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Linguistic Mediation in the Digital Age

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Abstract. Technological advances have had an impact not only on the translation but also on the interpretation market. Furthermore, with the advent and widespread use of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the field of language mediation, the professions traditionally called “translation” and “interpreting” have been transformed by the digital revolution. In times of upheaval, profound changes can be felt in the market, the working environment, the conditions and processes as well as in the way language mediators work, the tasks they carry out, and the roles they play in the translation process. In the present article, we shall focus on these major changes and highlight the latest developments first in the field of translation and then in interpreting.

Keywords: linguistic mediation, language industry, Neural Machine Translation (NMT), HAT, AI interpreting

1. Introduction: Linguistic mediation, transcultural communication, and the digital age

Linguistic mediation is the generic term encompassing different types of content transfer from the source language to the target language. Traditionally, the field is divided into translation and interpreting, that is, written and oral linguistic mediation. However, there are “hybrid modes” as well (Felekné Csizmazia 2014, Horváth 2013, Parkin 2010) such as sight translation consisting in transferring a written text into its oral target-language equivalent. Sign language interpreting can also be considered as a “bimodal” mode of interpreting (Corina–Vaid, 1994). Technological advances have had an impact not only on the translation but also on the interpretation market (Horváth 2016). Furthermore, with the advent and widespread use of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the field of language mediation, new professions are emerging such as respeaking

in audiovisual translation (Szarkowska–Krejtz–Dutka–Pilipczuk 2018) or pre-editing and post-editing of machine-translated texts (Varga 2016).

Intercultural communication became a topical issue in the 1980s and 1990s due to the developments of what we call the global village (Samovar–Porter 1997). At the same time, translation and interpretation theorists began to define translation and interpreting as mediation between cultures, as a form of intercultural communication (Bassnett 1991, Katan 2000). This implies that linguistic mediation can be seen not only as a process of understanding languages but also understanding cultural frames and involving cross-cultural transfer. As a more recent development in the digital age, the term interculturality is being replaced by transculturalism since intercultural thinking implies clear borders between one’s own culture and foreign cultures. Thus, the term transcultural communication is more applicable to modern translation studies and the description of modern linguistic mediation (Schippel 2012, Hepp 2015).

The present time is often labelled as the “digital age”. According to the Cambridge English Dictionary, it is the time “when most information is in the digital form”.¹ It is characterized by the fact that the use of digital technology is prevalent in all walks of life, and the spread of ICTs has radically changed the way we work, live, spend our free time, or communicate. Their impact is felt in very different areas of professional activity such as medicine, teaching and learning, farming, or business.

Globalization and the ubiquitous nature of ICTs, digital content, and information have resulted in the fact that our world has become interconnected. Furthermore, digital interaction is by now mostly cloud-based. In his seminal work *Translation in the Digital Age*, Cronin (2013) suggests that the digital age has resulted in a shift from an “information society” towards an “interaction society”, and that the digital age is becoming an interaction age.

Linguistic mediation has been impacted to a great extent by the above-mentioned changes. The professions traditionally called “translation” and “interpreting” have been transformed by the digital revolution. In times of upheaval, profound changes can be felt in the market, the working environment, the conditions and processes as well as in the way language mediators work, the tasks they carry out, and the roles they play in the translation process. In what follows, we shall focus on these major changes and highlight the latest developments first in the field of translation and then in interpreting.

1 <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/digital-age>

2. The language industry

One of the consequences is the emergence of a global language industry. The LIND (Language Industry) Expert Group, whose task consists in providing the Directorate-General for Translation of the European Commission with expertise on the translation industry, defined the language industry as the professionals working in translation, interpreting, subtitling and dubbing, localization, language technology tools development, international conference organization, language teaching, and linguistic consultancy.²

Language “industry” implies a certain size. *The Size of the Language Industry in the EU* published in 2009 estimated that the size of the whole language industry in the EU Member States was worth 8.4 billion EUR in 2008. This figure includes translation, interpreting, software localization and website globalization, language technology tool development, language teaching, language consultancy, organizing international conferences with multilingual requirements. The value of the translation and interpreting sector including software localization and website globalization was estimated to be worth 5.7 billion EUR in 2008.

The same study proposed an annual compound growth rate of 10%, resulting in an estimated value of the language industry of 16.65 billion EUR in 2015. A more recent study, the *2019 Language Industry Survey* states that in the EU:

[c]ompanies (and to a lesser extent independent professionals) continue to see a growth of the global translation activity and expect this trend to even slightly increase. 69% of the responding companies expect a further increase in activity, against only 5% a decrease. This further improvement compared to 2017 and 2018 is clearly fuelled by the uninterrupted industry growth that companies have been reporting since 2014.

As for the size of the global language industry, one of the best-known surveys is the *Annual Review of the Services and Technology Industry That Supports Translation, Localization, and Interpreting* published by CSA Research. The 2018 Language Services Market Review reports a 46.52 billion USD market and forecasts further growth, making the estimated value of the market worth 56.18 billion USD in 2021. Conin (2013) also states that the “demand for translation keeps growing apace in the contemporary world” (Conin 2013: 10). Thus, we can conclude that estimates concerning the current and future size of our industry are quite positive.

In addition to size, the term “industry” also implies a certain character and structure. Language industry and translation/interpreting have become globalized language services, where the proximity of the service provider to the client is no

² https://ec.europa.eu/info/departments/translation/language-industry-platform-lind_en

longer a requirement – one of the achievements of our age. Modern translators often work on online projects in teams fulfilling different roles/tasks (translators, terminologists, revisers, etc.). Their teamwork is based on cooperation requiring highly developed interpersonal skills. They share the so-called product of the tasks they have been assigned and thus contribute to the final success of the project.

The fact that translation projects are very often organized as teamwork puts intellectual property and copyright of technical translations, one of the oldest and most controversial legal issues concerning translators, into a new light. The principles of intellectual property protection were laid down by the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, signed as early as in 1886.³ Although it considers translations as creative works (Esteves 2005) and as such ensures intellectual protection for translated works (see also *Translation and Intellectual Property Rights. Final report – Study 2014*), even translators of literary works find it difficult to enforce their rights (Esteves 2005). In the case of texts translated in projects based on teamwork, where the final product is the result of shared work and several revised versions, the copyright and intellectual property issue seems to lose its relevance.

Growing demand on the translation services market has resulted not only in the necessity of producing translations in teamwork but also in the fact that these translations increasingly have to be completed very fast. This has become possible by the technological advances we have seen with the advent of new technologies such as translation software and terminological databases (see below). Another requirement is the excellent quality of service, a top priority for clients, followed by the quality of deliverables in the third place (2019 Language Industry Survey). The term “deliverables” brings us to “commodification”, a relatively new phenomenon on the translation services market. In this sense, with the exception of maybe literary and film translation, translation is not considered as an intellectual activity, but rather translations become industrial products to be sold on a market, where profit maximization and price pressures are frequent. In fact, the 2019 Language Industry Survey found that “all respondent types [companies, independent professionals, translation department and training institutes] see price pressure as the main negative trend”.

3. From CAT to HAT

Translators in the digital age have less and less time to carry out high-quality work and produce translations of an ever-increasing amount of texts. They are able to fulfil these seemingly contradictory requirements because of the technological development and globalization: not only can they share work and distribute

3 https://www.wipo.int/treaties/en/text.jsp?file_id=283698

tasks in cloud-based online teams but also various IT tools have been created to this end. The term CAT, i.e. computer-assisted translation appeared in the 1990s with the spread of personal computers and the advent of the Internet, marking a watershed in the working environment of the translator, who had used pens, paper-based dictionaries as work tools and went to libraries or saw specialists if they needed terminological help. Back then, CAT tools basically meant their PC and the word processing software they were using. Since then, CAT has become a broader term and covers every tool that helps the work of translators (Zetzsche 2008 in Ábrányi 2016). These include terminology management tools, corpus analysis tools but also text editors and spell checkers, online or offline dictionaries, glossaries, reference materials, grammatical aids, parallel texts, OCR (optical character recognition) or DTP (desktop publishing) programs as well as tools for project management and administration (as argued in Bowker 2002, Craciunescu et al. 2004 in Ábrányi 2016).

A smaller segment of CAT tools is called translation environment tools (TEtT), which “integrate important features, such as translation memory, a terminology tool, an alignment tool, or an analysis tool” (Ábrányi 2016: 167). These tools not only ensure higher productivity but they “allow for a higher level of consistency with regard to terminology and style” (Ábrányi 1916: 175), thus improving quality.

One of the most recent changes in our profession consists in the shift from CAT, when computers helped humans, to HAT, human-assisted translation, where humans help computers with automated machine translation (MT). MT is not a new phenomenon; it has been around for over 50 years now. It has known three development stages: rule-based, statistical, and neural machine translation (NMT). The novelty resides in the fact that NMT seems to have brought about a breakthrough and produces much higher quality translations than before. The underlying technologies include big data and artificial intelligence (AI). This evolution is reflected by the sophistication of MT at the European Commission’s Directorate General for Translation, where the three main periods are the following: (1) EC Systran/ECMT from ca. 1976 to 2010; (2) MT@EC from 2013 to 2018; (3) eTranslate from 2018 (Rummel 2019).

The spread of automated translation systems is fuelled by the growing demand on the translation market (Mileto 2011, Taravella–Villeneuve 2013, 2018 Language Services Market Review, 2019 Language Industry Survey), which cannot be satisfied by humans for lack of translation specialists (Taravella–Villeneuve, 2013). At the same time, translator training programmes are encouraged to incorporate/integrate MT into their curricula by the new competence framework elaborated by the EMT (European Masters in Translation). Their aim is “to consolidate and enhance the employability of graduates of master’s degrees in translation throughout Europe”, placing special emphasis on MT and automated translation-related skills and competences such as pre-editing and post-editing,

as well as mastering the basics of MT and its impact on the translation process and assessing the relevance of MT systems in a translation workflow and implement the appropriate MT system where relevant (EMT Competence Framework – 2017). It is a significant change compared to the 2009 version drafted by the EMT Expert Group, when translation students were required merely to “know the possibilities and limits of MT” (Gambier et al. 2009).

4. New tasks and roles

All this transformation enabled by technological development has led to the appearance of new tasks and roles to be fulfilled by linguistic mediators, nowadays called LSPs (Language Service Providers). This term has in fact given rise to some confusion because it is interchangeably used to refer to individual professionals and companies. However, it underlines the fact that translators and interpreters “are no longer just expected to mediate between languages in written or spoken form. [They] must offer a complex set of services” (Horváth 2016: 13).

LSPs are very often required to carry out various tasks in addition to translation and act as terminologists, revisers, language consultants, localizers, pre-editors, or post-editors. Furthermore, new professions have appeared on the market such as translation project manager, vendor manager, language engineer, or translation DTP (Desktop Publishing) specialist (Horváth 2016c).

5. New technologies in interpreting

So far, we have predominantly focused on translation-related developments. In what follows, we shall discuss the changes specific to interpreting, which have occurred with the advent of new information and communication technologies gaining ground on the interpretation market. First, interpreters use a wide range of technological devices when preparing for an assignment. In addition, the expression “digital booth” is used more and more often. It refers to the fact that portable electronic devices (laptops, tablets, iPads, etc.) have become indispensable working tools, facilitating the interpreter’s performance. Such devices are used not only prior to the conference but also during the interpreting process in order to follow the slideshows of the speeches received in advance or acquired on the spot or even to look up terms and expressions they hear that are not readily available to them in the activated part of their mental lexicon in real time (Horváth 2016b: 184).

