of animals, activities they accomplished even during maternity; during winter, while men rested, they wove carpets, sewed clothes, and did embroidery. Some women were employed in agriculture, on a salary much lower than their male counterparts. Moreover, they did not even have the right to use the money they earned. Most peasant women were illiterate and lacked elementary education. (2006: 18)

The comment upon this situation could not have been offered in more succinct and clear terms than the ones used by Calypso Botez, the President of The Executive Committee of the National Council of Romanian Women, constituted in Bucharest in 1921, who was quoted by Bouleanu in 2017 in an article written for the *Alexandria* magazine:

We, Romanian women, through the Napoleonic Code governing us, are assigned to a category... among children, minors, mentally disabled, and idiots. We are not allowed to administer our property, we cannot do anything without the authorization of men, we cannot raise our children the way we want to, we cannot use any possession inside our households according to our own wishes, as the law assumes that in the house where there is a man, everything belongs to him. In short, the woman only lives under the magic wand of marital authority.⁴

Evidence for this image of women persists in the adverts of the 1930s, even though much milder than in the previous decade, that of the 1920s and before, under the form of either picture-portraits which associate women with household objects and chores (see *figures 3a* and *3b*) or even in the form of written ads which display a multitude of announcements casting women in the role of persons looking for jobs (see *Figure 4*):

⁴ Translation rendered by the authors of the study.

Figure 3 above presents two of the activities traditionally attributed to women inside the house: ironing and cooking, using more modern equipment, meant to make women's life easier when dealing with the household chores, as depicted by *Vremea* [The Time] magazine along the 1930s, the first two belonging to 1930 and the last one to 1937. In the same line of thought, *Figure 4* above brings together the image of women and some substances to be used for housekeeping: dishwashing powder, the ideal pesticide, liquid for polishing metals, all stretching across the same period of time in different magazines.

The range of jobs present in the announcements of the publicity columns in *Curentul* magazine in 1938, as depicted in the selection of announcements in *Figure 4* above, represents a good example in point of female typology regarding workplaces and job profiles: the vast majority of these refer to cleaning ladies or cooks, with minor nuances when considering the governess position and with one exception when describing a young graduate pharmacist looking for a job in the capital city. However, what starts to be striking in the discourse of advertising of the age is the way in which the self-portrait is built by the very female authors of the announcements such as when self-awareness regarding graduation from high-schools, an educated background, or command of foreign languages become marketing features that could add to the personal profile of the woman who self-advertises her own image. The age is varied, comprising young ladies, women no longer in their prime, and middle-aged women, but what is shocking is the fact that even if they provide evidence of a cultivated educational background, they still look for the same traditional gender-associated roles around the house, aiming at minor positions in society. Moreover, the feeble character of women doing all these jobs or being deceived in love is also captured by the announcements as some of them even write about the dramatic consequences women are exposed to when facing harsh reality: some commit suicide by poisoning themselves with different substances as a result of either being no longer loved or having disappointed a pretentious employer or simply die cleaning windows, listed as work accidents.

The above observation becomes even more relevant when comparing the same announcement columns, from the same magazine, in the same period of time, portraying men looking for jobs, emphasizing once again, in real terms, the difference of position on the social ladder: men are colonels, diplomats, clerks with experience in industry and/or commerce and/or finance, wanting to be hired as factory managers or to collaborate with a factory and specify that they want to work in an office as white collars. The exception with men is present in a reversed proportion to that of women when it comes to blue-collar work, only one ad capturing the desire of a man to work as a mechanic or as a boiler fireman.

The aspect related to education configures a very sensitive issue in Romanian society, regarding women's access to it, and not only. Access to education has a fundamental role in the way in which the social self is constructed and,

consequently, in the way social, economic, and political contextual factors build the early-20th-century female image. Education offers an outstanding picture of gender roles within the framework of any society.

The worldwide development in the area of education during the 19th century must be understood and integrated in the larger context of the undergoing social changes that involve power and domination. According to Bock (1991), education does not represent only the idealist-illuminist attempt to cultivate the mind and elevate the soul but also an instrument of maintaining social control through dissemination of national, moral, and religious values convenient to dominant social categories at a certain moment in time. From a cross-gender perspective, education involved the creation of customized roles, directing women to the household area and men to the public arena (1991: 5).

Romanian women's access to education was acquired with difficulty and struggle against various forces repressing women on political, economic, and social levels. Since the passing of the law on education of the Romanian United Principalities in 1864, women had been fighting for their rights on an equal level to men in the domains of education and in all the other segments of social and political life.

As Mihăilescu renders in her anthology of texts, a vast number of historical documents represent proof that national women's associations, such as *Uniunea Femeilor Române (U.F.R.)* [Romanian Women's Union], *Consiliul Național al Femeilor Române* [The National Council of Romanian Women], *Asociația pentru Emanciparea Civilă și Politică a Femeilor Române (A.E.C.P.F.R.)* [The Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women], were considered important organizations supporting the international feminist movement (2002: 15).

Access of Romanian women to the public area occurred not as a result of a natural social transformation but as a result of intense activity at the level of these feminist organizations involved in the emancipation process.

In Moldavia and Wallachia, the Law on Education of 1864 stipulated the mandatory and free character of primary education for boys and girls for a period of four years between eight and twelve years of age. The same piece of legislation controls the setting up of an equal number of schools for boys and girls, nevertheless with a different number of classes: five for girls and seven for boys and a smaller number of subjects for girls (Diac 2004: 55). These differences in the number of subjects represent an obstacle on the path to higher education and, consequently, give rise to heated protests (Mihăilescu 2002: 16).

To sum up, during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, female roles were mostly limited to the household area, and, even when women acquired access to education outside the family, it was restricted quantitatively and qualitatively as they had the right to a smaller number of years in school and a more limited number of subjects than men. Deprivation of access to knowledge entailed lack of access to many if not most jobs outside the domestic area, which could be

faithfully depicted by the advertisements of the 1930s. Statistics record that women were not permitted to attend higher education in the provinces where Romanians lived at the end of the 20th century. Up to 1920, women in Wallachia and Moldavia did not have the right to become lawyers (Câncea 1976: 74–76). Up to 1932, married Romanian women were not allowed to own property, to fulfil the role of the tutor for their children (Mihăilescu 2004: 300–301). Up to 1946, Romanian women were not full citizens: they did not have the right to vote in parliamentary elections, they were not allowed to be elected in parliament or become ministers. During the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the feminist organizations in the areas where Romanians lived fought for the social and political emancipation of women: access to education, work, jobs which excluded women, the right to vote and to be elected in administrative and legislative positions.

As mentioned by Bouleanu (2017), “access to political life for women in Romania wouldn’t have been possible without the contribution of the representatives of the feminist movement. Ever since the ending of the 1800s, feminist voices started fighting for women’s rights”. Thus, according to Bouleanu:

[I]n 1896, Adela Xenopol was pleading for the citizenship status of women and for their participation in public and political life: “When a woman asks for equal rights in the field of capacities, she is forced not only to ensure her economic state, but she is also asking for her right as a citizen; when the woman will be granted public access, she will work next to her comrades and then the difference between pure politics and political parties’ fights will deepen.”⁵

Between 1918 and 1923, the activities of the feminist movement in Romania intensified compared to the period before World War I. A special representative of the feminist movement, as mentioned above, was Calypso Botez, a graduate of philosophy and history, teacher at Carmen Sylva high school in Bucharest, and President of the Red Cross in Galați. She was the one who laid the foundations of The Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women (*Asociația pentru emanciparea civilă și politică a femeilor române*). Through the voice of the feminists, the issue of women’s right to vote had already reached the plenary debate in Parliament in 1922. Hereby we present another idea of Bouleanu, who – quoting Calypso Botez – says:

Granting women political rights was not “a heart-related issue but one of logic and updating. Women will be granted the right to vote because they need it. Considering the fact that they participate in general work, women

5 All quotations from Bouleanu rendered in this paper are translated from Romanian by the authors.

have to have the capacity to impose laws to protect them and to ensure control to them over the products of their work”. In her opinion and that of other ladies, the right to vote for women represented, in the inter-war period, “an urgent national necessity”.

However, after such a fight for emancipation and so many battles won on the political field, the lingering stereotypes profiling women, which are still powerfully displayed in advertisements, can be summarized – in Vighi’s words (2018) – as a powerful attachment to fashion, make-up, or to other petty feminine things. Also, the portrait of the woman is associated with that of a tender, vulnerable creation limited to the confined space of the house, her obsession being with interior design, decorations and shopping as well as with good manners.

In what the interest manifested by the women of the epoch towards fashion is concerned, the multitude of advertisements dedicated to fabrics and textiles, dresses, hats, bathing suits, and shoes (see *Figure 5*), but also to the articles selling tips to the ladies on how to maintain their silhouette and on how to accessorize in style (see *Figure 6*), represent enough proof that the core semantemes which still lingered to configure the paradigm for the image of women were very much tributary to previous clichés:



Figure 5. Clichés

Make-up, hairdressing, crèmes, perfumes, tights, lip-stick, tooth-paste, powders, all put together on the canvas of the advertising discourse of the 1930s account for the feminine paraphernalia that assemble the portrait of the “feminist army of everywhere”, as referred to in *Saloanele de modă PARISUL* on the 17th of April 1930, or, more relevantly worded, of “the feeble sex”, as addressed to in the *Ilustrațiunea Română* magazine in the column dedicated to Fashion, on the

20th of February 1930. *Figure 8* below configures the mosaic of the miscellaneous collection of details that rendered the image of women and of their interests in the epoch under analysis:



Figure 6. Multiple facets of women’s interests in fashion

The Tokalon crèmes and powders, the Adesgo tights, the Elisabeth Arden and En Vogue powders, the Kissingen diet pills, the Perlodont and Odol brands of tooth paste, the Ritz lipstick, and so on are just a few of the famous makes of feminine cosmetics famous on the market of the feminine industry of the time. As a special characteristic of the advertising discourse of those days, the majority of images displaying products were accompanied by tips and pieces of advice directly addressed to women regarding the way in which they could stay young, look beautiful, and embody perfection (see *Figure 7*) in the earliest attempt to reduce the entire public image of women to stereotypes and clichés, thus doubling the impact over the psychique of female clients.



Figure 7. Tips for women to stay young and beautiful

Figure 8. From seduced to seducer

It thus seems that there is this angelic image of the subdued, vulnerable, feeble woman (see the first picture in *Figure 8*), which, according to the framework of analysis offered by Goffman (1988), could even fall under the paradigm of the programmed plan that the advertising discourse tackles when generating gender stereotypes. This still appears to be the predominant image of women at the beginning of the 1930s, the one which strives to be combated, transformed, and replaced by the feminist activists who are more in favour of the strong, rebellious, modern prototype of woman, smoking in the company of men, wearing a short haircut and displaying a forward-leaning attitude of a powerful and in-control person, no longer seduced by men but seducing them (see the second picture in *Figure 10*):

2.2. The new claims

Considering, thus, according to Alexandrina Gr. Cantacuzino, in the light of the belief that the new world could not have been created with an obsolete feminine figure, that “[i]t is not the doll woman or the luxury woman or the woman-object-of-pleasure that we can step with into the new world, a world in which all have to earn their right to living through work”⁶ (in Pruteanu 2004), but a new emerging female prototype is looming in the discourse of Romanian advertising.

Having already claimed “the changing of civil and commercial code articles that have to do with the minority status and legal powerlessness of women” (Vighi 2018)

6 The translation of Alexandrina Gr. Cantacuzino’s statement belongs to the authors.

and “[t]he right to vote and to be elected in county councils, law-making bodies as well as the right to occupy any position by virtue of their acquired academic titles” (ibid.), according to Valentina D. Focşa in *The Association for the Civil and Political Emancipation of Women* [Asociația pentru emanciparea civilă și politică a femeii], as formulated in 1919, the change starts to become real during the governance of the National Peasant Party. The latter stipulated giving equal right to vote to women under the pressure exerted by women’s associations on the legislative bodies. Thus, the law on administrative organizations was passed on the 3rd of August 1929, and according to it women obtained, for the first time in Romania, the right to vote and be elected in local and city councils. This legislative measure was considered a reward for the decade-long efforts by the Romanian feminist movements (Mihăilescu: 24) and was to be officially celebrated at the national level in 1938, when the women’s right to vote was also granted by the Romanian Constitution.



Figure 9. *Women and reading*

In the light of all this, women start changing their habits, their look, their desires and expectations; their role in society is similarly captured by the advertising

discourse which has to adapt to and cater for the new trend. Consequently, representations of women wearing trousers, cutting their hair short, riding a bicycle, smoking, or practising male sports (Vighi 2018), even though referred to as “really revolutionary and directly frightening things for the conservative men of the time, who saw this leap as a real threat to the peace of their home” (Vighi 2018), is quickly depicted and used by the journals, magazines, and newspapers of the time via advertisements.

As obviously depicted by the collage in *Figure 9*, women are now directly associated with reading and even with encouraging to reading by means of an advertisement using the frame-within-the-frame technique such as in the picture of the woman who made a skirt out of newspapers and started shouting out loud to everybody to read the *Dimineața* newspaper, thus disclaiming the fashion obsession of the frail woman and emulating the posture of the boys distributing papers during the war to spread the news about the latest ordeals or pieces of news concerning humankind.

Women are also lead figures on stage, at the opera house, have daring appearances in very short-legged swimming suits, with upright positions of the body, admired by men and looking up or straight in the eye of the camera (see *Figure 11*), which, according to Goffman (1988), are all traits of the male-related gender stereotypes that the discourse of advertising has promoted in a significant measure.

A significant number of products related to life planning and self-preservation start to be promoted by women for women, as intimate hygiene and protection against unwilling intimate diseases (see *Figure 10*) become part of the self-awareness programme that would help women to have a better life.



Figure 10. *Women looking after themselves*

Quantitatively analysing the data, the number of advertisements capturing and rendering the image of the modern woman is significantly lower than that of the ones still tributary to the traditional feminine profile, but, qualitatively

establishing a rapport with them, they really made a difference in the epoch and only proved how attentive and sensitive the discourse of advertising is to the changes that a society inflicts upon so many different strata of existence.

3. Male-figure reactions in their dichotomic polarization

The growing emancipatory trend in the Romania of the 1930s gave rise to a number of reactions from important male politicians, members of associations, or writers of the age.

As captured by Ungureanu (2014), Ioan Cantacuzino, a Member of the Romanian Academy, mentions that “women must avoid compromising their image by using the old ways of our political parties. They must represent a unifying factor, not one of strife and destruction.”

The important male members of the Romanian society of the period under analysis contribute to maintaining a traditional female profile, laying stress on the importance of a mainly domestic role and excluding the woman from the leading areas of social, political, and economic life. To this purpose, a Conservatory Party Representative, Constantin Argetoianu, is quoted as saying that “men, while engaging in politics, they engage in nonsense. Politeness prevents me from labelling ladies’ action of doing politics. I believe that, for now, the role of the woman would be more appropriate to her natural disposition if she limited her activity to matters related to the household” (Ungureanu 2014).

In January 1940, in “*Neamul Românesc*”, Nicolae Iorga, the famous historian, academician, and politician, evaluates the newly acquired status of the Romanian woman negatively and sees the evolution of the city as only bringing to the surface the evil side in Eve’s daughters: “Today’s housewives are no longer what they used to be. It’s true, the allure of the city, with its lustrous superficiality contributes incessantly to harmful interpretations, to the weakening of good qualities. Bad tendencies and lack of guidance lead to laziness that one can notice in many rural households. And as for children’s upbringing... God forbid!” (Vighi 2018).

George Călinescu, a Romanian academician, literary critic, and historian, thought that “the woman is a satellite of man. [...] Her passions are subordinated to her violently practical instincts. [...] The woman is physical, the man – metaphysical” (Ungureanu 2014).

In 1935, in “*Viața literară*” Eugen Ionescu, a francophone Romanian playwright, ridicules the recent change in the female image: “So, we no longer have young writers, but we have girls, only girls, girls’ schools, girls in love, student girls. Go girls! Engage both in culture creation and food making! And here’s the kitchen turned into a cultural salon: Erastia Peretz, Anișoara Odeanu, Lucia Demetrius,

Yvonne Rossignon, Sidonia Drăgușanu, Marta Rădulescu, Coca Farago, Elena Eftimiu, etc.” (Vighi 2018).

Nevertheless, despite the outstanding number of deprecating evaluations of the new female image, the period under discussion witnessed many encouraging and positive stands. Eugen Lovinescu, a literary historian and critic, the founder of “Sburătorul” cenacle, a willing supporter and promoter of feminine literature, author of the preface of the first anthology of literature written by women, opened the door of his cenacle to female writers and guided their writing, the case of Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu being the best-known among them.

4. Conclusions

The woman of the 1930s is at the crossroads of two conflicting trends: on the one hand, she is reduced to frailty and confined to the household area and, on the other hand, the emerging powerful emancipatory tendency of the age depicts her as strong, educated, and able. She is no longer a satellite of man but on a par with man.

At times drifting with the political and economic current, shaken and overpowered, defeated but rising from her own ashes, the Romanian woman becomes strong and fights for her rights, independence, and the worldwide recognition of her individuality and power. She empowers herself while breaking the chains of the household realm, creates and advances associations and groups, and becomes educated to gain increasing access to the social, political, and economic stage.

As illustrated in the present paper, this changing female image is captured very well in advertising. The study of ad evolution along the years shows first a frail woman gravitating graciously towards a male world and then a progressively more independent individual, becoming free of controlling influences.

Advertising has been proved to mirror social behaviour successfully, and the ads discussed have demonstrated that words, along with posture, expression, and gesture, show vivid images of a time when male and female roles were negotiated in harsh terms.

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Bengáli Tűz: A Spectrum of Intercultural Transfer

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Abstract. A definite change occurs when two cultures interact and exchange information, which leads to the transformation in their respective cultures. *Bengáli Tűz* (Fire of Bengal) is a famous Hungarian journal and is often described as a travel journal or a novelistic voyage, which comes from the era of the early twentieth century and displays some impeccable shades of intercultural transfer. A Hungarian housewife went to India with her husband in 1929 and stayed there for three years while recording her personal experiences in a journal known as *Bengáli Tűz* in present time. Rózsa Hajnóczy's journey started with a cultural shock that ended up in making her a knowledgeable person regarding a new culture. It is a chain of prominent events, narrating the story of how the author's perspective about life met with a change and how she gained some openness and became culturally transformed. She had tears in her eyes when she left Hungary and came to India, as she was reluctant to leave her home, but after three years, when she departed from India, she again cried, but this time it was not for either India or Hungary. Her eyes were wet as she missed the notion of the entire "world" under the same roof. Other nationalities in this travel journal also underwent cultural transformation. The journal also showcases other compelling and significant topics, which makes it a tempting piece to read and an authentic piece of literature. *Bengáli Tűz* can be analysed from various points of view, of which here I chose "intercultural transfer", but I am fully aware that a postcolonial reading would also offer fascinating insights into the journal.

Keywords: intercultural transfer, travel journal, *Bengáli Tűz*, Rózsa Hajnóczy, culture.

1. Intercultural transfer

I would like to begin the paper by describing the term "intercultural transfer". But first let us take a look at what culture alone might mean.

Culture is a very extensive and wide expression, which can be fully understood by other terms like the arts and other displays of human accomplishment, including

literature, music, painting, philosophy, civilization, society, and way of living, traditions and practices, background, conventions, ethics and ideals, and the social behaviour of a specific population or society. Culture has been defined by various terms, which has made it a confusing concept in general. *Merriam-Webster* dictionary offers six definitions of culture to make it simple and practical for people (Stevens 2000). To sum it up, culture can be explained as collective ethics and standards as a whole which are carried forward to the next generation by the previous ones and hold a community together. In a certain way, culture is a critical medium for comprehending the attributes, ethics, and responsiveness of a population or society.

When it comes to intercultural transfer, we mean a shift of culture between two modes of culture. A definite change occurs when two cultures connect and share knowledge with each other, which results in the modification in the respective cultures. A culture taking on some attributes of one or more cultures, bringing changes to its practices, or getting influenced are examples of intercultural transfer. It is not just a “cultural exchange” where only two parties are involved and both of them exchange each other’s culture (Schmale 2012). Intercultural exchange is a *quid pro quo* situation where the trade happens in both directions. Intercultural transfer is a process where all the parties involved in the exchange end up being altered. Sometimes a singular party gains more than the other party involved and sometimes both the parties end up gaining equally from the exchange. For example, some parts of the world gained from the concept of yoga and vegan food in terms of health and food, but India acquired information about computers and the Internet. So, in the end, some countries benefited from health- and food-related aspects and some countries from information and technological aspects. It is not a perfect vice versa situation, but every party involved gained the different things they needed in different ways. Hence, it is not just a simple exchange, but it is a proper process which is both scientific and natural and takes time to get completed. An individual experiences a change culturally which changes their personality and makes them never to go back to their old personas as they acquire new experiences each and every day, which get stored in their minds permanently and change their cultural perspective in the long run. The changes can be either positive or negative and alter a human being’s perspective and personality in the long run, which makes it an eye-opening experience. Therefore, it can be said that in cultural exchange the people from both cultures experience changes in their cultures, but in intercultural transfer it is not a compulsion for both of the parties involved to experience changes in their culture.

There is a saying which states that “cultural exchange emphasizes the bi-directional and pluri-directional character of cultural transfer, and its reciprocal characteristic too in some cases” (UNESCO 2009: 40–43, Thomas 2012: 3–7).

On the other hand, cultural transfer emphasizes the process of bringing definitive changes at a particular location, which may be a particular residence, in a regional,

transregional, national, imperial, or any other extensive context. The scrutinization of cultural transfer leads to a wide domain. Cultural transfer can be spotted in all historical eras, and it is possible to recognize the different phases. The Italian model and the French model have been recognized as the two consecutive big periods of cultural transfer which operate in different ways (Hurn–Tomalin 2013).¹ Culture is turning into a “melting pot” under the influence of globalization these days, and the process of intercultural transfer is supporting the said statement.

1.1. Definitions of cultural transfer

Intercultural transfer can be defined as ICT, which is a process of “transfer of cultural and personal knowledge” (Kovac 2015). A cultural transfer incorporates more than the recipient: it entails at least two distinct cultural backgrounds, conflicting conceptual systems, socio-historical connections, and the problem of otherness (Rogers 2002).

Here we can see that the process of cultural transfer requires two different cultures, which then make the transfer happen.

The term “transfer” is generally used to quote the systematic effects some existing information suffers after the acquisition of new information. The term “transfer” points to any carryover of information or skills from one difficult situation to another in the field of psychology. So, the intercultural transfer is the transfer of pragmatic information from one culture to another (Spencer 2000).

Here it can be seen that a simple transfer is the process of shifting an element from one place to another for the transfer to be successful, but intercultural transfer deals with the shift of cultural knowledge and skills from one place to another. Cultural transfer is considered as “a one-way activity, and not just a regular exchange between two parties” (Zhou 2008).

It is not a compulsion for the change to happen to both the parties involved in the process. In the process of cultural transfer, one of the parties involved can get affected in their culture, while the chance of the other party remaining unaltered remains possible.

No society has evolved in segregation. One idea gets transferred from one culture to another one. In short, intercultural transfer is explained as a motion of matter object, people and notions between two different cultures and societies. It has added to the construction of modern society and the modern world (Hurn–Tomalin 2013).

1 The French Revolution put an impact on other countries such as Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden, or England, while the Italian Renaissance had a strong impact on the architecture of different parts in Europe such as Poland and Russia; hence, we can see that these two examples play a significant role in cultural transfer in the whole Europe, which are the main factors of European consciousness and perhaps European identity.

In the contemporary world, different countries interact with each other along with their population doing the same. Two parties belonging to different cultures interact, and the process of cultural transformation takes place if at least one of them (if not both) gets affected culturally.

1.2. Negative cultural transfer

As it was stated earlier that cultural transfer is not a cultural exchange where both parties end up with benefits, it can be said that a negative version of the cultural transfer also exists. It points to the case where people get transformed and end up with misconceptions. I will also elaborate on a few examples in the context of *Bengáli Tűz*. Negative cultural transfer frequently leads to communication issues, misconceptions, and sometimes even resentment.

Every nation around the globe has its different culture, which are distinguished on a universal and specific basis. It frequently results in negative cultural transfer during conveyance if the speakers are heedless of the cultural differences present. Negative cultural transfer often results in communicative difficulties, misunderstandings, and even hatred (Dai 2000).

1.3. Elements of cultural transfer

Surface-structure transfer: The differences of cultures can be found in these aspects if people are aware of their existence. This form of cultural transfer only takes place on the surface level of an individual or a society. People experience change but only on the exterior of their personalities (Zhou 2008). For instance, the effects one experiences after interacting with someone from a different culture in their professional and social values fall under this category. After visiting a foreign country or staying there for a while, an individual might change their dressing style and food preferences for a short-term period and resume their old lifestyle after arriving back in their native country.

Deep-structure transfer: this form of cultural transfer occurs on the psychological level of a person. It is often the result of some long-term habits and ideas which make the change a bit difficult to tame (Zhou 2008). It is rooted very deep inside the human psyche and is also way more powerful than the surface-structure transfer. Not only dressing but linguistic skills, eating habits, etc. also come under the category of this change, also including the personality and the perspective of human beings.

2. *Bengáli Tűz*

Bengáli Tűz (Fire of Bengal) is a famous Hungarian journal and is often described as a travel journal or a novelistic voyage. It comes from the period of the early twentieth century, written by Rózsa G. Hajnóczy (1892–1944) between the years 1928 and 1931, before the Independence of India from Britain (G. Hajnóczy 2002). It was first published in 1944, and a great number of – especially female – readers have received it with acclamation since then. The second edition of *Bengáli Tűz* was published in 1972, and the English translation, *Fire of Bengal*, was made after this edition. *Fire of Bengal* was prepared by a Hungarian woman, Eva Wimmer, along with her husband, David Grant.

The journal was finally published in 1993 (Hajnóczy 1993) and another translation was done by Mr Kartik Chandra Dutt into Hindi language, which was published in 2011 with the title *Agniparva–Santiniketan (Ek Hungarian Grihavadhuki's Diary*, Hajnóczy 2011). Hajnóczy's husband was a well-known orientalist and was known as the famous explorer of the East, Gyula Germanus (1884–1979). He was a highly reputable Hungarian scholar of Islam and received an invitation from Rabindranath Tagore to teach at Visva-Bharati. Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) was a famous Bengali polymath and poet. In fact, he was the first non-European poet to win the Nobel Prize for Literature (Shamsud 2016: 4–10).

Tagore founded Santiniketan – an *ashram* (monastery) –, which was an institute and the very first Centre of Comparative Literature in India. Many different nationalities came together in Tagore's *ashram* and taught aspiring students while doing unorthodox research for the betterment of mankind. Tagore forwarded invitations to teachers around the globe to visit Santiniketan and distribute irreplaceable knowledge belonging to different fields to all the international students attending the *ashram*. Hajnóczy's husband, Germanus, was one of the teachers receiving an invitation from Tagore. Hajnóczy accompanied him during his stay of three years, and in a journal which is now known as *Bengáli Tűz* she recorded all her experiences while staying in Santiniketan.

3. Different nuances of intercultural transfer in *Bengáli Tűz*

Travel has been a very notable activity since the nineteenth century, which led to the emergence of intercultural transfer. *Bengáli Tűz* was not an exception to this case as it fell under the genre of a travel monologue.

Bengáli Tűz is a travel journal, which makes it possible for many examples of intercultural transfer to appear throughout the journal.

3.1. The author's cultural transformation

The author met with a drastic climate change as she arrived in Calcutta in mid-April. The beginning of the summer season is not a pleasant time for anyone, may they be a native or a foreigner. The dressing of Indian people used to make her feel different. She saw a woman in *sarees* instead of skirts, and men were wearing *dhoti-kurtas* instead of pants and shirts.² The food also proved to be a big problem for her as she was not a fan of spicy food, but she eventually adapted herself to the environment.

Her book, a chain of prominent events, narrates the story of how the author's perspective about life met with a change and how she gained some openness and became culturally transformed. She had tears in her eyes when she left Hungary and came to India as she missed her home, but after three years, when she departed from India, she again cried, but this time it was not for either India or Hungary. Her eyes were wet as she missed the notion of the entire "world". After spending three years in India, her statement changed because cultural transformation is a slow process. Hence, it took three years for her to get culturally transformed. She did undergo some changes in the end, which left a powerful impact on her personality, and she finally became a new person. Rózsa Hajnóczy's journey started with a cultural shock and ended up in making her a well-informed person of the new culture. By making some statements, I would like to cast light on the above observation. Some of Hajnóczy's statements from the Journal proving that it was a clear case of deep-structure transfer are as follows:

Hajnóczy's initial impression when she first arrived in India:

- (1) *It was a bleak place, where wisdom is piled so high, yet where all is so comfortless.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 56)³
- (2) *I was excited, at last, the company of a white woman, to make life in India bearable.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 57)

Hajnóczy's thoughts at the end of the Journal and her stay in India: on her way back to Europe, as she sailed out of Bombay, joining others with the feeling of homesickness for India, seeing the setting sun – the radiance of the Fire of Bengal (Hajnóczy 1993: 588).

2 It is a garment worn by male Hindus, consisting of a piece of material tied around the waist and extending to cover most of the legs. Men typically wear the dhoti with a kurta. Saree is a garment traditionally worn by ladies. It consists of a piece of cotton or silk elaborately draped around the body.

3 All the quotes by Hajnóczy are rendered in the author's translation.

- (3) *Now, I realized that Himjhuri was right to seek solace in the wisdom of India.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 123)
- (4) *It is a tension which goes beyond literal divisions between “East” and “West”.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 588)
- (5) *All of us are born with the same eyes, yet we see things differently.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 4)

Different shades of diverse languages can be seen in the Journal, including not only Hungarian but Hindi, Bengali, English, Arabic, German, and Russian too. She also started to understand languages around her such as English, Hindi, or Bengali. Language and communication skills were crucial in the intercultural transfer procedure. Her attitude along with her linguistic skills also went through a change. For instance, in the first year of her stay, she was not able to speak fluent English, but she still tried it (Hajnóczy 1993: 33), while in the last year of her stay *Accha, Memsahib, Sabji, Baksheesh, Namaskar*, and other words of Hindi were not strange for her anymore.

In my opinion, this is a clear-cut case of deep-structure transfer. The dialogues mentioned above display the slow and careful process of the writer's intercultural transformation. In the initial period of her stay in India, the writer had a reluctant and bolting attitude towards the idea of staying there, but she did end up accepting India and introduced and showed a new image of India to the Hungarian readers. The most prominent change in her personality was that she was not the same Rózsa of 1929 – she did undergo a significant and permanent change in her personality and was a new person in 1931 with new interior characteristics in her essential nature.

Therefore, when a person experiences change in him- or herself after acquiring information about any other culture is known as cultural transformation. In the case of *Bengáli Tűz*, the cultural transformation occurred on both sides, influencing Indians and the foreigners alike over the course of three years. It was not a sudden process where just an exchange took place quickly, but a chain of events made it possible for the transformation to take place as it is a very natural and systematic process. The journal also displays other captivating and notable concepts, which make it a tempting and original piece to read in the field of literature. The author was not the only one to undergo a cultural transformation as many other nationalities in the journal also went through the same process and ended up culturally transformed.

3.2. Examples from the cases of Indian men

A) The prime tale that Hajnóczy narrates, except her own experiences, is the tale of Atanu Ray and his wife, Helga, who later took an Indian name and was known as Himjhuri. The modern and metropolitan Atanu Ray came back from

Europe to teach English at Santiniketan. Even though himself a Hindu of the Brahmin caste, he had a very western and modern appearance and acquired his education from Oxford University. The time he spent in Europe and his debates and communications with his western peers and their culture changed his personality and made him culturally transformed, as he was considered to be another foreign guest teacher at Santiniketan. The transformation in him, though, could be considered as a case of negative cultural transformation as he did not just applaud the other culture but also criticized his own without any logical reason, which was a case of a clear misinterpretation. As Atanu stated:

- (6) *I have become virtually a European, only my skin has remained dark.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 28).
- (7) *I cannot accept the Ayurveda because it is founded on superstition. European medical practice is presumptuous and overrated.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 193)
- (8) *Ray made an example of the contrast between women and furniture and exclaimed that Gertrud is as west as an armchair and his wife Himjhuri/Helga is as east as charpoys and moras.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 450)

From my perspective, this statement displays the fact that, after staying abroad for a few years and being in contact with other cultures, Ray's behaviour altered and he underwent cultural transformation. The modification left a deep scar on his personality which he would carry throughout his life – a European in Indian body, which proved another fact true, that this transformation was a case of deep-structure transfer. I found this to be a case of negative cultural transformation, which is a pessimistic side of cultural transformation. Praising a culture that is different from your own is fine, but when a person starts criticizing his or her own culture and making comparisons between the two, it becomes a case of negative cultural transformation. Ray did not just criticize his culture in general but also started differentiating between his culture and the Western one in the everyday life in reference to all the aspects of daily life. Ayurveda had its own science mentioned in the 5,000-year-old Vedas.

Ayurveda may take more time to heal a patient in comparison to allopathic practices, but patients do get the benefit of getting rid of their symptoms permanently, without any negative side-effects. Atanu was not able to comprehend the difference between the two treatment plans belonging to the different regions of East and West. The two treatments are not necessarily good or bad, but they do help the patients in different ways depending on the patient's condition and symptoms, which is a scientifically proven fact. Atanu also compared women in respect to furniture, except for medicinal comparisons. This displayed his male egoism and narrow thinking process with regard to women in general. In the

end, the matter is up for discussion if his transformation was a positive one or a negative one in the literary field, but the definite fact was that he did undergo a deep cultural transformation which changed his personality and professional life. As it can be seen at the end of the journal, his attitude led to the initiation of one of the biggest disturbances in his life.

B) Another case of Indian men is of Sudin: he was an ordinary Indian villager working as a cook, and he had the experience of working for European professors – so, he was acquainted with a few western dishes. Sudin and Ganpati were Hajnóczy's servants, who had a low sense of sanitation and were also caste-conscious. This led to them not being able to form a link with their mistress. But their attitude changed after they had spent some time with her and had learned new European habits, which resulted in a drastic change in their professional personalities. They also acquired some English language skills along the new kitchen habits. One of Hajnóczy's statements supports this change:

(9) *When I went to the kitchen, an incredible spectacle met my eyes. The kitchen had a table instead of the floor and they are cooking on the table.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 220)

This case depicts surface cultural transformation because it occurs only on the external professional levels. They learned and acquired some new Western cooking habits and dishes, which made them a kind of perfect cook for their Western boss or guest. So, acquiring a new professional habit on just a surface level did not affect their life deeply.

3.3. Examples of the cases of Western men

A) Monsieur Benoît was a professor of French language and literature in Santiniketan. Mr Benoit was very much influenced by the Indian culture; he married an Indian woman and stated that “a nation's true essence can only be learned through a woman”.

Hajnóczy's views about him are as follows:

(10) *When I first met him, I held out my hand but the French man did not take it. Instead, he put his palms together and greeted us in the Hindu fashion. Not only this, he only feels at home among the Hindus.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 49)

This was a case of surface-structure transformation as the change in the professor's personality happened after his daughter's birth, when he moved back towards the Western way of living. So, cultural transformation can be permanent, making it a long-lasting one and can also be a short-term one, which only changes

a person on the outside. This argument of doubt proves that the change appeared in the professor was not a case which fell under the category of deep-structure transformation.

B) Trapp, a German student, started wearing dhoti kurta and also recited Sanskrit shlokas loudly.

(11) *Mrs. Bogdanov stated, Trapp is studying Sanskrit, or rather he is not studying it but mugging it up.* (Hajný 1993: 72)

Wearing dhoti kurtas, having Indian social habits, passing his time studying Vedic Sanskrit and Hindi were the signs of the exterior level of surface-structure transformation in him. While learning a foreign language, you can never be sure if the change is going to last long or not. Therefore, his learning a foreign language was only an activity for the time being, which made it a transparent case of surface-structure transformation and not a deep-structure transformation as it could not be considered a permanent one to make the change last for a long time.

C) Mark Collins was a professor of comparative philology who tried to adapt to a few Indian practices during his stay in India. Dr Collins was an Englishman and could speak about forty languages in total.

The fact of him learning specific Indian regional languages while staying here indicated a case of surface-structure transformation similar to the German student, Trapp. He was trying to get engrossed and participate in the Indian festivities and other cultural activities with the natives. This change was not a permanent change in his psyche as he could also be doing all those things out of common courtesy without getting emotionally influenced. This led us to believe that it could not be said for sure that this change had left a mark on his inner personality. Hence, this situation did not fall under the category of deep-structure transformation as it cannot be considered permanent that the change brought by learning a new language would persist for a long time or not.

3.4. Examples from the cases of Western women

A) A Danish lady struggling with an Indian husband, struggling to adapt to Indian rituals, religiously dressing in Sarees, displaying commitment towards her husband are some of the things portrayed in the journal. Helga changed her name to Himjhuri and became an Indian. Her Danish name was Helga, but she took the Hindu name Himjhuri after arriving in India. She changed herself completely for the benefit of her Indian Hindu husband, but in the end she took a liking to the Hindu culture. She was very much interested in the Indian religious contentment and she also joined Gandhi's movement later on to fight for freedom. A few statements that narrate her journey of cultural transformation are:

- (12) *I felt that Mother India whispering to me – proud daughter of the west, try to understand me and love me.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 59)

Her husband requested her to wear western attire for an evening party held in Darjeeling. She denied the request and stated:

- (13) *I am Hindu now, retorted Himjhuri, I am the wife of a Hindu husband. Darjeeling is still India and European dress is a foreigner, not my sari.* (Hajnóczy 1993: 82)

A change in Himjhuri's personality occurred, so she could display her love and loyalty towards her husband, and with time she was committed to the Indian culture and started leading the life of a typical traditional Indian housewife. Similar to Ray's case, the cultural transformation taking place here is deep-structure transformation. She did not just change her dressing habits but also started following all the religious and other customs and traditions voluntarily, without any pressure from anyone else. She became a completely changed person. Her husband's and her case of transformation was similar as they both experienced deep-structure transformation, but they both had it in different directions. He was fond of Western culture, while she turned into an Indian woman. This cultural transformation led to various problems in their married life later on.

B) Gertrud was a German girl, who played the role of a powerful character in the journal. She always depreciated the Indian rituals and voiced her opinions against the inequality women had to face in Indian contemporary society. She left an impact on many Indian girls on the issue of women's liberty and motivated them by giving advice on promoting marriage over the caste system and widow remarriage. Initially, she disliked the double standards of Indian girls and the negative customs society had in store for women in general. She also used to make fun of Indian girls after listening to their cravings of finding a soul mate to fulfil their true love fantasies. But in the end she fell in love with Atanu, who was an Indian married man and began to support the topics of an Indian girl's ideology of true love.

In my opinion, this is a very complex case of cultural transformation, and, due to a number of transparent reasons, I would announce it as a case of surface-structure transformation. One of those reasons was the fact that the change did not leave a significant and permanent mark in her life. The basic change that emerged due to this cultural transformation was the one that made her start supporting an Indian girl's ideology of true love, which earlier was a subject of amusement for her. She left Santiniketan and ran away with Atanu Ray because of this change. The change in her opinion might have been a negative and cynical one, but it was a change nonetheless. The alterations in Gertrud's personality came under

the category of negative cultural transformation. She took part in an extramarital affair with Atanu and turned into a lovesick Indian girl who believed in the ideas of true love and soul mates like all the other girls present at Santiniketan, which was the stark opposite of the strong girl that she had been before, who would always dismiss and criticize the notion of love. It was a case of surface-structure transformation, which comes under negative cultural transformation from a social point of view. She only had the belief of an Indian girl, but then at the end all these changes led to her downfall. She was criticized by the community for her actions of wrecking Helga's and Atanu's marital life. Even Tagore did not condone her actions. Hence, her case displayed the negative aspects of cultural transformation.

C) The American lady doctor shows us a new and original face of womanhood with caring attributes present too. She knew how to deal with Indian patients, especially with female patients.

Dr Timbers underwent transformation; so, she could treat Indian female patients with ease. The change that occurred in her life was a positive one which was similar to the case of the Indian cook, Sudin. She got culturally transformed on the outside, but she did it for the sake of her profession and patients. Hence, her change fell under the category of surface-structure transformation as she got culturally transformed, but it was not permanent to last for a long time and it did not affect her whole personality or left a permanent mark in her life; thus, it altered her life only for a temporary period.

D) Boske 1 and Boske 2: a potty Hungarian painter and her dotty daughter. They were fascinated by the Indian culture so much that they came to India all alone and changed completely. They painted Symbolist pictures and did many other things all in the nude in Santiniketan, which made them turn into a sensation there, especially to their secret Hindu audience. The mother and daughter duo was deeply influenced by the Indian rituals and spiritualism and spent their time in India because of that. Elizabeth Brunner is a significant name in the list of painters of India.

The transformation they went through was deep-structure transformation as they got culturally transformed for the long haul. Elizabeth Sass Brunner was a famous Hungarian painter, who came to India in 1930 with her daughter Elizabeth Brunner and stayed in the country until she passed away in 2001. After moving to a new country, a person can initially change their personality due to sheer fascination for the culture, but they adopted the Indian lifestyle completely and spent their whole life in India after moving there. This kind of cultural change, where you move to a whole new country altogether, leaves a powerful and lasting mark on a person's life, changing their lifestyle and culture forever.

3.5. Examples of the cases of Indian women

Indian women did have love marriages and Indian widows did remarry. Indian females struggled for their tuition among other factors such as marriage, discrimination, and caste issues, which led to their existence displaying distinct shades of an Indian female's life. They primarily got influenced by the German women, who were powerful, broad-minded, and had feminist advice to pass on to the Indian women, which were the reason for their cultural transformation.

A) Parvati: the little sixteen-year-old widow fell in love with Santilal and tried to marry him.

B) Ayesvariam: she was another victim of child marriage who became a widow later on. She met Tayunama in Santiniketan and thought about marrying him.

C) Nandini: she took Gertrud's advice and chose her own husband, Bhandarkar, against all the rules and laws of marriage. She did a love marriage and refused the caste system.

The cases displayed deep-structure transformation as it changed their lives completely for the long run. In other words, they got rid of the shame of child marriage and got the new honour of widow remarriage. The remarriage of a widow and the marriages defying the caste system would change their entire life. The major reasons of these marriages were the impact all the strong and powerful Western females like Dr Timbers and Gertrud had on the women by motivating them to be more open and make their own choices over the poor customs society inflicted on women in general. In cases like these, not only women but the entire contemporary Indian community was also influenced due to the foreigners arriving on Indian soil. When the same kind of cultural transformation occurs in the lives of a number of persons at the same time, it makes the whole society culturally transform on a broad scale instead of just mere individuals on a small scale.

4. Conclusions

In the end, intercultural transformation took place on both sides, including Indian and the other nationalities present in Santiniketan. All the nationalities became culturally transformed. It was a transparent case of intercultural transformation, which is more powerful than intercultural exchange. It is a process which frequently leaves a powerful impact on the life of individuals and their respective points of view after undergoing the change. When people from different cultures interact with each other, a cultural exchange takes place. But it is not a definite process as sometimes the cultural transformation might not take place at all. For example, Italian professor Guadagni and the Russian couple Mr and Mrs Bogdanov did only go through cultural change. The Italian professor

appreciating Mussolini showcases his ties to his native culture. The Russian couple felt a strong urge of going back to their own country, which proved the fact they might have experienced a cultural exchange, but they did not experience cultural transformation for sure.

But when it comes to their perspectives, in my opinion, they did experience a change in that connection after interacting with Indian natives and getting to know India in its deeper sense. This instance can also be used to prove the fact that there are exceptions in the process of cultural transformation. As stated earlier, it is not a compulsion for everyone to undergo the impact of cultural transformation after spending a brief amount of time on foreign soil. This corroborates the statement I made earlier saying that during the course of this travelogue, people belonging to other nationalities changed along with the author. From the Eastern side, Ray's, Sudin's, and Ganpati's cases were significant, and from the Western side Mr Benoit's, Trapp's, and Dr Collins's attitude altered definitively. From the Western female side, Hajnóczy's, Helga's, Gertrud's, and Dr Timbers' attitude also changed and from the Eastern women side Parvati's and Nandini's attitude also changed. This also altered their perspective towards the ill and conservative customs for women. This indicated that not only individuals but the society also went through a cultural transformation as a whole. Overall, in *Bengáli Tűz*, different shades of intercultural transformation can be found, including negative and positive transformation, surface-structure transformation and deep-structure transformation. Intercultural transformation is a very broad term, and different aspects belonging to it can be displayed through *Bengáli Tűz*.

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All the quotes by Hajnóczy are rendered in the author’s translation.



Disputed Words of Disputed Territories: Whose Is *Kürtőskalács*?

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Abstract. *Kürtőskalács*, or chimney cake, is a Hungarian bakery specialty, made from sweet, yeast dough. The Hungarian lexeme *kürtőskalács* has two etymological explanations, and it has a lot of synonyms. The disputes over the paternity of this product between Romanian authorities and Hungarians have made us consider the history and origin of the term, the evolution of the recipe, and other additional information regarding linguistic, cultural, and translational implications (we have identified the first attempts to translate the recipe of the dish into Romanian). The very first written recipe known today dates back to 1784, when *Gazda Aszszonyi Bőltéségnék Tárháza*, Dániel Istvánné Gróf Mária Mikes's cookery book was issued, although the word had been mentioned in much older documents. The name *kürtőskalács* has not penetrated the Romanian language yet, although attempts to translate its recipe can be spotted in the 19th century. The words used by Romanians are either transcriptions or borrowings, or adapted or coined variants (*cozonac secuiesc*, *colac secuiesc*) or even calques (the case of *tulnic*, which is used to echo the phonetic similarity of *kürt* (trumpet) and *kürtő* (chimney stove) in Hungarian, as *tulnic* means a kind of trumpet). Our research focuses on the history of this product, the history of the words related to it, taking into account one of the most interesting parts of gastronomic literature, i.e. the history of cookery books.

Keywords: *kürtőskalács*, *cozonac secuiesc*, cookery book, cultural identity, gastronomic history, semantic void

1. Introduction

Kürtőskalács, or chimney cake, is a Hungarian bakery specialty which originates from Transylvania. It is made from sweet, yeast dough, which is striped and wrapped around a cone-shaped baking roll and baked above charcoal. The name *kürtőskalács* has two etymological explanations. One of these two competing explanations is that its name hints to the name of the stovepipe chimney, around

which, they say, the dough was rotated until it was baked. What has brought this bakery product to public attention more than ever was the intention of the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture to patent it as a traditional Romanian product, or, more specifically, as a PGI (Protected Geographical Indication) product. That is why we wish to take a look at the history of this product, the history of the words related to it, taking into account one of the most interesting parts of gastronomic literature, i.e. the history of cookery books.

2. Cookery books in Hungary and in Romania

The bulk of the surviving Hungarian cookery books come from Transylvania (Radvánszky 1893: VII). Although relatively few cookbooks have survived physically, sources hint to the existence of numerous cookbooks in Hungarian in different castles and mansions, which proves the incredible richness of cookbooks in previous centuries in the Carpathian Basin. For instance, as Radvánszky puts it, a 1701 inventory of Count Miklós Bercsényi's belongings from Ungvár mentions nine cookery books owned by the noble's household, out of which two were handwritten manuscripts and seven printed cookbooks (inventory found in Thaly K. II Rákóczy Ferencz levéltára, volume 8, p. 807).

Nevertheless, only Misztótfalusi's *Szakácmesterségnek könyvecskéje* [Little book of cookery] has survived in printed form, although it is stated on the front page of this book that it follows a series of other, earlier cookery books in Hungarian.

In what manuscripts are concerned, Radvánszky mentions two early writings which came to be printed in the 19th century: *Szakácssághoz való mesterség* [The craft of cooking] (1580, discovered in Miklós Jankovics's library), edited by Radvánszky in his *Családélet és háztartás*, volume 3, 37–49) and *Közétkeknek főzéséről való rövid feljegyzés* [Notes on cooking dishes] (written in the 17th century, discovered in Miklós Zrínyi's library and edited by László Toldi in *Történelmi Tár* 1881: 367, 569). András Szántó (1986: 72) also mentions a book dating from 1570, containing a book fragment, i.e. a collection of recipes, medicines, and related pieces of information and advice related to gardening.

The volume *Házi történelmünk emlékei. Szakácskönyvek* [Memories of our domestic history], published by Radvánszky in Budapest in 1893, contains three parts. The first part is a collection of a few old Hungarian and Czech recipes, written in German, and the second part is a cookbook dating from the late 16th century, discovered in András Fáy's library, most probably entitled *Szakács Tudomány* [The science of cooking] (also known as *Az erdélyi fejedelem szakácskönyve a 16 századból*).¹ The editor proves that this manuscript belongs

1 <http://lexikon.kriterion.ro/szavak/4238/>.

to the chef of a Transylvanian ruling prince, possibly István Báthory, Zsigmond János, Kristóf Báthory, or Zsigmond Báthory. The third part of the volume is a menu list dating from January 1603 from the Castle of Galgócz, belonging to Szaniszló Thurzó.

Márta Mészáros points out that most of the old Hungarian cookery books date back to the 16th–17th centuries. One of the first mentioning of such manuscripts belongs to the famous novelist Mór Jókai, who cites in 1862 some traditional Hungarian meals from the cookbook of Mihály Szentbenedeki (1601). This manuscript written by the cook of Sebestyén Thököly was discovered by Jókai in 1862 (he received it from Károly Mezőtelegdi Miskolczy, as he writes in the pages of *Vasárnapi Újság*). Szent-Benedeki's cookbook was recovered and published by Jókai in the pages of *Vasárnapi Újság* (1862, iss. 28–32), under the pseudonym Márton Kakas. In an introductory article published in *Vasárnapi Újság* (1862, iss. 27, page 322), in which he announces his intention to publish the manuscript in the following numbers, Jókai also proposes readers to construct a national Hungarian cookery book, which would include several traditional Hungarian meals, including *dorongos fánk*.²

One idea worth highlighting here is the fact that these meals, among which chimney cake, also called *dorongos fánk*, were known to and prepared by Hungarian cuisine but were not necessarily included in cookbooks. He urged his readers to send old recipes and cookbooks to be published. The content of this book was copied and sent to Jókai by Mező-Telegdy Miskolczy Károly from Berettyóújfalu, who most probably owned an original copy of this book, the complete title of which was *Magyar étkeknek főzése Thököli Sebestyén Uram Ő Nagysága Szakácha Szent Benedek Mihály által 1601 X Augusti Késmárckon* [The cooking of Hungarian dishes by Mihály Szent Benedek, cook of Sebestyén Thököli, compiled in Késmárck on 10th August 1601]. Mihály Szentbenedeki's book was later published in a volume in 1959 by József Kovács.

According to Szántó (1986: 17), the cookery book edited and published by Radvánszky in 1893 is the oldest cookbook in Hungarian known so far. Besides these two cookbooks (*Szakács mesterség* edited and published by Radvánszky and *Szent-Benedeki Mihály szakácskönyve*), until 1695, only private letters, diaries, and other writings contained recipes. In 1695 and in 1698, Tótfalusi Kis Miklós's *Szakácsmesterségnek Könyvecskéje* was published in Cluj, slightly preceded by *A csáktornyai Zrínyi udvar szakácskönyve* [The cookbook of the court of Zrínyi from Csáktornya] in manuscript. Most probably, the author of this 1695 cookbook knew Radvánszky's cookery book, or, even more likely, a common ancestor and source of both (Szántó 1986: 89). If Szántó's assumption is correct, then another, earlier Hungarian cookbook (from the centuries prior to the 16th century), now lost, inspired them.

2 <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00030/00437/pdf/>.

Another volume preceding *Szakácmesterségnek Könyvecskéje* was Tóffői Zsófia's *Szakátskönyv*, which survived in a 1772 copy under the title *Szakátskönyv mely 1692-ben M.Vásárhelyen concinnált Toffei Sofia Szakáts: könyvéből irattatott le 1772 die esztendőben G Bethlen Susánna* [Cookbook compiled by Sofia Toffei in 1692 and copied in 1772 on the order of Susánna Bethlen], which is kept in the Teleki Library of Târgu-Mureş (for more details, see András Józsa's article *Tóffői Zsófia 1692-ben Marosvásárhelyen szerkesztett szakátskönyve* and other writings on the topic).³

Balázs Füreder (2009) provides a list of the Hungarian cookery books from the 18th century. Relying on this source and gathering information regarding old cookbook literature, we have completed the list of old Hungarian cookbooks with manuscripts or publications. Thus, here is a list with some of the most important titles in Hungarian gastronomic and cookery book literature until the end of the 19th century (nevertheless, we must add that starting from the 19th century the list is highly selective; we have not included all the manuscripts; even today, there are numerous manuscripts in different libraries and archives which have not been published and/or studied yet, not to mention the possibly many other manuscripts which might have contained valuable information but have been lost over time).⁴

Table 1. *Hungarian cookbooks in the 16th–19th centuries*

16 th century	1580: <i>Szakácssághoz való mesterség</i> [The craft of cooking] (edited by Radvánszky in his <i>Családélet és háztartás a XVI és XII században</i> , 1896), regarded by Szántó as a book dating from 1570: <i>Következnek szakácssághoz való mesterségek</i> (Szántó 1986: 72); <i>Szakács Tudomány</i> [The science of cooking], possibly from the late 16 th century, published by Radvánszky in <i>Házi történelmünk emlékei. Szakácskönyvek</i> , Budapest, 1893. Some sources state that the surviving copy is dated from 1622; ⁵
17 th century	1601: Szentbenedeki Mihály szakácskönyve (<i>Magyar étkeknek főzése Thököli Sebestyén Uram Ő Nagysága Szakácha Szent Benedek Mihály által 1601 X Augusti Késmárckon</i> [The cooking of Hungarian dishes by Mihály Szent Benedek, cook of Sebestyén Thököli, compiled in Késmárck on 10 th August 1601]; Around 1662: <i>A csáktornyai Zrínyi-udvar szakácskönyve</i> [The cookbook of the court of Zrínyi from Csáktornya], also known as <i>Közétkeknek főzéséről való rövid feljegyzés</i> (discovered in Miklós

3 <http://ww2.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php/magunkrol/kincseink/17-magyar-nyelvu-tartalom/magunkrol/977-a-misztotfalusi-szakacskonyv>.

4 For instance, *Szakács könyv, festések módja s egyéb...* At: <http://dspace.bcucuj.ro/jspui/handle/123456789/46739>.

5 <http://lexikon.kriterion.ro/szavak/4238/>.

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- 17th century Zrínyi's library, edited by László Toldi, and written in the 17th century – according to Mészáros, around 1662);
 1680: *Bornemisza Anna szakácskönyve* [The cookbook of Anna Bornemisza] (edited under this title by Elemér Lakó in 1983, although it was written or rather translated by János Keszei in 1680;⁶
 1693: *Csíksomlyói ferences recepteskönyv* [Book of recipes of Franciscan monks in Csíksomlyó] (published by György Stoffán in 2015 under the title *Barátok konyhája* [Kitchen of monks];
 1692: Dobos/Tofeus or Tóffői Zsófia, *Szakátskönyv mely 1692-ben M.vásárhelyen concinnált Toffei Sofia* [Cookbook compiled by Sofia Toffei in 1692 and copied in 1772 on the order of Susánna Bethlen];
 1695: Tótfalusi Kis Miklós, *Szakács mesterségnek könyvetskéje* [Little book of cookery];
 early 18th century: *Szakácskönyv és hasznos feljegyzések* [Cookbook and other useful notes];
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- 18th century 1711: *A Szakács-Mesterségnek rövid leírása* [Short description of the science of cooking];
 1727: *Apor Zsuzsanna liktáriumos könyve* [Book of beverages by Zsuzsanna Apor], (its complete title being *P. Haller Jánosné született Apor Zsuzsanna : J. M. J. N. Liktariumoknak, Confectumoknak, és sütedeknek, ugy nemű étkeknek készítéséről, és külömb külömb féle virágok csinálásának módgyáról valo jedczések*);
 1743: *Szakáts Könyv* [Cookbook], by M. Ts. (although Füreder states that this manuscript is today lost, András Szántó (1986: 106–117) presents and cites it as an available manuscript and reproduces quite a lot of recipes taken from it);
 1753–1758: *Ételek Nemeiről, vagy Hellyessen lehető Készítéséikről, és más egyéb a féle Szükséges Házi dolgokról írott Könyv* [A book on dishes and their preparation and other household activities], Sárospatak (today lost);
 1769: *Balassa Ágnes szakácskönyve, Külömb-Féle Nád Mézel és Más Ahoz Alkalmaztatott Elegyítésekkel ízesített sütemények, melyeket Ms. N. Báró Balassa Ágnes Asszony-nak Német nyelvről magyarra fordított Ájtatos Oskolabéli Szerzetes Száblik Istvány Váczon* [Cookbook of Ágnes Balassa. The recipes of pastries made with cane sugar. Translated from German by Száblik Istvány];
 1771: Nánási István, *Szakácskönyv. Szakátskönyv avagy minden féle meleg és hideg leves és sült étkeknek tálban főtteknek és tésztaneműeknek pastétomoknak draga ízű vizeknek és italoknak külömb külömbféle rosolisoknak, és festékeknek készitetéseknék modja és mestersége Nyomatott Bolyában Ezer Hét Száz Hetven Égygyedik Esztendőben. Szent András Havának Első Napján*
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6 <http://lexikon.kriterion.ro/szavak/4238/>.

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- 18th century [Cookbook of István Nánási. The recipes of cold and hot soups, steaks and the preparation of syrpus and colouring substances];
 1772: *Wesselényi Kata szakácskönyve*, or *Szakácskönyv és háztartási tanácsadó. B. Wesselényi Katájé. Fordította Németből Méltóságos Groffné Asszonyom parantsolattyára Szebenbe 16 dik. Augusto Anno 1772. Groff Lázár János* [Cookbook of Kata Wesselényi. A book of recipes and household related advice, translated from German by János Lázár];
 1777: *Babós Gábor szakácskönyve* [Cookbook of Gábor Babós], Szászvevessződ;
 1779: *J. szakácskönyve* [Cookbook of J.];
 1782: *Koszdercka Emmanuel szakácskönyve: „Egy Négy Részből álo Konyha és Házi Kőnyv”* [Cookbook of Emmanuel Koszdercka];
 1784: *Mikes Mária szakácskönyve* [Cookbook of Mária Mikes];
 1788: *Csinálóssi Ravazdi András néhány receptje* [Some recipes by András Csinálóssi Ravazdi];
 1795: *Simai Kristóf szakácskönyve, Némelly Étkek Készítése módgya: Körmöcbánya*;
late 18th century: Jo Gazda Asszony az az Jo Gazda Asszonyt illető házi szükségre valo hasznos könyv”, Cluj-Napoca [Cookbook of Kristóf Simai. A book on how to make different dishes];
 1796: *Mihály Veres: A jó gazdaasszony, Füstkuti Landerer Mihály költségével és bötűivel 1796-ban*, Pest [Cookbook of Mihály Veres: The good housewife];
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- 19th century 1803: *Gromid de la Reynière ínnyességi Almanach* (translation from French, published along ten years);
 1807: Szirmay, *Hungaria in parabolis (Budae)*;
 1816: István Czifray, *Magyar nemzeti szakács könyv, a Magyar gazda asszonyok számára szerzette Czifray István szakács mester Pesten*. The book came to be republished nine times [Cookbook of István Czifray for Hungarian housewives];
 1820: Nagyváthy János, *Magyar házi gazdaasszony* [The Hungarian housewife], Pest: Trattner Kiadó;
 1830: Ferenc Zelena, *Minden háznál használható közönséges és legújabb Nemzeti szakácskönyv* [Cookbook of Ferenc Zelena for all households];
 1834: *Lagerda udvarmester Az ételfölszelés mestersége* [The art of serving dishes by Lagerda], Pest: Ifj. Kilián György Kiadása;
 1843: *Egy magyar gazdaasszony* [A Hungarian housewife], Pest;
 1876: (Zsalovits Józsefné) Teréz Doleskó, a famous cook and cookery book writer (under the name Rézi néni), published the first edition of her *Szegedi szakácskönyv* [A cookbook from Szeged];
 1881: József Dobos C., *Magyar-Francia Szakácskönyv* [The Hungarian-French cookbook], Budapest;
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19 th century	1888: József Hegyesi, <i>A legújabb házi cukrászat kézikönyve</i> [The handbook of pastry cooking]; 1892: Ágnes Zilahy, <i>Valódi magyar szakácskönyv</i> [A veritable Hungarian cookbook], Budapest; 1896: Géza Kugler, <i>A legújabb és legteljesebb nagy házi cukrászat. Cukrászok, vendéglősök és háziasszonyok legpraktikusabb kézikönyve</i> [A cookbook for confectionaries, restaurants and housewives]; 1909: <i>St Hilare Józefa-féle Képes pesti szakácskönyv</i> [Illustrated Pest cookbook by Józefa St Hilare].
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The first Hungarian cookery book which is known today to have been published was printed in 1695 in Cluj, while the next printed cookery book was published only in 1816. Nevertheless, it is agreed that a lot of handwritten cookery books were circulating, but few of them survived to the present moment.

The first Romanian cookery book was Mihail Kogălniceanu's and Costache Negruzzi's *200 de retete cercate de bucate, prăjituri și alte trebi gospodărești* [200 recipes of dishes, pastries and other household chores] published in 1841 in Iași, in Cyrillic letters. As it is stated in the reprint edition, the recipes included here were copied from French and German sources as Moldavian cookery and cuisine were considered rather poor and insufficient by the authors of the volume.⁷ Later editions were issued in 1842, 1846 Iași, Cantora Foi Sătești.

Among other Romanian cookery books from the 19th century, we mention:

Table 2. Romanian cookery books from the 19th century

1806–1825	<i>O cărticică folositoare</i> [A useful book] translated from Polish by Gavriil Vinețki;
1812	J. N. Neuhold, <i>Învățătură de a face sirup și zahar din mustul tuleilor de cucuruz după ce s-au cules cucuruzul de pre ei</i> [A book on preparing syrup from sweet corn] (Buda);
1813	<i>Învățătură despre agonisirea viței de vie și despre măestria de a face vin, vinars și oțet întocmită de autorii Chaptal, Rosier, Parmentier și Dussieux</i> [A book on making wine] (Buda);
1818	Christian Albert Rückert, <i>Învățătură sau povățuire pentru facerea pâinii ceii de obste mai neagră, pentru cea albă de casă, pentru făina cea spre întrebuițarea bucatelor; pentru hrizi, și altele, din cartofle, pentru sămănatul lor, lucrarea și păstrarea lor. Alcătuita de cătră... în limba nemțească, acum întâi tălmăcită întru cea grecească de cătră Dimitrie Samurcas</i> [A book that teaches how to make bread, brown and white, from wheat and other foodstuffs] (Iași: Tipografia Sfintei Mitropolii);

⁷ For further details, see Nagy (2017).

1846	<i>Rețete cercate în număr de 500 din bucătăria cea mare a lui Robert întâiul bucătar al curții Franței. Potrivit pentru toate stările. Traduse de post. Manolachi Drăghici</i> [500 recipes from the kitchen of Robert, the best cook in France, translated by Manolachi Drăghici] (Iași: Tipografia Institutului Albinei);
	<i>Carte de bucate (190 retete) alese și încercate de uă amică a tuturor femeilor casnice</i> by Maria Maurer [Cookbook of Maria Maurer] (Bucharest);
1865	Christ Ionin, <i>Bucătăria română. Cartea cuprinzătoare de mai multe rețete de bucate și buffet</i> [Romanian gastronomy], Bucharest;
1871	Steriady Ecaterina (colonel), <i>Buna menajeră</i> [The good housewife] (Galați: Editura Otto Bielig);
1874	Steriady Ecaterina (colonel), <i>Buna menajeră. Carte de bucate practică, edițiunea a II-a corectată, adăugită și ilustrată cu 50 de figure</i> [The good housewife]. A practical cookbook, second edition with 50 pictures (Bucharest: Editura Socec);
1900	<i>Regina bucătăriei. Bucătărie universală pentru sănătoși și bolnavi</i> [The queen of the kitchen. Universal cookbook for the healthy and the ill], Bucharest.

3. History of (the term) *kürtöskalács*

Hantz et al. (2015) make up the genealogy of this bakery product (the Hungarian *kürtöskalács*, the German *Baumkuchen*, the Old German *Ayrkuchen* or *Spiesskuchen*, the Austrian *Prügeltorte*, the Saxon *Baumstriezel*, the Swedish *spettekaka*, the Slovak *trdelník*, the Tchech *trdlo*, the Lituianian *ragouli*, and the French *gâteau-a-la broche* are all cakes prepared on rotated barrels). The forerunners of *kürtöskalács* can be found, according to Hantz et al. (2015), in mediaeval German texts: a 1450 manuscript kept in a Heidelberg archive describes a cake cooked on a barrel (*kuchen an eyne spiss*), a 1485 official document refers to a type of wedding cake called *Ayrkuchen*, whereas a 1539 cookery book linked to a Dominican Catholic monastery provides a detailed recipe and description of this ancient chimney cake type. Hantz et al. also mention other sources where this cake is described (*Spiesskuchen dorong-sütemény*, 1450).

As we have already pointed out in Nagy (2016), the etymology of *kürtöskalács* has been traced back to the noun *kürt* (horn) (cf. Pozsony 2013) or to *kürtő* (chimney-stack) (cf. Szabó T. et al. 2000). Szabó T. states that *kürtöskalács* is the name most frequently used in Szeklerland, whereas *botkalács* and *rudasfánk* are forms used only outside Transylvania.

According to Hantz et al. (2015), the very first written document mentioning the term *kürtöskalács* dates back to 1679, Úzdiszentpéter, a document which disappeared from the Cluj archives (*Kürtös Fánk sütéshez való fa, Uzdiszentpéter*,

Bajoni János inv. 63). Hantz et al. mention some other early records of the word, listed by Attila Szabó T., such as a 1772 inventory from the Mikó family (confirming the existence of a chimney-cake-baking pot ‘Kürtő kaláts Sütő tserép’ in their household), a 1773 document from László Teleki’s archives, a 1811 inventory from Mezőőr, a 1811 document from Mihály Trintsini’s house from Târgu-Mureș, a mentioning from 1822 in József Gyulakuti Lázár’s mansion from Nyárádszentanna, a 1827 mentioning in Károly Petrichevich Horváth’s castle from Felsőzsuk, where they had a bin named *Kürtös koláts sütő fa tserépével*. Among further related word recordings, we mention: 1792 (*Kürtös kalács forma*), 1761 (*Kürtös kalács formájú*), 1761 (*Kürtös kalács sütő*), and some others in 1804, 1806, 1807, 1810, 1816, 1840, 1851, etc. (Szabó T. et al. 2000: 711–712). Balázs Füreder in an article published in 2013 reinforces Szabó T.’s findings, according to which the term *kürtőskalács* was far earlier in use in Transylvania, its first written record being linked to the village of Úzdiszentpéter, where, an object used for baking chimney cake was put down during one of the inventories.