Such technological advances as remote and computer-assisted interpreting (CAI) as well as automated machine interpreting have been gaining ground on the

international interpreting market. Remote interpreting (RI) refers to the situation when the interpreter is not in the same room as the speaker and the participants of the interpreted event (Braun 2015, Moser-Mercer 2005, Mourourakis 2010). There are different types of remote interpreting, including telephone- or video-conference-mediated events. This technology together with those available in the digital booth are defined by Fantinuoli as “setting-oriented technologies”, i.e. “ICT tools and software surrounding the interpreting process” (Fantinuoli 2017a: 156).

CAI is a more recent development, which is gaining momentum on the interpretation market. In Fantinuoli’s classification, CAI tools are process-oriented technologies comprising “terminology management systems, knowledge extraction software, corpus analysis tools and the like”. What makes them process-oriented is the fact that “they are designed to support the interpreter during the different sub-processes of interpreting, and consequently, in the various phases of assignment [...] independently of the modality” (Fantinuoli 2017a: 156). In addition, various tools, such as interpreter-specific glossary management systems,⁴ have been developed lately (Costa et al. 2014, Fantinuoli 2017b). These aim at facilitating terminology work during interpreting by showing keywords in the source and target languages as well as names and figures. They are still not used very widely by interpreters (Riccardi et al. 2019), and whether or not they mean too big additional cognitive burden for the conference interpreter remains to be researched (as argued in Gile 2009).

Following the trend of Neural Machine Translation, the latest development is that high tech companies have been trying to create the AI (artificial intelligence) interpreter using Big Data – so far, with little success.⁵ Although fully automated machine interpreting has not been achieved yet, there are various consecutive and simultaneous machine interpreting devices which aim at bridging the language gap between speakers of different languages. These tools “have been developed for a limited number of specific communication situations. They are used to interpret the most frequent pre-recorded phrases, questions between different languages in well-defined contexts such as travel, humanitarian missions, medical care, wars” (Horváth 2016b: 187).

4 Riccardi et al. (2019) have collected the following examples of such software: InterpretBank (<http://www.interpretbank.com/>); Intragloss (<http://intragloss.com/>); Interplex (<http://www.fourwillows.com/interplex.html>); LookUp (<http://www.lookup-web.de/>); Terminus (<http://www.wintringham.ch/cgi/ayawp.pl/t/terminus>); Interpreter’s help (<https://interpretershelp.com/>).

5 *AI Interpreter Fail at China Summit Sparks Debate about Future of Profession*. <https://slator.com/features/ai-interpreter-fail-at-china-summit-sparks-debate-about-future-of-profession/>.

6. Summary

Technological advances and new ICTs have impacted on translation and interpreting, and they are gaining ground in the language industry in general as well as on the translation market. New technology-driven inventions and tools appear regularly in our working environment. The ultimate aim of most developers seems to be to reach a level where fully automated translation and interpreting becomes possible.

Technological development has been experienced on the translation market earlier and to a greater extent than on the interpretation market. One reason for this might lie in the fact that the translation market is bigger and wider, which means that there is more demand for human-made and automatically generated translations as well. Another reason is that the automation of interpretation must take into account a number of real-time variables too, which do not appear during translation. An interpreted speech is delivered in real time, and interpreters are required to work in an “online” mode and produce the target-language speech instantly. This means that it is not possible to re-edit before or post-edit after an utterance.

As for the use of CAI tools, such as terminology management software during the interpretation process, interpreters seem to be reluctant to embrace them. One reason might be that their interpreting training had focused on the communicational and cognitive aspects of professional interpreting and prepared interpreters to use their own resources during assignments. Nevertheless, some modern interpreter training curricula do include some training on new technologies (Riccardi et al. 2019, EMCI Core Curriculum). Another reason is the fact that the cognitive burden on interpreters during interpreting, independently from the modalities, is heavy enough. Using a terminology management software in the digital booth would mean an additional “effort” (as argued in Gile 2009), which interpreters are not used to and trained for.

In conclusion, although technological developments have transformed our whole world and several industries, there are still jobs where humans will be needed in the future. These will be jobs which require some specific and unique skills. Among the ten vital skills of future workers enumerated by Marr (2019) are creativity, emotional intelligence, analytical (critical) thinking, judgement and decision making, interpersonal communication skills, diversity, and cultural intelligence. The good news for our profession is that there are certain types of translation, such as literary or film translation, as well as certain types of interpreting, such as community, court, and conference interpreting, which require a great amount of these skills from language professionals and which cannot be found in machines yet.

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A Corpus of Hebrew-Language Gratulatory Poems by 17th-Century Hungarian Peregrine Students: Introducing the Hebrew Carmina Gratulatoria (HCG) Corpus and Its Research Potentials

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Abstract. This paper discusses a corpus of so-called carmina gratulatoria, or gratulatory poems, composed by 17th-century Hungarian peregrines in Hebrew. The paper argues that this understudied type of text offers a valuable resource for a wide range of fields due to the sociohistorical, cultural, and linguistic information the texts contain.

Keywords: historical sociopragmatics, peregrination, corpus linguistics, Hungarian language and history, carmina gratulatoria

1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it introduces a corpus of Hebrew-language *carmina gratulatoria*, or gratulatory poems, by 17th-century Hungarian students who peregrinated primarily to the Low Countries and Germany, and, secondly, it outlines the possible ways in which such a corpus could be of use for interdisciplinary research. As carmina gratulatoria represent a community-oriented genre, they offer a wealth of information about the sociocultural setting of their creation. Furthermore, since Hebrew-language carmina gratulatoria practically form – not just in Hungarian peregrination research – a “terra incognita” (Zsengellér 2012: 344), a corpus such as this can have versatile applications for various lines of research.

Carmina gratulatoria are poems marking special occasions, most frequently accompanying dissertations. In this case, the poems were composed by the peers of the respondents, serving the dual purpose of praising both the skills of the author of the dissertation and showcasing those of the author of the poems. While

the poems can address and relate to the topic of the dissertations, they display diverse topics, representing both Biblical quotes and original material as well.

Even though the peregrination of Hungarian students is a well-researched topic within Hungarian studies (see Szögi 1994.), Hebrew-language poems have curiously remained underutilized, owing largely to a sense of exoticism which Hebrew retained to this day. While Latin and Greek *carmina gratulatoria* are well known from the period, as these languages were commonly taught and used, Hebrew remained more specialized and less accessible for both 17th-century and modern-day scholars.

The poems can be used as a source of information in two ways: (1) through the explorations of the network of scholars mapped out by the connections between the authors and addressees of the poems and (2) through the linguistic content of the poems. By connecting the social and the historical, the cultural and the linguistic, the individual and the community-wide, the information encoded in the texts and their *Sitz im Leben*, this corpus of Hebrew-language *carmina gratulatoria* could offer an additional source of information for Hungarian historical sociopragmatics and cultural studies and also for interdisciplinary approaches to peregrination.

The international study of peregrination can also benefit from better understanding this chapter of Hungarian peregrination in the Low Countries in the early modern era. After all, the scale of Hungarian peregrination was significant.

In Hungary, the case is one of “*Peregrinatio continua*” of Hungarian students to Southern, Western, and Eastern Europe. Before the Reformation, more went to the South (Italy) and to the East (Poland, Krakow); after the Reformation, more headed to Western Europe (Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, England) [...] to Dutch universities (Leyden, Utrecht, Groningen, Harderwijk, Amsterdam), but especially in Franeker [...] the total number of Hungarian students is circa 3,000, and 1,200 of them studied at Franeker [between 1585 and 1811]. (Forró 1980: 1197; translated by the author)

The volume of peregrination is well illustrated by the quote above, and it can be described as an “impressive figure” (Ijsewijn 2017: 4). Nevertheless, it could have been even larger since these numbers are based on official student registers such as the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis* (see Postma 1998: 113). These lists only name students who were officially enrolled at particular universities, while visiting students not enrolled are absent from them. Therefore, documents such as *carmina gratulatoria* could be potentially used to draw a more complete picture of peregrination.

For some Hungarians, studying abroad could have been the only way to access higher education due to the persecution of Protestants and the dominance of Catholic universities in Hungary. Hungarian peregrination in the 17th century gravitated mainly towards the Low Countries as the Thirty Years War diverted students from Germany and also because Dutch universities had a reputation of religious tolerance (Csorba 2010: 256–261). However, the intellectual and cultural links between the Low Countries and Hungary predate the fallout of the political upheaval of the 17th century, having previously crystallized around significant humanist figures (Bitskey 2010: 45). Nevertheless, it is not irrelevant that, similarly to the Low Countries, Calvinism became the main creed of Protestantism in Hungary as well, where the only permanent university – in Nagyszombat – was Catholic.

In the following, this paper introduces the genre of *carmina gratulatoria*, a newly compiled corpus of Hebrew *carmina gratulatoria* and, finally, outlines its research potentials as articulated by the research project centred around the compilation and examination of the HCG corpus (see Götz et al. 2018), which mainly revolve around the historical, literary, cultural, and sociolinguistic potentials of the corpus.

2. The genre of *carmina gratulatoria*

Carmina gratulatoria are gratulatory poems written for special occasions. We find such poems predominantly composed for disputation ceremonies. In this case, they are written by the peers of the *defendens*, i.e. the graduating student, read out at the *disputatio*, i.e. viva, or thesis defence. While the *opponentes*, arguing against the thesis, and the *praeses* – or promoter, who served as a kind of referee – had to strike a neutral and objective tone, these poems themselves praised the *defendens*, not having formed part of the academic proceedings proper.

The poems in the HCG corpus show tremendous diversity when it comes to their formal properties and content. However, there are certain literary devices which appear frequently, one of which is dedication. Example (1) is from a *carmen* written by Pál Diószegi Kalmár,¹ addressing Mihály G. Báthori² (ירוחב לאכימ) ‘*myk’l btwry*’) from the year 1653, celebrating Báthori’s dissertation on the topic of ethics (*Disputationum Ethicarum De Religionis Oppositis & Pietate*), submitted to the university of Leiden. The *defendens* is named in the text:

1 Pál Diószegi Kalmár (1628/1629–1663): Protestant pastor, studied at length at the university of Leiden, presenting disputations under the chairmanship of Johannes Coccejus as well (Bozzay 2009).

2 Mihály Báthori G. (1631–1669): Protestant pastor. After his domestic studies, he studied in Utrecht and Leiden thanks to the patronage of Count Ferenc Rhédey (Borsa et al. 2012: 496). In Leiden, he defended his theology thesis under the chairmanship of Johannes Coccejus in 1653 (Bozzay 2009).

- (1) ירוחב לאכימ יערל מכה שיאל
 Báthori Mihály to my friend wise to man
 ‘To a wise man, to my friend, Mihály Báthori’ (RMK III. 1840)

Themes of humanist friendship so prevalent in Latin and Greek publications (see Móré 2015) can be found in these Hebrew-language carmina as well. Characterizing the *defendens* as a man of virtue, wisdom, and scholarship is a very frequent cliché, as seen in (1). *Invocations*, as shown in (2), asking for the *defendens* to be blessed with intelligence, are equally common.

- (2) המרע לא ותי יערל
 shrewdness god shall give to my friend
 ‘My god give my friend shrewdness’ (RMK III. 1844)

Biblical quotations emphasizing the importance of learning and wisdom are similarly present, linking elements of carmina gratulatoria. In fact, many poems can be considered compilations of Biblical passages, modified to fit the context of carmina gratulatoria.