Zaicz (2006) states that the term *kürtőskalács* was first recorded in 1787, whereas the noun *dorong* is of Slavic origin, and it must have entered the Hungarian language before the 10th century. Attila Szabó T. in his study *A szó és az ember* [The word and the man] mentions the usage of the word *kürtőskalács*, *kürtőskalács* with reference to the tool with which this bakery product was prepared. Szabó T. et al. (2000: 710–711) consider that the name *kürtőskalács* was first used in written records earlier, in a 1723 letter sent by Countess Ferrati Lajosné Kálnoki Ágnes to Apór Péterné Kálnoki Borbála. As Attila Szabó T. puts it, the Hungarian name which survived up to now must have come from the name of the chimney-stack (*kürtő*), a viewpoint sustained by the fact that the Saxons living in Transylvania call this cake *Schornsteinkuchen*, which is a calque of the Hungarian compound noun *kürtőskalács*. In *Régi magyar glosszárium. Szótárak, szójegyzékek és glosszák egyesített szótára* [Old Hungarian glossary. A united dictionary of glossaries and dictionaries], the term *kürtösasszony-mesterség* is listed (in literal translation: *chimney woman*, most probably *chimney-cake-baking woman*, as the other possible interpretation, *woman who plays the horn*, is very unlikely) as a word first recorded in *Gyöngyösi Szótártöredék* in 1560 (Berrár-Károly 1984: 442). Nevertheless, further research is needed in this respect.

According to a glossary database of old Hungarian words (*Régi magyar szavak magyarító adatbázisa. Kihalt, elfeledett és kiveszőben lévő szavak, szóalakok és szójelentések magyarázata*), the lexemes *kürtősfánk* and *kürtőskalács* are perfect synonyms. In *Magyar tájszavak és népies lexikai elemek adatbázisa 25000 tájszó és népies szó magyarázata, köznyelvi értelmezése, gyakran ekvivalens szinonim szóval* [A database of old Hungarian lexemes. The explanation of 25,000 dialectal and regional words and their synonyms], the terms *botratekercs*, *dorongfánk*, and *kürtőskalács* are total synonyms.

Some authors⁸ mention that *Kürtös kalács* was also known by the names *botratekeracs* vagy *dorongfánk*, *kürtöskalács*, *kürtősfánk*, *kürtőspánkó*, or simply *kürtős*. Bán Jánosné, Béla Nagy J., and István Léstyán also reinforce the plurality of names in the case of *kürtös kalács* (*kürtös fánk* or *kalács*, *botratekeracs*), but they deny that *dorongfánk* is the same as *kürtös kalács* on the premise that the form *durungfánk* has been collected in Veszprém County (in present-day Hungary). Dalos (2009) highlights that several names of *kürtöskalács* (*kürtöskalács*, *kürtősfánk*, *kürtőspánkó*) were in use in the eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin, and *dorongfánk*, *botratekeracs* were used in the Western parts (the region known as *Dunántúl*). István Grenscy (1905) mentions the synonyms *Formabeli* (*kalács*), *kürtös kalács*, *botra tekeracs*, and *tökébélés*. Károly Viski (1932) mentions the names *botratekert* and *kürtöskalács* in the 1909 edition of *St Hilare József-éle Képes pesti szakácskönyv*, the recipe of *hengerfánk* is provided (St. Hilaire 1909: 250), which in fact seems to be, in point of ingredients and the procedure of preparation, chimney cake itself.

Therefore, in this study, we will focus on all synonyms of *kürtöskalács* as, according to many sources, in early writings among other names of the same product, there were *kürtös kalács*, *kürtös*, *kürtős*, *dorong fánk*, *dorongos fánk*, *durungfánk*, *dorongfán sütt kalács botfánk*, *botratekeracs*, *kürtősfánk rudasfánk*, *kürtőspánkó*, *formabeli*, *tökébélés*, and *hengerfánk*.

One of the most frequently cited sources featuring the term under analysis is the letter sent by Countess Feratti Bertalanné, Ágnes Kálnoki (living in Iași, in the court of the Moldavian Prince), in which the author tells her aunt, Apor Péterné Borbála Kálnoki, living in the Transylvanian village of Torja (Turia), that the wife of the Moldavian Prince would like her to send them the recipe of chimney cake. Péter Apor, author of *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, does not refer to this cake as a well-established product worth of including in the gallery of Transylvanian meals although the above mentioned letter proves that chimney cake was prepared in their household on a regular basis. Apor's *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae* (finished in 1736) rejects all German influence on Hungarian cooking and lifestyle, calling such phenomena *náj módj*⁹ (Szántó 1986: 100). Hantz et al. (2015) explain this reluctant behaviour by the conservative Apor's probable resentment related to this fashion, which he attributed to the Austrians and/or Germans.

Towards the end of the 18th century, the cookery book of Countess Mária Mikes (1736–1817; married to Dániel István in 1779) was published: *Gazda Aszszonyi Bőltességnek Tárháza. Dániel Istvánné Gróf Mikes Mária*. What we know for certain about Mária Mikes's cookery book is that the writer is unknown, all the recipes were written in Hungarian, and it was written in 1784.

8 <http://karpatmedence.net/targyineprajz/taplalkozas/351-egy-majdnem-hungarikum-akurtskalacs>.

9 *Neue Mode*.

Countess Anna Mária Mikes's cookbook includes 376 recipes overall, and it has three main parts and two secondary or hidden chapters. Part of this book is a reproduction of an older cookery book, *Szakáts Könyv*, from 1743. Mikes's cookery book presents many *kalács* recipes. This 1784 cookery book provides the first written record of the chimney cake's recipe called *Porániné módja szerint kürtőskalács* (in a literal translation: 'Chimney cake as Mrs Poráni makes it').

We cannot fail to notice that this habit of providing the proper names with recipes, accompanied by structures meaning "as it is prepared by", such as *á la*, *módja szerint*, or *féle*, is widespread in Hungarian gastronomic literature, and such names do not necessarily refer to the inventor of that kind of food, but they hint either to the person from whom the recipe was copied or to the famous person who liked it very much or to the person who first introduced it. It is hard to believe that Mrs Poráni was the woman who invented chimney cake as it had been known long before her time. Most probably she was either the cook in the household of Countess Mikes or she was the woman from whose recipe collection this recipe may have been copied.

Thus, this 1784 cookery book contains the first written record of the chimney cake recipe, at least as it is known today: *Porániné módja szerint kürtőskalács*. As Füreder (2009) mentions, another recipe appeared in 1812, in Kristóf Simai's recipe collection. Simai's volume (the first section of which dates back to 1795, whereas the second section is from 1812) contains the writer's own recipes and other texts compiled from Jean Neubauer's 1779 cookery book published in Munich and Borbála Hükmann's 1794 *Szakáts könyv* [Cookery book]. The book contains 712 recipes in 17 chapters. Recipe number 23 is *Dorongos fánk* (*Botra tekercs, Kürtőskalács, Botkalács*).

We have tried to research into some of the earliest cookbooks in Hungarian to check whether the name and/or the recipe of chimney cake was included in any of the cookbooks or manuscripts mentioned earlier. We have searched for the term in Anna Bornemissza's 1680 cookery book, and the product is mentioned under the name *Botfánk* in two places: on page 65 and on page 263, where the semantic identity between *botfánk-kürtőskalács* is also suggested. In this 1680 cookery book (in subchapter no 167, pp. 223–230), the recipe of chimney cake is provided (recipe no 20), without providing the name of the product (in fact, the whole chapter is a long, numbered list of recipes and cooking tips; the names of the 76 cooked meals are not given in any of the cases). Our findings are also consistent with Füreder (2013: 667), whereas Mészáros (2010) states that this cookbook does not provide the recipe of chimney cake (see also Nagy 2016).

István Czifray published his *Legújabb Magyar szakácskönyv* [Newest Hungarian cookbook] in 1816 (Pest), which later was improved and reprinted several times. Here one can find two variants of *Kürtőskalács*. Chimney cake is included here under the name *Dorongfánk zsírban kirántva* (recipe no 1241, in Czifray 1840:

430–431). Another very similar type of cake is recipe no 1231, on page 432, under the name *Csőves fánk*, which also mentions the tool, the barrel, with the help of which it is baked: *csőves fánkvas* (Czifray 1840: 426). Czifray's recipe was later reproduced by Zsuzsána Németh in 1858 under the name *Nagy dorong fánk* (Németh 1858: 180). In the seventh edition of *Pesti Szakácskönyv* (1870, ed. by *Magyar Gazdasszony*, the cake is found under the name *Dorong-fánk*. Zsalovits Józsefné Teréz Doleskó, who became a famous cook and cookery book writer under the name Rézi néni, published the first edition of her *Szegedi szakácskönyv* in 1876. In this first edition, chimney cake has the name *dorongfánk* (1876: 238). In the seventh edition of this book, the recipe appears under the name *Dorongfánk* (recipe number 851, *Szegedi szakácskönyv*, 1901: 289).

Ágnes Zilahy's 1892 cookbook provides the recipe of chimney cake on page 122 (*A kürtös kalács*). Matild Cs. Guits, in her *A jó barát nő. (Tanácsadó a háztartásban és gazdálkodás minden ágában. Kitűnő magyar szakácskönyv. Háztartási és gazdasági könyvvitel. Szépítőszerek, pipere- és hasznos háziszerek előállításának ismertetése* [The good friend. An excellent cookbook. House economy. Preparing cosmetics and other useful things], published by Kner Izidor in Gyoma in 1904, reproduces *Dorongfánk* (recipe no 266, Guits 1904: 124).

Despite the fact that the first recipe which survived is still considered the Mikes recipe, the cake itself must have been popular far earlier. Further manuscripts are still awaiting to be processed and analysed. Nevertheless, other documents might also be taken into consideration (inventories, ethnographic writings, diaries, literary texts, etc.). In the 18th century, *kürtöskalács* was widespread all over the Hungarian-speaking regions, and Hantz et al. state that the other names – *dorongos fánk*, *dorongfánk*, and *botra tekercs* – are calques of the German word *Baumkuchen*. The very first non-gastronomic document containing the term *dorongfán sült kalács* is the text of a 1789 comedy (cf. Hantz et al. 2015). According to Füreder (2009), cookery books are a conservative type of texts from a linguistic viewpoint as it takes time to include a recipe once it entered the gastronomic culture of a group. This may explain why the very first cookery books in Hungarian did not list *kürtöskalács*.

4. Kürtöskalács in Romanian gastronomic literature

Romanian cookery books do not mention chimney cake as a Romanian product although we should expect to have it included and described in at least some of the Romanian cookbooks, at least from the 20th century.

Kürtöskalács does not have its own name in Romanian; either calque (*cozonac Kürtös*) or total transformation (*cozonac secuiesc*) or transcription is used when attempting to include it in Romanian texts. It is the case of a typical semantic

void, i.e. *lacunes*, *blank spaces*, or *gaps*, which refer to the situation in which for certain words from the source language there are no corresponding words in the target language simply because the referent which the linguistic unit refers to is specific to the source culture but not specific to the culture of the target language. Basically, a void is the “non-existence in one language of a one-word equivalent for a designatory term found in another. Voids are found only at word level” (Shuttleworth-Cowie 2007: 196). There are four main types of semantic voids: a. environmental voids (untranslatability of natural phenomena): e.g. *tundra*, *el Nino*; b. cultural voids: religious and secular alike: e.g. *bar mitzvah*, *cream tea*, *samovar*; c. lexical voids: there is no single TL word for referents that are present in the speech community: e.g. *Gemutlich* and *toska*; d. syntactical voids: TL has a suitable equivalent, but it can be used only if some syntactical rearrangements are made: e.g. *know-how* or the Hungarian *barátnő*.

Environmental voids are usually translated with the help of transcription. Cultural voids can be translated with transcription and glossing, i.e. the addition of explanatory footnotes. With lexical voids, translators can choose between using a one-word equivalent, paraphrase, or omission. *Kürtőskalács* is a typical cultural void in point of the Romanian lexicon.

Lupescu (2000) does not list the chimney cake barrel among the instruments and cookery tools which were specific to traditional Romanian villages. Țibacov (2005: 181) includes chimney cake among the products characteristic for Hungarians from Transylvania (*Kürtös-Kalács*, *Colaci secuiești*, or *un fel de cozonac la protap*, the recipe of Borbala Kolumban, as stated by Țibacov 2005: 181).

The bulk of Romanian cookbooks we have researched do not mention chimney cake as a traditional Romanian product. The volume *100 Romanian recipes* does not list chimney cake amongst Romanian recipes although it does so with other old Hungarian dishes such as *Varza a la Cluj* (*Kolozsvári káposzta* described in early Hungarian cookery books such as Misztótfalusi's 1698 and Toffeus's 1692 cookbooks). The impressive volume with recipes entitled *Rețetar-tip pentru produse de patiserie, Institutul de Economia Comerțului Interior și a Turismului, Oficiul de Informare documentară pentru comerț interior* (1986) does not include chimney cake either although some other Hungarian recipes are provided, the names of the products being transcribed from Hungarian into Romanian, following the Romanian spelling rules (*Kuglof cu cacao*, p. 168, *Langoși*, pp. 174–180). The only volume which makes reference to chimney cake is Lucreția Oprean's *Bucătăria românească* [Romanian gastronomy] (1972: 234), which lists *Tulnici* (Kürtös kalács) in a chapter dedicated to dishes specific for ethnic minorities from Romania (*Preparate specifice ale minoritatilor conlocuitoare*), most specifically in the subchapter *Hungarian dishes* (*Preparate ungurești*, Oprean 1972: 228–236). This book lists some other Hungarian names, the techniques being in most

of the cases word borrowing or transcription (for instance, *Pörkölt din carne de vițel sau miel*).¹⁰

Still, in Kogălniceanu's and Negruzzi's *200 de rețete cercate de bucate, prăjituri și alte trebi gospodărești*, there is a recipe called *Buciume prăjite în unt* (p. 156), which seems to be the adapted variant of István Czifray's *Dorongfánk zsirban kirántva* (Czifray 1840: 430–431). However, the word *bucium*, a literal translation of *kürt*, has not been used with this sense ever since, meaning that the authors' attempt to establish a new name for a product borrowed from elsewhere did not succeed. Still, *Buciume prăjite în unt* might be the very first attempt to translate a chimney cake recipe into Romanian; nevertheless, neither *buciume prăjite în unt* nor *tulnic* came to designate the kind of dish that is known as *kürtőskalács*.

5. Conclusions

In the debate upon whose product *kürtőskalács* really is, the arguments provided by the media cannot be relied on as the most important reason for which they claim the product's *nationality* and ownership is the fact that Mrs Poráni must have been Romanian. What is more, Romanian newspaper articles state that the fact that she lived in Transylvania does not mean that she was Hungarian, it does not even mean that she was a Hungarian citizen, as she was a *Habsburg citizen*. In 1784, when *Gazda Aszszonyi Böltseségnek Tárháza*, Mária Mikes's cookery book was brought to light, Transylvania had a special status within the Habsburg Monarchy; it was an Austrian crownland but realm of the Hungarian Crown. The language in which the recipe is written is Hungarian, the name Porániné is also written according to the spelling rules of Hungarian language, and the very structure of the name itself shows that it is a Hungarian name. No one will tell who this much debated Mrs Poráni was, and it might be less important from a linguistic or etymological viewpoint.

Linguistically, *kürtőskalács* is definitely Hungarian. The Hungarian word *kürtőskalács* was mentioned centuries ago in written documents, the first written record of the recipe being also Hungarian. These are the most important reasons for which we consider that chimney cake is a traditional Hungarian dish, which survived best in the territories inhabited by Szeklers, in Transylvania, today part of the Romanian state. One must not forget that words like *kürtőskalács*, *vargabéles*, *rétes*, *hájás*, *dobos*, *zserbó*, *lángos*, usually transcribed into Romanian (*varga beles*, *reteș*, *haioș*, *dobos*, *jerbo*, *langoș*) are Hungarian words because Hungarian cuisine

10 In Kövi's *Erdélyi lakoma* (1980) in the chapter *Kőttetészták, palacsinták Kürtőskalács*, it is recipe no 268, p. 225; no Romanian name is provided in brackets, as with *Kukoricakása (păsat)*, *Puliszkağombóc (Papară din făină de mălai)*, a sign that *Kürtőskalács* did not have a Romanian name by the time the book was written, around the 1970s and 1980s.

launched them, as one must admit that words like *tochitură*, *drob*, *pârjoale*, etc. do not have Hungarian equivalents because they are Romanian dishes.

The name *kürtőskalács* has not penetrated the Romanian language yet – the words used by Romanians are either transcriptions, borrowings, adapted or coined variants (*cozonac secuiesc*, *colac secuiesc*), or even calques (the case of *tulnic*, which is used to echo the phonetic similarity of *kürt*/trumpet and *kürtő*/chimney stove in Hungarian, as *tulnic* means a kind of trumpet and the same goes with the word *bucium*). Interestingly enough, neither *tulnic* nor *bucium* came to be used in Romanian with the meaning of *kürtőskalács*, which might prove they are mere attempts to provide a literal translation for this term. Thus, the lack of a name usually means the lack of a referent in semantics, meaning that chimney cake was not common in Romanian gastronomy until quite recently. What is more, the recipe of chimney cake is not listed in Romanian cookbooks, the only exception being Lucreția Oprean's volume (1972: 234), which refers to *Kürtös kalács* (also called *Tulnici*) as a Hungarian product.

Whose is *kürtőskalács* after all? Judging by the etymology of the term and its historical recordings, one might say that it belongs to the Hungarian gastronomic language and culture. Judging by the impressive variety of similar dishes, one would say that it is Central European. What is certain is the fact that today it is a popular marker of the Transylvanian region's cultural identity.

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Transition and Translation – Between Two Wor(L)Ds

Transgressability of Borders in Ion Nete’s Novel *Ninge cu
suflete de morți* and in Its Hungarian Translation

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Abstract. My paper focuses on a novel by a contemporary Romanian writer who lives in Miercurea-Ciuc and whose entire work can be characterized by the central importance of the topic of border, specifically the thin border between life and death, the transgressability of the border of this world and the world of dead souls. The mythical-mystical-religious atmosphere of his prose constitutes a difficulty for the translator who, through his/her work, tries to cross the border of two languages and two cultures.

“Being on the border” is a dangerous condition/state, and every culture tries to assure a safe border-crossing process. I will approach this topic from several points of view. On the one hand, I will analyse a sequence of the chosen novel in which a funeral scene is presented, while, on the other hand, I will reflect on how the translator is situated on the border when s/he has to do the translation of a ceremonial text (part of the folklore of an archaic source culture) to a target culture (namely, Hungarian culture) in which there is not a correspondent for this specific text type.

Keywords: translation, rite of passage, liminal space, correspondence, transgressability

1. Introduction

“Being on the border” is a dangerous condition, and every culture tries to assure the safety of the process of border crossing. Border crossing, in its general sense, is maybe the most common literary topic because the most important events and situations of human life are related to borders. Crossing physical, spiritual, emotional borders legally or illegally, or the impossibility of crossing borders seems to be one of the central issues of literature. Literary translation

– and translation in general – is also a border-crossing act: in order to assure the accessibility of literary work for a public who does not understand the text's language, translators have to cross the borders between two languages, two cultures. This is why Hermes – the messenger of gods, who transmits and translates the gods' messages to mortals – is also the protector of translators (and also that of the thieves and travellers).

My paper focuses on the novel entitled *Ninge cu suflete de morți* [It's snowing with dead souls] by Ion Nete, a contemporary Romanian writer who lives in Miercurea Ciuc. Not only this novel, but his entire work can be characterized by the central importance of the topic of border, specifically the thin border between life and death, the transgressability of the border of this world and the world of dead souls.

In my paper, the motif of border and border crossing appears in several senses. On the one hand, the paper deals with the topic of border in the novel, which is a central issue in the text even though it never appears explicitly.

Secondly, I will present a specific sequence of this text, which is itself part of a "rite de passage", it is a ritual poem from the Romanian folklore linked to the funeral ceremony known as "Dawns". The poem of "Dawns" marks the liminal stage of the funeral. This term is taken from Arnold van Gennep's theory of rites of passage, a theoretical frame which can be used to interpret this part of the novel and, in a wider sense, it can be a useful tool to interpret Nete's entire novel and a huge part of his oeuvre.¹ Thirdly, I will try to share the experience of the translation of this text because the mythical-mystical-religious atmosphere of this prose constitutes a difficulty for the translator who, through his/her work, tries to cross the border of two languages and two cultures. Every translation is a border-crossing act, and it becomes clearer when a second linguistic border appears in the discussion: the metalanguage of interpretation.

2. Borderline experience in Ion Nete's novel

As I mentioned earlier, Arnold van Gennep's theory related to rites of passage can be a useful tool in the analysis of the chosen novel. Arnold van Gennep's main work, *Les rites de passage*, was published in 1909 in France (Gennep 1909), and its influence is now indisputable in the academic fields of various kinds of social studies (anthropology, ethnography, folklore, sociology, theology) and even in literary studies.

1 Gennep's book was published in 1909, translated into English first in 1960 and then republished in reprint edition in 1977 and 2010. Its Romanian translation was published in 1996 and the Hungarian edition only in 2007; it was a great debt of Hungarian ethnography towards this scholar (Gennep 1909, 1960, 1977, 1996, 2007, 2010).

According to Gennep, communities perform rites of passages, special ceremonies every time when an individual leaves a group to enter another, and this implies a significant change of his/her social status. Gennep observed that the ritual ceremonies that accompany the landmarks of human life differ only in detail from one culture to another and that they are in essence universal. Every rite of passage has a triadic structure: the first part includes the rites of separation, the second one the rites of liminality, and the third one the rites of incorporation. As Gennep says: “I propose to call the rites of separation from a previous world *preliminal rites*, those executed during the transitional stage *liminal (or threshold) rites*, and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world *postliminal rites*” (Gennep 1977: 21). The preliminary phase, in which the individual leaves the previous state/status, is a period of segregation; the second phase, the liminal one, is a transitional state characterized by ambiguity, openness, and indeterminacy; the third phase, the postliminal phase, is the process of introduction into the new social status or new life.

Nete’s novel contains three chapters; it is a story of initiation and, in a metaphorical sense, that of a Passion of Christ. It is situated on the border of reality, imagination, and dreams; it opens up toward the depth of the soul and higher levels of transcendence. The main character of the novel is Mirodonie, a child whose name evokes miracle (*miracol* in Romanian), wonderment (*mirare* in Romanian), myrrh (*mir* in Romanian), and groom (*mir* in Romanian). This richness of connotations and allusions of the name suggests the character’s openness to the final questions of life, to transcendental levels of human existence. All these senses of the name are somehow related to events or ceremonies performed on borders (between reality and beyond reality, reality and expectations, between a former social or spiritual state and a new one). The reader cannot be sure (as neither the main character is ever sure) where or how exactly certain sequences of the action take place: awake, in dreams, in imagination, in hallucinations, or on a blurred border zone between them. The “geography” of this novel is full of border-like places: the Bottomless Lake, the Valley of Vetrice, where the woodworker gypsies live, or the most important place of the novel’s world, the Hill of Chisamera with the huge walnut tree. All these places are dangerous if you are not old enough, if you are not prepared mentally and spiritually enough to confront these places and the encounters which can take place here. It can easily happen that you cannot return from there or you will be marked by this experience for the rest of your life.

The most important and most border-like place is the Hill of Chisamera with the walnut tree. One cannot help associating Mircea Eliade’s book, *The Sacred and The Profane: The Nature of Religion*. Eliade states that in developed religious systems there were three cosmic levels: earth, heaven, and an underworld. The *axis mundi*, the vertical feature, was seen as the centre of the world and as

connecting all three cosmic levels. This axis mundi can be a pole, a pillar, a tree, a ladder, or a mountain (1957: 36–37). Chisamera is an “axis mundi”-like place, where heaven and earth come together. Chisamera is a sort of promise land for the boy, who hopes to find all the answers to his questions if he can reach this tree. In the belief of villagers, this is the place from where the dead come to visit their living relatives in big holidays, especially on Maundy Thursday, and they set huge elder fires to show the road for the spirits. The hill and the tree on it is a scene of reality – there is a precise description of how it can be reached, but for Mirodonie it is a rather mystical place which resists the boy’s strong will, and every attempt of his to reach it fails. The tree vanishes in mist, in the darkness, its contour becomes blurred, and Mirodonie loses his way and experiences dangerous encounters with strange people of his village who are already dead.

3. The “Dawns” – A ritual song of liminality

At the beginning of the second chapter, Mirodonie is in an unconscious state already for days due to one of his “non-controlled” incursions in the world of the dead. He is on the border between life and death, a very dangerous state not only for him and his family but also for the village community. To end this state, the family put the boy on the road in the sunshine, and day after day the elderly women of the village perform a specific part of the funeral ceremony to push the soul of the boy to decide whether to pass the border and go into the other world or to remain in this world of living people. This is the “Dawns” song, performed during the liminal phase of the funeral by women who are specialized in this rite. It is performed early in the morning of the day after death. Dawn in Romanian is *zori*, but it also means *to hurry* (*a zori*). So, the song is not the writer’s creation, but it is taken from the Romanian folklore.

In this sequence of the text, border appears in several forms. Besides the fact that Mirodonie is in a liminal state in a strict sense due to a strange illness, the road itself is seen by traditional culture as border – it is nobody’s place, it is not part of the inner/safer space of home, it has to be secured when something important occurs on it.² This variant of *Dawns* is an 83-line-long poem, and the main topic of this text is the border-crossing situation: after the singers ask the personified dawns – who appear in the form of sisters – not to come too early to have enough time to prepare the shroud, they start to urge the dead soul to part

2 During rituals linked to birth, marriage, and death, there are many rites performed on road to secure it. There is the danger that bad spirits can harm the child taken to the baptism/christening on the way to the church, the wedding procession has to stop several times on the road from the church to the house and complete some tasks to secure the young couple’s first way to home, and this is similar in the case of a funeral ceremony, too.

on the road which leads to the other world, and they enumerate the acts which have to be done for a successful passage. So, the physical place of the road is also a symbolical one, it makes intelligible a phenomenon that takes place in the depth of the mind and spirit. There is a spiritual geography of the road to the other world, with dangerous rifts on the left side and a clean road on the right side. The spirit is advised not to turn to the left but to the right; the burgeoning willow is in fact the Holy Mother, and the spray/full-blown branch is in fact Jesus Christ – these are the landmarks of the good transition. When he arrives at a fair, he has to pay the fee of transition to the other world with the money from his eyes and mouths. In the end, the recently died person is asked to transmit to the dead souls of the other world that they are invited to come and visit their beloved on holidays like Maundy Thursday for they are waiting for them completing all the ritual requirements for such an encounter (new tables, clean jugs full of milk, fresh bread, and clean clothes).

Returning to Gennep's terminology, the first chapter of the novel, entitled *Hide and seek with dead*, can be seen as a preliminal phase of the boy's journey to find his place in the world, to get to a deeper understanding of life's and death's central questions. The second chapter, *Hide and seek with the living*, is about the liminal phase in which certain decisions are made; the boy becomes conscious about his calling to the world of the *călușar*'s;³ his predisposition to muteness and his inclination to explore the transcendental world's secrets make him eligible to the role of the mute – this is the biggest fear of Mirodonie's mother because it means she might lose his son. The third chapter, in this interpretation, should be the post-liminal phase, the phase of integration in a new state – but this does not take place. The chapter's title, *Hide and seek between dreams*, deepens even more the obscurity of the boy's search.

4. Translation – Difficulties in crossing the borders

The task of translation of this work is not an easy one: its polished, elaborated language, its rich vocabulary (sometimes with lexemes that are rare, archaic, or even inexistent in Romanian because they are the inventions of the writer) put the translator in difficulty. On the other hand, every translation crosses the

3 Călușari were members of a Romanian fraternal secret society who practised a ritual acrobatic dance known as the *căluș*, which is a protection, healing, and fertility ritual. Another important member is *mutul* (the mute), who wears a mask, carries a red-painted wooden sword, and has a red wooden phallus attached to his belt. With gesture and pantomime, he leads the ritual acts and also plays the comic. The Călușari were believed to be able to cure the victims of fairies and of unusual illnesses. (More ethnographical information about this topic on: https://web.archive.org/web/20070927022121/http://www.dunav.org.il/dance_histories/romania_calusari.html or on <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/calus-ritual-00090>).

borders between two texts and two languages, and my paper is also about the ongoing translational experience of this novel by Ion Nete.⁴

The theory of translation can offer theoretical handholds; e.g. Katharina Reiss, in her translation-oriented text typology, suggests that in the case of literary (form-oriented or expressive) text types the translator has to get inspiration from the form of the source-language text and recreate this form in the target language. The most important feature of the text which has to be preserved is its form (qtd in Klaudy 2004: 58–60). This task becomes even more difficult when the translator encounters a ceremonial poem within a prose text, a type of text which has its precise form and role in the source culture’s funeral ritual.

The most convenient and most appropriate solution would be to find a text in the target culture which has the similar place, role, and atmosphere as the source text in the source culture. In this case, translation would be substitution or transposition. It would be a clear case of domestication; this solution would erase the ethnic and religious specificity of this text, and it would relocate the text in a Hungarian context. The terms domestication and foreignization describe two distinct strategies of translation. The former brings the translated text closer to the target culture; this often means that information from the source text will be lost. The latter tries to conserve the source-text information even if that would mean breaking the conventions of the target language and culture (see Gile 2009 and Venuti 1995).

In the case of this specific text, domestication would not be an acceptable solution because it would be in contrast with other parts of the text, with the Romanian names of the heroes and places. On the other hand, there is no such text in Hungarian folklore, and so we could not find a folklore text with the same purpose, similar length, and identical function. All the lyrical texts of Hungarian funeral ceremony are strongly related to the personality and private history of the dead person, are always made topical, can be performed any time during the funeral ceremony, and even though these texts have some fixed formulas they are highly improvisational.

The second solution would be to find an existing translation of a “Dawns”-song, because there are some collections of Hungarian translations of Romanian

4 The “history” of this translation is specifically related to my prolonged difficulties in translating the lyrical folklore text of Dawns. I have already translated the first and third chapters of the novel. These texts were previously published as short stories in Romanian, and the translated texts were published in *Székegyföld*, an important cultural review of the Hungarian literature in Romania (Nete 2009, 2010). The translation of the second chapter was a more difficult task for the very reason that the poem of “Dawns” from the beginning of this chapter was an insurmountable obstacle for me in this translation for years. It was a borderline I did not have the courage and inspiration to pass. I had never translated a lyrical text, I had never seen myself as a translator of poems, and the fact that this text was a ritual/ceremonial one made the task even more difficult.

folklore,⁵ but I could not find any of them. In fact, only a few Romanian folklore texts are translated into Hungarian even though there are several comparative studies regarding Romanian-Hungarian folklore.

The third solution would be to skip the text – in this case, I would not cross the border but jump over it. I am convinced that only in the last case can omission be an acceptable solution. Obviously, I chose a fourth solution, namely, to translate it, to try to conserve the rhythm, the images, the expressions, and other formal characteristics which are specific to this folklore piece, and see what happens. After several years of getting ready for this, I finally carried out the translation of this text. When I tried to “savour it”, I found that the resulting Hungarian variant of the Romanian Dawns is very close to the atmosphere of Hungarian classical ballads.⁶ Another text type which can be recognized in this translation is the archaic prayer discovered by Zsuzsa Erdélyi and her followers⁷ in many places in Hungary and the other countries around it where a Hungarian minority lives (Romania included).

As follows, I sum up the most interesting aspects of the translation. The English translation of the cited Romanian fragments will appear in a raw translation, and the Hungarian citations will be translated word for word to assure the reader's access to the Hungarian text as close as it is possible. Sometimes the result of this kind of translation is a grammatically incorrect text. It is a purely technical choice, though we could theorize it based on Nida's or Newmark's theories about the formal equivalence or semantic translation (Nida 1964, Newmark 1981).

In the Romanian text, dawns are personified, they appear as sisters (*surori* in a vocative form). In Hungarian, there is a word for the younger sister (*húg*) and another for the older sister (*néne*), but the name which designs both younger and older sister is a compound noun: *lánytestvér* ‘girl sibling’. In Hungarian folklore texts and religious texts, there occur several other forms for this: *testvérleány*

5 I would mention here the anthology “Román költők. 61 költő 480 verse 61 fordító tolmácsolásában” [Romanian poets. 480 poems of 61 poets in the interpretation of 61 translators] edited by Gábor Cseke, which contains 8 translations of Romanian folklore songs by Sándor Kányádi and 37 “shouts” from Băraii in Cluj County, translated by László Szabédi (Cseke (ed.)). None of the folklore texts in this book are related to the funeral ceremony.

6 Classical ballads in Hungarian folklore have an interesting history: they appeared after the disappearance of the extended family and the appearance of feudal organization of the society; they expressed the most important conflicts of this world. Once capitalism took the place of feudalism, classical ballads lost their role and, as many other species, they got on the verge of disappearance. But it happened that, due to their tragic plot and intonation, classical ballads became attached to the funeral ceremony; during the vigil, people sang these tragic texts, and so this folklore heritage has been conserved until today.

7 The folk prayer, or archaic folk prayer, or apocryphal folk prayer – these are the terms that refer to this text type in Hungarian ethnography – is part of the religious folklore used mostly in the Catholic and Greek Catholic peasant communities. It is linked to the great events of human life (birth, marriage, death), to the liturgical events of the year, and it is known as one of the oldest species of European folk poetry (see: Erdélyi 1974, 1988; Silling 1992, 1997; Tánczos 1995, 2001).

‘sibling girl’, *testvérasszony* ‘sibling woman’, or *asszonytestvér* ‘woman sibling’. Because of the rhyme, I chose the second one, which also has a religious meaning.

Zorilor, zorilor	[<i>Dawns, dawns</i>	Hajnalok, hajnalok,	[<i>Dawns, dawns,</i>
Voi, surorilor	<i>You, sisters</i>	testvérleányok ,	<i>You, sibling girls,</i>
Ia, nu vă tot pripiti	<i>Let don't you hurry</i>	ne siessetek,	<i>Don't you hurry,</i>
Și nu năvăliți	<i>Don' you rush</i>	még ne jöjjetek,	<i>Yet don't come,</i>
Până s-o găti	<i>Until would get ready</i>	míg készen nem áll	<i>Until it's not ready</i>
Dalbul de	<i>The white of</i>	a halotti gyoooooocls	<i>The dead's lineeen]</i>
pribeaaaaagggg	<i>wanderer]</i>		

One of the most thrilling sequences of the text was the metaphor *dalbul de pribeag* ‘the wanderer’s white’, which is the metaphor of the dead person. *Dalb* is an adjective meaning pure white, a sort of white that symbolizes purity; it often appears in folklore songs in structures like *florile dalbe* ‘pure white flowers’. In this specific case, *dalb* is the metaphor of the shroud, a material made of a pure white textile. The exact equivalent for this “shroud metaphor” would be *halotti lepel* in Hungarian. However, this would not contain the images of the original. So, the translator should try to find a Hungarian colour name or textile-type which is related to the funeral ceremony. One of them is *gyolcs* and the other is *patyolat* – both of them are names of fine, cotton-made materials, mostly white-coloured. The first one is used in structures like *halotti gyolcs* ‘funeral linen’, while the second one is used in structures like *patyolat fehér*, a specific, pure white. So, I have decided to use both of them alternatively, their use being determined by the constraints of the rhythm, rhyme, and the syllabic structure of the verses.

Dalbule pribeag	[<i>White of wanderer</i>	Vándor patyolat!	[<i>Wanderer cambric!</i>
Turtița de ceară	<i>Little cake of wax</i>	Kicsi fehér gyertya	<i>Little white candle</i>
Fie-ți de vedeală	<i>To be for your sight</i>	Világítsa utad,	<i>Light up your way,</i>
Vălușel de pânză	<i>Little veil of canvas</i>	Szép lepedővászon	<i>Nice canvas sheet</i>
Liniștea-ți s-ascunză	<i>To hide your silence</i>	Rejtse némaságod,	<i>Hide your silence,</i>
Carul cărător	<i>The carrier cart</i>	messze vivő szekér	<i>cart which takes you</i>
			<i>far</i>
Meargă călător	<i>Let go traveling</i>	vigyen elébb, elébb,	<i>take you ahead,</i>
			<i>ahead</i>
Din lumea-aice	<i>From this world here</i>	hogy az evilágból	<i>from this world</i>
Dincolo-n Vetrice	<i>Beyond Vetrice</i>	-----	-----
La rudari la vale	<i>to the woodworker</i>	-----	-----
	<i>gypsies in the valley</i>	juss a dombon túlra,	<i>to get beyond the</i>
	<i>on the big road.]</i>		<i>hill,</i>
Pe calea cea mare.		hosszú nagy útra.	<i>on the huge, big</i>
			<i>road.]</i>

Last but not least, I would like to mention one omission marked with lines in the target text, which was necessary due to the incompatibility of the “local

colour” of the source-text image: in the text, the Hill of Vetrice, a specific place of the region in which the action takes place, is mentioned as well as a group of woodworker gypsies who live there. This place is a bad place, a border-like place in the villagers’ beliefs. I considered that domestication would be a better strategy in this case; the fluency of the Hungarian target text would be disturbed by the foreign name and the unknown beliefs behind the ethnic name.

In conclusion, we can affirm that besides the fact that translation – any kind of translation – is a border-crossing event, the translation of a text whose main topic is the border itself in its various senses and is strongly related to the ethnicity and religion of the source culture shows this feature of the process of translation more clearly. As a translator, you have to find the fine balance between making accessible to your readers the specific features of the culture beyond their borders and making palpable its foreignness without jeopardizing the pleasure of reading.

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The Framing of the EU Visa Liberalization with Ukraine

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Abstract. This article presents a qualitative study aimed at investigating the framing of political discourse associated with the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine. This study seeks to address the framing of the EU visa liberalization process in Ukrainian political discourse published online by several leading high-quality Internet news resources, e.g. 112ua, Censor.Net, or UNIAN. The corpus of the study is comprised of 34 articles that have been analysed from the vantage point of framing methodology developed by Entman (2004) and Dahl (2015). The results of the qualitative investigation reveal that Ukrainian political discourse associated with the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine is framed by means of such frames as the Building, the Divorce, the European Integration, the Game, the Home, the Hostage, and the Journey. These findings are further presented and discussed in the article.

Keywords: framing, political discourse, EU, Ukraine, visa liberalization

1. Introduction

The topic of this article is set against a wide context of political discourse associated with border crossing and visas. The European Commission emphasizes that “The border-free Schengen Area cannot function efficiently without a common visa policy which facilitates the entry of legal visitors into the EU, while strengthening internal security” (The European Commission 2017). According to the European Commission, the EU has a list of visa-exempt countries, whose citizens are exempt from the visa requirement (The European Commission 2017). These countries are listed in Regulation No 539/2001 (ibid.). It is inferred from previous research that being listed on the EU White List of visa-exempt countries is considered a desirable privilege (Aydın-Düzgüt 2016). Whilst visa-free travel to the Schengen Area is enjoyed by a set of countries referred to in Regulation No 539/2001, the number of people entering the EU and Schengen

illegally has grown considerably in recent years (Abid et al. 2017). The issue of illegal migration to the EU has attracted a substantial volume of research in linguistics (Abid et al. 2017, Charteris-Black 2006, Sciortino–Colombo 2004). At the same time, the issues of legal border crossing, legal visitors with Schengen visas, and visa liberalization with the EU are less numerous in linguistics, and, in particular, discourse studies (Đurović–Silaški 2012, Jansen 2009, Kostovicova 2014, Özdemir–Ayata 2017).

This article seeks to extend previous research associated with the EU visa liberalization by means of elucidating how the issue of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine is framed in Ukrainian political discourse. The aim of the study is to identify and examine frames employed in Ukrainian political discourse within the period of time from 17 November 2016 (the official start of the negotiations between the European Commission and the European Parliament concerning visa liberalization for Ukrainian citizens) until 22 May 2017 (the date when the regulations involving visa exemptions for Ukrainian passport holders were published in the Official Journal of the European Union). The corpus of the study is comprised of online articles published by the following Ukrainian Internet news resources: Censor.Net (en.censor.net.ua), 112UA (112.international), and UNIAN (www.unian.info). These high-quality Internet news outlets have been selected for the purposes of the investigation based upon the criteria of Ukraine-wide readership, non-government affiliation, and regular news updates in both English and Ukrainian.

Political discourse associated with visa liberalization has been addressed in research literature in linguistics and political discourse (Aydın-Düzgüt 2016, Baysan 2013, Đurović–Silaški 2012, Happ–Brunns 2017, Jansen 2009, Kortenska et al. 2016, Kostovicova 2014, Özdemir–Ayata 2017, Scott 2017, Vieira 2016). Previous studies indicate that the issue of visa liberalization with the EU has dominated political discourse in a number of European non-EU countries, for instance, in Serbia (Đurović–Silaški 2012, Jansen 2009, Kortenska et al. 2016, Kostovicova 2014), Turkey (Aydın-Düzgüt 2016, Batalla-Adam 2017, Baysan 2013, Tsarouhas 2018), and Ukraine (Burlyuk–Shapovalova 2017, Chaban et al. 2017, Kleinschnitger–Knodt 2018, Scott 2017, Vieira 2016). In particular, the EU visa liberalization is thought to be “an example of EU conditionality that triggered rapid reforms in the Western Balkans and Serbia” (Kortenska et al. 2016: 9). Visa liberalization with the EU is one of the foci of political discourse in Turkey, where visa-free access is currently seen through the lenses of the refugee crisis associated with Syria (Aydın-Düzgüt 2016, Batalla-Adam 2017). Whilst Serbia was granted Schengen visa exemptions by the EU in 2010, Turkey, in contrast, is in the process of a visa liberalization dialogue with the EU in return for the readmission agreement (Aydın-Düzgüt 2016). In 2018, Turkish citizens have to obtain visas prior to travelling to the EU. Currently, visa liberalization

negotiations between the EU and Turkey “have reached a stalemate over five outstanding benchmarks contained in its visa liberalization roadmap” (Batalla-Adam 2017) such as the anti-terror laws and the readmission agreement in the wake of the crisis in Syria (Abid et al. 2017).

Just like in Serbia and Turkey, political discourse in Ukraine regards the issue of visa-free travel to the EU as an effort aimed at integration, cooperation, and intensification of its relations with the EU (Happ–Bruns 2017: 97). In contrast to Serbia and Turkey, however, Ukraine’s visa-free dialogue with the EU is marked by a complex background of its statehood building and the search for its identity as a sovereign state (Burlyuk–Shapovalova 2017, Kleinschnitger–Knodt 2018). In this regard, previous research is suggestive of the interrelatedness of the visa-free travel to the EU with other issues, in particular, with Ukraine’s nation-building project that cannot be understood in isolation from the competing (supranational) geopolitical projects of the European Union and Eurasian Union, though. One cannot overlook, for example, the effects of the EU discourse on boundedness, one that frames strong state borders as the *sine qua non* of European integration (Fournier 2017: 24).

Another significant aspect of the strong borders with the EU was that Schengen visa regulations created obstacles for Ukrainian passport holders when they applied for the EU visas (Scott 2017: 34). However, the EU–Ukraine visa dialogue intensified following the ratification of the EU–Ukraine Association Agreement including the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) by the European and Ukrainian Parliaments. On 18 December 2015, the European Commission published its positive assessment of Ukraine’s visa liberalization road map, and on 17 November 2016 the EU Council started the negotiations with the European Parliament concerning visa-free travel for the Ukrainian citizens. The negotiations culminated in visa-free travel for Ukrainian biometric passport holders effective from 11 June 2017 (The Official Journal of the European Union, 2017).

Whilst political discourse associated with visa liberalization has been amply elucidated in the cases of Serbia and Turkey (Aydin–Düzgüt 2016, Baysan 2013, Đurović–Silaški 2012, Jansen 2009, Kostovicova 2014), there are insufficient studies involving the issue of visa-free movement by Ukrainian citizens to the EU. The present qualitative investigation seeks to address this gap by means of identifying and analysing the framing of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine. This article is structured as follows: First, an overview of previous studies on the framing of political discourse associated with the EU visa liberalization will be outlined. Second, the present qualitative study will be introduced and discussed. Third, conclusions and implications of the present study will be summarized.

1.1. The framing of political discourse associated with the EU visa liberalization

Prior to proceeding to an overview of previous studies associated with the EU visa liberalization, it seems logical to expand upon the notion of framing. Framing is an important concept in discourse studies, in particular, in political discourse (Boeynaems et al. 2017, Burgers et al. 2016, Kapranov 2016, Snow et al. 1986). Typically, discourse is regarded as a group of statements that i) represent a particular kind of knowledge about a topic and ii) constitute a discursive space in which some statements and depictions have greater value than others (Aydın-Düzgüt 2016, Fairclough 1992). Quoting Foucault (1972), Luke (1995: 8) points to the constructing character of discourse that “defines, constructs, and positions human subjects”.

Foucault’s (1972) seminal ideas are reflected in the view of framing that involves “a combination of the cognitive, constructivist, and critical perspectives” (Reese 2007: 149). A cognitive perspective on framing suggests that frames are conceptual construals that elaborate particular aspects of a conceptual domain (Lakoff 1996, 2014). Subsequently, it can be argued that domains include or consist of frames (Kövecses 2017). From the cognitive perspective, frames are a system of categories invoked by words, whose structure is rooted in some motivating cultural context (Fillmore 1975: 124). In other words, frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. As a result, they shape the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions. In politics, our frames shape our social policies and the institutions we form to carry out the policies (Lakoff 2014: 11–12).

From a constructivist perspective, framing is regarded as an act of communication (Brugman et al. 2017, Nerlich 2010) that is operationalized as *linguo-cognitive* devices for efficiently presenting relatively complex issues to make them accessible to lay audiences (Arrese–Vara–Miguel 2016: 135). In political discourse, framing involves linguistic and conceptual content about the issue under discussion (Burgers et al. 2016). Frames structure discursive situations in understandable format as well as validate some viewpoints whilst discrediting others (Cornelissen et al. 2011, Entman 2004). Framing in political discourse is employed in order to affect people’s perceptions of political issues and people’s endorsement of those issues (Meadows 2007: 2, Thibodeau–Boroditsky 2011). The constructivist view of framing can be argued to converge with a critical discourse perspective on framing, where it is seen as “the processes by which actors influence the interpretations of reality among various audiences” (Fiss–Hirsch 2005: 30). To further illustrate framing as an amalgamation of cognitive, constructivist, and critical perspectives, Reese (2001) posits that frames are “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese 2001: 11).

Guided by the afore-mentioned views (Lakoff 2014, Reese 2001), it appears plausible to apply the notion of framing to the issue of visa liberalization. Arguably, the investigation of the discourse referring to the EU visa liberalization provides a perspective on the construction of new policies by the EU as well by the EU candidate countries, such as Serbia and Turkey, and by those countries that aspire to the EU candidate status such as Ukraine. The framing of the EU visa liberalization has been profoundly elucidated (Đurović–Silaški 2012, Finotelli–Sciortino 2013, Kortenska et al. 2016, Özdemir–Ayata 2017). The issue of the EU visa liberalization process with Serbia is investigated by Đurović and Silaški (2012) by means of identifying conceptual construals, in particular, metaphors in the framing of Serbian political discourse associated with the visa-free movement of Serbian citizens. Đurović–Silaški (2012) have identified two metaphoric frames which seem to be pervasive in Serbian political discourse on the issue of the EU visa liberalization. These frames are the Movement and the Journey. Đurović–Silaški (2012) suggest that these frames highlight the construal of Serbia’s road towards the EU, where Serbia’s process of reaching visa-free travel to the EU is framed as the Journey.

Prior research literature indicates that Serbian public discourse is characterized by a positive framing of the visa-free movement with the EU for the purposes of work and education (Antonijević 2015, Kortenska et al. 2016: 29). In turn, the positive discursive framing of the EU–Serbia visa policies maps onto a growing support for Serbian accession (Kortenska et al. 2016). In Serbia, visa liberalization with the EU signifies an essential measure “to keep the ‘wheels’ of European integration going ...as the first and clear step towards European integration as well as the signal that confirms Serbia’s European future” (Kostovicova 2014: 74). The framing of visa-free movement between Serbia and the EU is seen in previous research as a series of steps towards visa liberalization (Antonijević 2015). One of the important steps involves the adoption of key legal acts, e.g. Gender Equality Law and Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination as the preconditions to award Serbia the non-visa regime to the Schengen agreement countries (Antonijević 2015: 402–403).

Finotelli and Sciortino (2013) indicate that the EU visa policies are framed as the frame Fortress Europe. Specifically, Finotelli and Sciortino (2013: 80) posit that the EU’s visa policies towards non-EU countries on the visa-mandatory list are evocative of “the powerful icon (...) of ‘Fortress Europe’, a space where the free mobility of insiders is matched by an ever-increasing closure towards outsiders”. The frame Fortress is echoed in a research paper by Özdemir and Ayata (2017), who examine the dynamics of exclusion and everyday bordering through Schengen visas. It is suggested by Özdemir and Ayata (2017) that the frame Fortress is reflective of the otherness and non-Europeaness of Turkey. The Fortress appears to reiterate and reinforce the image of exclusion of those passport holders who live outside of the metaphoric Fortress Europe (Özdemir–Ayata 2017). Within the context of the EU–Turkey relations, the challenges of the

visa liberalization dialogue have instantiated a metaphoric construal of Turkey as neither a friend nor a foe but a ‘frenemy’ (Haferlach et al. 2017), a borderline open-ended zone outside of the Fortress Europe, whose inhabitants need a Schengen visa to get access to the Fortress (ibid.). It should be perhaps mentioned that the framing of the EU-Turkey visa liberalization dialogue appears to be increasingly marked by the issues of securitization and migration, especially in the wake of the Syrian crisis (Özerim 2018). Hence, it can be summarized that the current EU-Turkey visa liberalization discourse is framed by the frames Syrian Crisis and Illegal Migration (Özerim 2018).

As evident from the above-mentioned studies, previous research on the EU-Serbia and EU-Turkey visa liberalization discourse appears to be abundant; however, there are insufficient data concerning the framing of EU-Ukraine visa-free discourse. The present article fills this gap by focusing on the framing of the EU-Ukraine visa liberalization discourse within the period of 17 November 2016–22 May 2017.

2. The framing of the EU-Ukraine visa liberalization: hypothesis and specific research aims

As previously mentioned, political discourse associated with the EU visa liberalization in several non-EU countries, such as Serbia and Turkey, is construed by means of such frames as the Fortress, the Journey, and the Movement. Presumably, similar frames associated with the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine would be present in Ukrainian political discourse. Based upon previous research (Đurović–Silaški 2012), it is assumed in the present *hypothesis* that Ukrainian political discourse on the issue of the EU visa liberalization would be characterized by a number of frames – for instance, the Fortress, the Journey, and the Movement. Hence, *specific research aims* of the study are formulated as follows:

- i) to identify frames in Ukrainian political discourse involving the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine;
- ii) to juxtapose the to-be-identified frames with the frames associated with the EU visa liberalization with Serbia and Turkey. Presumably, the juxtaposition would reveal whether or not a Ukrainian political discourse associated with the EU visa liberalization would involve frames similar or different from those of Serbia and Turkey.

The comparison of the Ukrainian political discourse with that of Serbia and Turkey in terms of the EU visa liberalization is motivated by the following premises, which enable the comparison:

i) Serbia, Turkey, and Ukraine are non-EU countries that share similar aspirations of joining the EU in the future (Đurović–Silaški 2012, Happ–Bruns 2017, Jansen 2009, Scott 2017) and

ii) in Serbia, Turkey, and Ukraine the issue of the visa liberalization with the EU has been and is still topical (Đurović–Silaški 2012, Scott 2017).

2.1. The corpus of the study

The corpus of the study consisted of online articles published by the following Ukrainian Internet news resources: Censor.Net (en.censor.net.ua), 112UA (112.international), and UNIAN (www.unian.info). In this study, the articles published in the English language by the English versions of the afore-mentioned Internet news resources were examined. The afore-mentioned websites were searched electronically for the key words *EU-Ukraine*, *visa free*, *visa-free*, *visa free regime*, *EU visa liberalization*, and *EU visa waiver*. The computer search yielded 34 articles that constituted the corpus of the study. The total number of words in the corpus was calculated at 13 525 words.

2.2. Methods

The study followed the methodological framework proposed by Entman (2004: 5), who defined framing as “selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issue, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution”. Within this framework, the methodology of framing analysis was based upon the guidelines developed by Dahl (2015). In accordance with Dahl (2015), the framing analysis in this research involved the following steps: first, the texts in the corpus were examined for the presence of keywords, recurrent phrases, stereotyped expressions, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clustering. Second, the texts were examined for the presence of appraisal elements associated with attitudes, feelings, and values used to construe attitudes, engagement, and intensity. The coding was done by the author of the article. The coding of the labels in the framing analysis was based upon the presence of keywords and recurrent phrases in the given stretch of discourse. The coding was double-checked by a linguist with a PhD in discourse studies, who confirmed the coding.

2.3. Results and discussion

The results of the qualitative data analysis are summarized in *Table 1* below.

Table 1. *The framing of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine*

N	Frame	Date and source of publication
1	The Building	26 April 2017, UNIAN
2	The Divorce	28 April 2017, UNIAN 11 May 2017, Censor.net 12 May 2017, UNIAN
3	The European Integration	7 April 2017, Censor.net 8 April 2017, UNIAN 17 May 2017, Censor.net
4	The Game	29 November 2017, 112UA 15 December 2016, Censor.net
5	The Home	11 May 2017, Censor.net 12 May 2017, UNIAN
6	The Hostage	23 November 2016, UNIAN 9 December 2017, Censor.net
7	The Journey	17 November 2016, Censor.net 17 November 2016, UNIAN 18 November 2016, 112UA 19 November 2016, UNIAN 28 November 2016, Censor.net 28 November 2016, 112UA 7 December 2016, Censor.net 18 February 2017, Censor.net 3 March 2017, 112UA 5 April 2017, Censor.net 5 April 2017, 112UA 6 April 2017, Censor.net 7 April 2017, 112UA 14 May 2017, UNIAN

As mentioned in the introductory section of this article, the present investigation is set against a wide context of political discourse associated with border crossing and the EU visa policy. Judging from the findings summarized in *Table 1*, political discourse in Ukraine within the period of 17 November 2016–22 May 2017 does not frame the issue of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine by means of the frames that involve migration, illegal migration, and border security. Specifically, the data analysis has revealed no instances of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine that are associated with the migration risks and illegal migration. In contrast to Turkish political discourse involving the EU visa liberalization, the frames the Fortress, Syrian Crisis, and Illegal Migration are absent in the corpus. Instead, the issue of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine appears to be framed in Ukrainian political discourse as the frames called the Building, the Divorce, the European Integration, the Game, the Home, the Hostage, and the Journey.

It has been assumed in the hypothesis that the framing of Ukrainian political discourse on the EU visa liberalization would be similar to that of Serbia and Turkey. In particular, it has been hypothesized that Ukrainian discourse on the EU visa liberalization would involve such frames as the Journey and the Movement that are amply used in Serbian and Turkish political discourse associated with the EU visa politics (Đurović 2010, Đurović–Silaški 2012). The frame Journey has been identified in the present corpus. This frame appears to be frequently employed by Ukrainian Internet news resources that report about the issue of the EU visa liberalization. In this sense, it can be claimed that the hypothesis is supported by the present data. The frame Journey has been previously identified in Serbian political discourse (Đurović–Silaški 2012), where it has been found to be one of the primary framing devices due to its ubiquitous use. The qualitative analysis of the present corpus seems to support the findings by Đurović and Silaški (2012) in terms of the ample usage of the Journey in the EU visa liberalization discourse. Additionally, the present findings appear to support the frame Journey in its relation to the EU visa liberalization with Turkey, where Turkey is seen on the path towards the visa-free movement with the EU (Batalla-Adam 2017). Whilst in Serbian and Ukrainian political discourse the frame Journey is associated with the clear and feasible goal that has been already achieved, i.e. visa-free travel to the EU, in Turkish political discourse, the frame Journey is represented as a laborious path that is yet to reach its final destination (Tsarouhas 2018).

In the present corpus, the frame Journey is instantiated by heterogeneous concepts: for instance, i) the traffic lights: “The E.U. ambassadors gave green light to the E.U. Council to start negotiations with the European Parliament and the European Commission concerning the visa waiver program introduction for Ukrainian citizens” (Censor.net, 2016a); ii) the way: “...the EU institutions will reach agreement on a mechanism of suspension of visa-free regime in the near future, paving the way for the final visa abolition for Ukrainians” (112UA, 2016a); iii) the road: “Ukraine should go this multiannual visa road, because the abolition of visas is not the main point; the point is the reform – strategic, structural – of the country” (112UA, 2016b); iv) steps: “One more step is left before visa-free travel between Ukraine and the EU is finally approved – a decision of the EU Council” (Censor.net, 2017a). The qualitative analysis suggests that the concept “step” appears to be foregrounded in the frame Journey, as evident from excerpts (1) and (2):

(1) “I am confident that we are speaking of an event of deeper symbolic meaning. It is a giant step towards Europe, towards the assertion of human freedom and independence of our state”, the President said... (UNIAN 2017a)

(2) This week in Strasbourg, the European Parliament is going to vote on the abolition of visa requirements for travellers from Ukraine. This decision would be another important step of Ukraine on its visa-free path (112UA 2017b).

The findings illustrated in (1) and (2) seem to indicate that the Journey in the context of the EU visa-free regime for Ukraine tends to involve a series of steps, e.g. “another important step” (112UA 2017b). In (2), the step is taken on the visa-free path. This observation is supported by previous research, which argues that the frame Journey is commonly used in political discourse, where it is characterized by a variety of concepts, e.g. steps, road, and traffic (Đurović–Silaški 2012, Kapranov 2016).

Other than the frame Journey, this qualitative investigation has revealed that the issue of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine is framed by several frames that are qualitatively different from those of Serbian and Turkish visa discourse (see *Introduction*). As evident from *Table 1*, one of those qualitatively different frames is the frame Building. In this frame, the EU is conceptualized as a building with doors. Once the visa-free access to Ukrainian passport holders is granted by the EU, the EU building opens its doors, as seen in *Excerpt (3)*:

(3) “The Committee of Permanent Representatives of the EU member states (COREPER) has just approved a historic decision to grant Ukraine a visa-free travel. The doors to Europe are open to Ukraine”, Poroshenko said... (UNIAN 2017b)

The framing of the EU by means of the Building is not novel (Musolff 2000). Notably, in a number of previous studies, the Building is often referred to as the frame Castle, or the Fortress (Finotelli–Sciortino 2013). Whilst in Turkish political discourse the EU visa policies are framed as the Fortress Europe (Özdemir–Ayata 2017), political discourse in Ukraine seems to foreground the notion of the EU as a building or a dwelling with the doors that are now open for Ukraine. Presumably, the framing of the EU as the Building is reflective of a friendlier image of the EU in Ukrainian political discourse compared to that of Turkey, where the EU visas symbolize an unassailable Fortress. It should be noted that neither the Building nor the Fortress have been identified in Serbian political discourse involving the EU visa liberalization (Đurović–Silaški 2012).

The results of the data analysis indicate that the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine is framed as the frame Divorce. The Divorce refers to Ukraine’s drift towards the West and away from Russia. In the coverage by UNIAN, the Divorce is evocative of historical implications, as seen in *Excerpt (4)*:

(4) “Today, Ukraine has finalized its divorce with the Russian Empire. We should perceive this philosophically. This is a way out of a more than a 300-year history that began with the Pereyaslav Rada, and today Ukraine is returning home”, he said (UNIAN 2017c).

Describing the positive decision of the EU to grant Ukraine a visa-free regime, Ukraine’s President Poroshenko sees it as “an extremely important decision for our country, it’s a rubicon for us to move away from the Russian Empire...” (UNIAN 2017d). Similarly, Censor.Net reports that “upon being granted the visa-free travel, Ukraine finally left Russia and returned home in Europe” (Censor.

net 2017b). In *Excerpt (4)*, the Divorce is suggestive of the Pereyaslav Union between Russia and Ukraine, which lasted 300 years. The Divorce emblemizes the end of the Pereyaslav Union with Russia and Ukraine's return to Europe. Set against the background of the Russia–Ukraine conflict, the EU is framed as Ukraine's home (Chaban et al. 2017: 494). After the metaphoric divorce from Russia, Ukraine appears to return home to Europe. This symbolic return home is associated with the newly granted visa-free regime. It should be reiterated that the frame Divorce is not reported in Serbian and Turkish political discourse on visa-free movement with the EU. As previously mentioned in the introduction, prior research literature is indicative of the interrelatedness of Ukraine's visa-free regime with the EU with Ukraine's nation-building project (Fournier 2017: 24) that differs historically from such well-established states as Serbia and Turkey. The EU visa-free discourse in these two countries is not embedded into the frame Divorce, which is the case of Ukraine. Whilst both Serbia and Turkey enjoy a long period of statehood, Ukraine's nation-building is fairly recent and is reflective of its distancing from the former ruler, Russia.

As seen in *Excerpt (4)*, the Divorce is concurrent with the frame Home, and so as Ukraine metaphorically gets a divorce from Russia, it returns back to Europe, which is framed as Ukraine's home. The simultaneous usage of the frames the Divorce and the Home can be assumed to constitute a cluster. In this regard, Kimmel (2010: 97) posits that framing in journalism and political discourse often occurs in clusters. Presumably, the clustering of the Divorce and the Home in one stretch of discourse facilitates the creation of a dramatic effect of leaving one entity (the divorce from the Russian Empire) and joining another entity (the EU). Arguably, the dyad of the Divorce and the Home is suggestive of the frame Family that is implicitly present. The frame Family is reported to be widely used in political discourse involving the EU and its Member States, regarded as a family of nations (Musolff 2010). According to Lakoff (1996), the conceptual construal "Nation as a Family Member" plays a fundamental role in political thought (Lakoff 1996). In particular, in Ukrainian political discourse, the implicit frame the Family is instantiated as divorce from the Russian family to be followed by a return to the EU home in an attempt to start a new family there, a family with the EU.

Data analysis indicates that the EU visa liberalization is framed as the frame European Integration. In other words, the framing of the EU visa liberalization is conceived in Ukrainian political discourse as part of the process of Ukraine's joining the EU. In this regard, Ukraine's President Poroshenko emphasizes that the EU visa liberalization emblemizes Ukraine's strategic choice of joining the EU and a clear signal of Ukraine being part of Europe, as seen in *Excerpt (5)*:

(5) "It is evidence of strategic rightness of our European choice, success and irreversibly of our course toward the integration into Europe", Petro Poroshenko said (Censor.net 2017c).

Poroshenko is echoed by the deputy minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, who indicates that after Ukraine has been given the visa-free access to the EU, it should focus on the goal of the EU integration, e.g.:

(6) We must go beyond this, because we still have many objectives in terms of European integration, since the goal of integration into the EU remains. We are entering EU's internal market not by means of an abstract integration but a realistic, sectoral one carried out through the Association Agreement. We are gradually integrating into the EU's area of freedom, security, and justice through the signing of documents on visa-free travel... (Censor.net 2017d)

As evident from excerpts (5) and (6), Ukraine's political establishment uses the EU visa liberalization as a means of gradual integration into the EU. This finding is evocative of the observation made by Scott (2017: 28), who posits that Ukraine's choice to align itself with Europe signals a sustained effort to keep prospects of a long-term agenda of the EU membership. In this regard, the EU visa liberalization for Ukrainian passport holders can be treated as one of the multiple steps on Ukraine's road to the EU membership at some point in the future. Additionally, the presence of the frame European Integration in this corpus lends support to previous research (Antonijević 2015, Kortenska et al. 2016: 29) that points to the importance of the EU visa-free regime to a European non-EU country, for instance, Serbia, on its accession path to the EU (Kortenska et al. 2016).

However, the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine is framed not only via frames with positive connotations such as the Home and the European Integration. The results of the data analysis indicate that the framing of the EU visa liberalization is associated with negative connotations expressed by the frame Game. Specifically, the Game involves negativity in the context of the promised yet delayed visa-free regime, as evident from *Excerpt (7)*:

(7) This whole game around visa-free regime with Ukraine was in the bureaucratic line; there was a struggle between the institutions: the Parliament, the Council, and the Commission. And it is not over yet. But then the politics of the states intruded in this game. (112UA 2016c)

The Game is instantiated by the reference to a political game played by several EU countries to postpone the EU visa waiver for Ukraine due to the internal dynamics in those EU Member States. In particular, France has been reported to have apprehensions of the visa-free regime with Ukraine in the light of the 2017 French presidential elections. Reportedly, an early introduction of the visa-free regime might give additional arguments in favour of the anti-EU presidential candidates. Hence, the frame Game associated with the start of the visa-free regime for Ukraine is suggestive of the delay with the visa waiver. The delay with the visa-free regime is referred to in Ukrainian political discourse as a historical mistake. For instance, high-ranking Ukrainian politicians equate the delay with the introduction of visa-free regime with a historical mistake which

entails significant consequences, e.g. “delaying visa-free travel for Ukraine is a huge historical mistake” (Censor.net 2016b).

Another aspect of the negative connotation involved in Ukrainian political discourse on the EU visa liberalization is evident from the frame Hostage. In this framing, Ukraine is framed as being taken hostage by the EU-internal procedures, e.g.:

(8) Ukraine remains hostage to the internal document approval process in the EU. “To some extent, we remain hostage to their internal process of harmonization of the internal documents, which have no direct and immediate relationship to us.” (UNIAN 2016).

(9) In its visa liberalization process, Ukraine is hostage of EU fighting for power, – Klimkin. Ukraine’s Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin believes that Ukraine and its visa liberalization became hostages in fighting for power between the European Parliament and the EU Council (Censor.net 2016c).

Arguably, the Hostage involves personification, where Ukraine is conceived of as a passive actor, a hostage. Such framing is suggestive of the discursive focus on the active actor (the EU) that sets the agenda of visa liberalization and, subsequently, is at liberty of taking a country hostage if the need and occasion arise. Interestingly, the frames Game and Hostage have not been observed in Serbian and Turkish political discourse on the EU visa-free movement even though prior research reports dramatic developments in Turkish political discourse, where the EU’s “promise of visa-free travel for Turkish nationals has been a major cause of dispute” (Batalla-Adam 2017: 51).