- (3) רביא לפנב תאז חמשת לא
 your enemy when falling this not rejoice
 רבל לגי אל ולשכבו
 your heart not rejoice when his falling
 ‘Do not rejoice if your enemy falls, let your heart not be (RMK III. 1840)
 glad when he stumbles’

Example (3) presents a pastiche of a passage from the Proverbs (Pro 24: 17) but slightly rearranged – compare it with (4):

- (4) רבל לגי־לא ולשכבו חמשת־לא ריביא לפנב
 your not when his not your when
 heart rejoice falling rejoice enemy falling
 ‘If your enemy falls, do not exult; if he trips, let your (Pro 24: 17)
 heart not rejoice’ (KJV)

Additionally, these poems could make reference to or comment on political issues, historical and cultural events. In 1652, Tofeus Mihály³ offered the commemoration seen in (5).

3 Mihály Székelyhidi Tofeus (1624–1684): Transylvanian Protestant bishop; during his peregrination, he studied in Franeker, Utrecht, Harderwijk, London, and Leiden (Gordán 2018).

(5)	תמיו	סויצוקר	דנומגיס	לודגה	דיגנה
	and died	Rákóczi	Sigismund	the great	the ruler
	'The great ruler, Rákóczi Zsigmond, ⁴ died'				(RMK II. 774b)

The language of the poems can also reveal what kind of literary resources the authors of *carmina gratulatoria* were familiar with. While a classical education, complete with Latin and Greek auctors, offered numerous parallels in general and for poems in Hebrew in particular, the Bible served as the main source of literary inspiration. However, on the basis of the linguistic formulation of the poems in the HCG corpus, the resources available to peregrines were not limited to the books of the Hebrew Bible: specific linguistic forms and expressions of post-Biblical language appear as well. This means that these poems can also reveal how extensive the knowledge of the students was not just of Biblical Hebrew but of later Jewish literary traditions as well.

Example (6) references the genre of *pizmon* (פִּיזְמוֹן), a song of praise, and the act of *baluzma*' (בַּלְזֻמָּה), the “drinking of spiced wines, whence frolic, carousal” (Jastrow 1996) in a possessive construction using the late Biblical possessive particle *šel* (לֵשׁ). However, in late Biblical Hebrew, this linguistic form would not have been used yet in such a possessive construction (Biró 2018).

(6)	תואמזולב-לש	פִּיזְמוֹן
	of drinkings of spiced wines	pizmon
	'wine pizmon'	(RMK III. 4182)

The use of post-Biblical grammatical structures and cultural concepts indicates that the knowledge of Hungarian peregrines surpassed Biblical Hebrew. It is well known that teaching Hebrew in Hungary was aided by grammars produced for this specific purpose (Postma 2010: 123–125), but the extent to which post-Biblical Hebrew language and literature were incorporated into the studies of peregrines is not yet satisfactorily understood.

3. The corpus of Hebrew *Carmina Gratulatoria* (HCG)

The HCG corpus is open-ended, currently comprising 61 *carmina gratulatoria* (see *Appendix 1*), written predominantly but not exclusively at German and Dutch universities by students of Hungarian origin. The corpus in its current state contains the poems of 53 authors and 41 addressees. Pál Diószegi Kalmár is the author with the highest number of poems (4), and Mihály Tofeus is the most

⁴ The carmen is published in a volume dedicated to Rákóczi Zsigmond of Felsővadász (1622–1652).

frequently (6) addressed (see appendices 2 and 3). The most frequent places of origin are Franeker and Leiden (12 each) (see *Figure 1* and *Appendix 4*).

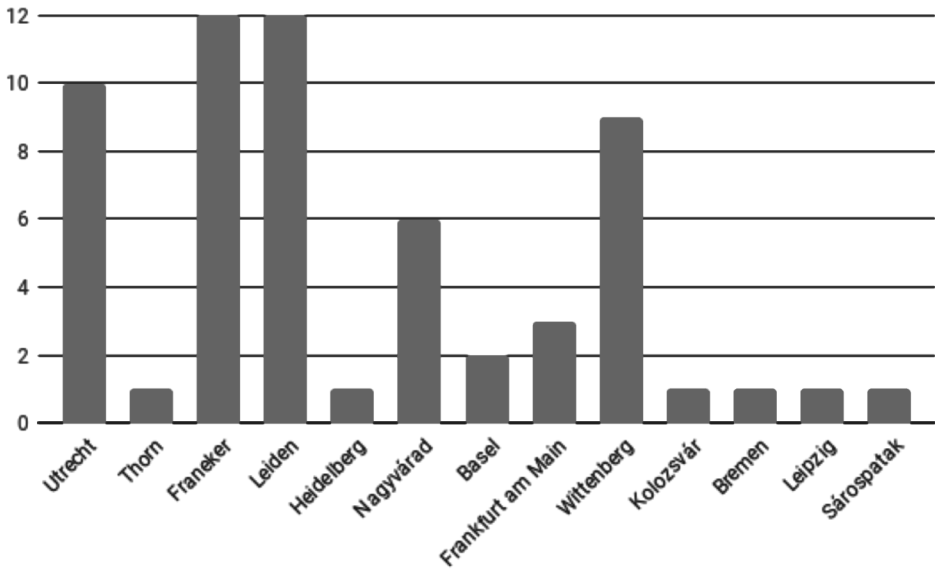


Figure 1. *The number of texts by place of origin*

The texts were manually digitized on the basis of prints. However, due to misprints and errors, several versions of the texts are made available:

- (1) verbatim transcript (including misprints and errors),
- (2) corrected unvocalized text,
- (3) corrected vocalized text,
- (4) Hungarian and English translations.

Since the language of the texts is Hebrew, the texts can be unvocalized, meaning that they do not contain the diacritical signs denoting vowels – which can increase the possibilities of interpretation tremendously –, or they can be vocalized, meaning that the prints already contain vowels. Both types of texts can require reconstruction. Typesetters and publishers generally would not have known Hebrew, and therefore errors, such as substituting certain letters for others, can arise simply from the printing process.

While most texts use Hebrew script, five carmina gratulatoria are printed in Latin letters. Interpreting these texts necessitates reconstruction, wherefore these received a Hebrew transcription as well. Although the use of Latin script makes the interpretation of the texts more of a challenge, this also has the advantage of potentially reflecting contemporary pronunciation. Example (7) demonstrates this case.

(7)	Jevarek	leka	Elohim	
	יְבָרֵךְ	לְךָ	מִיְהוָה	
	shall bless	you	god	
	‘God bless you’			(RMNY III 2356)

The Latin script clearly shows that certain conventions of Hebrew, for example, betacism, meaning that the letter bet, i.e. ב ('b') is pronounced as [v] following a vowel, was known to the author. While a lack of Hebrew letter types can be the reason why Latin letters were used, the pronunciation does indicate a knowledge of Hebrew.

4. Research potentials

The corpus and its electronic version under construction offer a variety of applications beyond the narrower topic of carmina gratulatoria. With multifaceted annotation (grammatical, pragmatic, intertextual) and extensive analyses, the corpus can support a variety of approaches.

A historical approach seeks to unravel the complex relationships between Hungarian peregrines, including peers and educators. This investigation helps to better understand their activity both internationally and domestically, including well-known personalities of the era. Research into relationship networks has been steadily gaining momentum, especially with regard to album amicorum (Markó 2018). Carmen gratulatoria could serve as a promising resource as the genres of carmen gratulatorium, matricula, and album amicorum represent a resource for the reconstruction of a network of scholars. As Móri (2015: 29) puts it in relation to Hungarian: “[...] dedications and greeting poems delineate a network of relationships, the extent and role of which however has not yet been explored”. This work, albeit in its infancy, shows promise as the combination of alborum amicorum and carmina gratulatoria records can be used to sketch up Hebrew skill-sharing networks (Juhász 2018).

An investigation of the Hebrew skills of the authors complete the historical approach laid out above. Tracing the acquisition and development of Hebrew skills across time and space can enlighten the state of linguistic education in Hungary and the role of Hebrew, which is intimately linked to contemporary views on culture, language, religion, and the status of Hungarian grammar itself. It is common knowledge that Hebrew played a role in Sylvester’s investigation of Hungarian grammar, resulting in shifting the model of description from Latin to Hebrew (Korompay 2012: 338). Therefore, knowledge of and interest in Hebrew are relevant from the point of view of Hungarian as well.

A literary analysis of poetic devices, rhyme schemes, metre when applicable, etc. not only probes the style of Hebrew carmina gratulatoria but also helps to link the poems to the general literary traditions of the era. It is also part of this analysis to compare the language and style of Hebrew carmina gratulatoria to their Biblical parallels in a bid to identify and separate pastiche and original compositions (see Koltai, 2019).

From the point of view of Hungarian historical sociolinguistics, the most valuable application of this corpus is, as an additional resource, complementing other lines of inquiry with regard to peregrination and the linguistic output of peregrines. Historical sociopragmatics represents a complex avenue of research. A main line of its inquiry concerns the study of how “speakers exploit more general norms to generate particular meanings, take up social positionings, and so on” (Culpeper 2011: 2). This examination seeks to better understand the linguistic and cultural context of the relationships surrounding the creation of carmina gratulatoria, drawing on the peer network and the pragmatic annotation of the corpus.

5. Conclusions

This paper introduced the genre of carmina gratulatoria and a corpus of Hebrew-language carmina gratulatoria composed by 17th-century Hungarian peregrines, outlining possible applications of this corpus. It is the hope of this project that providing richly annotated text versions, including Hungarian and English translations, can support diverse applications for interdisciplinary research, connecting language and culture in a wider historical perspective.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix 1. List of texts

Authors	Place	Date	Identifier
Alistáli Farkas, Jakab	Utrecht	1652	RMK III 1813
Alistáli Farkas, Jakab	Utrecht	1654	RMK III 1904
Antonius, Simon	Thorn	1678	RMK III 2932
Archino, Nicolao/Árkosi Benedek	Frankfurt a.M.	1626	RMK III 1399
Balkányi György	Franeker	1666	RMK III 6503
Báthori G. Mihály	Leiden	1653	RMK III 1842
Baumbach Boldizsár	Heidelberg	1617	RMK III 1196
Becskeházi István	Nagyvárad	1650	RMK II 764
Békés János	Bázel	1674	RMK III 2647
Csekei Pál	Utrecht	1667	RMK III 2401
Csepregi F. Mihály	Franeker	1689	RMK III 3554
Csúzi József	Franeker	1692	RMK III 3728
Debreczeni P. János	Utrecht	1658	RMK III 2022
Debreczeni S. Gáspár	Frankfurt a.M.	1626	RMK III 1399
Diószegi Kalmár Pál	Leiden	1653	RMK III 1840
Diószegi Kalmár Pál	Leiden	1653	RMK III 1844