Conclusions

This article presents a qualitative study of how the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine is framed in political discourse reported by the leading independent Ukrainian Internet resources Censor.net, 112UA, and UNIAN. The results of the qualitative data analysis indicate that the issue of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine is construed in Ukrainian political discourse by the following frames: the Building, the Divorce, the European Integration, the Game, the Home, the Hostage, and the Journey. These findings support previous research (Đurović–Silaški 2012) that emphasizes the role of the frame Journey in the EU visa liberalization. This frame has been found to be amply represented in the present corpus. Its ubiquity in Ukrainian political discourse is indicative of the EU visa liberalization as a process that requires time, effort, and resources. The present findings lend support to prior research by Kostovicova (2014), who argues that the EU visa liberalization is quite often seen as a token of a country’s European integration. It should be emphasized that the frame European Integration reflects

the EU visa waiver for Serbia (Kostovicova 2014) and Ukraine as a step towards their European future. The findings discussed in this article reveal no framing of the EU visa liberalization discourse as the frame Fortress that is typical in Turkish political discourse (Özdemir– Ayata 2017) associated with the EU visa policies. Additionally, the results of this qualitative investigation do not indicate the presence of the frames associated with illegal border crossings.

Thus, it can be concluded that Ukrainian political discourse in the period between 17 November 2016 and 22 May 2017 does not frame the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine by the frames associated with illegal border crossings, migration, and border security. Instead, the issue of the EU visa liberalization with Ukraine appears to be framed in Ukrainian political discourse as the Building, the Divorce, the European Integration, the Game, the Home, the Hostage, and the Journey. Presumably, these findings would facilitate discourse analysis of those EU neighbours that are in the process of obtaining visa-free travel to the EU. It is also hoped that the present findings would serve as a benchmark for further studies that would involve a more substantial period of time in diachrony and a more significant number of sources to be analysed. Another avenue of future research could involve a more detailed investigation of the discursive differences among the Serbian, Turkish, and Ukrainian frames by means of revealing the differences of the meanings within the same frames.

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Mr Povondra's Collage in Hungarian Concepts of Translation and Text

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Abstract. Karel Čapek's *The War with the Newts* combines a wide assortment of textual forms and genres to portray the assumed history of the newts in close connection with that of the human race. Newspaper articles, scientific studies, notes of drunken sailors, and other inserts form a unique collage in style as well as in layout. In the various editions of the originally 1948 Hungarian translation of the novel, the textual arrangements of the most composite part of *The War with the Newts* – the second book – are significantly altered compared to the Czech edition. Moreover, the introductory sentences of the inserts, the typefaces, and the stylistic differences tend to suggest that there is a different notion of text and reading underlying the Hungarian versions. Other unifying tendencies traceable in the translation, e.g. standardized language use or concepts of character identity, can be correlated with these features. As the borders of various text-types within the Czech text are reorganized and re-established in the translation, a different position of the reader and a different idea of the literary text emerge. My aim is to demonstrate the translational differences and try to account for them with an underlying concept of text and translation embedded in the Hungarian variant.

Keywords: translation, text layout, genre mixing, supplementarity

1. Introduction

Mr Povondra is the porter in the office of G. H. Bondy – who is a financial highflier in Prague, funding various commercial projects on a large scale – in the 1936 novel *The War with the Newts* by Karel Čapek (1890–1938). Thus, the character is closely connected to the financial enterprise called Salamander trade, which evolves as a world-shaping force throughout the text and leads to the hypothetical destruction of mankind. At one point, when this undertaking seems to become a success, Mr Povondra decides to collect any newspaper article connected with

newts which he encounters. These excerpts form the basis of a study on the history of newts, which appears as the second chapter of the second book. In this study, I endeavour to present and analyse the features of textual arrangement in the 1936 Czech edition compared to two Hungarian editions of the translation by László Szekeres (from the years 1948 and 2009).

2. Collage in the novel

When Aleš Haman summarizes the most important features of Čapek's prose, he concludes that the fundamental method of composition is the montage as the duality of viewpoints he recognizes in most of the novels is supported by this structure (Haman 2014: 20). The terms montage and collage seem interchangeable. However, I find it more useful to rely on collage in the case of *The War with the Newts* as montage is sometimes associated with blurring the borderlines of the items applied, while in Čapek's texts the various insertions seem to be more discernibly separated.

The recording and representation of the development of newt industry is comprised in a self-proclaimed scientific study in the 1936 edition. The layout of the text is characterized by footnotes and inserts quoting newspaper articles. Regarding the reliability and incomprehensive nature of these data, the narrator observes:

This means that the material we have available concerning the history of the newts is very fragmented, like the land records of the eighth century A.D., or the selected writings of the poetess, Sappho; but some documents, here and there, did happen to survive about this phase of the great history of the world, and despite all the gaps we will do our best to summarise them under the title *The Rise of Civilisation*. (Čapek 2002: n.p.)

The collection is exposed to the cleaning activities of Mrs Povondra and the haphazard selection performed by her husband. The problematic relationship between events and their recounting is thus presented through the chapter, exposing the historian as a reader and interpreter of the fragments of information that he compiles. The study aims to appear as a coherent recitation of the events, while the footnotes ostensibly emphasize the fictional reading process underlying it. Accordingly, the reading process of the actual reader is moved more into the focus of the text, showcasing the responsibilities of the interpreter.

Looking at the motley collection of newspaper articles – not mere texts; they are sometimes accompanied by a picture and featuring various typefaces –, they seem to form a collage on the pages of the novel. According to Louis Aragon, in

the cubist collage, the object, e.g. a piece of newspaper or cloth, or a matchstick, can be seen as a point of departure, a firm point to which the work of art can be anchored, and thus the relationship between reality and representation is firmly established. However, this very same object introduces the acknowledgement of the hopelessness of ever capturing, representing anything – as much a bottle of Suze, as a thunderbolt (Aragon 1969: 8). Not only is the concept of representation called into question by inserting objects into a painting but also the position of the painter and their individuality. This practice introduces the concept of chosen individuality, something dissociated to a certain extent from a biographical author, thus emphasizing the presence of other sources at the production and possibly at the reception of a work of art (Aragon 1969: 73).

However, inserting a non-painted object in the painting is only the first possibility. The collage opens up to its own imitation, as in Max Ernst's works. This procedure inevitably reflects on the nature of painting in general, namely representation being constructed and mediated, regardless of using more traditional, e.g. paint only or more subversive, e.g. collage methods (Aragon 1969: 20).

As for the possibility of collages in literature, Aragon argues the case mostly through his own texts, witnessing himself listening to telephone conversations and inserting them into his novels allegedly without any modification (Aragon 1969: 69). The question of authenticity is raised in a somewhat different manner in connection with collages on paintings and in literary works. A torn piece of newspaper glued onto the painting seems more closely and unarguably connected to the world outside the work of art; however, a printed line of text resembles the next one much more, regardless of the source, and the author even seen only as a transmitting medium – as in Aragon's case – still generates the texts.

These instances of literary collage are more dubitable than straightforward quotations, which are also incorporated in the concept in the introduction of Aragon's book (Aragon 1969: 14). Similar to the collage in painting, a quotation can be marked as something alien within the text. This markedness might simply be indicated with quotation marks; however, there is a wide range of other possibilities. In Čapek's novel, footnotes and seemingly reprinted newspaper articles and clippings introduce fictive other sources or other speakers into the text. The different source is clearly expressed through the different typefaces, columning and pictures, not to mention the introductory sentences to these excerpts, explaining the relationship between the study and its source texts. The relationship between fact and fiction, references to factual events within the narration of the study are thus brought into the foreground and posited as a point of dispute.

3. Three textual variants

Karel Čapek's novel, *Válka s mloky* (*The War with the Newts*) was originally published in parts on the pages of *Lidové noviny* – an independent daily paper supporting the Masaryk era's official democratic principles and edited among others by Čapek – at the bottom of the page containing miscellaneous short news. As Hansági observes, “a report can be structurally and stylistically similar below and above the line”¹ (2014: 233). Consequently, the act of citing fictitious newspaper articles takes on a parodistic and ironic feature placed next to real articles in a daily paper. The narrator's occasional derogatory remarks concerning the press are emphasized through the medium in which they appear. Mixing genres and establishing hierarchies regarding the texts belonging to them within one single chapter lead to a book format edition where this playful and ironic reference to the press still operates, even though in the absence of the surrounding of the newspaper it can be perceived as less forceful.

The first book format edition dates back to 1936, published by František Borový in a series of the Čapek brothers' writings. This edition portrays the second chapter of the second book in widely differing typefaces. Accordingly, the pages of the chapter show a mixture of texts at a first glance, visibly demarcating text types and the corresponding authors with the line above the footnotes. Crossing over this borderline is first and foremost performed by the introductory sentences to the clippings. The narrator of the study is in charge and indicates how the articles could be related to the so-called history of the newts. These introductory sentences are worth investigating as they are responsible for the incorporation of the footnotes into the main text.

The first footnote serves to ensure the interpretation of the main text as a scientific study, conforming to the expectation of citing other scientific works – in this case, comprehensive works on newts in five languages. Most of the following footnotes, however, are related to the main text in a different manner. They are being referred to as documents (Čapek 1936: 170), serving as the basis of the historian's inferences. When identifying these texts, the introductory sentences emphasize their reliability recurrently, through marking them out as witnesses (Čapek 1936: 171), news, an allegedly objective genre (Čapek 1936: 173), or objective descriptions of the given situation (Čapek 1936: 176). These introductory notes are thrown into sharp relief by more ironic sentences referring to the more interesting and illuminating – usually shorter – clippings, predominantly in unidentified or incomprehensible languages, as in footnotes no 8, 22, or 27 (Čapek 1936: 175, 231, 246 respectively). On the one hand, emphasizing the reliability of the sources and, on the other, showcasing texts labelled crucial to the understanding of newt history while completely incomprehensible forms

1 ¹ The translation is my own.

a strong contrast and calls into question the fictitious veracity of the study and the process of relying on texts to understand historical events. Interestingly, there is one footnote, the second, which refers to a previous part of the novel (Čapek 1936: 169), thus creating a metalepsis, and while intertwining different levels of the narration, further problematizing the status of written words, newspaper articles, and scientific studies.

In the 1936 edition, most of the articles cited in the study appear in footnotes; however, there are some – usually longer ones – which are quoted in the main text, e.g. the article on S-Trade (Čapek 1936: 176) or the report on salamander piracy, *Bukanýři XX. století* ‘Pirates of the Twentieth Century’ (Čapek 1936: 184). These articles are separated from the main text only by their title and italicizing. A considerable amount of the texts cited are further linked to contemporary press through the acronyms or names of news agencies or publicists. Contemporary celebrities are also represented, e.g. when answering to the question whether newts have spirits (Čapek 1936: 199–201). Similarly, social and political movements appear through their endeavour to win the newts’ attention (Čapek 1936: 230). These instances of literary crossover – in this case between fiction and historical characters (Benyovszky 2016: 389) – more emphatically incorporate the world of the daily papers and the political-historical background of the undefined but perhaps not undefinable times of the 1930s. However, the playful and parodistic uses of historical elements, e.g. a reference to Curtius’s language-teaching book carrying the title resembling Comenius’s famous work – *Janua linguarum aperta* (Čapek 1936: 206) –, constantly undermine the identification of any more or less precise time. Crossover seen as manipulation with characters (Benyovszky 2016: 393) is a powerful tool to blend realistic elements into the fictitious world of the novel. The documentary inclination traceable in the footnotes of the study appeals to credence through it. This illusion of documentarism draws further attention to the problem of telling a historical story reliably, especially thanks to the sensational nature of the press and the celebrities associated with it.

Those cases of crossover and fictitious articles which rely on Czech characters pose a more challenging task to the translator than that of more internationally renowned people. References to the nineteenth-century poet Boleslav Jablonský do not convey much information to the Hungarian reader. However, the elevated style parodied in the report in which he is mentioned seems more transferable (Čapek 1936: 210–215). These examples will be examined in detail in case of both Hungarian editions.

In the first edition of the Hungarian translation (1948), the second book of the novel comprises four chapters instead of the original three. This change is due to the handling of the original footnotes: the newspaper articles cited do not appear on the page where they are being referred to but in a separate chapter. The text of the study forms the second chapter with footnotes directing the reader to the

next. However, this treatment is not prevalent in all cases. Some of the shorter excerpts are presented in their original place, e.g. the newspaper clipping written in an unidentifiable language (Čapek 1948: 140).

In some instances, whole articles or paragraphs are missing from the translation. This happens in the case of a short news item concerning Great Britain's approach to the newt business. The missing paragraph covered the issue of the colonies and the acceptance of employing newts there as opposed to their strict refusal on the British Isles (Čapek 1936: 171–172, Čapek 1948: 180). The completely omitted articles include a report on the conference of French scientists concerning newts and their intelligence and an article about Czech travellers who met a Czech-speaking newt on the Galapagos Islands. In the latter case, a study is used to introduce the article and depict the upheaval of teaching Czech language to newts. This study has only been translated into Hungarian partially with a considerable amount of omission (Čapek 1948: 161). As for the articles in the third chapter, all of them are emblazoned with a title in the same font, regardless of their having a title in the Czech text or not.

In this first version of the translation, Czech surnames and geographical names are very often domesticated. They are translated into Hungarian in the case of some first names. Lesser-known geographical names, e.g. parts of Prague, are substituted with more general expressions, and less obvious references to Czech culture are substituted by more famous ones, e.g. *Šárka*, the name of a boat is converted into *Moldva*, the Hungarian name for the River Vltava (Čapek 1948: 117).

The currently available edition of 2009 contains most of the missing parts of the 1948 edition. These amendments date back to the edition in 1956, published by *Európa*, a publishing house releasing primarily foreign literature. While most of the Czech text is thus translated, the layout of the chapter is even more unified than in the first edition. All the cited articles are incorporated into the main body of the text, and the introductory sentences of the footnotes are usually added to the preceding paragraph of the study. This method leads to some strangely displaced expressions, e.g. *Vesd össze* 'cf.' as the predicative of a sentence in the study (Čapek 2009: 133). Incorporating these typically footnote-style sentences into the main text results in a less convincing mimic of a study on history.

All the newspaper clippings appear in the same format, they are divided from the main text with lines, and their titles are in the same font. Similar to other parts of the novel, footnotes explaining non-Hungarian expressions are added to the text, while the foreign words are italicized in the body of the study.

In the 2009 edition, references to Czech culture are more often retained in their original form than in the 1948 edition. Names are used in their Czech form with appropriate spelling. The article concerning the Czech-speaking newt is not omitted. Interestingly enough, no footnotes elucidate the references to Czech history or grammar despite the tendency otherwise prevalent in the edition to

supply the reader with information on anything not in Hungarian. It appears that only those elements were treated as foreign and possibly unknown to readers which appeared as foreign in the context of the original.

In the 1948 edition, the supplementary chapter raises the question of visibility. How do the references in the footnotes operate? Does a separate chapter emphasize the importance of the insertions or does it reduce their visibility through the readers' presumed tendency not to look up the references? The fact that ideologically problematic parts are readily deposited in the third chapter, e.g. a parody of the Communist Manifesto, subscribed by Molokov, a reference to Molotov, in Czech (Čapek 1936: 228–229) and in Sz. ALAM ANDRA² in Hungarian (Čapek 1948: 189), a name devoid of any reference to contemporary Soviet leaders, may point to the latter interpretation. As the uniform supplementary articles appear detached from the text that uses them as points of reference, the connection of these textual counterparts is more remote than in the case of the Czech text.

The 2009 edition's tendency to explain foreign expressions indicates a wish to provide the reader with all the necessary information that they probably lack. The foreign, mostly English but occasionally French, words are italicized even in those cases when the Czech edition does not highlight them. This phenomenon gains importance mostly in other parts of the novel, where the character of Captain van Toch is portrayed through his speech integrating words of more than one language, thus indicating that his identity is not connected to only one nation or language. In this captain's case, separating words from different languages via the layout of the text seems to draw attention away from the utterances as wholes, forming part of a dialogue where understanding is at stake between the characters – and not primarily between reader and text – and where this understanding unfolds despite the difficulties in the second chapter in the first book (Čapek 1936: 28–38, Čapek 2009: 20–27).

4. Do newts have a soul?

To exemplify the differences prevalent in the three textual variants described above, the newspaper excerpt on the question of the soul of newts will be examined here. The survey of the *Daily Star* is represented in the chapter as evidence of the change traceable in the approach to the newts. According to the main text:

[I]t was entirely natural that the newts stopped being a sensation, even though there were now as many as a hundred million of them; the public interest they had excited had been the interest of a novelty. They

² The name read in one word means 'newt' in Hungarian.

still appeared now and then in films (Sally and Andy, the Two Good Salamanders) and on the cabaret stage where singers endowed with an especially bad voice came on in the role of newts with rasping voices and atrocious grammar, but as soon as the newts had become a familiar and large-scale phenomenon the problems they presented, so to speak, were of a different character. (Čapek 2002: n.p.)

The turn from sensation to omnipresent workforce resulted in the emergence of the newt question. On the one hand, the survey in the footnotes illustrates the character of this question, while following the progress of the main text the problem of education for newts arises, on the other (Čapek 1936: 200). These two lines of questioning run next to each other throughout three pages in the 1936 edition, the survey occupying more than two-thirds of the latter two (Čapek 1936: 199–201). The respondents include such celebrities as Mae West, Toscanini, or G. B. Show. The answers to whether newts have souls range from elevated through ironic to derogatory. In the meantime, the main text embarks on portraying the story of the committed and zealous Louise Zimmermann, propagating appropriate education for newts. This introduction is not lacking in slightly ironic remarks either, e.g. “[n]ot for the first time in the history of mankind, the most vigorous activist in the Newt Question was of course a woman” (Čapek 2002: n.p.).

The survey of the *Daily Star* very clearly exemplifies the approach that animals are a means of self-definition for mankind. The question is turned inside out by most of the respondents as the centre of their answer turns out to be the definition of soul. A clear example is Colonel John W. Britton’s answer: “[a] friend of mine, the Reverend H.B. Bertram, and I observed some newts over a long period while they were building a dam in Aden. We also spoke with them on two or three occasions, but we found no indications of any higher feelings such as Honour, Faith, Patriotism or interest in Sport. And what else, may I ask, is there that could be seen as an indication of a soul?” (Čapek 2002: n.p.). A perhaps more provocative notion of the soul is attributed to Mae West: “They ain’t got no sex-appeal. And that means they ain’t got a soul” (Čapek 2002: n.p.).

The humorous, ironic, or evasive answers, e.g. Tony Weissmüller’s, who does not seem to be interested in the question of soul but much rather in that of swimming techniques, illustrate a contrary approach to newts compared to Louise Zimmermann, though one of the contributors, Madeleine Roche, doting on her Chinese dog seems to look upon animals with a similar eye. However, the miscellaneous nature of the responses, the various approaches they represent form a very different standpoint than in the case of this enthusiastic and elevated pedagogue, fighting for the recognition of her own point of view. The narrator of the study, however, relies on the diversity of approaches and relates somewhat ironically to the ambitious project of newt education.

Consequently, the quoted survey is related to the main text of the study in a dual way. On the one hand, there is an opposition as the subject of the study is elevated and aspiring to redeem the world, whereas the newspaper excerpts suggest an almost general frivolity towards the newts, concentrating first and foremost on mankind. On the other hand, the irony displayed in certain answers as well as in their juxtaposition is in parallel with the narrator's standpoint. The physical proximity of the texts belonging to very different genres testifies the variety of imaginable approaches, while the layout of the pages, where three to six lines are devoted to the history of newt education and all that is left showcases newspaper clippings, suggests the larger influence or incidence of the popular press.

In the Hungarian translation from 1948, the reference to the survey of the *Daily Star* precedes the subject of newt education, in accordance with the Czech text. However, thanks to the structure of the edition, the reference leads to a text physically completely separate from the following sentences of the main text (Čapek 1948: 166, 182–183). Thus, the consecutive nature of the act of reading is not complemented by the simultaneity of the visible page as in the Czech edition, resulting in a reading more exclusively relying on a cause and effect structure: the frivolous approach to newts leading to the campaign for education. Consequently, there is more room for a grand narrative explaining newt history than for the portrayal of different perspectives coexisting and contradicting each other.

In the 2009 edition of the Hungarian text, a different editorial solution leads to similar effects (Čapek 2009: 156–158). The introductory sentences from the footnote of the original are moved to the main text of the study. The newt issue is thus exemplified by the question of soul, which leads to the conundrum to what extent should newts be regarded as and treated similarly to humans. The following paragraphs embark on the introduction of newt education, with a possibility of deducing this phenomenon from the question on the status of newts. This logic is not absent in the Czech text; however, it receives much more emphasis in the Hungarian variants thanks to the layout of the chapter.

5. The supplementary in translation

In the examined chapter of the Čapek novel, the main text of the historical study and the reports, news items, slogans, etc. cooperate to construct a story, to a certain extent independent of the previously mentioned human characters, focusing on the appearance and spread of newts on the globe and in the press. The genres deployed in the supplementary texts indicate various possibilities of approaching the newt question, ranging from providing allegedly objective information on industrial development to pathetic pictures of human pedagogues offering literary delicacies to the salamanders.

According to Derrida, the supplement has a dual nature. On the one hand, “[t]he supplement adds itself, it is a surplus, a plenitude enriching another plenitude, the *fullest measure* of presence”, while on the other “[i]t adds only to replace, it intervenes or insinuates itself *in-the-place-of*; if it fills, it is as one fills a void” (Derrida 1992: 83). From the narrator’s standpoint – taken up as that of the historian – the texts cited attest to his statements in the main text, functioning as source and evidence at the same time. The various genres provide a wide choice of approaches to newts and events connected to them. These excerpts evoke a fullness of sources and viewpoints, portraying the newts in different situations, ranging from saving people at sea through being victims of black trade to learning languages. However, the constant presence of these supplementary texts poses the question of the reliability of the study and historical discourse in general. The dual nature of supplements analysed by Derrida is present in this text as well.

The 1948 edition of the Hungarian translation hides the articles into another chapter, and thus the connection between the text of the study and that of the supplements is less apparent. Most of the footnotes refer with almost identical sentences to relevant parts of the following chapter. Naturally, these newspaper clippings still operate in the way described by Derrida; however, the dual nature of the supplement is only visible to a lesser extent as the comparatively less ironic text of the study and the considerably more often ironic articles cannot interact as immediately as in the case of the Czech edition.

A more radical approach to presenting the articles and the study can be detected in the 2009 edition. In this case, most of the articles are inserted into the main text. The result of the titles and the lines dividing the different texts is a more continuous and integrated text, where the supplementary articles work similarly to quotes. Thus, the excerpts seem to coincide more unequivocally with the logic of the main text. Accordingly, they function as a supplement to a lesser extent as the distance between the supplement and the supplemented is less perceptible. Moreover, the fullness of the surplus is not represented as visibly as in the Czech variant thanks to the unified typeface.

When examining the significance of the supplement, Derrida states that it permeates the so-called reality to such an extent that our perception of it is always already supplementary, and the meaning cannot be located outside the text as “there is nothing that completely escapes the general qualities of textuality” (Derrida 1992: 102). The fictitious articles, manifestos, slogans, etc. refer to the constructed textual nature of the presumed outside of the text since they represent the desired objectivity of historical investigation exposed to the mediation and narration inherent in texts.

“[T]here have never been anything but supplements, substitutive significations which could only come forth in a chain of differential references, the ‘real’ supervening, and being added only while taking on meaning from a trace

and from an invocation of the supplement” (Derrida 1992: 102). Criticism on unconditional reliance on texts reaching out to reality is a crucial point in the Čapek text. The outwardly supplementary construction of the chapter in question supports this line of interpretation proportionately, which is downplayed in the less emphatically supplementary layout of the new Hungarian edition.

6. Endeavours and possibilities – The reader

The unity of the text would appear as a central question of the chapter. Different parts are identifiable as shorter texts belonging to various genres, while this compilation aims to fashion a history of the newts, as the narrator testifies in the subtitle of the chapter. The layout of the Czech text strongly supports this diversity and the subversive approach to the text as a whole. When Hajdu reviews the concept of unity and its history with regard to the novel, he comes to the conclusion that as most of the literary texts cannot be seen as a complete whole, unity is not immanent in the novel. Thus, he points out unity as the effort of the reader, a tendency to discover unity in the text (Hajdu 2003: 20).

When examining the perception of a literary text, Iser infers that the reader is characterized by a wandering viewpoint as they endeavour to construct a whole, but the consecutive reception of the various parts of the text modifies this whole; moreover, the already existing viewpoint modifies the reception of the upcoming parts of the text (Iser 1978: 108–109). Iser does not detect any problem in connection with the denotative operation of a text as opposed to Derrida; however, his approach can be important as it emphasizes the creative activity of the reader.

The examined chapter of *The War with the Newts* in its Hungarian translation appears as posing less challenge to the possible unifying activities of the reader. As the typeface is more unified in both editions, though to a somewhat lesser extent in the 1948 edition, the diversity of the text is less apparent at a first glance. More importantly, the first edition of the translation reproduces the text of the study as uninterrupted by the immediate presence of the articles. The footnotes referring to the next chapter’s newspaper clippings direct the reader to these texts, and it could be argued that this way the reception of the chapter must be more interrupted thanks to the back and forth movement between the two chapters. However, the repetitive and practically unchanging sentences in the footnotes can easily be ignored, while the overall text looks like a monolith on the pages. As for the 2009 edition, the integration of almost all articles into the main text of the study enhances the possibilities of a more unified interpretation and less regard for the divergent tendencies in the text – various genres with different approaches to the referential world.

Investigating the presence of the narrator's viewpoint, Iser points out that titles – in the Thackeray example, chapter titles – can be the instrument of focalization (Iser 1978: 113). When looking at both editions of the Hungarian translation, it can be seen that in some cases the newspaper clippings are supplemented with a title which does not appear in the Czech edition. These instances of addition orientate the reader, on the one hand, and, on the other, tame the excerpts to the extent that they seem to be integrated into the text by being labelled, enhancing the impression that there is one single narration that permeates the chapter.

Based on the examination of the two editions of the Hungarian translation, it can be determined that a reading process with a tendency to unify faces less challenge than in the case of the Czech text. The approach to narration and text itself seems to encompass less ambiguity, interpretational possibilities are more forcefully governed by the relative omnipotence of the narrator, and irony resulting from different viewpoints gains lesser importance.

7. A concept of translation and its concept of the text

According to Gideon Toury, concepts permeating in a literary polysystem can be traced to their originals based on the approach of translations. Similarly, the concept of translation can be inferred from the choices and solutions of the translator (Toury 1995: n.p.). In the case of Čapek's *The War with the Newts*, based on the examination of the second chapter in the second book, the Hungarian translation seems to approach translation itself as a process of presenting a book easily approachable for home audiences. Omitting or generalizing references to presumably unknown elements of Czech culture go hand in hand with a tendency to simplify the variety of viewpoints present in the original. Self-referential gestures in the text are emphasized to a lesser extent, similarly to the reduction of linguistic diversity. The result is a less problematically consumable text, where less effort is expected on the interpretational side: a less avant-garde text, relying more on the smooth continuity of narration.

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Word Structure Change in Language Contact Monosyllabic Hungarian Loanwords in Romanian

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Abstract. Languages have been in contact since their existence. The Hungarian and Romanian languages have been so for at least 800 years. The present article aims at analysing the structural changes in the monosyllabic Hungarian loanwords in Romanian. After the theoretical introduction, I discuss the phonological status of the /j/ sound, which is very important in this kind of investigations. After that, I present the syllable structure types of these monosyllabic Hungarian etymons and I present, as well, the changing schemes of their structures in the borrowing. The study concludes that the most affected parts of the syllables are the nucleus and the coda.

Keywords: language contact, syllable structure changes

1. Introduction

The research of the Hungarian borrowings in Romanian from different perspectives has a long history. In order to examine the impact of the Hungarian language on Romanian, the demand for Romanian and Hungarian linguistics took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. A. Cihac (1879) and György Alexics (1888) were the first researchers who carried out statistical surveys on the proportion of the Romanian vocabulary of Hungarian origin (Todoran 1965: 921). Similar research was carried out by Al. Rosetti and Ov. Densusianu (1901). According to their results, the interaction between the Romanian and the Hungarian culture and language began in the 10th–11th centuries. Later, further research was implemented by N. Drăganu (1933), Lajos Tamás (1966), I. Pătruț (1953), Béla Kelemen (1971), Emese Kis (1975), and Ferenc Király (1990), who performed grammatical and phonetical studies. According to Victor Grecu, Romanian language was influenced by the Hungarian in two waves: the lexical elements in the prevailing wave of

influence spread throughout the whole Romanian language area, whereas the words borrowed in the second wave remained only regionally used, and their distribution was limited to the region of Transylvania (Greco 2004: 197–200).

Owing to these research works, we have a rather comprehensive picture of Hungarian influence on Romanian language. Studies have also been made on the sound phenomena of the Hungarian effect (see Both 2015, 2016a, 2016b).

In this paper, I examine whether modifications are made during borrowing in the structure of monosyllabic words and, if so, what kind of changes they are as well as the type of regularities that govern them.

Following the introduction, I present the database and methods of the study, and then I outline the concept of syllable by presenting the theoretical framework into which the approach of this study fits. Next, I examine the syllable types of the Hungarian monosyllabic etymons and the forms of Romanian borrowings. The final part of my article is a brief summary.

2. Research database and methods

The research began with the designation of a word database, produced by hand, in which two of the major lexicographic works (NDULR¹ and DEX²) included all the Romanian words for which dictionaries indicate Hungarian etymons. This word database was processed in a spreadsheet software and contains a total of 1,076 lexemes or lexeme variants. The database uses built-in functions to examine the correspondence of the word length and the match of the length of each syllable, characterizes the inner structure of each syllable, analyses the CV-skeleton of the syllables, and creates the CV-skeleton of the input words.

Using this database, I made statistical analyses and revision by hand of the possible alterations during the borrowing. In the database, I have examined a total of 2,152 Romanian and Hungarian words and 5,032 Romanian and Hungarian syllables, which form the basis of what follows.

2.1. Syllable structure

This study shares the views of Chitoran, Durand–Siptár, Siptár, and Törkenczy, according to which each syllable has an internal hierarchical structure (see Chitoran 2002; Durand–Siptár 1997; Siptár 2003; Törkenczy 1994, 2004).

1 NDULR = Oprea, Ioan et al. 2009. *Noul dicționar universal al limbii române*. Bucharest: Editura Litera Internațional.

2 DEX = Coteanu, Ion et al. 2012. *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*. Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan–Al. Rosetti”–Editura Univers Enciclopedic Gold, Bucharest.

According to Kenstowicz:

As far as its internal structure is concerned, the syllable has traditionally been viewed as containing an obligatory *nucleus* preceded by an optional consonantal *onset* and followed by an optional consonantal *coda*. The nucleus plus coda form a tighter bond than the onset plus nucleus. Consequently, traditional grammar recognizes an additional subconstituent called the *rhyme* (or *rime*) that includes the nucleus and the coda. (Kenstowicz 1994: 252–253)

In our representations of syllable structure, we use the following elements: firstly, in the representations of the five basic elements of the syllables: σ (sigma Greek letter) stands for the syllable itself, R stands for rime, On represents the Onset, N is the nucleus, and Co represents the place of the coda. Below these elements, we use the *root tier* and the root nodes. A root node represents all the phonological features of a segment, its symbol is “•”, and it is directly linked to the *CV tier* (Clements 1985: 228), where C stands for a consonant and V for a vowel. The *CV tier* is followed by the *timing tier*, where an X symbol represents one timing unit. For the representation of minimal syllable, see *Figure 1*.



Figure 1. *The minimal syllable*

In the vowel system of the Hungarian language, long vowels are also part of the system: /a:, e:, i:, o:, ø:, u:, y:/ (á, é, í, ó, ő, ú, ű). The question arises in how to interpret the nucleus of the syllable in these cases. The length of Hungarian long vowels is usually about twice the length of short vowels. Therefore, one solution would seem to be that such vowels could be considered two short vowels, which happen to have the same phonological features. In this case, a syllable consisting of a long vowel (e.g. ő ‘he/she’) could be represented as in *Figure 2*.

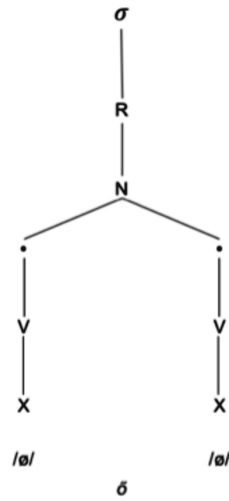


Figure 2. Representation of a long vowel as two different vowels with the same features

In this interpretation, we can say that the syllable has a branching nucleus. However, the main goal of the representation is that of capturing a phenomenon in the simplest possible way – accordingly, the long vowel can also be depicted as in *Figure 3*.

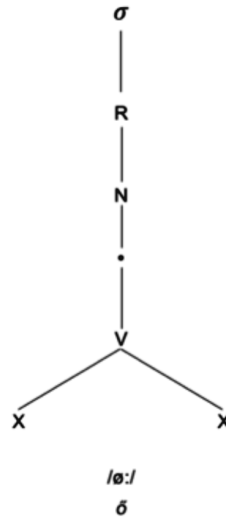


Figure 3. Representation of a long vowel as a single vowel that occupies two timing units

The difference between the two figures (2 and 3) can be captured by highlighting different aspects of a given sound. For *Figure 2*, it is emphasized that there are two different vowel segments that are next to each other, while for *Figure 3* it is emphasized that the duration is twice as long.

In the Romanian language, we encounter a large number of diphthongs: in such a case, the branching nucleus also extends to two timing units, but the two diphthong-component vowels will differ in their phonological features too, which means that they have different root nodes. We can represent the diphthong of the word *lighean* ‘bowl’ /*ea*/ as in *Figure 4*.

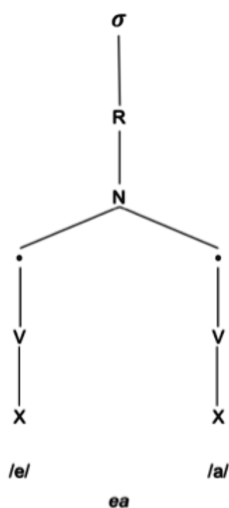


Figure 4. *Representation of a diphthong*

Since the subject of this study is the examination of modification of the syllable structures and since figures 2 and 4 are applicable in both languages, the syllable with a branching nucleus is represented as in *Figure 5*.

In syllables, of course, not only the nucleus can be branching but also the onset and the coda. In the syllables of both the Hungarian and the Romanian language, two-way branching and three-way branching onsets are possible (*Figure 6*), but they can appear only in the first syllable of the word.

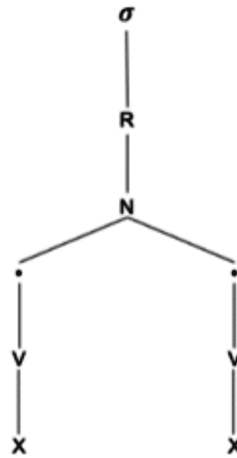


Figure 5. Representation of a branching nucleus

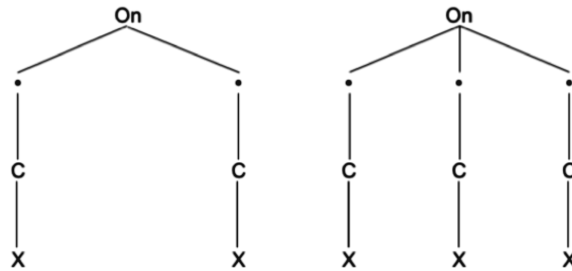


Figure 6. Representation of two-way and three-way branching onsets

Like the other parts of the syllable, the coda can contain only one consonant (non-branching coda) or can be branching (see *Figure 7*). The coda in the Hungarian language can only be non-branching or two-way branching, while in Romanian it can be three-way branching too.

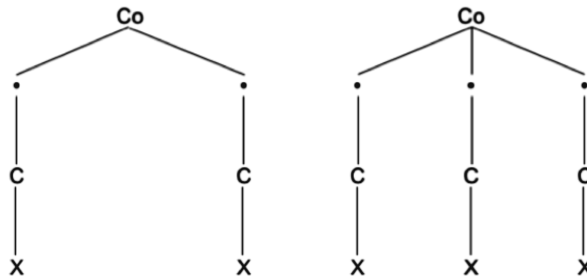


Figure 7. Representation of two-way and three-way branching codas

Therefore, the elements of the inner structure of the syllable can include the following configurations:

- Onset:
 - no onset,
 - non-branching onset (C),
 - two-way branching onset (CC),
 - three-way branching onset (CCC);
- Nucleus:
 - non-branching nucleus (V),
 - two-way branching nucleus (VV);
- Coda:
 - no coda,
 - non-branching coda (C),
 - two-way branching coda (CC),
 - three-way branching coda (CCC).

2.2. What about the /j/ sound?

The /j/ sound is an important matter of this investigation because the way we identify it will greatly affect the research results. Therefore, firstly, we clarify the status of this sound in Hungarian and secondly in Romanian.

Undoubtedly, from a phonetic perspective, the /j/ sound is a glide, but its phonological interpretation needs to be examined more closely in its linguistics functionality. For a correct interpretation, it is necessary to consider whether there are diphthongs in a certain language. In order to establish this, it is necessary to distinguish between phonetic and phonological diphthongs since the matter of phonetic diphthongs does not depend on interpretation but their existence is a fact (Siptár 1994: 200). In the standard variant of the Hungarian no attention is paid to diphthongs, but when referring to dialects, there is a large number of them, mainly as embodiments of the /e:, o:, ø:/ (é, ó, ő) sounds.

The fact that the /j/ sound is not a diphthong component can raise a number of arguments in phonological sense. 1. In languages where there are real diphthongs, not all vowels can be combined in a single nucleus. 2. Moreover, an even analysis of diphthongs can be supported by the fact that they may alternate with simple vowels, while in Hungarian this is not possible. 3. It is even more important that the Hungarian /j/ sound occurs both before and after long vowels; that is to say, if it were part of the nucleus, we would need to hypothesize a three-way branching nucleus, and there is no such example in any of the world's languages. (...) 4. The fact that the /j/ sound in the Hungarian is a consonant is proven by the fact that a word beginning with /j/ + vowel chooses the *a* form of the definite article, not the *an* one: *a játék* ('the game') like *a körte* ('the pear'), and not **az játék* like *az*

alma ('the apple'). 5. Likewise, the /j/ after a vowel behaves as a consonant: *vajjal* ('with butter') like *lábbal* ('with foot'), and not **vajval* like *szóval* ('with word') (Siptár 2003: 357).³

Accordingly, the most practical solution is to consider the /j/ sound [-nasal, -sonorant] consonant in the sound system of Hungarian, i.e. it is a liquid (Siptár 1994: 200–201).

The situation in Romanian is quite different. First of all, the written form of the sound may be confusing since in Romanian the /j/ is written with the letter *i* like the vowel /i/ – so, there may be problems in the interpretation of the sound.⁴

We start from the sounds marked with letter *i*. In Romanian, this letter is used to indicate two different statuses: first, it marks the [i] front, close, unrounded vowel, such as: *adimeni* /adimeni/, *alişpan* /alişpan/, *băni* /bəni/, etc. words; in this case, of course, this sound forms a syllable nucleus.

Another case where *i* appears in a word is when it occurs next to a palatalized consonant like in the *cioaclă* /tʃoaklə/, *ciof* /tʃof/, *ciopor* /tʃopor/, *fierăstrău* /ferəstrəu/, *gionat* /dʒionat/, *ştiol* /ʃtʰol/, and *vierş* /vierʃ/ words. Furthermore, it appears as a glide in hiatus-filling role as a transition between two vowels, and this does not appear in written form, e.g.: *aldui* /alduji/, *baştie* /baştije/, or *hârşie* /hirʃije/.

From among the cases presented above, the letter *i* is only treated as a full value /i/ vowel when it is confirmed by its articulation. In other cases, it is classified as consonant /j/ as part of the onset or the coda, and when it appears next to palatalized consonants as *i* in writing; it does not get its own timing unit, but it is treated as an epenthetic element (feature) of the consonant.

3. General findings on the database

As I have mentioned, our research corpus contains a number of 1,079 lexemes and lexeme variants. The following considerations are based on the analysis of the Hungarian etymons.

3 „[1] Azokban a nyelvekben, amelyekben valóban vannak kettőshangzók, nem lehet bármit bármivel összerakni egy szótagmagon belül, [2] továbbá a diftongusok egységes elemzése azzal is alátámasztható, hogy ezek egyszerű magánhangzóval váltakozhatnak (...), míg a magyarban erre nincs lehetőség. [3] Még fontosabb, hogy a magyar /j/ hosszú magánhangzók előtt és után is előfordul, vagyis ha itt a mag része lenne, háromfelé ágazó szótagmagot kellene feltennünk, amire a világ egyetlen nyelvében sincs példa. (...) [4] A magyar /j/ mássalhangzó voltát bizonyítja az is, hogy a /j/ + magánhangzó kezdetű szavak a határozott névelő *a*, nem pedig *az* változatát választják maguk előtt: *a játék*, mint *a körte*, nem pedig **az játék* mint *az alma*. [5] Ugyanígy a magánhangzó utáni /j/ is mássalhangzóként viselkedik: *vajjal*, mint *lábbal*, nem pedig * *vajval*, mint *szóval*” (Siptár 2003: 357) – own translation.

4 See Chitoran (2002: 7–12) on the sound system of Romanian and a possible judgement of the /j/ sound.

In our database, there are four words formed of 5 syllables (0.37%), 113 words containing 4 syllables (10.47%), 351 words of 3 syllables (32.53%), 512 ones consisting of 2 syllables (47.45%), and 90 monosyllabic words. As it can be seen from this data, most of the Hungarian etymons have 2 or 3 syllables. In the present article, we investigate the monosyllabic ones.

These 90 monosyllabic words have different inner structures. *Table 1* presents these categories with the help of the elements of the CV tier.

Table 1. *Types of structures of the Hungarian etymons*

Category	Structure description	Number	Percentage	Example
CCVC	- two-way branching onset, - non-branching nucleus, - non-branching coda, - branching rime	4	4.44%	<i>svung</i>
CCVVC	- two-way branching onset, - two-way branching nucleus, - non-branching coda, - branching rime	6	6.66%	<i>drót</i>
CCVVCC	- two-way branching onset, - two-way branching nucleus, - two-way branching coda, - branching rime	2	2.22%	<i>spájz</i>
CV	- non-branching onset, - non-branching nucleus, - no coda, - non-branching rime	3	3.33%	<i>na</i>
CVC	- non-branching onset, - non-branching nucleus, - non-branching coda, - branching rime	20	22.22%	<i>baj</i>
CVCC	- non-branching onset, - non-branching nucleus, - two-way branching coda, - branching rime	23	25.55%	<i>comb</i>
CVV	- non-branching onset, - two-way branching nucleus, - no coda, - non-branching rime	3	3.33%	<i>tó</i>
CVVC	- non-branching onset, - two-way branching nucleus, - non-branching coda, - branching rime	24	26.66%	<i>cél</i>

Category	Structure description	Number	Percentage	Example
CVVCC	- non-branching onset, - two-way branching nucleus, - two-way branching coda, - branching rime	2	2.22%	<i>lác</i>
VVC	- no onset, - two-way branching nucleus, - non-branching coda, - branching rime	3	3.33%	<i>ír</i>
Total		90	99.96%	

We have interesting results from grouping these categories according to the types of syllable structure. Viewing *Table 2*, it is obvious that a typical monosyllabic Hungarian etymon in this situation of linguistic contact has a syllable that has non-branching onset, non-branching or branching nucleus, and non-branching coda (CVC or CVVC).

Table 2. Grouping the structure categories by the elements of the syllable structure

Category	Number	Percentage
by the onset		
no onset	3	3.33%
non-branching onset	75	83.33%
two-way branching onset	12	13.33%
by the nucleus		
non-branching nucleus	50	55.55%
branching nucleus	40	44.44%
by the coda		
no coda	6	6.66%
non-branching coda	57	63.33%
two-way branching coda	27	30.00%

4. What happens to syllable structures during borrowing?

4.1. CCVCC-type words

In our database, there are 4 words that share this syllable structure (see *Figure 8*). The elements of this type of syllable take up a total of 5 timing units.

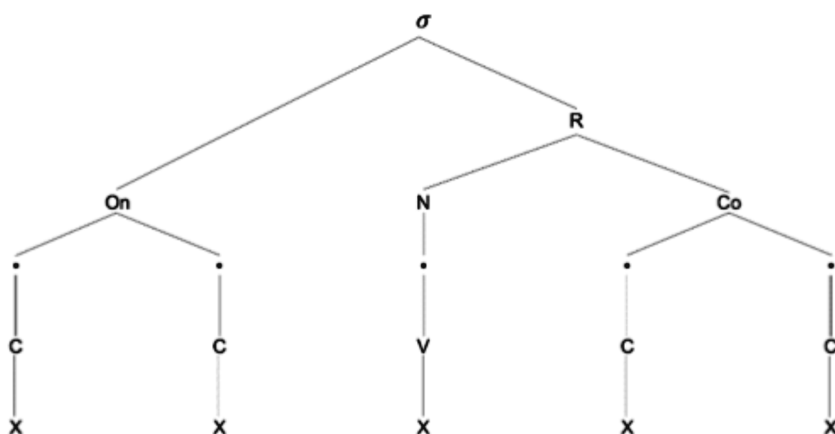


Figure 8. CCVCC-type syllable structure

This type of syllable has a two-way branching onset, non-branching nucleus, and two-way branching coda. Three of the 4 lexeme variants of this type have been borrowed in Romanian without any change in duration or structure: Hung. *svung* /ʃvung/ > Rom. *șvung* /ʃvung/, Hung. *tromf₁* /tromf/ > Rom. *tromf* /tromf/, Hung. *tromf₂* /tromf/ > Rom. *tronf* /tronf/, but there was a word in which the nucleus became branched, while the coda became unbranched (see Figure 9): Hung. *stoll* /ʃtol:/ > Rom. *știol* /ʃtiol/.

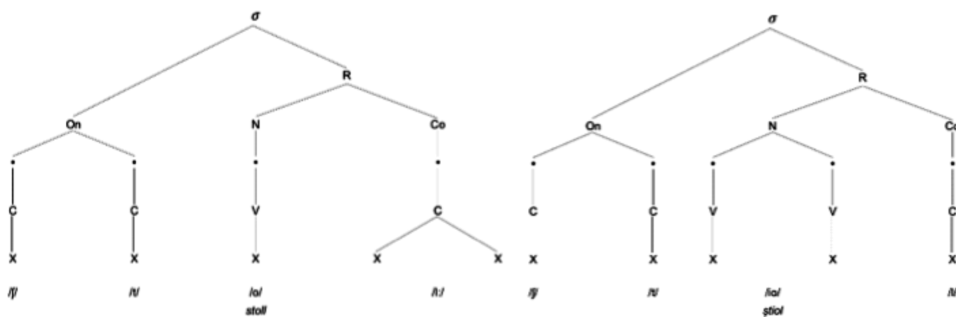


Figure 9. Changing CCVCC structure to CCVVC

In this change, the Hungarian /o/ from the nucleus has become an /iō/ diphthong, while the long /l/ sound from the coda has become a short one /l/.

4.2. CCVVC-type words

A total of six lexeme variants among monosyllabic Hungarian loanwords in Romanian share the CCVVC structure, which takes up five timing units on the

timing tier. We will see that none of the Romanian forms has preserved the original syllable structure. Five words have become CCVC structured; this phenomenon can be explained by the lack of long vowels in Romanian (see Figure 10). These words are: Hung. *drót* /dro:t/ > Rom. *drot* /drot/, Hung. *gróf* /gro:f/ > Rom. *grof* /grof/, Hung. *pléh₁* /ple:h/ > Rom. *pleu* /pleũ/, Hung. *prém* /pre:m/ > Rom. *prim* /prim/, Hung. *sróf* /ʃro:f/ > Rom. *şrof* /ʃrof/. As it can be seen in Figure 10, the Romanian form drops one vowel (and one timing unit) from the nucleus, which thus becomes a non-branching one.

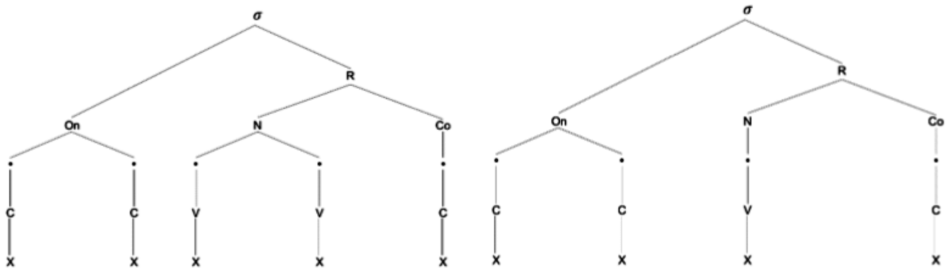


Figure 10. Changing CCVVC structure to CCVC

This type of structure might change during the process of borrowing in such a way that the branching character of the nucleus is preserved (by the appearance of a diphthong), but in this one the coda drops and the rime becomes non-branching. There is a single example among our monosyllabic words for this type of change: Hung. *pléh₂* /ple:h/ > Rom. *pleu* /pleũ/. See Figure 11.

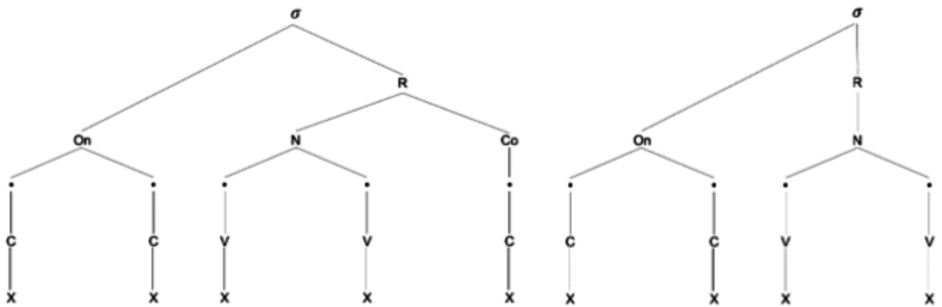


Figure 11. Changing CCVVC structure to CCVV

4.3. CCVVCC-type words

When referring to monosyllabic words, there is a single case in the Hungarian language in which all syllabic elements are two-way branching but which has been borrowed in two phonetically different variants. Both of the Romanian

forms were borrowed by dropping a timing unit from the nucleus, which thus became non-branching (see *Figure 12*): Hung. *spájz*₁ /ʃpa:jz/ > Rom. *șpaiz* /ʃpajz/, Hung. *spájz*₂ /ʃpa:jz/ > Rom. *șpais* /ʃpajs/. The change can be also explained by the lack of the long vowels in the Romanian.

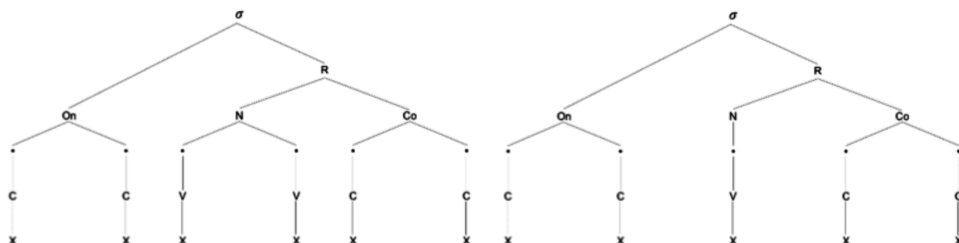


Figure 12. Changing CCVVCC structure to CCVCC

4.4. CV-type words

Despite the fact that this is one of the most common structures of syllables in Hungarian, it appears only in the case of two words among monosyllabic Hungarian etymons. The first one has been borrowed in two phonetically different forms: Hung. *na*₁ /nɔ/ > Rom. *na* /na/, Hung. *na*₂ /nɔ/ > Rom. *no* /no/. The second example is Hung. *ni* /ni/ > Rom. *ni* /ni/. All three variants share the same structure, in which nothing has been changed by borrowing (see *Figure 13*).

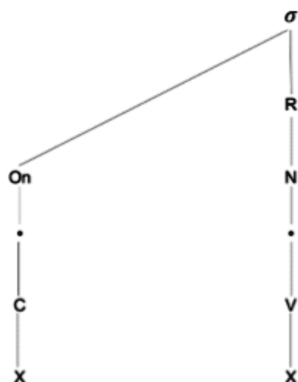


Figure 13. The CV syllable structure

4.5. CVC-type words

We have 20 monosyllabic examples sharing the CVC structure, which is very common in the majority of languages. In the case of the majority of the words, the structure has been kept without any changes, i.e. Hung. *baj* /bɔj/ > Rom. *bai* /baj/,

Hung. *hely* /hej/ > Rom. *hei* /hej/, Hung. *sas* /ʃɔʃ/ > Rom. *șoș* /ʃɔʃ/, Hung. *zeb* /zɛb/ > Rom. *jeb* /zɛb/, etc.

In the case of two words, however, there is an interesting phenomenon: the nucleus became branching because of the diphthongization in Romanian (see *Figure 14*): Hung. *nem* /nɛm/ > Rom. *neam* /neâm/ and Hung. *tok₂* /tok/ > Rom. *tioc* /tiōk/.

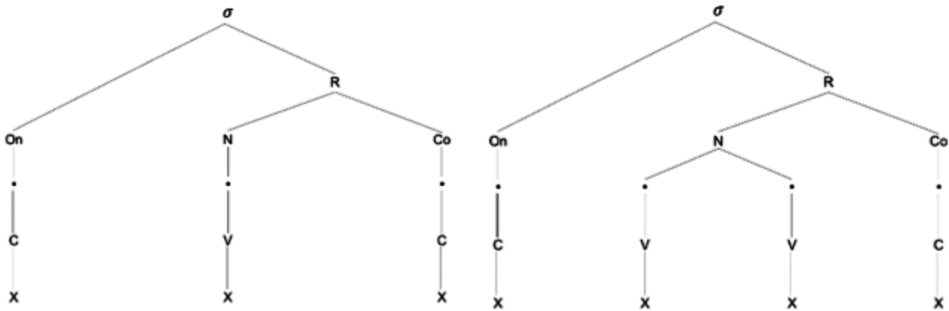


Figure 14. The CVC structure becomes CVVC

4.6. CVCC-type words

A number of 23 monosyllabic lexeme variants share this structure, 19 of which have been borrowed without any structural changes, i.e. Hung. *borz* /borz/ > Rom. *borz* /borz/, Hung. *comb₁* /ʦomb/ > Rom. *țomb* /ʦomb/, Hung. *comb₂* /ʦomb/ > Rom. *țimp* /ʦimp/, Hung. *gond* /gond/ > Rom. *gând* /gind/, Hung. *gomb* /gomb/ > Rom. *bumb* /bumb/, etc.

There are 2 words in which the coda has become three-way branching (see *Figure 15*): Hung. *konty* /konc/ > Rom. *conci* /kontʃj/ and Hung. *korcs* /korʃ/ > Rom. *corci* /korʃj/.

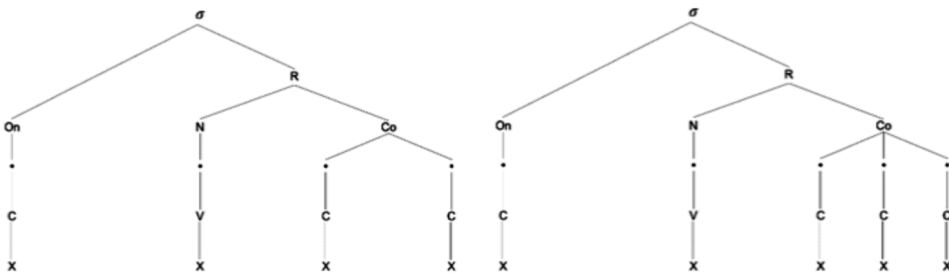


Figure 15. The CVCC structure becomes CVCCC

Another word has been borrowed by changing of the onset to be two-way branched and the coda to be three-way branched (see *Figure 16*): Hung. *gyolcs* /jolʃ/ > Rom. *giulgi* /dʒjuldʒj/.

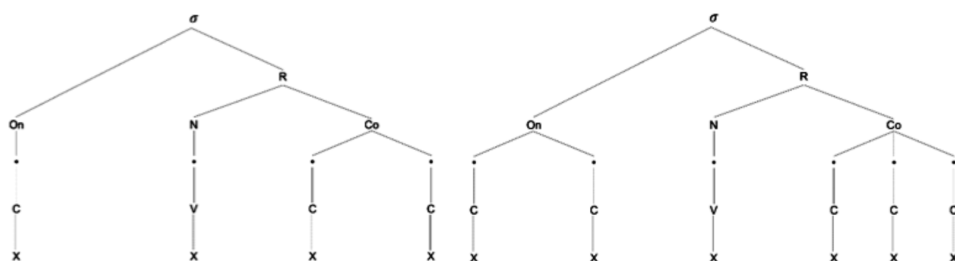


Figure 16. The CVCC structure becomes CCVCCC

Finally, we have an example in which only the onset has become a two-way branching one (see Figure 17): Hung. *vers* /verʃ/ > Rom. *vierș* /vjerʃ/.

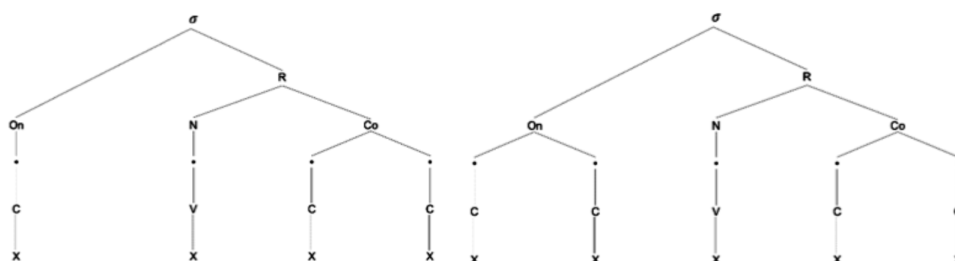


Figure 17. The CVCC structure becomes CCVCC

4.7. CVV-type words

The syllable structure which has a non-branching onset, branching nucleus, and it has no coda appears in 2 Hungarian etymons and in 3 Romanian forms. In the first case, the structure has not changed: Hung. *bő₁* /bø:/ > Rom. *biu* /biũ/, Hung. *tó* /to:/ > Rom. *tău* /tăũ/. In the second case, the nucleus became non-branching, and a non-branching coda appeared (see Figure 18): Hung. *bő₂* /bø:/ > Rom. *biv* /biv/.

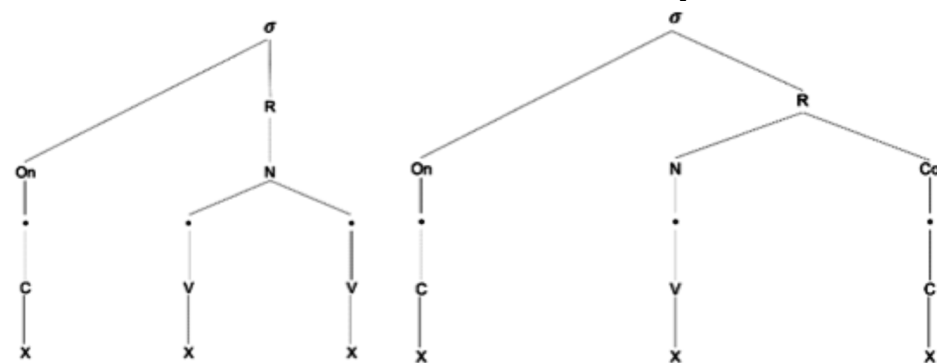


Figure 18. The CVV structure becomes CVC

4.8. CVVC-type words

Our database contains 24 monosyllabic Hungarian lexeme variants. None of the etymons has been borrowed by keeping its original syllable structure, but there is one example in which the structure and the duration were maintained. The branching nucleus which in Hungarian was a long vowel became a diphthong in Romanian: Hung. *léc* /le:ts/ > Rom. *leaț* /leãts/.

The great majority of these words has been borrowed by dropping a timing unit from the nucleus, which thus became non-branching (see Figure 19), i.e. Hung. *bán* /ba:n/ > Rom. *ban* /ban/, Hung. *máj* /ma:j/ > Rom. *mai* /maj/, Hung. *szász* /sa:s/ > Rom. *sas* /sas/, etc.

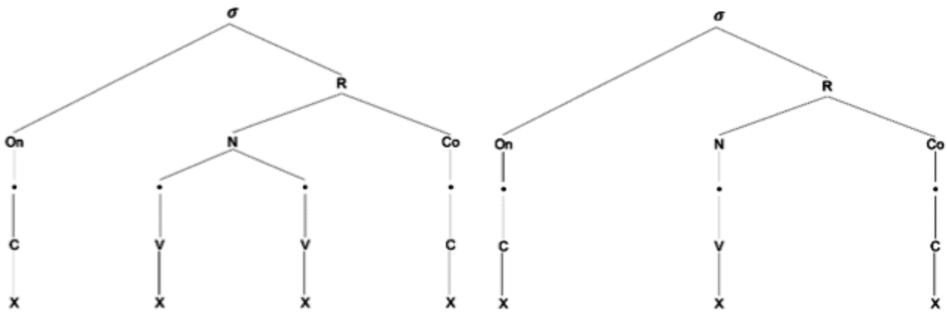


Figure 19. The CVVC structure becomes CVC

There is another word with two Romanian forms in which the nucleus became non-branching and the onset two-way branching (see Figure 20): Hung. *csúf₁* /ɕú:f/ > Rom. *ciuf* /ɕjuf/, Hung. *csúf₂* /ɕú:f/ > Rom. *ciof* /ɕjof/.

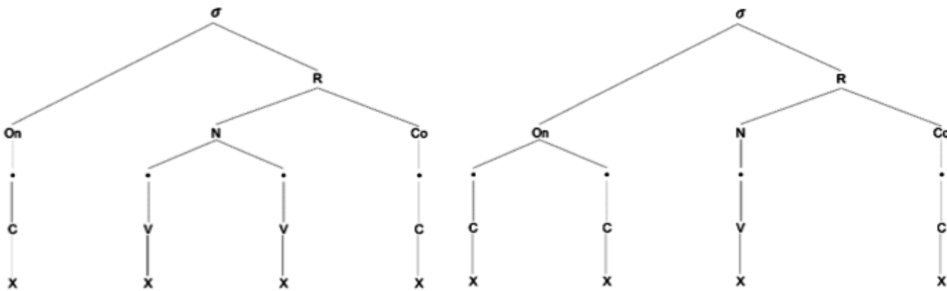


Figure 20. The CVVC structure becomes CCVC

The fourth type of change in structure in the case of the CVVC-type words has one example in our database. In this borrowing, the nucleus became non-branching and the coda became a two-way branching one (see Figure 21): Hung. *szűcs* /sy:ɕ/ > Rom. *suci* /sufj/.

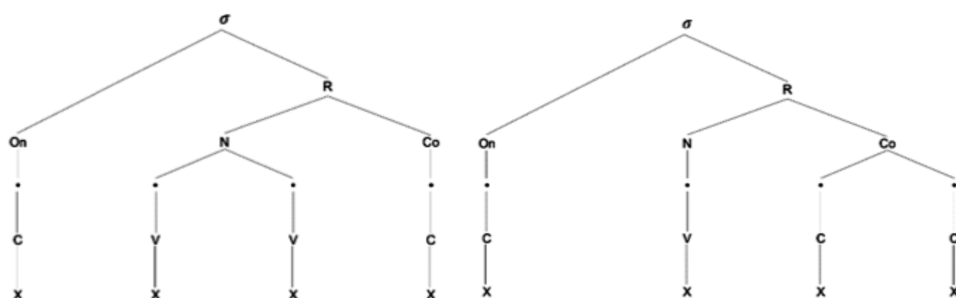


Figure 21. *The CVVC structure becomes CVCC*

4.9. CVVCC-type words

The CVVCC structure type appears in two examples. Both of them have been borrowed by the drop of a timing unit from the nucleus, which thus became non-branching (see *Figure 22*): Hung. *lánc* /la:nts/ > Rom. *lanț* /lants/, Hung. *sánc* /ʃa:nts/ > Rom. *șanț* /ʃants/.

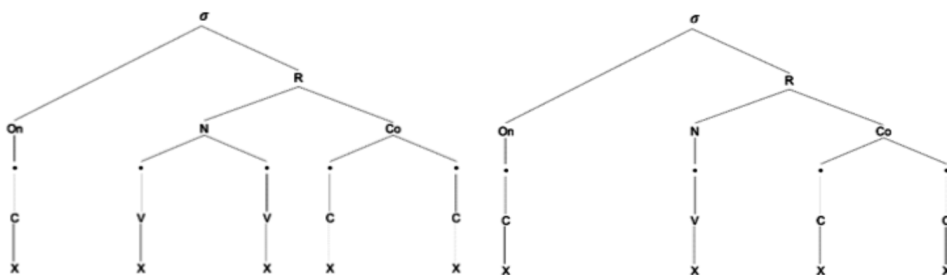


Figure 22. *The CVVCC structure becomes CVCC*

4.10. VVC-type words

The last structure of monosyllabic Hungarian etymons has three examples in our database. All of them have been borrowed by dropping a timing unit from the nucleus (see *Figure 23*): Hung. *ír* /i:r/ > Rom. *ir* /ir/, Hung. *íz* /i:z/ > Rom. *iz* /iz/ and Hung. *ék* /e:k/ > Rom. *ic* /ik/.

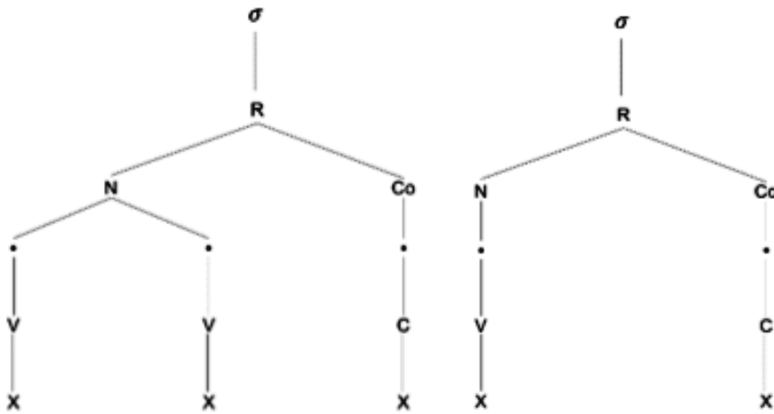


Figure 23. *The VVC structure becomes VC*

5. Summary

In the case of monosyllabic Hungarian etymons which have been borrowed by Romanian, we could identify a number of 17 borrowing schemes from the point of view of the syllable structure. As we could see, the changes, if they occurred, affected mostly the nucleus: in two cases, the non-branching nucleus became two-way branching (see *Figure 24*); these changing schemes were: CCVC > CCVVC and CVC > CVVC. In seven cases (and we could consider that this is a tendency because of the lack of long vowels in Romanian), the nucleus drops a timing unit and becomes non-branching as in the CCVVC > CCVC, CCVCC > CCVCC, CVV > CVC, CVVC > CVC, CVVC > CCVC, CVVC > CVCC, VVC > VC changing schemes (see *Figure 25*).