Authors	Place	Date	Identifier
Diószegi Kalmár Pál	Leiden	1654	RMK III 1893
Diószegi Kalmár Pál	Leiden	1654	RMK III 1897
Gabriel Trusius	Wittenberg	1676	RMK III 6703
Gyarmati István	Frankfurt a.M.	1626	RMK III 1399
Gyöngyösi A. Pál	Franeker	1700	RMK III 4182
Jenei György	Franeker	1686	RMK III 3389
Jenei Mihály	Nagyvárad	1650	RMK II 768
Kállai Kopis János	Basel	1674	RMK III 2648
Kaposi Juhász Sámuel	Kolozsvár	1702	RMK II 2109
Kaposi Juhász Sámuel	Leiden	1686	RMK III 3402
Kemmel János	Wittenberg	1659	RMK III 2103
Keresztúri G. Bálint	London	1662	SC-Norris 288 J39
Kismarjai Veszelin Pál	Bremen	1625	RMK III 1372
Köleséri Sámuel	Nagyvárad	1650	RMK II 769
Komáromi Csipkés György	Utrecht	1651	RMK III 1790
Laskai Matkó János	Leiden	1630	RMK III 1458
Leusden Johannes	Utrecht	1651	RMK III 1781
Magnus György	Wittenberg	1668	RMK III 2452
Makai György	Nagyvárad	1650	RMK II 765
Mártonfalvi György	Franeker	1658	RMK III 2013
Mártonfalvi György	Utrecht	1656	RMK III 1972
Medgyesi Pál	Leiden	1630	RMK III 1457
Murgaschius János	Wittenberg	1668	RMK III 2448
Nánási L. József	Franeker	1700	RMK III 4178
Patai F. Tamás	Nagyvárad	1650	RMK II 766
Pataki István	Franeker	1665	RMK III 2279
Pilarik András	Wittenberg	1668	RMK III 2448
Pilarik István	Wittenberg	1668	RMK III 2448
Püspöki János	Nagyvárad	1650	RMK II 767
Rác-Böszörményi János	Leiden	1676	RMK III 2759
Sculteti Gabriel	Leipzig	1678	RMK III 2925
Somosi P. János	Utrecht	1651	RMK III 1782
Szathmári István	Utrecht	1651	RMK III 1780
Szikszai Gergely	Leiden	1630	RMK III 1457
Szikszai Gergely	Leiden	1630	RMK III 1458
Szikszai István	Wittenberg	1598	RMK III 926
Szilágyi Péter	Franeker	1696	RMK III 3988
Szilágyi Péter	Franeker	1697	RMK III 4033
Szólósi Pál	Franeker	1686	RMK III 3389

Authors	Place	Date	Identifier
Tatai Sámuel	Franecker	1666	RMK III 6503
Thúri György	Wittenberg	1598	RMK III 926
Tofeus Mihály	Sárospatak	1652	RMK II 774b
Vizaknai Mihály	Leiden	1679	RMK III 2992
Veszprémi B. István	Utrecht	1666	RMK III 2369
Zabeler Jób	Wittenberg	1649	RMK III 1733

Appendix 2. List of authors

Authors	No. of poems
Alistáli Farkas Jakab	2
Antonius Simon	1
Archino Nicolao	1
Balkányi György	1
Báthori G. Mihály	1
Baumbach Boldizsár	1
Becskeházi István	1
Békés János	1
Csekei Pál	1
Csepregi F. Mihály	1
Csúzi József	1
Debreczeni P. János	1
Debreczeni S. Gáspár	1
Diószegi Kalmár Pál	4
Gabriel Trusius	1
Gyarmati István	1
Gyöngyösi A. Pál	1
Jenei György	1
Jenei Mihály	1
Kállai Kopis János	1
Kaposi Juhász Sámuel	2
Kemmel János	1
Keresztúri G. Bálint	1
Kismarjai Veszelin Pál	1
Komáromi Csipkés György	1
Köleséri Sámuel	1
Laskai Matkó János	1
Leusden Johannes	1
Magnus György	1

Authors	No. of poems
Makai György	1
Mártonfalvi György	2
Medgyesi Pál	1
Murgaschius János	1
Nánási L. József	1
Patai F. Tamás	1
Pataki István	1
Pilarik András	1
Pilarik István	1
Püspöki János	1
Rác-Böszörményi János	1
Sculteti Gabriel	1
Somosi P. János	1
Szathmári István	1
Szikszai Gergely	2
Szikszai István	1
Szilágyi Péter	2
Szólósi Pál	1
Tatai Sámuel	1
Thúri György	1
Tofeus Mihály	1
Veszprémi B. István	1
Vizaknai Mihály	1
Zabeller Jób	1
Sum	61

Appendix 3. List of addressees

Addressees	No. of poems addressed
No addressee provided	4
Agnethler Michael	1
Apáti Miklóss	1
Bagosi Márton	1
Bánfihunyadi Márton	1
Bátai György	1
Báthori G. Mihály	1
Becskeházi V. István	1
Bessenyei F. Mihály	1

Addressees	No. of poems addressed
Christian Trentsch	3
Csúzi Cseh Jakab	1
Debreczeni Ember Pál	2
Debreczeni Gele János	1
Debreczeni K. János	1
Fogarasi Sámuel	1
Helmeczi István	1
Jászberényi Mátyás	1
Jászberényi P. Pál.	1
Kismarjai Veszelin Pál	1
Kochmeister Sámuel	1
Koltay János	1
Komáromi Csipkés György	5
Liszkai István	2
Mártonfalvi György	1
Matkó János	2
Medgyesi Pál	2
Michael Sennert	1
Musae Patakinae iterum ad luctum vocatae	1
Nagyari József	1
Sárfői Mihály	1
Sculteti Gabriel	1
Szántai Pócs István	1
Szathmári István	1
Szepsi Korocz András	1
Szikszai István	1
Szilágyi Márton	1
Thann András	1
Thúri György	1
Tofeus Mihály	6
Vásárhelyi T. M. István	1
Veresegyházi Tamás	2
Zilahi István	1
Sum	61

Appendix 4. List of places of origin

Place of origin	No. of poems
Basel	2
Bremen	1
Franeker	12
Frankfurt am Main	3
Heidelberg	1
Kolozsvár	1
Leiden	12
Leipzig	1
London	1
Nagyvárad	6
Sárospatak	1
Thorn	1
Utrecht	10
Wittenberg	9
Sum	61

Appendix 4. Year of composition

Year of composition	No. of poems
1598	2
1617	1
1625	1
1626	3
1630	4
1649	1
1650	6
1651	4
1652	2
1653	3
1654	3
1656	1
1658	2
1659	1
1662	1
1665	1
1666	3
1667	1

Year of composition	No. of poems
1668	4
1674	2
1676	2
1678	2
1679	1
1686	3
1689	1
1692	1
1696	1
1697	1
1700	2
1702	1
Sum	61



Caught between Two Worlds: A Non-Verbal Account of the Culture Shock in the First Bilateral “Exchanges” between France and the Joseon Kingdom (Korea)

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Abstract. International relations often cause culture shock not only for the foreigners visiting a country but also for the residents of that country. While nowadays this shock can be diminished by making people who move to another country become more aware of and understand the differences between cultures through all sorts of sources of information, this was not so easy at the end of the 19th century.

In this paper, my intention is to bring to light the culture shock experienced by one of the first French persons to set foot in the Joseon Kingdom (current Korea) and by the first Korean woman who travelled to France at the turn of the 19th century. I will investigate some non-verbal elements of culture, such as artefacts, food, and habits, which often make foreigners feel frustrated and confused, becoming incapable of interacting in a meaningful way in the new culture. The framework I will use is the “culture shock model” put forward by Oberg (1954), according to which this phenomenon unfolds in 4 stages: the “honeymoon”, the crisis, the adjustment, and the adaptation. The data is provided by Kyung-Sook Shin’s (2007) novel, *Yi Jin*, based on a true story (translated into Romanian as *Dansul privighetorii de primăvară*, 2017, Humanitas), from which I have excerpted the most relevant fragments regarding the topic.

The paper concludes with the idea that, at least in the time which creates the temporal backdrop of the investigated novel, the absence of intercultural encounters, the lack of solid information about each other’s cultures as well as the different patterns of experience of the main characters lead to their estrangement.

Keywords: intercultural encounters, culture shock, French (Western) culture, Korean (Asian) culture, non-verbal elements

1. Introduction

South Korea, a small Asian peninsular country, is nowadays one of the world's most technologically advanced nations, exporting goods and know-how to many western countries. Its current economic success is all the more amazing considering the historical events that affected the life of the people living on the peninsula in the 20th century: the occupation by the Japanese troops (1910–1945), followed by the Korean War (1950–1953) and the viciously suppressed student uprising in Gwangju in 1980. Also worth mentioning is that Korea was a “hermit kingdom” until the end of the 19th century in that it would not allow or encourage any political, commercial, or cultural exchange with the rest of the world. But, little by little, seeing that China and Japan, its powerful neighbours, were way ahead in this respect, the gates of the kingdom¹ started to open at the turn of the century, and thus at present, South Korea has become a key player in economy and international politics. And the Korean influence in today's world does not stop here: the Korean cinema (especially the K-dramas), the performing arts (both traditional and contemporary), and the literature have enjoyed global recognition for their sophistication. All these products of the Korean culture are a reflection of its values, which are highly influenced by Confucianism and, at the same time, constitute a bridge between the Eastern and the Western worlds.

2. Culture and culture shock

Culture, being more than just a set of customs, constitutes the deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, social hierarchies, religions, notions of time, roles, spatial relationships, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving (Samovar–Porter 2003: 8).

This definition moves across a broad number of elements, from thoughts, values, and beliefs (elements that are very difficult for an outsider to perceive and understand) to material objects (that are easier to discover). When people belonging to different cultures cross the boundaries of their home countries, they take with them their cultural patterns. Crossing cultures can be both a blessing and a curse: on the one hand, it can be an interesting and rewarding experience as people come to see new places and witness new habits and behaviours. But, on the other hand, it could be equally stressful and bewildering as things that are totally different from your own culture tend to make you feel alienated.

Cultures can be closer or more distant with respect to their sociocultural values. Thus, the French and the British cultures would share most of these values. On

1 Between 1392 and 1897, Korea was known under the name of the Kingdom of Joseon Dynasty.

the other hand, France and Korea would be culturally distant in terms of such key elements as language, religion, the status of women, attitudes to authority, or the legal system (Ward et al. 2001). Consequently, when the cultural gap between the interactants in cross-cultural communication is great, they will have more difficulty in adapting to the new environment, and there are higher chances that they would experience a *culture shock*. This concept, launched by Kalervo Oberg, is defined as a mental illness of the people who are transplanted abroad, “precipitated by the anxiety which results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse” (Oberg 1954: 1).

The individual reactions of people to culture shock and the circumstances that trigger this phenomenon depend on a variety of factors such as “previous experiences with other culture and cross-cultural adaptation; the degree of difference in one’s own and the host culture; the degree of preparation; social support networks; and individual psychological characteristics” (Furnahm–Bochner 1986, qtd in Winkelman 1994: 121). At the same time, the symptoms of culture shock can vary from person to person. In an article published in 1960, Oberg mentions six main aspects of culture shock: strain caused by the effort to adapt, sense of loss and feelings of deprivation in relation to friends, status, profession, and possessions, feeling rejected by or rejecting members of the new culture, confusion in role, values and self-identity, anxiety and even disgust/anger about “foreign” practices and feelings of helplessness, not being able to cope with the new environment. Oberg (1954) was also the one who developed a model of acculturation, the tenet of which is that crossing cultures puts people through a cycle of distinct phases on the way to final adaptation. These phases are briefly presented in what follows:

(a) In the *honeymoon phase*, “all encounters in the new place are seen as exciting, positive and stimulating. The new life is viewed as providing endless opportunities (...). There is openness and curiosity, combined with a readiness to accept whatever comes” (Marx 2001: 8).