Figure 24. *Non-branching nucleus becomes branching*



Figure 25. *Branching nucleus becomes non-branching*

It was interesting to see that an existing onset of the etymon never drops any timing units, but there were examples in which non-branching onsets became two-way branching (see *Figure 26*) as in the CVCC > CCVCCC, CVC > CCVCC, CVVC > CCVC changing schemes.

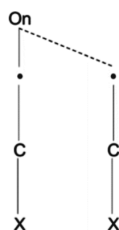


Figure 26. *Non-branching onset becomes two-way branching*

The case of the coda is more complex. We had one changing scheme (CCVVC > CCVV) in which the coda disappeared by the drop of the consonant at the end of the word (see *Figure 27*), while we also had a case where the non-existing coda became a non-branching one (CVV > CVC) by the addition of a consonant to the end of the word (see *Figure 28*). We had two schemes in which the Hungarian non-branching coda became two-way branching in Romanian (see *Figure 29*), CVC > CCVCC, CVVC > CVCC. Finally, the Hungarian two-way branching coda became three-way branching in Romanian (see *Figure 30*) – CVCC > CVCCC and CVCC > CCVCCC.

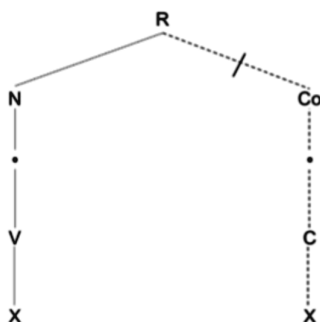


Figure 27. *Disappearing coda*

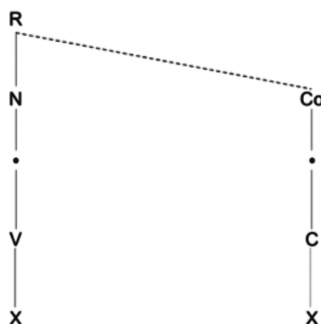


Figure 28. *Appearing coda*

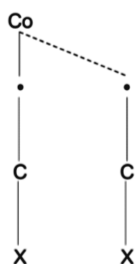


Figure 29. *Non-branching coda becomes two-way branching*

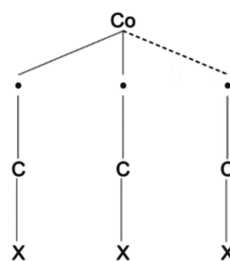


Figure 30. *Two-way branching coda becomes three-way branching*

As we could see, the monosyllabic Hungarian words borrowed by Romanian have suffered changes in their structure mostly in the nucleus – which in most of the cases transformed from a branching one into a non-branching one – and in the coda, which had several ways to change by addition or drop of a consonantal element. The next step of this research will be a similar analysis of the words that are formed of 2 syllables.

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Military Culture, Subtitling, and Branches of Service in *Band of Brothers*

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Abstract. The present article investigates subtitling issues in Hungarian and Romanian connected to the highly popular TV mini-series *Band of Brothers*. The introductory part offers a brief presentation of the importance of audiovisual translation and the challenge of fansubs to the detriment of professional translators, but we also offer definitions of *military culture* before analysing terms describing the branches of service (mostly) in the US Army.

Keywords: US Army branches, military culture, subtitle, quality, units

1. Introduction

The second half of the twentieth century saw an unprecedented technical revolution, which led – among others – to *globalization*, having an enormous impact on translation as well. Today we can talk about a fully-fledged *translation industry*, becoming extremely diversified. Most notably, we can mention the growing popularity of the entertainment industry, reaching all walks of life.

The movie industry may be the most visible part of the entertainment industry combined with translation, having millions of viewers in many languages, giving birth to the financially most rewarding subpart of translation, the *audiovisual* or *multimedia translation* (AVT or MMT). The emerging importance of audiovisual translation was already mentioned in 2003 by Díaz Cintas: “... few can deny that one of the branches that has received the greatest impetus is audiovisual translation” (2003: 192), being convinced that “audiovisual translation is in vogue and, thanks to its inherent links with technology and the omnipresence of audiovisual products in our societies, it appears to have a promising future” (2003: 203). Another source refers to AVT as *screen translation*, concluding that it has an “increasingly important role in the dissemination of popular culture

through the audiovisual media” (Kuhiwczak–Littau 2007: 120). We tend to believe that their hopes and findings are more than justified today.

While translators involved in AVT produce the translation of scripts, which is later adapted to dubbing purposes, *subtitlers* typically focus on transcript translations in the form of captions displayed at the bottom of the screen (we primarily think of Europe and the Americas, and “standard” subtitles).

However, an important change is that the emergence of AVT resulted in a rather blurred line between professional and amateur subtitlers as the relatively cheap and easily available hardware and software requirements to produce a subtitle drastically raised the number of subtitlers. Further facts to consider are listed below:

- we witness a real “boom” of TV series that (only) professional subtitlers cannot handle;
- amateurs fanatically wait for the possibility to download (without discussing the legal background) any TV series, and within 24 hours they upload their subtitles; hence we have loads of *fansubs*, for which viewers hardly ever complain as they are happy to watch their favourite series instantly (quantity over quality);
- viewers can rate the subtitles (usually on a 1–5 scale, where 5 is the best), and they can opt for the highest rated subtitle available for download;
- the ethical background of fansubs is of little importance due to various reasons: viewers take subtitles “as is” because they obtain it for free, the subtitlers are mostly “invisible” (cf. Venuti 2004), but the most important factor is that the legal status of translators and subtitlers is rather debatable, knowing that no certification is really needed in order to profess, or “virtually anyone can start certifying translators” (Pym, Grin, Sfreddo–Chan 2012: 4).

Although we have mentioned many setbacks that hinder quality subtitles, reality proves that there is a “natural selection” favouring those subtitles that are of better quality (cf. the rating possibility of fansubs).

In the following, we are investigating the Hungarian and Romanian subtitles of the highly successful TV series *Band of Brothers*.

1.1. Band of Brothers

The TV mini-series is highly successful, being among the top three (together with *Planet Earth* and *Planet Earth II*) on the Internet Movie Database rating list (as of 2018),¹ even surpassing the rating of *Game of Thrones*. This compels us to have high expectations regarding the translation or subtitle of the original English transcript. We watched the movie in English with English subtitle, and then we compared it with the Hungarian and Romanian subtitles, creating an

1 https://www.imdb.com/chart/toptv?ref_=tt_awd. Accessed on: 9 September 2018.

Excel database of almost 1,000 entries, which was later divided into categories, which are to be explained in the following.

An evergreen issue of translation studies is the debate over “untranslatable” terms, which are culture-specific words or expressions difficult to render in another language. One of the most comprehensible tables to include two major approaches belongs to Mujzer-Varga (2007: 64), who mention that authors looking for possible translations refer to them as *cultural words* (Newmark 1988) or *culture-bound terms/lexes* (Chesterman 1997, Katan 1999), while those who support the “untranslatable” aspect refer to them as *culturally untranslatable items* (Catford 1965: 99), *lexical/conceptual gap* (Katan 1999), *lacuna* (Vinay–Darbelnet 1995), *realia* (Klaudy 2003), or *non-equivalence at word level* (Baker 1992).

Without delving into the debate, we would like to mention a most comprehensive categorization of these cultural words created by Vlachov–Florin (1980) and available in English in Klaudy’s book (Klaudy 2003: 205–208), where there is a separate entry for *military realia*, including *military units, arms, uniforms, ranks, and assignments*. We tend to believe that active subtitlers should be acquainted with the specific terminology in the area they work, wherefore Vlachov and Florin’s categorization could be a possible starting point for those who consider themselves prepared for subtitling. More than that, certain bilingual dictionaries are needed – in our case, an English–Hungarian (*Angol–magyar katonai szótár* 1985) and an English–Romanian (Cojocaru 1976) dictionary seem to be relevant – to be completed with all sorts of reliable online sources (glossaries, databases, reference books, and the help of experts in particular areas) as well as a keen interest in the field.

We mentioned that Vlachov and Florin’s system is a good starting point and not a final list as it has certain drawbacks: it can never be full (new terms belonging to unmapped categories may constantly appear), certain categories are already missing (e.g. *history* or *IT*), and there are inevitable overlaps among existing categories. Last but not least, we can rearrange and further detail the categories. In fact, this is what we did during the collection of entries, creating the following preliminary categories as a possible mind map (*Figure 1*).

However, when focusing on any of the categories (Language, Culture, Army, Geography, History), we found out that they must be further detailed – to be discussed in the next section.

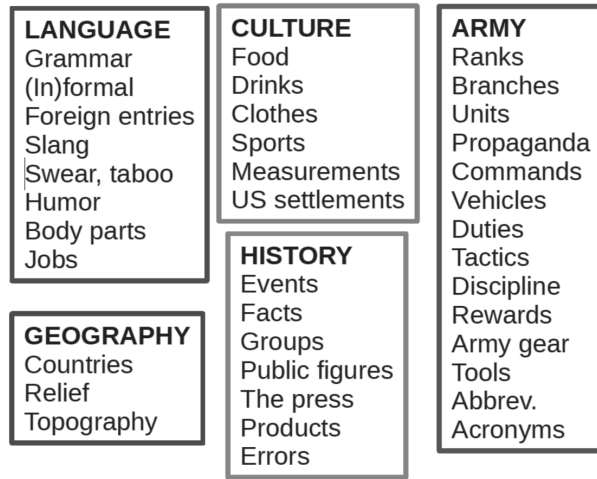


Figure 1. *Band of Brothers – preliminary mind map*

2. Military culture

Although it is hardly possible to offer a conclusive definition of *culture*, we believe that two definitions may help:

- “The distinctive customs, achievements, products, outlook, etc. of a society or group; the way of life of a society or group” (Trumble–Stevenson 2002: 575);
- “attitudes and behaviour characteristic of a particular social group”.²

Both definitions highlight the fact that culture is specific to a certain group; thus, it is worth approaching the army as a special social group, creating a particular *military culture*. Naturally, there are many definitions regarding military culture as well, and three of them are presented below:

- “Military culture represents the ethos and professional attributes, both in terms of experience and intellectual study, that contribute to a common core understanding of the nature of war within military organizations.” (Murray 1999: 27);
- “In the military we have our own language that isn’t understood by most civilians. Terminology, acronyms, processes for waging war...these all seem to be alien if not translated into civilian English.”³
- “BROTHERHOOD. That is what military culture means to me. It’s the deep feeling of brotherhood that is forged in the heat of battle”⁴ (SGT Ben Keen).

2 <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/culture>. Accessed on: 6 June 2018.

3 The definition belongs to a Master Sergeant, a non-commissioned officer in the US Army. At: <https://www.rallypoint.com/answers/what-is-military-culture>. Accessed on: 9 September 2018.

4 The explanation is available at: <https://www.rallypoint.com/answers/what-is-military-culture>. Accessed on: 9 September 2018.

While the first definition is a rather objective one, the last one is the closest to the atmosphere *Band of Brothers* was created in. Actually, one of the executive producers, Tom Hanks, stated that: “We’ve made history fit onto our screens. We had to condense down a vast number of characters, fold other people’s experiences into 10 or 15 people, ... I still think it is three or four times more accurate than most films like this” (Riding 2001).

At this stage, we presume that translators or subtitlers of wartime movies are familiar with this military culture and the specific terminology, which mostly has proper renderings in the target language, but it may happen that only pure borrowing is possible (cf. “untranslatable” or typically not translated item). As for the *Band of Brothers*, the subtitlers should know that the TV mini-series is based on Stephen Ambrose’s book (1992), which has been translated into many languages, which might help in the case of subtitles as well.

The book was translated into Hungarian by György Molnár in 2001 (Ambrose 2001) and the subtitle for the series by Miklós Vincze (SDI Media Hungary) in the same year, the year of the release of the series; so, they must have worked simultaneously but individually on their projects.⁵

The Romanian subtitle was carried out by Alexandru Gheorghia (SDI Media Group), probably in 2001, while – interestingly – the book was translated only in 2009 by Nicolae-Dan Cetină and published the following year (Ambrose 2010); so, the subtitler could not get any support from the book.

In the following, we will check the quality of the Hungarian and Romanian subtitles in various categories.

3. Categorizing terms in *Band of Brothers*

The collected military culture and specific terminology is connected to the struggles of the US Army to land in Europe and defeat the German Army. As the army is a special group of people with specific military culture, they are functionally organized and make use of a specific communication among them.

Functionally, we can distinguish various US Army branches (troops for land attacks, in the air, or at sea) with specific *equipment* (buildings, facilities, vehicles, gear, weapons) and using specific *tactics* to reach their objectives (offensive or defensive strategies).

As for their effective *communication*, armies are characterized by a closed system based on order and discipline, which is possible by an extensive ranking order (officers and soldiers), and the commands must be accepted without delay.

5 Although the subtitles do not specify his name, an interview reveals that he was chosen for the job by SDI Media Hungary: <http://www.magyarorszinkron.hu/?module=news&action=show&nid=167045>. Accessed on: 6 June 2018.

In case of success, these commands are often considered normal, but they are sometimes rewarded (cf. medals); however, it is more important that all members know that punishment is sure to come in cases of disobedience. Their primary aim is to gain dominance and defeat the enemy. Due to the constraints of the present article, we only deal with branches of service, mostly in the US Army, and compare them with their Hungarian and Romanian subtitles.

3.1. The army

The United States Army consists of five branches of service:⁶ the *Army* (often denotes the forces involved in land operations), the *Air Force*, the *Navy*, the *Marine Corps*, and the *Coast Guard*. However, they are further divided into smaller units, often based on the type of weapon or mode of action. A few translation samples are provided below:

1) *U.S. Army* (4 occurrences)

Hu. *USA hadserege*, **amerikai** csapatok, Egyesült Államok hadserege

Ro. *Armata Statelor Unite*, trupele **americane**

It is visible in both Hungarian and Romanian that – technically speaking – “American” may refer to two continents, the term (in bold) is borrowed and used for the United States of America.

2) *Airborne Infantry* (4 occurrences)

Hu. *légiszállítású hadosztály*

Ro. *infanterie aeropurtată*

3) *the Tank Corps* (1 occurrence)

Hu. *harckocsizók (páncélos hadosztály)*⁷

Ro. *tancuri (trupele blindate de tancuri)*⁸

Example 3 shows that the subdivision is translated in a substandard way, but subtitlers tend to choose shorter terms, whenever possible; the terms in brackets offer the standards renditions.

However, this does not mean that the subtitlers are not aware of the official terms as when the German division is mentioned we have:

4) **Panzer** division, the 10th **Panzer Grenadiers** (3 occurrences)

Hu. *SS páncélos hadosztály, tizedik páncergrenádír*⁹

Ro. *Diviziile Panzer SS, divizii de Panzere, Regimentul 10 Panzergrenadieren*

6 Cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uniformed_services_pay_grades_of_the_United_States. Accessed on: 6 June 2018.

7 The Hungarian term in brackets is taken from the English–Hungarian Military Dictionary (*Angol-magyar katonai szótár*, 1985).

8 The Romanian term in brackets is taken from the English–Romanian Military Dictionary (Cojocaru 1976).

9 Translation based on spelling, not found anywhere else.

The Army has special assignments (*runner, scout, sentry, shooter, sniper, translator*), all of which are translated correctly.

3.2. The air force

The United States Air Force also appears in the subtitles (the protagonists belong to the 101st Airborne Division):

5) *The Air Force* (1 occurrence)

Hu. *Légierő*

Ro. *aviație*

6) *the 101st Airborne (Division), Parachute* (21 + 3 occurrences)

Hu. *101-es légiszállítású hadosztály, ejtőernyős (alakulat), alakulat, légiszállítású alakulat, 101-es ejtőernyős ezred*

Ro. *Regimentul 101 Aeropurtate, parașutiști, parașutist, trupele aeropurtate, 101 Aeropurtate, Aeropurtatele, Infanteria Aeropurtată*

The affluence of both Hungarian and Romanian translations clearly shows that the term appears abundantly in the series; we counted 21 occurrences. The Hungarian term *ejtőernyő* stands for *parachute*. What is really troublesome refers to the terminology of army units (group, formation of people): the Hungarian *hadosztály* covers correctly the English *division* (typical number: 10,000–25,000), but *ezred* means *regiment*, a group of people much more reduced in number (1,000–5,500).¹⁰

The interesting difference between the Hungarian and Romanian subtitles is connected to the German Air Force:

7) *Luftwaffe* (2 occurrences)

Hu. *Luftwaffe*

Ro. *Aviația germană*

The example shows that the Hungarian subtitler preserved the original German term, while the Romanian subtitler offered an established equivalent. The subtitlers acted similarly in both cases when the term was used in the entire series (10 episodes, 9 hours 54 minutes).¹¹

Assignments in the Air Force are translated properly (*parachutist, paratrooper, paratroops*) even if the more precise term is reduced:

8) ... *you'll be certified paratroopers* (S1E01, 24: 11)

Hu. *mától hivatalosan is ejtőernyősök*

Ro. *veți deveni militari parașutiști*

10 Check, for instance: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Division_\(military\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Division_(military)). Accessed on: 6 June 2018.

11 Cf. <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0185906/>. Accessed on: 6 June 2018.

3.3. The Marine and the Navy

Although laymen may confuse them, translators or subtitlers should be aware of the differences. Let us take a look at the examples:

9) *the Navy* (2 occurrences)

Hu. *haditengerészet, hajók (haditengerészet)*

Ro. *Marina, la marina (forțele maritime)*

10) *the Marine, marines* (4 occurrences)

Hu. *haditengerészet, haditengerész (tengerészgyalogság)*

Ro. *Marina (Infanteria marină)*

The examples show that neither subtitler makes a clear difference between them, and the Hungarian and Romanian terms refer to the Navy only; the bracketed versions are standard dictionary translations. However, the situation becomes more complicated with the next term:

11) *Seaborne Infantry* (1 occurrence)

Hu. *tengeren szállított gyalogság*

Ro. *Infanteria marină*

This term is rather rare, and the Hungarian subtitle uses explicitation, in fact, describing the way how the US Infantry landed in Europe. The Romanian subtitler does not make a difference between the regular sailors and the infantry embarked for a specific purpose. A justified question is whether this is relevant in the storyline, as all in all only 7 terms were found. Yet, we tend to believe that the differences are important, not to mention that an incorrect translation may become an established equivalent.¹² The only assignment (*sailor*) mentioned regarding the Navy and the Marine Corps was translated properly (Hu. *haditengerész, tengerész*; Ro. *marinar*).

3.4. The US Army

The United States Army may also be referred to as *the military* (Hu. *hadsereg*; Ro. *armată*) without causing headache for translators or subtitlers, but the variety of assignments may cause some issues:

12) *Medic* (48 occurrences) – *They took doctors, medics, the whole shebang.*

Hu. *orvos, felcser, szanitéc, az orvosok – elvittek mindenkit. Az orvosokat, felcsereket.*

Ro. *medic, infirmier, sanitar – Au capturat tot personalul medical... Medici, infirmieri, tot personalul.*

12 While the term *Seaborne Infantry* was nowhere to be found translated into Romanian, the only instance from the subtitle (*Seaborne Infantry will hit these beaches at a specified date and time.*) was already included in an online database: <https://dictionary.reverso.net/english-romanian/Seaborne%20Infantry>. Accessed on: 9 September 2018.

13) *surgeon* (3 occurrences); *Kraut surgeon* (1 occurrence)

Hu. *sebész, orvos; fritz sebész*

Ro. *chirurg; chirurg neamț*

14) *brain surgeon* (2 occurrences);

Hu. *agysebész*

Ro. *neurochirurg*

The examples show that more terms are used in Hungarian and Romanian referring to the *medic*; *felcser* is the equivalent of *feldsher*, a person providing medical services in emergency situations (such as quick amputations), thus perfect in these circumstances; the Romanian *infirmier* denotes a male nurse. *Szanitéc* and *sanitar* denote a soldier offering first aid, treating the wounded. The movie even offers an extra explanation for *injuries* and *wounds*:

15) *Lot of you been injured?* – *It's called wounded. Injured is when you fall out of a tree.*

Hu. – *Nagyon sokan megsérültek? – Sebesülésnek hívják. A sérülés az, ha leesel egy fáról.*

Ro. – *Ați fost accidentați mulți dintre voi? – Se spune răniți. Accident e atunci când cazi din copac sau așa ceva.*

Other assignments caused no difficulty for the subtitlers (*MP, observer, radioman, volunteer*).

3.5. Groups within the units

The most troublesome terms belong to groups within units, in which case we need a preliminary table to have an idea how people are grouped for combat purposes,¹³ while the terms in bold show which terms are used in *Band of Brothers*:

Table 1. Typical army units and numbers

[numbers]	Typical units	Hungarian unit	Romanian unit
[2–4]	<i>fire team</i>	<i>~ csoport</i>	<i>grup de foc</i>
[8–14]	<i>squad/section</i>	<i>raj</i>	<i>grupă</i>
[15–45]	platoon / <i>troop</i>	<i>szakasz, osztag</i>	<i>pluton</i>
[80–150]		<i>század</i>	<i>companie</i>
	company	<i>üteg</i>	<i>baterie, artilerie (navală)</i>
	battery	<i>repülőszázad</i>	<i>escadrilă, escadră, escadron,</i>
	<i>squadron</i>		<i>companie, divizion, batalion, detașament, subunitate</i>

13 Cf.: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Division_\(military\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Division_(military)) (accessed on: 6 June 2018). Where more than one term is used, we relied on the English–Hungarian (*Angol–magyar katonai szótár* 1985) and English–Romanian Military Dictionaries (Cojocaru 1976).

[numbers] Typical units	Hungarian unit	Romanian unit
[300–800] battalion	<i>zászlóalj, osztály</i>	<i>batalion</i>
[1,000–5,500] regiment <i>brigade</i>	<i>ezred</i> <i>dandár, brigád,</i> <i>csoport</i>	<i>regiment</i> <i>brigadă</i>
[10,000–25,000] division	<i>hadosztály</i>	<i>divizie</i>
[30,000–50,000] <i>corps</i>	<i>hadtest</i>	<i>corp de armată</i>
[100,000–300,000] <i>army</i> <i>field army</i> <i>(army of the combined</i> <i>arms and services)</i>	<i>hadsereg</i> <i>tábori/</i> <i>összefegyvernemi</i> <i>hadsereg</i>	<i>armată</i> <i>armată (de arme întrunite)</i>
[2+ field armies] <i>army group/front</i>	<i>hadseregcsoport</i>	<i>grup de armate</i>
[4+ army groups] <i>region/theater</i>	<i>hadszintér</i>	<i>teatrul de operațiuni</i>

Now, let us check whether the subtitlers could render these units properly:

16) *squad* (14 occurrences)

Hu. *raj, csoport* ‘group’, *szakasz* ‘platoon’

Ro. *echipă* ‘team’, *pluton* ‘platoon, *băieți* ‘boys’, *oameni* ‘people’

Inconsistency is detected as both subtitlers use terms for a more sizeable group (*platoon*), and we consider it a problem that not once the proper term was used by the Romanian subtitler; instead, he favoured the improper *pluton* or words which are used outside the army as well, thus not considered specific terms.

17) *platoon* (77 occurrences)

Hu. *szakasz*

Ro. *pluton, batalion* (S1E06 17: 25)

Although there are 77 occurrences of *platoon*, it is rather shocking to find that it is rendered into Romanian as *battalion*, even if it appeared only once; while the subtitler committed a mistake out of inadvertence, this may result in loss of confidence regarding the quality of the subtitle. We should not forget that TV series are regularly followed by fans, some of which might become experts in the field, in this case, army formations. This might be one of the reasons why there are so many fansubs, as they might often have the feeling that subtitles should be improved. Further instances are presented below:

18) *company* (124 occurrences)

Hu. *század*

Ro. *companie*

19) *battery* (2 occurrences)

Hu. *tüzéreg*

Ro. *baterie*

20) *battalion* (46 occurrences)

Hu. *zászlóalj*, *hadosztály* ‘division’, *ezred* ‘regiment’

Ro. *batalion*

21) *regiment* (18 occurrences)

Hu. *ezred*, *zászlóalj* ‘battalion’, *odafent* ‘up there’

Ro. *regiment*

22) *division* (20 occurrences)

Hu. *hadosztály*, *zászlóalj* ‘battalion’

Ro. *divizie*

The examples display a rather colourful palette: the Romanian versions are far better, as both English and Romanian are Indo-European languages, and these terms often have the same root, while the Hungarian subtitle mixes *battalion*, *division*, and *regiment*, which does not favour a proper understanding of the action.

There are two more terms that should be mentioned: the generic *unit* and the very specific *stick* (special formation used for parachute units, usually 12 people in an airplane):

23) *unit* (9 occurrences)

Hu. *egység*, *alakulat* ‘formation’

Ro. *companie* ‘company’, *pluton* ‘platoon’

24) *stick(s)* (2 occurrences)

Hu. *szakasz* ‘platoon’, *repülőgépenként* ‘per airplane’

Ro. *grup(uri)* (‘groups’), *în avion* ‘in the airplane’

We can see that the generic term is interpreted differently in Hungarian (general terms, without knowing the estimated number of people) and in Romanian (*company* 80 ~ 150 people; *platoon* 15 ~ 45 people, which is a considerable difference).

We can observe that the greatest discrepancies have been found within this section as subtitlers often exchange terms denoting various groups within the units. The reasons may be manifold, among which we can mention the time constraint (subtitles represent the very last stage of movie production, not to mention cases when the movie has already been presented, and subtitles are needed at once) or lack of attention for repetitive terms. Nevertheless, those involved in military translations should pay special attention to various army formations, and summarizing tables about them are within reach.

4. Conclusions

The presented examples show that specific military terms regarding the branches of service, especially the groups within units, may be improved. However, this does not mean that the subtitlers did a poor job, having in mind that the entire

length of the series is about ten hours, and the presented mistranslations are rare, to be observed only in very isolated cases. Yet, professional translators should strive for a consistent terminology, at least by creating a separate Excel file with the specific terms, if not a term base compatible with translation software (e.g. *SDL Trados* or *memoQ*).

Proper reference material (bi- or multilingual dictionaries, glossaries, books on the topic) are indispensable as well as occasional expert advice. Moreover, professional translators and subtitlers should be aware of the fact whether prior similar work has been carried out and may be reused as far as terminology (cf. established equivalents) is involved. We are all prone to errors, so a pair of fresh eyes (proofreader) would be advisable, although we know that this is hardly the case of subtitles created in a rush.

Last but not least, the presented material is but the tip of the iceberg; only about 5.2% of the collected material has been examined (47 terms out of 957), and thus we are in no position to criticize the quality of the subtitles, except for a few remarks regarding possible improvement. A forthcoming article or articles must deal with further military terms (belonging to *army equipment, ranks, tactics, commands, rewards, and punishments*), dedicating a special investigation to the *abbreviations* and *acronyms* used in the army, which may be completed with a linguistic examination regarding language use (style, register, etc.).

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Military Terminology in the Subtitles of *Band of Brothers*

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Abstract. The present article investigates issues of military terminology in the Hungarian and Romanian subtitles of the highly popular TV mini-series *Band of Brothers*. The introductory part offers a brief presentation of terms, possible definitions, and their relevance for translators/subtitlers, and then – based on a possible mind map of military terms, including army units, equipment, ranks, commands, tactics, rewards, and punishments – we analyse samples belonging to army equipment and ranks (commanders) in the Hungarian and Romanian subtitles, arguing for the importance of reliable sources and consistency, which directly contribute to the quality of translations or subtitles. A special field of investigation may be represented by the specific military abbreviations and acronyms, which may offer an objective insight into the level of expertise of the translators/subtitlers.

Keywords: US Army, equipment, ranks, subtitle, mind map

1. Introduction to terms

A possible dividing line between professional or expert translators and amateurs may be the knowledge of specific terminology of one or more particular fields such as *law*, *medicine*, or *economy*.

While amateurs are usually keen on a very limited area, becoming fanatically experts regarding a particular issue (e.g. translating/subtitling scripts on how to assemble a high-quality audio system for personal use), they might not be able to pursue and extend their interest in the long run. Professionals, on the other hand, submerge in larger areas, have a keen interest in finding the best terms in the languages involved, also knowing the importance of creating specific term bases, which are constantly updated: new entries may be added, wrong ones deleted or modified, or new meanings added to old ones. This last remark leads us to certain

issues regarding terms, as we have to discuss the nature of terms, starting with possible definitions.

It is known that *lexicology* deals with words (general meaning) and *terminology* deals with terms (*terminus technicus*) having specific meaning(s) (cf. Sager 2001: 259). Thus, terminology is on the borderline of language studies, logics, ontology, informatics, and sciences (Pusztai 1980: 7, qtd in Kis 2005: 105), which means that terms are specific words or combinations of words (phrases) with particular meaning in a special context, or – in Bowker’s formulation – terms “are lexical items belonging to specialised subject fields” (2003: 49) and collecting them in a terminology-management system (TMS) has important benefits: speed, flexibility (frequent updates are necessary), quality, possibility to change the nature of the task, and shareability (cf. Bowker 2002: 86–88).

The quality of terms over common words starts from certain requirements and characteristics (cf. Heltai 2004: 28–29, Kis 2005: 106–107):

1. preciseness (meaning is only for a given concept, no overlap whatsoever is allowed with other terms), terms having a clearly defined meaning;
2. terms have only one meaning and have no synonyms;
3. explicitness (the concept must be clearly covered by the term), excluding polysemy;
4. terms are always used in the same sense (they are not context-bound);
5. terms are used only by a certain group of speakers belonging to a specialty;
6. the majority of terms are compound words or combinations of words.

On the negative scale:

7. the meaning of terms cannot be extended or reduced (cf. point 4);
8. terms are not characterized by connotation;
9. terms are not characterized by emotional meaning.

As theory and practice never fully match, terms may overlap, can have multiple meanings, and may have emotional content (Heltai 2004: 32). Since the advent of (semi-)automated translation, the importance of term bases has increased as they directly contribute to consistency (quality assurance), leading to a better quality, at least in theory. The basic idea of term banks or term bases is rather simple: having a predefined list of terms (usually in two languages) will result in both better and faster quality. However, we should consider that the automatic collection and filtering of terms (cf. huge online databases scanned by search engines) will also contain many wrong and foreign terms (especially of English origin), without having time for a systematic arrangement (cf. Kis 2004: 47). Yet, the online access to term banks “was one of the earliest envisaged CAT tools” (H. Somers 2003: 20).

As the number of term banks constantly grows, competing terms will inevitably appear, which is vital for subtitlers due to the specific requirements of subtitles (e.g. limited length of lines). In the case of competing terms – as Bowker suggests in

Baker and Saldanha (2009: 287) –, we should favour pragmatic reasons of selection such as *economy* (shorter term, easier to write and remember), *transparency* (more precise, less ambiguous), and *appropriateness* (more widely used).

When translators or subtitlers are faced with competing terms, it may happen that they use them arbitrarily, not being able to “hit the nail on the head” in case of parallel terms for a specific field. Gutt makes an interesting remark: “[a] technical translator has no right to create neologisms...whilst an advertiser or propaganda writer can use any linguistic resources he requires” (2000: 388). The likelihood for a translator or subtitler to choose an inadequate term is very high unless (s)he “owns” a proper term bank¹ or (s)he is a specialist in the field.

Consistency may prove how successful a term has become, and we have come across a very original definition of terminology relying on this idea: “terminology is everything that spoils the intelligibility of translation if translated inconsistently”² (B. Kis–Lengyel 2005: 56). Using this as a guideline, we should map the military terminology used while creating the transcripts of *Band of Brothers* and how consistently this was translated by the subtitlers into Hungarian and Romanian.

2. Mind mapping the terminology of *Band of Brothers*

As the TV mini-series is highly successful, being among the top three (together with *Planet Earth* and *Planet Earth II*) on the Internet Movie Database rating list (as of 2018),³ we tend to believe that a considerable number of Hungarian and Romanian viewers have seen the series subtitled in their native language. Moreover, knowing that both subtitles have been created on behalf of the *SDIMedia Group* (Hungarian subtitle by Miklós Vincze, Romanian subtitle by Alexandru Gheorghia), we have high expectations regarding the quality of subtitles.

After having watched the entire series, we started to collect entries for the term base in an Excel file, reaching to almost 1,000 terms, out of which 425 records may be connected to military terminology. Then we created categories, the starting point being Vlahov and Florin’s categorization of *military realia* (Vlahov–Florin 1980), the English version being available in Klauzy (2003: 205–208); they mention *military units*, *arms*, *uniforms*, *ranks*, and *assignments*. Their categorization, although focusing primarily on *culture-bound terms*, or *lexis* (cf.

1 A term bank may be created professionally (extracted while translating in computer-assisted translation tools (such as *SDL Trados* or *memoQ*), which is then saved separately for reuse (e.g. in .csv format) in another translation software or even to be opened with the help of Microsoft Office Excel.

2 In original Hungarian: “Terminológia mindaz, amelynek inkonzisztens fordítása a fordítás érthetőségét rontja” (author’s translation).

3 https://www.imdb.com/chart/toptv?ref_=tt_awd (accessed on: 9 September 2018).

Chesterman 1997, Katan 1999) – presented extensively in Mujzer-Varga (2007: 64) –, is visibly curtailed as they must have created it on the available examples.