(b) In the second phase, the *crisis phase*, culture shock sets in: the sojourners experience an “emotional ‘down’, a decreased sense of well-being” (Zapf 1991: 3). They show hostility towards the others, they feel discouraged, lonely, depressed, and permanently homesick, and tend to withdraw from social activities.

(c) The third stage, *adaptation* or *recovery*, brings with it a mild improvement of the foreigners’ state of mind in that they start being able to interpret cultural clues, and they experience comfort with the new environment and a sense of belonging; they also acquire the ability to see things from the perspective of host nationals. There are, nevertheless, cases in which foreigners fail to find resolution for the problems they were confronted with in the culture shock phase, and, consequently, they will continue struggling with a feeling of frustration and eventually will decide to leave the host country.

(d) The last phase, *full recovery*, “is achieved as one develops stable adaptations in being successful at resolving problems and managing the new culture” (Winkelman 1994: 122). In a way, we may say that these sojourners are on their way of becoming bicultural.

What is worth mentioning is the fact that if the persons who have become bicultural return to their original culture they will go through the above-mentioned stages again, especially if their stay in the foreign country was quite long.

3. Research methodology

As one of the characters (Hong Jong-u) in the novel suggested, “the fastest way to make one’s culture known by other nations is to give them the opportunity to read Korean literature in their own languages” (Shin 2017: 226). Shin’s novel, *Yi Jin* (2007) – translated into Romanian under the title *Dansul privighetorii de primăvară* (2017) – proved a goldmine of information about the Korean culture in general and the culture shock experienced by its main characters in particular. Though a work of fiction, it is based on real facts, which are well documented. The novel depicts the deep love between one of the first French consuls, Victor Collin de Plancy, at the court of the Korean emperor and Yi Jin, the first Korean woman who set foot in France at the end of the 19th century. Their first encounter occurs within the premises of the imperial palace in Seoul; their love affair continues in Paris for three years only to end tragically back in Korea. Since the heroes come from totally different cultures, each of them experienced culture shock in the country of the other, and therefore the end of their relationship does not really come as a surprise.

The research questions that I seek to find answers to are the following:

- (1) Do both characters follow the same stages/phases of culture shock?
- (2) Are the effects of culture shock similar for Victor and Yi Jin?
- (3) Which particular non-verbal elements caused the culture shock?
- (4) Could their relationship have been saved provided they had a deeper knowledge and understanding of the other’s culture?

In order to offer as clear an image as possible of the acculturation process of Victor and his Korean lover, I have excerpted from the above-mentioned novel those fragments that reflect their states of mind and the factors that triggered them along the story line.

4. Analysis

The aim of my analysis is to see how the two characters of the novel interacted with two cultures and how the culture change process unfolded for and affected each of them. The *narrative analysis* method proved useful in this respect since narratives, as forms of discourse, contain events and happenings that succeed in a certain order, forming the plot, and “describe when and why certain events and actions took place and what intended results of the actions were” (Pak 2006: 45). This method proved useful in revealing how the acculturation process unfolded temporally for each of the two characters.

In what follows, I shall trace the culture change process of Victor and Yi Jin along the stages proposed by Oberg (1954), in an attempt to reveal the complexity of their individual cases, supporting the changes in each phase with excerpts from Shin’s novel.

4.1. The pre-departure phase²

It is worth mentioning that despite the few sources of information that were available for people at the end of the 19th century, both Victor and Yi Jin, when confronted with the prospect of visiting a foreign country, tried to find out something about the other’s culture prior to crossing the boundaries of their own countries. Thus, as a diplomat, Victor had the chance of getting familiar with the Chinese culture, which is not very different from the Korean one. Then, he also tried to become familiar with the Korean court etiquette so as not to make any blunders when meeting the royal family. For example, he learned that he was supposed to bow in front of the emperor and not shake hands with him, as it was customary in the Western world, or that when leaving the emperor he was not supposed to turn his back to him, and so he retreated facing the royal figure (p. 82).³ Also, when he presented the imperial couple with presents (Sèvres porcelain objects) sent by the French government, he wrapped them in red silk, as was required by the palace etiquette:

(1) Victor untied the silk wrapping. He had heard that in Korea red was the royal colour; this was why he did his best to find red silk. (p. 98)

Wrapping cloths (known in Korean as *bojagi*) were of various shapes, sizes, and colours and were used for wrapping almost anything. “By wrapping an object,

2 I consider that preparation for a future cultural experience could be part of the acculturation process. This is why I have introduced this subsection, as it is relevant for what follows.

3 For the sake of simplicity, quotations from the novel will carry only the page number from which they have been excerpted. They are translated from Romanian into English by myself.

the user hoped to trap happiness or blessings in the folds of the cloth” (Teacher’s n.d., p. 11). However, while for the commoners this type of cloth was produced from fabric scraps that were beautifully assembled into a patchwork design by ordinary women for whom every bit of cloth was precious, for the royalties the wrapping cloth was supposed to be made of one piece of red silk.

Victor also learned about the Korean customs from the mistakes made by previous diplomats in Korea; so, he prepared thoroughly for his first encounter with the king. He dressed properly (not in evening clothes, like the English consul, but in his uniform) and “arrived at the palace one hour before the meeting” (p. 73). He also searched for information about the dances performed at the Korean palace “as he hoped that one day he would have the chance to watch such a performance, and his nature urged him to be always prepared for what was to follow” (pp. 101–102).

Yi Jin, in her turn, learned French from Father Blanc, a French Catholic priest who was a missionary in Korea and who was convinced that “in the future, the Joseon Kingdom will witness a development that we can hardly suspect at the moment. It is always useful to know something that others don’t” (p. 57). That is why he did his best to teach Yi Jin his mother tongue. Knowing the French language, Yi Jin starts reading about France, about its citizens and its president, finding it very odd that this country has a president and not a king as a ruler (p. 19). As she spends some months at the French legation in Seoul, where she has a huge library at her disposal, she begins to read French literature in the original, her favourite book being Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables*. In this endeavour, she is encouraged by her empress, who is extremely curious about the Western culture: “the foreigners’ habits, their way of grooming, their eating habits, cooking recipes and education” (p. 22).

Still, the information acquired about the other’s culture was not sufficient for them to get fully acquainted with it, and so both characters experience excitement and sometimes numbness when exposed to the host culture, as we shall see in section 4.2. Though Yi Jin was eager to see France, the distant country that took two months on sea to reach, she was dominated by the fear of the unknown and by the sorrow of having to leave the dear ones behind, not knowing whether she would ever return to Korea. Victor, on the other hand, did not exhibit any of these negative states.

4.2. The honeymoon phase

Yi Jin’s first contact with the Western world occurred in Korea, when the empress sent her to spend some time at the French legation for fear the king might fall in love with her. Her astonishment at seeing the building of the legation is reflected in the following excerpt:

(2) It was for the first time that she saw a building with tiles and glass windows and a petrol lamp, like the one in the middle of the courtyard (...). Under the eaves, there were some chairs, which seemed to have been brought from France. All windows had glass panes and curtains. (p. 123)

Yi Jin's astonishment is caused by the difference between the Korean architecture and the French one. In Korea, the houses of the ordinary people at the end of the 19th century had roofs made of straw thatch, while the "window and door panels were covered with white rice paper instead of glass" (Clark 2000: 93). Moreover, they were built above the ground level, in an L-shape, the windows facing the inner yard, assuring in this way privacy and security.

The astonishment increases when she reaches Paris, where the two- or three-storey houses as well as the numerous means of transport leave her in awe. Once, when Victor took her to the island on the Seine and they reached the Notre-Dame Cathedral, she stopped in front of it.

(3) She could not believe that a building like that, with its refined and impressive Gothic architecture, was made by man. (...) For a long time, Jin's eyes were stuck on the towers that rose to the sky and on the statues that were looking at the crowd below. (p. 229)

In one of the letters that Jin wrote to her Korean empress, she confessed that what astonished her most were the means of transport. From among them, she considered the train to be the most impressive of all, followed by the merchant ships with propellers and the tram, which she described as "a big coach, propelled by steam, just like a steam engine" (p. 231). She was impressed by the network of trams (covering 25 lines at the end of the 19th century) and by the horse-drawn coaches of various shapes and colours, each colour indicating a certain route. In comparison to France, transport in Korea was rather primitive in those days: noblemen would be carried in palanquins, while commoners would walk or ride horses and use carts if they had to cover longer distances as there were no trains. Later on, in another letter, Yi Jin informs the empress about another artefact – the airplane –, an invention of two German brothers by means of which the distance between Europe and Joseon Kingdom could be covered in two or three days. We can imagine the heroine's surprise at seeing all those modern discoveries that made the life of the Europeans much easier and more pleasant than that of the Koreans. She was like a child who discovered new and beautiful toys.

What I consider most important for Yi Jin in her honeymoon phase were the liberty she enjoyed and the books she could read. In Korea, there was a law according to which any female who became a maid at the imperial palace was not allowed to marry, irrespective of what she chose to do after leaving the Court. Nor

was she allowed to marry in case she was expelled from the Court. If she broke the law, she was severely punished. She had to be subservient to the imperial couple, to the other wives of the king,⁴ and to all the persons who enjoyed a higher status or were older. This submissiveness was dictated by the Confucian hierarchical social structure.⁵ In the turn-of-the-century France, women enjoyed more freedom: they could go out unaccompanied by men, they could go shopping or to cafés with other female friends, or they could visit museums without breaking any rules or being gossiped about. Coming from a culture where she was kept like a beautiful bird in a birdcage, Yi Jin cherishes the freedom to be herself and to do what her French female counterparts did. This emerges from the letters she wrote to the empress. While in the beginning she would refer to herself as “my humble being” and would write the letters with a brush, as was customary in Korea, in time she would use the personal pronoun “I” and would employ either a pen with a nib or a fountain pen, which was non-existent in Korea at the end of the 19th century.

(4) She realized she had used “I” instead of “my humble person” throughout the letter. She thought for a while, adjusted the nib of her pen, but did not change anything in the letter. (p. 206)

Also from a letter addressed to the Korean empress, we apprehend Yi Jin’s joy for reading and her enthusiasm at discovering new things about distant countries from the books:

(5) What can I compare the joy of reading with? Books from all over the world are translated into French, being available for anyone. They bring new elements of culture and civilization, which intertwine with the traditional ones. I envy the French writers, who can write naturally and freely in their own mother tongue. (p. 278)

Back home, in Korea, the range of authors available to the readers was rather limited in that they were mainly Chinese, “one’s education being limited to the Confucian classics” (Kohls 2001: 139), and – as we can assume from the excerpt above – the topics were not as varied or enjoyable as the ones belonging to universal literature.

4 Plural marriage was common in Korea until the end of the 19th century. There was, nevertheless, a difference between the primary wives, who came from certified elite families, and the secondary wives, who were commoners or even slaves (Deuchler 2003).

5 The Confucianists of the Joseon Dynasty “restricted the freedom of women to travel and move about. Upper-class women were ordered not to go out during the daytime” (Clark 2000: 164).

Victor's "honeymoon" phase was much shorter than Yi Jin's and is related to the discovery of Yi Jin. The first relevant fragment from the novel that reveals his positive feelings towards the Koreans is when he first met Yi Jin at the palace:

(6) The girl's dark and deep eyes were watching him with unbelievable tenderness. It was for the first time in Korea when somebody looked at him in a friendly way, without any trace of rejection or amazement or naive curiosity. (p. 76)

Not only did Yi Jin regard Victor with tenderness, but she also greeted him in French, which impressed him even more. Then, at the event organized by the imperial couple for the foreign diplomats, Victor experiences a second surprise on behalf of Yi Jin:

(7) After having finished her song, the dancer turned her head sideways, performing an ample movement with her arms. In that moment, Victor, who was on the point of sipping the wine from his glass, remained dumbfounded. For a moment, he caught the dancer's eyes. He was eagerly waiting for the next moment when their eyes would meet again. (...) Victor could not keep his eyes away from her. (...) It was her! (p. 103)

4.3. Culture shock

In intercultural communication, people come with different cultural backgrounds, experiences, and expectations. When confronted with cultural practices and habits that are different from their own, they either re-evaluate their cultural background for the sake of adapting to the new environment, or they start questioning their cultural education and suffer a culture shock. Our heroine, Yi Jin, "[j]uggling two very different cultures and social situations" (Pak 2006: 37), had to face fast changes, contradictions, and ambiguities in her life, which brought about the culture shock.

– Hugging/kissing

While in the pre-honeymoon phase, certain behaviours foretold of Yi Jin's emergent culture shock. Thus, when she came to visit Victor at the French legation in Seoul, she was perplexed by his behaviour:

(8) Without thinking, Victor hugged and kissed her warmly on her cheek. Everything happened so fast that Jin had no time to react. She remained dumbfounded and looked at him with consternation. (p. 119)

Seeing the girl's horror on her face, Victor realized that he had made a blunder by behaving as if he were in France, where kissing and hugging were very common when greeting friends. No matter how hard he tried to explain to her that this behaviour stemmed from the fact that he perceived her as an old acquaintance, she could not easily overcome her embarrassment and overcome the cold look. Her shock is explained by the fact that the Korean society is a non-haptic one: touching behaviour should be refrained from, more so when the persons are of different sexes and especially if the woman is a servant of the palace. According to the Korean law, "even the members of the royal family are punished if they touch a court maid/servant" (p. 356).

– *Stares/gazes*

An important contribution to Yi Jin's culture shock had the gazes and stares she received both from her compatriots and from the French people. These started in Korea, while she would walk with Victor on the streets in the neighbourhood of the French legation. Since mixed-race couples were unheard of and unaccepted by the Koreans of the 19th century, there is no wonder that people watched them disapprovingly, especially when Yi Jin started wearing Western dresses. Once she set foot in France, Yi Jin became a curiosity for the Parisians both due to her looks and to her fluency in their mother tongue. In the beginning, she did not have the time to mind the curious looks of the French people as she was eager to discover France and Paris. She was impressed by everything that was new to her. But little by little these glances ended up bothering her, even hurting her, making her feel like an exhibit in a museum or like an animal in the zoo. They also made her think of how Victor must have felt in Korea, when he himself was a curiosity for the Koreans.

(9) An elderly lady of noble birth, who was walking slowly, followed by her servant, was just staring at her. The servant (...) was doing exactly the same.

Some clowns, who were probably preparing for a performance on the bridge, glanced at her as she passed by. A boy who was running on the bridge slowed down when he reached them and, after studying Jin with blunt curiosity, smiled broadly, with satisfaction. (pp. 252–253)

Victor himself experienced a state of unease when he paid the first visit to the Korean palace as the young female servants who were scurrying from one building to another pulled a long face when setting eyes on him. "They were stunned to see a stranger with brown hair and white face. His uniform was something awesome, never seen before" (p. 75). As Korea was isolated from the rest of the world, the

people of the kingdom did not have the chance to encounter persons of other races, and so seeing someone who was physically different from the Asians came as a shock for the girls, while their reaction caused embarrassment in Victor.

– *The graves/tombs*

On the way from Jemulpo to Seoul, where Victor was to encounter the king, he caught sight of some round mounds.

(10) Not knowing what they were, he was intrigued in the beginning by these earth elevations, covered with grass, which emerged not only on hill slopes, but also that these were tombs. (...) Victor felt somewhat embarrassed. So, this is the way the Koreans prepared the places for the afterlife: round, simple, and green. (p. 74)

The reason why these burial mounds were so scattered across the Korean landscape was the Korean's belief that "to fail to choose the proper place for a loved one's grave will cause the living heirs to have bad luck" (Kohls 2001: 226). That is why they would make use of the advice of a geomancer to select a lucky spot to bury their deceased people. And each of these specialists had a different opinion about where the graves should be situated, as long as it was a sunny place. Due to the fact that the graves did not present any tombstones or flowers, like the Western graveyards, it was natural for Victor to experience disorientation.

On the other hand, while in France, Yi Jin went through the same shock when she found out that a place, which, to her, looked like a garden or a park, was actually a cemetery:

(11) When she first saw this place, Jin was convinced that it was a park as she saw a boy with a cape and a beret, playing there with a hoop. Her presupposition was confirmed by the presence of his mother, seated on a bench, with a book on her knees, in the shade of her umbrella. When Victor explained to her that it was a graveyard, she was very surprised. She believed him only when he showed her the old tombstones, hidden by tall grass and trees. (p. 302)

– *Habits*

Little by little, Yi Jin starts missing the food she used to eat in Korea as well as the Korean eating and sleeping habits. To her, the sound of the fork placed on the plate was so loud as compared to the sound produced by the chopsticks that she could hardly bear it. Despite the comfort of the bed in Paris, Jin preferred to sleep

on the floor, as she used to do at home. But while the Korean floors were heated through a system called *ondol*, “which gave Koreans radiant heating as early as the seventeenth century” (Kohls 2001: 2019), the French ones were very cold.

(12) [...] She would often lie down on the floor, near the bed, after Victor fell asleep. Then, in the morning, she would climb into the bed before he woke up. (p. 230)

– *The morgues*

A weekend pastime of the Parisians, which seemed to be a major attraction for them at the end of the 19th century and which Yi Jin found appalling, was visiting the morgues. There were a couple of such places in Paris, one of them being situated right behind the Notre-Dame Cathedral, where the bodies of unknown deceased persons were exhibited behind windows:

(13) [...] Jin noticed a long line of people. They were the visitors of the morgue, who wanted to see the corpses shown behind windows (p. 229). Since she left Korea, she has seen many new things, but it was for the first time that she saw a corpse exhibition. The crowd was gathering especially in front of the corpses of two sisters, who had been taken out of the river. (p. 243)

The shock of seeing the corpses was so strong for Yi Jin that she ran away, feeling sick. It also made her wonder why the Parisians were so attracted by such a gruesome sight when there were so many beautiful places to visit in the city. Cognitively and perceptually, this experience proved very bizarre to Jin, and it took her some time to figure out her feelings about the French people’s attitudes towards the dead. She perceived this exhibition of corpses as lack of respect for one’s ancestors, which was in stark contradiction with the Korean ancestral rites.

– *Prejudices*

Stereotypes are another factor that could trigger culture shock. One aspect that caused Yi Jin’s loss of self-confidence was the French people’s prejudices concerning Korean court dancers. In one event attended by lots of Parisian personalities, Yi Jin was introduced to the famous writer Guy de Maupassant by one member of Victor’s entourage, Mister Plancard. When the latter mentioned the fact that in Korea Jin used to be a court dancer, rumours started to circulate in the audience, which made her feel embarrassed. This was because in France female dancers who entertained people usually danced the *can-can*, which the

respectable society considered to be extremely immoral due to the fact that the dancers showed their underwear. In stark contrast, Korean court dances were not meant for everyone. The dancers were selected from among the court maids who “learned the Court habits and etiquette, learned to sing and dance, studied medical practices, the Confucianist teachings, and the Korean alphabet” (p. 75). Those who proved gifted in dancing were trained at the Royal Dance Academy, and it was only the best who were selected to perform in front of the empress and the emperor, and Yi Jin was the Court’s best dancer. Moreover, in comparison to the *can-can*, the dance which was famous in France at the end of the 19th century and which involved rapid movements, the Korean court dances were more elaborate and very slow.

(14) Maintaining a certain posture for as long as it was necessary could be attained not by straining your muscles but by relaxing them. The breath needed to be controlled so as to be able to flutter like a butterfly, to take wing like a bird, to float like the air, and to gently settle down on the ground like a water flow. (p. 239)

Victor, in his turn, also had to face Korean prejudices, but they did not have such a strong impact on him as they were of a different nature. Being a keen photographer and having bought from France a small camera, when he reached the Joseon Kingdom, he wanted to take photos of the people. Much to his disappointment, he was denied this favour on the grounds of that “photographs would steal the man’s soul” (p. 81). Even when the Korean emperor accepted to be photographed by the French consul, his courtiers were against it, invoking the same reason.

4.4. Adaptation (adjustment)

“Adaptation (...) comes in the form of learning the culture-specific skills that are required to negotiate the new cultural milieu (Bochner 1972, qtd in Masgoret–Ward 2016: 58). In this phase of acculturation, the sojourners may understand that cultural differences “can be justified from the other culture’s perspective. [...] Differences become believable and acceptable” (Bennett 1986, qtd in Chen–Starosta 2003: 346). If foreigners make an effort to understand these cultural differences, they have chances of adjusting to the host culture.

As far as our heroes are concerned, what is relevant for this phase is that they tried to help each other cope with the foreign culture. Thus, Victor taught his wife how to use the cutlery and the order in which to approach the food items characteristic of the western part of the world:

(15) Victor would be the first to taste the soup and to spread the butter on the slice of bread with the knife; when the cook brought the chicken prepared in the French style, he would be the first to eat it by means of fork and knife. He thought that Jin was not familiar with eating like this. The latter would peek at him and eat the soup with a spoon and the salad with the fork. (p. 132)

On the other hand, when Victor was asked by his friends, who saw his vast collection of Asian artefacts, about the symbolism of the shapes and colours, Jin would provide help for him.

(16) She would explain the symbols of the images painted on the screens, the symbols of the flowers and birds painted on the vases, the manner in which they handled the brushes for writing and how they prepared the ink, or she deciphered for them the meaning of the Chinese script in various books. (p. 237)

Thus, the phoenix bird, which lived in the maple tree, appears only in times of peace; the ones who see it are said to be immortal (p. 20). The dragon is a symbol associated with water that ensures fertility, plenitude, and rejuvenation. The golden dragon came to be the symbol of the emperor while the phoenix of the empress. From among the flowers, the wild orchid (p. 16) is the symbol of spring, the peony symbolizes beauty, while the lotus flower is the symbol of purity (p. 19).

In what concerns this phase of the culture change process, there is a striking difference between the two main characters of the novel in that adaptation to the Korean habits, way of thinking, and behaving comes easier for Victor as compared to Yi Jin's adaptation to the Western way of life. This may be due to his shorter stay in Korea, to the fact that he was a man and a member of the diplomatic corps, was respected by the Koreans, and especially because he had already had some exposure to the Asian culture prior to his arrival in the Joseon Kingdom. For Yi Jin, the barriers to adaptation are more numerous and with a deeper impact.

4.5. Re-construction and recovery

As far as the last stage of the culture shock process (/cycle) is concerned, this is totally different for the two characters. For Victor, his stay in Korea made him explore and accept certain things which he found mind-boggling in the beginning. He learned to deal with the differences, to appreciate those aspects he perceived to be good and beautiful, and to disregard those that could have affected his well-being. For Yi Jin, on the other hand, all the differences which she

originally found interesting and appealing came to deepen her inner crises. This was enhanced by her personal misfortunes (her husband's gradual estrangement, the loss of her unborn baby, her rejection by Victor's mother) and her longing for her homeland, for her beloved empress and friends. Rather than prolonging her unhappiness in France, Yi Jin decides to return to Korea, apparently on a short visit, accompanied by Victor. But the letter she sent Victor after his departure from Korea demonstrates that her decision to put an end to her foreign experience had been taken before they embarked for her homeland:

(17) Do you remember the perfumed satchel I had left between the pages of *Les Miserables*? (...) I left it on the Korean chest of drawers in the Asian room. (p. 314)

It was by means of this satchel that Yi Jin consented to become Victor's woman in Korea. Now, the same object came to be regarded as her non-verbal message that their relationship was over, as she placed in it the engagement ring received from Victor.