We have extended their categories, including subcategories as well, which is nevertheless final, but for which we have examples too, knowing that no categorization may be finished as new terms are constantly created, not to mention the issue of overlapping categories or interdisciplinary fields (e.g. *military history*). Table 1 contains the possible mind map drafted from samples of *Band of Brothers*:

Table 1. Possible mind map of the US Army

THE UNITED STATES ARMY		
2. EQUIPMENT	1. BRANCHES OF SERVICE	3. RANKS
Buildings	Army	Soldiers
Vehicles	Air Force	NCOs
Gear	Marine Corps	Officers
Weapons	Navy	Commanders
Health	Units	
6. MILITARY TACTICS	5. EVALUATION OF COMMANDS	4. COMMANDS
Strategy	Rewards	Orders
Offensive	Punishments	Offensive
Defensive	Insubordination	Defensive
		Command taken
		“Permissive”

As we have already analysed translation/subtitling issues regarding US Army *branches* of service, revealing that military units (formed by groups of people: *battalion*, *platoon*, *squad*, etc.)⁴ are the most prone to be mistranslated, in the present article, we focus on *equipment* and *ranks*. Before highlighting mistranslated or misinterpreted terms, we mention that two bilingual dictionaries were of great help: an English–Hungarian (*Angol–magyar katonai szótár* 1985) and an English–Romanian (Cojocaru 1976) dictionary, corroborated and completed with a great number of reliable online sources (glossaries, databases, reference books) as well as an expert in pyrotechnics.⁵

4 (Imre, *in press*).

5 We would like to thank here the contribution of Balázs Rappert, an expert on pyrotechnics, for his valuable help regarding the types of firecrackers.

2.1. Equipment

Buildings or similar facilities are usually translated properly (e.g. *barracks*, *garrison*, *headquarters*, *mess kitchen*), even if there are plenty of them.⁶ However, a special attention should be dedicated to military abbreviations and acronyms, as they may be misleading; consider our example (the square brackets after the English example refer to the number of occurrences):

1) *OP* (*observation post/patrol, outpost*) [8]

Get that **OP** in! (S1E03, 39:19); I'm pulling the **OP** in. (S1E03, 39:36)

Hu. *Hozzák az **aknavetőt!** Aknavetők.* ('grenade launcher')

Ro. *Să vină **operatorul radio!** (‘radio operator’); Întrerup **legătura.*** ('connection')

However, later on (in episodes 6 and 8), the subtitlers translate *OP* correctly (Hu. *előretolt*; Ro. *punct de observație*).⁷

The next batch of military equipment we identified is *vehicles*. Clearly, both translators offered good solutions, often applying over-translation by adding an extra word to the vehicle names or types:

2) *C-47* [3]

Hu. *C 47-es **repülőgép*** 'airplane'

Ro. ***avionul** C47* 'airplane'⁸

3) *Tiger* [3]

Hu. ***Tigrisek.**; A fritzeknek voltak **tigriseik*** 'The Krauts had tigers.'

Ro. *Un tanc **nemțesc*** 'a German tank'; *3 **Tiger*** '3 Tiger'

Example 3 shows that the Hungarian subtitler considers the viewers are experts enough to realize that *Tigers* are German tanks; yet the brand name is not capitalized, and so the second sentence may be misleading. The Romanian subtitler uses explicitation, and then he only mentions the brand name.

The next group of terms belongs to *military gear*, such as *barrel*, *blanket*, *canteen*, *chute*, *footlocker*, *helmet*, etc., which were translated properly. Along with gear, the army also distributed at least five types of rations, among which *K rations* are mentioned in the series:

4) *K rations* [2]

Hu. *Ellátmány* 'supplies'

Ro. *Rații K*

What we miss from the translations is the fact that these are "individual 'assault' rations for paratroopers" (Hu. *egyéni 'harci' (élelmiszer)adag*; Ro. *rații*

6 E.g. Administrative Facilities, Ammunition Storage Facilities, Commissary Facilities, Correctional Facilities, Fortifications. At: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_building; accessed on: 6 June 2018.

7 Even if the English–Romanian dictionary specifies *punct de observare* (Cojocaru 1976: 392).

8 Although we can observe that the official name is C-47, the hyphen occasionally disappears in both the Hungarian and Romanian subtitles.

individuale de luptă), and even if subtitle lines are limited to a certain number of characters (usually around 35, but no more than 43),⁹ this could have been specified on its first occurrence.



Figure 1. *K rations, US Army, WW2*

5) *bullet(s)* [4]

Hu. *golyó, lövés*

Ro. sg. *glonte(le)*, pl. *gloanțe*

Although this is an easy and widely known term, the Romanian term (sg.) is a regional variant of the standard *glonț*, while *glonte* is either an archaic form or originates from the Moldavian part of Romania,¹⁰ offering a clue about the subtitler's background.



Figure 2. *German "Potato masher" WW2*

9 Cf. <http://www.kration.info/> – accessed on: 8 June 2018.

10 Cf. <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/glon%C8%9B> – accessed on: 8 June 2018.

6) *potato masher* [2]Hu. *aknavető; krumplinyomó*Ro. *jucării ‘toys’, s-a ars cu oala de cartofi ‘he got burned by the potato pot’*

This term refers to a German hand grenade (*Stielhandgranate 24, StHgr 24*), and so both the English and the Hungarian version use a slang term describing the looks of the famous weapon (*Fig. 2.*), while the Romanian subtitle offers misleading terms on both occurrences.

Example 7 below contains multiple terms, loosely related to weapons; they are in fact different versions of firecrackers mentioned by a soldier remembering his childhood:

7) *I loved to make my own firecrackers, cherry bombs, ladyfingers.*Hu. *Nagyon szerettem patronokat, fűrtösbombákat robbantani.*Ro. *Îmi plăcea să-mi fac singur rachetele și petardele.*

We are all familiar with *firecrackers*, while we should know that *cherry bomb* is a much more powerful firecracker than the standard one, and the name describes its shape.¹¹ On the other hand, *ladyfinger* is a small type of firecracker.¹² The Hungarian subtitle uses two terms instead of three, and *patronok* can substitute successfully (cf. character economy in the case of subtitles) both *firecrackers* and *ladyfingers*, obviously disregarding the difference in firepower. The Romanian *petarde*, similarly, may stand for both *firecrackers* and *ladyfingers*, leaving to check the case of *cherry bombs*.

Although it is easy to translate the term as the combination of two words (Hu. *cseresznye + bomba*; Ro. *cireaşă + bombă*), the meaning would be distorted because it is not a bomb but a firecracker, after all. Even if there are online sources to offer *cseresznyebomba* (Hu.) and *bombă cireaşă* (Ro.), these terms are misleading, and we would opt for *gömb-petárda* and *pocnitori*, respectively. The Hungarian *fűrtösbomba* is completely wrong as it stands for the *cluster bomb*, which is “designed to kill personnel and destroy vehicles”, while the effect of Romanian *rachete* ‘rocket’ or ‘missile’ is clear. Thus, neither subtitler is up to scratch regarding this term, knowing that the setting is the Fourth of July viewed through the eyes of a kid (S1E7, 32:18–32:27).

The last group within *equipment* is connected to *health*, even if few items are mentioned – *medical supply, stretcher, Syrette, aid kit, scissors* –, which represented no issues for the subtitlers.

11 <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/cherry-bomb> – accessed on: 6 June 2018.

12 <https://www.fireworksforever.com/products-page/firecracker/ladyfinger/> – accessed on: 6 June 2018. Also clarified with the pyrotechnics expert mentioned before.

2.2. Ranks and commanders

All regular armies are characterized by strict internal rules, which is possible as a well-established system is in function, called ‘chain of command’:

According to its proponent Henri Fayol (1841–1925), the more clear cut the chain of command, the more effective the decision making process and greater the efficiency. Military forces are an example of straight chain of command that extends in unbroken line from the top brass to ranks. Also called line of command.¹³

As the army is divided into smaller groups of people within branches of service, each smaller unit has a commander, as presented in *Table 2* below:¹⁴

Table 2. *Typical army units and commanders*

Units	English	Commander	
		Hungarian	Romanian
<i>region/theatre</i>	<i>Six-star rank Commander-in-chief</i>	<i>Hadseregek tábornoka Marsall</i>	<i>Mareșal</i>
<i>army group/front</i>	<i>Field Marshal Five-Star General</i>	<i>Hadseregtábornok Tábornagy</i>	<i>Feldmareșal</i>
<i>army field army</i>	<i>General</i>	<i>Vezérezredes</i>	<i>General de armată</i>
<i>corps</i>	<i>Lieutenant General</i>	<i>Altábornagy</i>	<i>General-locotenent</i>
<i>division</i>	<i>Major General</i>	<i>Vezérőrnagy</i>	<i>General-maior</i>
<i>regiment</i>	<i>Colonel Brigadier General</i>	<i>Ezredes Dandártábornok</i>	<i>Colonel General de brigadă</i>
<i>battalion</i>	<i>Lieutenant Colonel</i>	<i>Alezredes</i>	<i>Locotenent colonel</i>
<i>company battery squadron</i>	<i>Captain Major</i>	<i>Százados Őrnagy</i>	<i>Căpitan Maior</i>
<i>platoon/troop</i>	<i>First Lieutenant Second Lieutenant Lieutenant</i>	<i>Főhadnagy Hadnagy</i>	<i>Locotenent</i>
<i>squad/section</i>	<i>Staff Sergeant Sergeant Corporal</i>	<i>Főtörzsőrmester Törzsőrmester Szakaszezető</i>	<i>Sergent</i>
<i>fire team</i>	<i>Corporal Lance Corporal</i>	<i>Szakaszezető Tizedes</i>	<i>Caporal</i>

13 <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/chain-of-command.html> – accessed on 12 September 2018.

14 <https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rendfokozat> – accessed on: 6 June 2018; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Division_\(military\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Division_(military)) – accessed on: 6 June 2018.

The English transcript/subtitle contains 37 occurrences of *private* (pvt.) and 24 occurrences of *soldier*, all of which were translated correctly. The term of *non-commissioned officer* is also interpreted correctly:

8) *noncommissioned officer* (*noncom*, *non-com*, NCO) [12]

Hu. *tiszthelyettes*, *altiszt*

Ro. *subofițer*

While *corporal* (CPL) is rather rare (only 2 instances found), *sergeant* is very frequent, constituting almost 12% of all terms, without causing headache when translated:

9) *sergeant*, *sarge*, *Sgt.* [113]

Hu. *törzsőrmester*, *őrmester*, *Uram!* ‘Sir!’, *törzs* (abbrev.), *szakszi* (abbrev. + slang)

Ro. *sergent*, *sergent de pluton*, *sergent major*, *sergent de companie*, *dle sergent*, *serg* (abbrev.)

As for the officers, *Lieutenant*, *Lt.* (82) is the most used rank, *Captain* (*Capt.*) is the second most frequent (53), and then *Colonel* (*Col.*) has 39 instances, followed by *Major*, *Maj.* (21) and *General*, *Gen.* (17). All of them were translated correctly, which signals that this category is probably among the most popular military terms (cf. the abundance of documentaries, science-fiction movies, and TV series), but two terms should be discussed separately:

10) *lieutenant colonel* (S1E10, 54:38) [1]

Hu. *vezérezredes* ‘General’

Ro. *locotenent-colonel*

The example shows that Indo-European terminology is much different from Finno-Ugric, and the Hungarian subtitler offered a term that is 4 ranks higher in military hierarchy (cf. that a lieutenant colonel is in charge of a battalion, 300–800 people, paygrade O-5, while a general is in charge of a field army of 100,000–300,000 people, paygrade O-10).¹⁵ Even if the majority of viewers would not be bothered, this is troubling for connoisseurs.

11) *Looney* (S1E8, 14:21) [1]

Hu. *seb* ‘wound’

Ro. –

The term is a US military slang, and it refers to the rank of *lieutenant*.¹⁶ While the Romanian subtitler skips the translation of the entire sentence, the Hungarian subtitler completely misinterprets the term.

15 <https://www.federalpay.org/military/army/ranks> – accessed on: 12 September 2018; O-5 means \$64,012–108,752 per year (\$9,062 per month the most), while O-10 is \$15,583 per month on average, although pay grades for 2019 list higher values for both categories; available at: <https://www.militaryrates.com/military-pay-charts> – accessed on: 12 September 2018.

16 <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/looney> – accessed on: 8 June 2018.

Last but not least, we have collected terms of officers who are commanders “in charge”: we have in mind terms like *Captain*, *Commanding* (i.e. commander of a company) or *commander*, *ranking officer*, *mess officer*, *supply officer*, and *senior* (i.e. next in rank), which presented no difficulty to find proper terms for them in Hungarian or Romanian.

3. Conclusions

After skimming through part of the military terminology present in *Band of Brothers*, we refrain from offering long-range conclusions, but the Hungarian and Romanian military terminology may be improved, especially when slang (*Loeey*), abbreviation (*sarge*), acronym (*CP*, *HQ*, *OP*), or a culture-bound term is involved. The proper translation of these terms signals the expertise of the translator or subtitler.

We are aware that the most developed military terminology belongs to those nations and languages that are in the position of creating those terms (the USA, the Russian Federation, China, India, the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, or France), yet there are many high-quality resources available online to create a powerful bilingual term base for other languages as well.

Military terminology connected to army equipment, ranks, and commanders are to be found in the press, the media, or the entertainment industry, without forgetting valuable sources such as dictionaries, glossaries, or experts in the field.

The possible mind map we drafted not only mirrors our categorization of terms to facilitate the presentation, but it also describes an internal logic of the army: it is well-sectioned for practical reasons, and each unit must be functional with proper equipment, ranking officers, who – following the chain of command – give various commands following specific tactics, and they also evaluate their commands (cf. rewards or punishments). The low frequency of insubordination signals the efficiency of this internal military culture, but this is already the topic of a possible further article.

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Lexicalized Diminutives in the Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary

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Abstract. The analysis of nouns which take a *-ka* morpheme but their meaning has nothing to do with the idea of smallness, not even from a historical perspective, can be problematic, and that is why one is faced with the possibility that this formant (due to the influence of a foreign language) is simply a noun suffix and is in no connection with the diminutive – it is only its homonym.

The present paper deals with those entry words of the Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary which have a diminutive suffix in their structure; however, the meaning of the derivative does not include the element ‘small/little’.

Keywords: Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary, diminutive suffixes, lexicalized derivatives

The analysis of diminutive suffixes and the diminutive derivatives has been marginalized in the linguistic descriptions. There is a very low number of Hungarian scholarly writings on this subgroup of denominal nominalizing suffixes.

Diminutive suffixes form a special group of denominal nominalizing suffixes. Their primary role is not the creation of new words but the expression of semantic nuances, and that is why they cannot be considered typical suffixes. Their formation, their appearance is rooted in the attitudes of the speakers, in the linguistic ambition to avoid plainness in phrasing. The most important characteristic of diminution lies in its playfulness, which is why speakers of all times connect the available formants in all possible ways, continuously changing, enlarging the group of these suffixes (Szegfű 1991: 207).

That is the reason why diminutives are typically widely spread in all languages; however, their incidence and productivity varies from language to language. For example, there are quite few diminutives in English compared to other European languages (Spanish, Italian, Russian, etc.), whereas there are not

any diminutives in Swedish apart from a few lexicalized items.¹ On the other hand, languages differ in the complexity of the system of diminutives as well. Hungarian and German speakers have one or two suffixes to use (*-cska/-cske*, *-ka/-ke*; *-lein*, *-chen*), while in Russian diminutives form a very complex system – the speakers choose the proper suffix based on different semantic and pragmatic characteristics (Bronislava 1987, Dahl 2006: 594).

As the use of diminutives is usually characteristic to languages (no matter to what extent), there are certain theories which claim that their phonetic structure is similar in the various languages because there is an iconic relation between form and meaning.² This was the main hypothesis of a research conducted in 50 languages (see Bauer 1996: 189–206). The criteria of selecting different languages was that they should belong to different language families, meaning that they should be far away from each other from a genetic point of view. The researchers started from the assumption that close vowels and palatal consonants are in an iconic relation with diminutive morphemes because the narrow gap between the tongue and the palate symbolizes the smallness denoted by diminutives.³ However, the research conducted on 50 languages showed that no universals can be detected in this respect – it is characteristic of some languages and not characteristic of others, and any sound symbolism is language- and culture-specific, not universal.⁴

During the different periods of the history of the Hungarian language, the suffixes have suffered many changes. On the one hand, the phonetic structure of suffixes has been influenced by the tendencies that caused changes in the Hungarian sound system in the different periods of the history of the language. Another tendency caused the broadening of the semantics of suffixes, and thirdly the stock of suffixes of one historical period differs from another period in the appearance of some morphemes and the disappearance of others. As opposed to the many changes, the category of diminutive suffixes shows a relative stability: although throughout the historical periods there have appeared new elements for the expression of smallness, and so the stock itself got enlarged, their meaning

1 E.g.: *fossing* ‘little foot’ from the root *fot* (see Dahl 2006).

2 “The frequent occurrence of diminutives of ‘higher tonality, including high tones, high front vowels and fronted consonants’ (Juraffsky 1996: 534) suggests an iconic link between meaning and form” (qtd by Dahl 2006: 594).

3 “(...) the general idea is that close vowels and palatal consonants are iconic with relation to diminutives because the close approximation of the tongue with the roof of the mouth reflects the small size denoted by the diminutive” (Bauer 1996: 191).

4 “There does not appear to be any universal principle of sound symbolism operating in markers of the diminutive and augmentative such that palatal articulation correlates with diminutives and not with augmentatives (...) The preference for close front vowels and palatal consonants, to the extent that it captures any real generalisation at all, seems to be restricted to particular language families, including Indo-European (...) Any patterns of sound symbolism seem to be language- and culture-specific, not universal” (Bauer 1996: 202).

remained basically the same apart from some nuanced changes. Another interesting characteristic of this group of suffixes is that even ancient suffixes have survived in a few derivatives or in certain dialects. For example, the function of *-csa/-cse* has been reduced to the production of nicknames ever since the 13th century (e.g.: *Ancsa, Borcsa, Julcsa*), yet in the Hungarian dialect of Slavonia this was the most common diminutive in the first part of the 20th century (e.g.: *aprócsa* ‘very small’, *egércse* ‘small mouse’, *küszöbcse* ‘small threshold’), and it even appeared in adverbs (e.g.: *nagyszerűcsén* ‘very fine’) (Zsilinszky 2003: 181).

The various diminutives in Hungarian (*-cska/-cske, -ka/-ke, -d, -ikó*, etc.) are semantically and pragmatically identical (Kiefer 2004: 332). The difference in their productivity has, on the one hand, phonetic reasons, and, on the other, it is due to the natural changes occurring during the history of the language.

The appearance of lexemes containing diminutive suffixes cannot be predicted, yet it can be determined which are those speech situations that allow the use of diminutives (child-oriented speech situations, lovers’ talk, pet-oriented speech situations) (Kiefer 2004: 333). In these contexts, diminutives suggest tenderness, attachment, and love. So, the use of diminutives is governed and determined by the speech situation, in which the relationship between the speech partners has the decisive role (Kiefer 2004: 338) as the primary function of this suffix is to express the speaker’s emotions (joy, happiness, love, attachment). If a diminutive appears in an adult speech situation (e.g.: *borocska* ‘wineDIM’, *söröcske* ‘beerDIM’), it shows that the relation between the speech partners is intimate and informal. The diminutivized form of intellectual products, political or other organizations, professions, etc. suggests a pejorative use (e.g.: *újságocska* ‘newspaperDIM’, *reformocska* ‘reformDIM’, *pártocska* ‘political partyDIM’, *műsorocska* ‘TV showDIM’, *elnököcske* ‘presidentDIM’), while the positive attitude characteristic to speech situations favouring the use of diminutives is completely absent in this case (Kiefer 2004: 338–339). Even though the semantic element ‘little’ is present in these forms, this rather appears in the sense ‘unimportant, trivial’. So, in this case, the diminutive suffix does not suggest a reduction in size but a reduction in significance (Kiefer 2004: 339). The pejorative meaning can appear in adjectives as well in case the diminutive suffix is attached to an adjective with a negative meaning (e.g.: *butácska* ‘sillyDIM’, *ostobácska* ‘stupidDIM’). The speaker does not always assume the responsibility of naming the negative characteristic, and thus he turns to various mitigating strategies, one possibility of which being the use of diminutives (Kiefer 2004: 340). If the speaker is not sure in his/her partner’s reaction, he/she can make his/her own opinion vague enough with the use of diminutives (Beeching 2007: 74).

The analysis of nouns, which take a *-ka* morpheme but their meaning has nothing to do with the idea of smallness, not even from a historical perspective, can be problematic, and that is why one is faced with the possibility that this

formant (due to the influence of a foreign language) is simply a noun suffix and is in no connection with the diminutive – it is only its homonym. One example of this is the *-ka* morpheme in Russian, which in some derivatives is definitely a diminutive (*knižka* ‘booklet’), but the same morpheme can be the suffix of female nouns (*švedka* ‘Sweedish woman’). A similar function can be attributed in the Hungarian dialect of Slovakia (the Felvidék area) to the *-ka* ending in *doktorika* or to the noun suffix *sotka*, which means ‘in connection with the number one hundred’. Some examples of this in the *Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary*⁵ are the *magyarka*, *otthonka* derivatives (Zsemlyei 2011: 5).

In the THHD, the following lexicalized entry words with a diminutive suffix in their structure appear, but the meaning of the derivative does not contain the semantic element ‘small’:⁶

- ángyelika** 1. többszínű könyvkötő-papiros ‘multicoloured paper used in bookbinding’ 1750: a Tabellakot mind ujjolag kellett compingáltatnom Angelicába igen szépen [Ap. 3 Rétyi Antos Istvan lev.]; 1832: Fizettem Diariumok készelésire (!) Angyelikara [RLt O. 4 Rettegi Imre költségjegyz.].
2. ? angyalgökér/fű ‘a type of herb’; Angelica 1757: Postára orvosságra Angyelikára és egjéb edgyet másra Rfr 02 xr 4 [TL. Teleki Ádám költségnaplója].
- árpádka** magyar kiskabátfajta ‘Hungarian coat for men’ 1861: egy arpadkanak a készítése 4 f. 20 Sing [Kv; Kócsi lev.].
- balánka** fehérszőrű tehén ‘cow with white fur’ 1757: Egj Balánka bogár szarvu, futtosott 3 es(zten)dős^a [Pusztasztniklós TA; FRK.–^atehén].
- csontorka** kb. tő, gyökér ‘root’ 1584: Domini Senatores ... deliberarunt Miert hogy az eggik vallö.. sokzor hallotta azt Zabo Catotol, hogy eo rea az Anniarol marat volna halala vta(n) az Bozorkansagh es attol az Bozorkansagot meg tanolta, Mely vallasa tantum facit hogy Bozorkannak mongia magat, Ez vallasahoz penigh hogy eo ollia(n) zemely volna, illiendolgay accedálnak es ereossitik tudomaniarol valo vallasat hogy az fazakasnet meg feniegette hogy chontorkaiabol ky vagattia nyelwet addeg Ne(m) Niungzik [Kv; T]k IV/1. 222].
- fióka** 4. csűrifa (mellék/oldalcsűr) ‘side barn’ 1752: a Csűrös kertben is vagyon ... szalma fedel alatt lévő Csűr, mellyben tsépelhet egyszersmind tiz ember, az Fiokáib(an) pedig belé fer két száz kalangya [Pókafva AF; JHb XXV/73. 15].
- fogacska** hímzés minta ‘pattern for needlepoint’ 1714: Előkettő szélyén 3. rendbéli fogatskákkal ki varrott fl. Hung. 3 [Kv; REkLt II. Apafi Mihály hagy. 31].
- granumocska** szemcse ‘granule’ 1757: Kérdés támad ez iránt is: Ha az az vizek folyamatiban található Arany ott termetté, vagy Mineralis Hegyekből devolvalodat oda? ... az illyen Arany többire korpa forma lapasotska, mert az

5 Hereinafter : THHD

6 In case an entry word has multiple meanings, I only present the one which shows the lexicalized form.

hoszasas kövek közt valo devolutio es attritio által, az eredetekor gömbölyeg granumotska hogy meglaposadik opinione mea ac aliorum méltó a' hitelre [Zalatna AF; JHb. Borsai lev.].

húzóka fiókhúzó (fogantyú) 'handle of a drawer' 1849: két almárium ... 9.9. tojokáikkal,–mellyeknek közepén vasbol huzokájok van [Szentbenedek SzD; Ks 73/55].

járóka jární kezdő kisgyermek; járószek/szekér (kisgyermeket járásra szoktató alkalmatosság) 'playpen' 1823–1843: járóka 1. jární kezdett gyerkőc; 2. kereken járó gépkosár (így!) melybe ide-tova mozgatással tanol a gyermek jární [MNYTK 107. 23].

magyarka magyaros férfikabát 'coat for men in Hungarian style' 1823: Mártonfi Simon ... Jár világos vadgalamb szín mellértés Magyarkában [DLt nyomt. kl]; 1838: Egy fekete uj Magyarka, seprő-szín merino bélléssel; hozzávaló gömbkötő munkájú láljbli (!) [RLt O. 1 Mike Sándor ellopott tárgyai közt]; 1842: Egy magyarka ujra bérelve Rf xr 15 [Kv; Újf. 1]; 1850: Egy fekete magyarka virágos selyem bérléssel [Mv; DE 2]; 1862: Magyarka kék közönséges posztóbol [M.szilvás TA; HG]; 1870 k./1914: 1834-ben a főkonsistorium leirata szerint a hosszú magyar dolmány, a magyarka ismertetik el törvényes deák egyenruhának^a [MvÉrt. 50.–^aA mv-i ref. koll-ban].

Szk: *nyári* ~ 1866: nyári fekete magyarka rongyos bélléssel [Megyesfva MT; LLt].

mányika (bélelt) kesztyű 'padded gloves' 1699: Egy veress boitos barsony aszony embernek valo kesztyű vagy manyika tetszín pantlikak raita, az pantlikak vegein mind io féle gyöngy [Szárhegy Cs; LLt Fasc. 150]; 1732: Egy béllet must kesztyű vagy manika [Kv; Ks Kornis Zsigmond lelt. 15]; 1821: Vagyon egy Manyika 3. Rfl [Kvh; HSzjP]; 1829: Vagyon két mányika, 3 ujjas láljbi 30 flo. [Kvh; HSzjP].

merinó-magyarka merinó-posztó magyaros kabátka 'Hungarian baize coat' XIX. sz. eleje: Egy zöld Nyári mérino magyarka [EMLt].

otthonka háziruha 'housedress' XIX. sz. köz.: Küldök 14 Zsemet ... a Marika rozsaszín otthonkáját hozzá valo darabakkal [BLt 11 Cserei Róza férjéhez, Béli Alberthez]; 1859: M Ujfalvi Sándor Natsága Részére ... Egy Egy othonkát vásárolt 16 f [Kv; Újf. 1].

pesztonka 'babysitter' 1822: Szarvadi Ur ... mikor ötöt meg zabolázni kéntelenítetttem ... több izben meg vert; mellyet meg bizonyit az akkori Inassa, Kotsissa ... égy szolgáló, égy pesztonka [KLev. Gergelyfi Bénéiamin (28) kibédi ns vall.].

pintyőke pinty 'finch' 1766: Az új esztendő oly iszonyú hideggel köszöne be s oly hosszason tarta egész martiusig, hogy soha keményebb telet a mostani ember nem ért ... szememmel láttam a pintyőkét halva azon helyt, az hová hálni elült volt [Rette 195].

- posztómagyarka** posztóból készült magyaros kabátféle ‘Hungarian baize coat’ 1850/1851: Egy fekete poszto fél viseltes magyarka [Kv; EMLt].
- rabka** fonókerék ‘spinning-wheel’ 1820 ű: Egy len fono kerék vagy rabka kéz orsojával [Mv; MvLev.].
- szárika** kb. (posztó)guba, suba ‘a type of coat’ 1739: Szárikámot az nyakambol kivetvén, mondám az Öcsemnek, Lőjjed ... mert el kell vesznünk [Kézdisztlélek Hsz; HSzjP St. Hodor (49) pp vall.]; 1758: Egy szárika valora flor. Hung 1. den. 24 [Páké Hsz; HSzjP]; 1801: Georgie N. mint egy 20. esztendős ... sárga haju, az Oláh Országi modra fésülve ... egy kurta rongyos Olah bundát, s’ azon felyül egy uj, ugy nevezett zárikát ... viselvén [DLt nyomt. kl]; 1801: Szávu Popa mint egy 24. esztendős ... fekete szemü és haju, az Oláh Országi modra fésülve ... egy nagy Oláh bundát és azon felyül egy régi ugy nevezett zárikát viselvén [DLt nyomt. kl]; 1808: Felső Porumbáki ... Gyitza Pap János ... visel szörös Oláh bubot vagy szárikát [DLt 171 nyomt. kl]; 1811: hegyi Tolvajok ... vittének el ... Három ujj által vetöt ... Egy ujj szárikát ... Egy Puskát [DLt 629 nyomt. kl]; 1819: arobb panaszokbol világosságra jöven az, hogy egy uj szárika az eö kegyelme házánál tanálatott meg [Bereck Hsz; HSzjP]; 1826: a’ Nyakamba levő szárikámat ki huzta és el vitte [Lisznyó Hsz; HSzjP Karátson Gyurka (36) prov. vall.]; 1829: Tudom azt nyilván mivel szemeimmel láttam, hogy Hoszszu Péternek egy szárikáját el vette [Bodzaforduló Hsz; HSzjP Bulárka Thoma (40) vall.]; 1839: Majláth Jeremiás ... visel ... fekete zekét, vagy is sokszor csak szárikát [DLt 1355 nyomt. kl] Szk: *comközépig érő* ~ 1817: Egy Szilágyi modi fekete váslott Czomb középig érő szárika, vagy Gubába [DLt 70 nyomt. kl] * *szürke* ~ 1752: Edgy Szürke Szárika [Szászveszöd NK; JHb XXIII/27] * *viseltes* ~ 1803: Bochoday András ... öltözete vólt egy viseltes Szárika, egy viseltes fekete Bárány-börrel prémezett, és zöld posztóju Süveg [DLt nyomt. kl].
- szerviánka** rövid női kabát, ujjas ‘short women’s coat’ 1849: 12. sing kartont ... Egy Szerviánka ... égy fel duczet kés, és villa [Dés; DLt].
- tatárka** Fagopyrum tataricum ‘herb’ 1592: Tatarka chepelwe cb 7 1/4 [Kv; Szám. 5/XI. 15]; 1623: Moldouaboll az Neszter és Prwt melleöll, hauaselfeoldebeöll az Duna melleöll jgen jo fele eoregh zeöke disznokott vetessen 200 tenezteny valokot ... ha pedigh mak mikor sohont nem lenne thehat ollyankor tatarkauall zabbalis ketelen kj telettetny [BGU 121]; 1736: Tatarka nr. 1 [Mikefva KK; CU XIII/1. 173]; 1744: Meg veszett Tatárka 27 [Marossztkirály MT; Told. 18]; 1745: Haritska Met. 11. Tatárka fél véka [Marossztkirály MT; Told. 18]; 1756: Török Buza Met. 3. Tatárka Met. 2 1/2 [Piskinc H; JHb XXXV/35. 34]; 1763: Istennek hala, minden fele gabana Borso lentse tatárka len mag arpa alakar Zabotska Istennek hala minden vagyon [Kóród KK; Ks CII. 18 Szarka József tt kezével]; 1773: Ficzkó Legénykorunkban lattuk ... hogy ... Szabo Ferencz egyszer bé keritette vala azon meg nevezett pusztát Uraság számára és kukuruzát s Tatárkát vétettek beléje [Ádámos KK; JHb XIX/15]; 1774: Kölest, Arpát, Alakort, Tönkölt,

Tatárkát, és Haritskát ... nem szoktanak vetni [Szentdemeter U; LLt Vall. 14]; 1783: Teremiből ... A Tatárkát is el hozták ... a Tatárkát ezen Holnapnak vége felé léssen jó vetni, most nem bátorságos, gyenge Portéka lévén ... A Tatárka ... szapora Gabona, Sertések(ne)k igen jó, csak jó földben vessék [JHb Árkosi Ferenc Csáki Katalinhoz]; 1823: Tatarca, harisca, Tragum, gi, m. 2 [Borb. II. 446].

Most of the entry words can be grouped into well-defined notion categories.⁷ Most entry words (8) determine some kind of clothing: *árpádka*, *magyarka*, *mányika*, *merinó-magyarka*, *otthonka*, *posztómagyarka*, *szárika*, *szerviánka*. The following words refer to (parts of) plants/animals (5): *ángyelika*'s 2nd meaning (*angyalgyökér/fű* 'herb'), *balánka*, *csontorka*, *pintyőke*, *tatárka*. There are four entry words that denote objects of the house: *fióka*'s 4th meaning (oldalcsűr 'side barn'), *húzóka*, *járóka*, and *rabka*, while four other entry words cannot be grouped into any category: *ángyelika*'s 1st meaning (*többszínű könyvkötő-papiros* 'multicoloured paper used in bookbinding'), *fogacska*, *granumocska*, *pesztonka*.

Table 1. *Categories of the entry words of the THHD and their percentage*

Category	Number of entry words	%
Piece of clothing	8	38
(Part of a) plant/animal	5	23.8
Objects of the house	4	19
Others	4	19

Summary, future prospects

This short presentation proves that there were quite a few derivatives in the old Hungarian language used in Transylvania that had a diminutive suffix in their structure, even if they lacked the semantic element of 'little/small'.

It would be important to conduct a research as to which are the derivatives that were borrowed into the old Hungarian used in Transylvania as a result of Romanian influence (that could be the case of *balánka*), which were/are the derivatives that are present in all Hungarian dialects and which were only used in the Transylvanian dialects.

⁷ As the two meanings of the entry word *ángyelika* are grouped into two different notion categories, when determining the percentage, I dealt with 21 notions.

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