The same letter captures Jin's whole acculturation process from ecstasy to agony:

(18) In your country, I lived happily and I was "I", not "my humble person". Even if I forget the Eiffel Tower or the Louvre Museum, I will never forget how free and full of life the Parisians were. (...) I had lived at the palace since I was a child. To tear myself apart from those things that kept me thwarted and to be able to be myself was an amazing but at the same time frightening and painful experience, to the point of agony. (p. 351)

Once back in her homeland, Yi Jin hoped to find her inner peace, to reconnect with her old friends and, more than anything, to be accepted by her beloved empress. Much to her disappointment, her hopes and dreams are quickly crushed: the political situation she finds in Korea is disastrous: life at court abounds in betrayal, jealousy, and intrigue, culminating with the tragic assassination of the empress. On the other hand, due to her French clothes, hair-style, and habits, she feels an alien in her own country.

(19) Jin was used to the curious glances, but when even a Korean mother, who was suckling her infant on the porch of the inn, looked at her as if she were a foreigner, she was overwhelmed with pain. It was then that she realized that she had become an exhibit in her own country, as she used to be in France, too. (p. 315).

Not being able to suffer any longer, Yi Jin, caught between two worlds and belonging to none, commits suicide.

5. Discussion and conclusions

Of the reasons for Yi Jin's inadaptation to the Western culture, we can mention the deep-seated cultural conflict. She was confused and often frustrated in dealing with contradictory values and the roles she had in her life (maid of the Korean Empress, which implied complete submission, and wife of a Western "husband",⁶ which granted her a liberty undreamed of). She had to cope with the tension of holding onto two incompatible worlds of values, attitudes, and gender role expectations. Though apparently she managed to function properly in both cultures (as she did her best to get familiar with the Western world, being occasionally helped by Victor), at a deeper level, she felt uneasy at being the "other" in either culture as she was not French enough for mainstream France and, after returning to her home country, not genuinely Korean any longer for her compatriots (as she kept wearing European clothes, arranged her hair in the French fashion, and adopted French habits). Moreover, she also had to cope with the idea that in Korea she had to deal with a certain status, defined as "the experiences as a member of a minority group with lower status and power" (Pak 2006: 14), i.e. being a woman and a maid at the royal court, which changed in France, where she was exposed to more egalitarian values. But here she faced another problem, namely that of belonging to another race. Yi Jin was a member of the less desired gender in Korea (due to Confucianism, which preached male superiority and precedence over women), while in France she was a person of the less desired race, having a different skin colour, hair texture, and physiognomy.

We could say that more than Victor, Yi Jin is caught between two worlds, fighting against two forces: on the one hand, she is torn between "(1) acculturation – a force that propels individuals to new roots or the acquisition of the new host society's cultural traits and (2) ethnic identification – a force that binds individuals to their old roots or the maintenance of the original heritage culture" (Keefe–Padilla, 1987, paraphrased in Pak 2006: 18).

Realizing that she was a marginal person caught between two worlds and not entirely belonging to either and having gone through a number of historical and personal misfortunes that shattered her life (the loss of her unborn child, Victor's

6 Though Victor would introduce Yi Jin as his wife to his friends, he did not actually keep his promise to legally marry her once they arrived in Paris because his mother could not put up with the idea of having an Asian daughter-in-law, which shows that even Western people were prejudiced. She suspected that this was the reason why Victor kept silent concerning the marriage topic, but she never brought it up. Still, this was another factor that contributed greatly to the culture shock she suffered.

estrangement, and the murder of her beloved empress as well as of her best friend), Yi Jin finally commits suicide.

Culture shock is the frustrating or negative stage in the process of adapting to a new culture. For Victor, it proved to contribute to his personal growth through adjustment and discovery of new worldviews. For Yi Jin, on the other hand, it had a devastating effect: despite her desire to please her empress with information about the new world (i.e. France) which the latter was incapable of seeing, despite her profound love for Victor and her wish to be a perfect European wife, the values of the Korean culture were too deep and impossible to discard. She permanently longed to be back in Korea, close to the empress she worshipped, to sleep on the heated Korean floor, to eat the Korean dishes, and to be looked at with admiration, not with curiosity.

To answer the last research question, it is hard to say whether, if Victor and Yi Jin had lived in the present day, their love story would have had a happy ending as even nowadays, despite the rich sources of information on various cultures and despite the globalization process, inter-racial/intercultural marriages may not be very successful. The last letter that Yi Jin wrote to Victor contains a line that accounts for the insurmountable cultural differences in such couples:

(20) Somehow, in my mind, you were France and I was Korea, when actually we should have been only a man and a woman. (p. 352)

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Homes of Crimes

Social Stratification as Location Strategy in the Hungarian Family Crime Drama *Aranyélet* ‘Golden Life’¹

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Abstract. HBO Hungary’s original series, *Aranyélet*, proves to be an interesting case study in terms of location strategies in Eastern European TV shows. It is refreshing in the sense that – contrary to other TV programmes attempting to showcase life in Budapest – it does not feel the need to represent locality by swamping the viewer with iconic tourist destinations of the capital. Instead, the characteristic “Hungarianness” of the show appears through displaying personal living spaces of people from a wide range of socio-cultural backgrounds, all of which represent the typical Hungarian strata.

In our paper, we have used a simplified categorization of social classes apparent in Hungarian society and connected these groups with characters of *Aranyélet*. Then, we have scrutinized the living spaces of these characters as represented in the show, paying special attention to their likely location, furnishing, building materials, and general condition. By this analysis, we aim to prove that the show tries to create an alternative mental map of Budapest and its population, covering all strata of society with painting a picture of their lifestyle and living conditions.

Our paper draws on the work of Kim Toft Hansen and Anne Marit Waade, who, in their volume *Locating Nordic Noir – From Beck to The Bridge*, place a large emphasis on aspects of location studies in contemporary Scandinavian crime.

Keywords: quality television, series, social strata, living spaces, location strategy

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1. Introduction

Original content creation in the new aesthetics of “quality television” arrived rather late to Hungary, with HBO Hungary’s first original series, *Társas játék*, airing in 2011, and HBO Central Europe having remained the most important production company in that regard ever since (Gardiola 2010). This new era of television consists of sophisticated, artistic content that frequently breaks conventions of creative practices, paired with well-thought-through branding strategies (Thompson 1996: 13–16, McKabe–Akass 2008: 83–93). Quality TV content has been introduced to Hungarian audiences in the early 2000s, around the time *Sex and the City* premiered on HBO channel in 2002, but original, Hungarian shows in line with the new expectations are still fairly recent phenomena in local television culture.

Aranyélet – or *Golden Life* in English – is worthy of the media researcher’s attention for a couple of different reasons: besides being one of the first representatives of quality television in the country and a flagship project of HBO Hungary, it was also an instant success with the public. Critical acclaim has not been scarce either; *Aranyélet* was quickly named “the greatest Hungarian television show of all time”.² After the Hungarian debut, it was soon released in several European countries either on HBO channel or on HBO Go. In 2018, it was also released in the United States, which is a rare achievement for any Hungarian production.

Although the show is loosely based on the Finnish original, the plot and character developments differ greatly right from the second episode to make it reflect closely on local social issues and character archetypes.³ The creators’ intent for the show to talk specifically about Hungary is clearly visible in the types of petty crimes often represented in the plot or the general presence of corruption and fraud in everyday life. Character types, everyday objects and symbols of social and cultural class – such as homes and cars – also play an important role in telling stories and painting a picture of the Hungarian society as a whole.

In our paper, we aim to provide a visual overview of the home environments presented in *Aranyélet*, keeping in mind that more often than not these spaces are crime locations or spaces where crime is organized. What we see are typical living spaces of Budapest put in a new context: homes are either a “reward” of

the authors’ views, and the Agency and the Commission are not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.

- 2 In a 2015 critique, IGN Hungary wrote: “*Aranyélet* is not only one of the best Hungarian shows ever made but one of HBO’s best thrillers as well” (<https://hu.ign.com/aranyelet-1-evad-7-es-8-resz/9621/review/kritika-aranyelet-1-evad-7-8-resz-finale>). Player.hu writes it is the best thing that could have happened to Hungarian television (<https://player.hu/kult/aranyelet-3-evad-kritika/>), while Nlcafe.hu claims the following in an article title: “The best Hungarian TV show of all time has been born” (<https://www.nlcafe.hu/szabadido/20151109/aranyelet-kritika-onodieszter/>).
- 3 The original Finnish version, *Helppo elämä*, by MTV3 was first aired on 5 January 2009.

crime, an indication of success achieved by not abiding by the law, or the reason for committing crimes – the only way out of a hopeless situation. An important subject of the show is social mobility that is usually achieved – or is seemingly only achievable – by breaking the law. This means that living spaces along with their furnishing and other personal objects connected to it – such as cars – are important indicators of the current state in climbing up the social, economic, and even cultural ladder of their owner.

Our research is largely inspired by Kim Toft Hansen and Anne Marit Waade's studies on Nordic Noir as they view Scandinavian crime fiction in the context of "the spatial turn in media studies" – a phrase coined by Jasper Falkheimer and André Jansson in 2006, which indicates a higher level of focus aimed at space and place in analysing media texts (Falkheimer–Jansson 2006). In the new interdisciplinary field that has emerged due to this increased attention on location in media texts, phrases such as "geography of communication" (Falkheimer–Jansson 2006), "cinematic geography" (Roberts 2012) and "mediaspace" (Couldry–McCarthy 2004) became part of the discourse (Hansen–Waade: 12). In the *Introduction* of the book, they write:

'Instead of asking "what is Nordic Noir?", which in itself is a very difficult question to answer, this book asks "where is Nordic Noir?". This enables us to pinpoint a conspicuously spatial modus operandi, a topography, in the accentuation of place in Nordic Noir and, perhaps, in TV drama in general. (Hansen–Waade: 10)

Nordic noir is an especially adequate phrase to label their work as the subgenre has become a recognizable transnational brand in the past few years (Hansen–Waade: 4–9). In the work of the Danish authors, central focus is directed at locality, geographical landscape, and the society and culture where the crime narrative is set (Hansen–Waade: 9–13, 53–76).

Where Hungarian crime fiction is located in terms of physical location as well as socio-cultural setting is an equally valid and interesting question, especially when studying a media text made for international as well as local audiences.

The Danish authors recommended to us Serra Tinic's ("place-as-character") (Tinic 2015), Todd Soldano's ("city as character") (Soldano 2015), and Lynn Spigel's ("TV places") (Spigel 2005) concepts (Hansen–Waade: 11–33). All of these concepts reflect on identifiable space representations, where interaction between real and diegetic spaces can play an important part in location strategies and the in-placement of "local colour". British geographer Tim Edensor groups the spatial structures that appear in popular media texts for localization purposes (Edensor 2002). "The six different spatial categories that deal with national identity and imageries are listed as: (a) ideological rural national landscapes,

(b) iconic sites, (c) sites of popular culture and assembly, (d) familiar, quotidian landscapes, (e) dwellingscapes, and (f) homely spaces” (Hansen–Waade: 42).

Based on the observations of Péter Mészáros (2016), the space management in earlier series of HBO Hungary is overlapping with the phenomenon described in the cited literature. Nonetheless, there are clear differences in the use of space between these earlier texts and *Aranyélet*. The show does not feel the need to represent locality by swamping the viewer with iconic tourist destinations of the capital. However, the last of Edensor’s groups, “homely spaces”, feels overrepresented. Hansen and Waade show us in Nordic noir that homely spaces can represent local colour as ionization of Nordic design and architecture (Hansen–Waade 2017: 78–81) or reflecting the mental state, mood, or emotions of the protagonist (Hansen–Waade: 127–144). The seemingly large number of home representations in *Aranyélet* drew our attention to addressing this topic further.

Our hypothesis is that the Hungarian HBO show *Aranyélet* displays spaces belonging to people of a wide range of socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. It is almost as if the show has taken it upon itself to represent the classes and demographic groups that the Hungarian nation, or more specifically, the population of Budapest, the show’s main hub consists of. We aim to prove our hypothesis by a simple content analysis which lists all the home spaces in the text of the series and categorizes the character in that space into a hypothetical demographic group based on the character’s story. We understand that this might not have been the creative intent behind choosing and arranging filming locations, but this study solely focuses on what we see on the screen. Because of the methodologies used in this paper – all of them connected to media text analysis rather than data collection from the show makers –, we are unable to take into consideration the possible goals in mind that could have contributed to the location strategies of the series. In the future, however, we are planning to interview HBO creators on the subject of *Aranyélet*

2. Demographic overview of the Hungarian society – The “Hungarian pear”

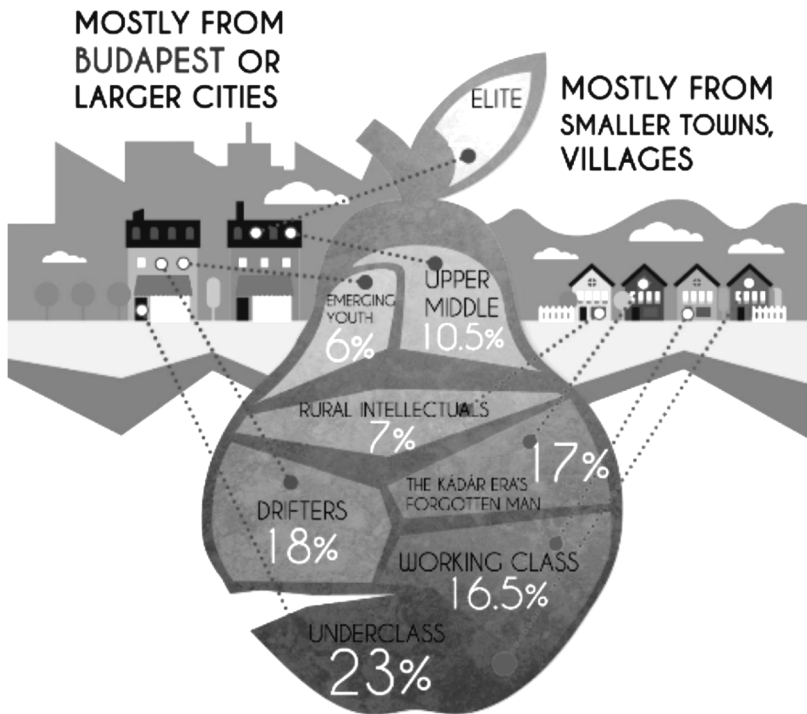
It is the in the nature of all sociological accounts that they can only be partial. Even so, social stratification has long been a crucial point of sociology because it helps us understand and ultimately deal with inequality, thus making this area an important tool in the hands of (mainly leftist) political aspirations.

When analysing *Aranyélet*’s representation of social classes, we refer to Karl Marx’s ideas on class, where a person’s role in society depends mainly on economic conditions. When discussing class identity, however, we rely on Max Weber’s concept of class, where it is much more the product of someone’s education,

intellectual accomplishments, and cultural taste, thus class being something to be gained (Waters–Waters 2015: 2–17, Benschhoff–Griffin 2009, Hess 2001).

According to the biggest Hungarian study of social classes so far, a complex survey conducted by GfK Market Research and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2014, the Hungarian demographic map looks a lot like a pear. ⁴ The upper and upper middle classes are very thin, and most of the population is in the lower middle classes, the underclass being the largest group of all with 23% of the population (Kozák–Veres 2014: 24–25).

The basis of the survey was Bourdieu’s capital theory, studying the effect of the possession of economic, social, and cultural capital on the social stratification of a country (Bourdieu 2004).



Source: GfK-MTA *Osztálylétszám 2014*

Figure 1. The “Hungarian pear”: the structure of the Hungarian society

⁴ 13,560 people have participated in the study titled *Osztálylétszám. The Structure of Hungarian Society*. The study has adapted the BBC’s *The Great British Class Survey* method to domestic conditions in order to define and measure classes of the Hungarian society, taking into account economic, relationship, and cultural capital available to the individual.

Although using social classes to characterize a society can be viewed as an outdated and an overly simplifying practice among scholars, in this study, we have been careful not to refer to classes as existing and fixed categories but rather as a set of cultural characteristics paired with economic standing.

The never before seen scale of the abovementioned Hungarian social stratification study has provided a unique look into the layers of the Hungarian population. Moreover, the large media attention it received in 2014 suggests that the survey significantly contributed to the revitalization and renewal of studying classes in social sciences (Banóczy–Kabai–Kovácsy 2015: 130).

According to the results of the mentioned study, despite expectations, a strong middle class has failed to develop in Hungary after the regime change. Surprisingly though, a significant upper middle class is visible, suggesting that both ends of the spectrum are populous. In this system, however, working class is not divided into further subgroups, and urban intellectuals seem to be missing from the table. An analysis of the results suggests that mobility between classes is very limited: sliding down the social ladder is relatively easy, while climbing up on it is hard.

As visible on the chart, there is a significant difference between rural and urban life in Hungary, a fact that could be simplified by saying: the difference between life in Budapest and the rest of the country is substantial.

Hansen and Waade cite a study conducted in Wales that can be of interest in this context: Ruth McElroy researched how television drama series produced in Wales, such as *Hinterland* (2013–), *Doctor Who* (2005–), and *Sherlock* (2010–), play a role in branding the nation and also give an opportunity for audiences to relate to the locations displayed in the series. This is relevant not only in terms of destination tourism but also in media communications: screening nations or regions as such includes implications on “the representation of places, the political and economic conditions for the influence of places on culture and media production, and, finally, the commodification of places in global market cultures” (Hansen–Waade: 54).

To study the economic implications of each setting in *Aranyélet*, it is important to identify characters and their implied social statuses.

Most of the 8 social classes identified in the study are represented in one way or another in *Aranyélet*. From the wealthy billionaire through the influential politician to the struggling working class, characters of *Aranyélet* undoubtedly represent varied groups of the Hungarian society.

The main characters, the Miklósis, are a “new money” family who already possess the wealth to be part of the upper middle class but lack the high education and social status usually associated with this class. The Hungarian upper class members are normally from Budapest or a larger city, have a wide social circle, lots of free time, which they spend wholesomely, consuming high-brow culture

and leading an active lifestyle. Although the Miklósi family barely fit even in this categorization, they are aiming to be in the upper 2%, in the *élite*. Throughout the show, they are actively trying to establish relations with this very closed social group and are trying to increase their wealth to their level. With the Miklósi family, this involves lots of “faking it” and systematic violations of the law.

Politicians and high-level criminals of the show represent the thin layer of the *élite* of the Hungarian society. They have already established the social relations as well as the economic condition associated with this group. Characters such as Ferenc Gáll, Endre Hollós, Kálmán Csér, or Zsuzsa Boros, are powerful individuals not afraid to transgress the law. They are corrupt and have strong bonds with noted criminals. It seems like the Hungarian drama finds it unlikely for ethical, law-abiding *élite* groups to exist. The Hungarian *élite* is only 2% of the society, 200 thousand people at most. They are usually descendants of the same group, and their status is virtually hereditary.

Some 6%, half a million people are in the group the study calls emerging youth, a layer of young or middle-aged individuals who have the skills and relationships – in essence, the potential – to move up the ladder. In *Aranyélet*, we see a young generation who, even though might possess the potential to become whatever they want to become, usually fails to do so, and they turn to crime instead. Márk Miklósi, one of the young protagonists of the show, is first trying to make it as a musician, then as a car thief, a petty criminal as well as an infamous criminal by the end. As a thriller and a crime drama, *Aranyélet* does not give examples of fulfilling promising destinies.

Rural intellectuals make up 7% of the Hungarian population: teachers, doctors, and local public figures of smaller towns and villages. They rarely appear in the show, set mainly in the capital. In the third season, when the setting moves to Börzsöny, a fictional town close to the capital, Barbara Nyíredi, a journalist, who is the “moral compass” of the storyline for a while, represents the group. Detectives and lawyers portray the urban intellectual group of the show.

Forgotten people of the Kádár era make up a larger, one and a half million group of the population. They are the average Joes struggling, essentially making it day by day. This rural group is largely left out of the series.

Drifters are the other group of the population, made up of young people who lack the family background, education, wealth, and social status to succeed. In a sense, Miklósi Márk’s peers and partners in crime could be considered drifters.

The study shows that 16.6% of the population is working class, while the remaining 23% is underclass. Oszi, a young Roma girl ending up in prostitution is one representation of the latter, while Janka Miklósi’s long forgotten family living on agriculture in a small farm is of the former one. If the family had not been caught up in illegal businesses, they would most likely be part of the working class.

By the last episode, we see an overly idealized, romantic picture of a “working-class” Miklósi family, where the ex-criminals find happiness and fulfilment by the simplest life imaginable. The only member of the family with a relative improvement of social status, the daughter, Mira Miklósi, who is beginning her career as a detective, is still a member of the working class by Hungarian standards.

3. Analysis of living spaces portrayed in *Aranyélet*

Taking into consideration that “places can ‘play a role’ in TV drama almost in the same way as an actor or actress plays a part”, analysing the settings of *Aranyélet* proposes the question of the role each setting is intended to play in the viewer’s mind. Although using actual, real-life places for filming locations is nothing new under the sun, McHale and Booker emphasize a current trend in TV fiction in which there is a constant blurring of the boundary between the fictionalized locations and the real-world places – a tendency often regarded as an indication of a postmodern mind frame (McHale 1987, 32; Booker 2007).

In this paper, however, we do not analyse public places represented in the series that could blur lines between fictional and real-life locations. Instead, we focus on the fictionalized home environments that are supposed to represent – at least in our view – ways in which different strata of the Hungarian society live.

Of course, the level of representation differs from real social proportions, but we have found twenty different homes covering a number of different social strata in the text. These are twenty homes of major or minor characters displayed in the 30 episodes – one hour each – of the three seasons. This number is rather high considering that most of the show takes place in and around the homes of the main characters and in public places.

Looking at their involvement in crime, it is worth noting that only two families are innocent in all respects. This makes *Aranyélet* seem a lot like a sociographical crime journey. Sometimes the homes are the crime scenes – not an unusual thing in this genre –, but most of the time crimes take place in public or abandoned places. In this paper’s interpretation, real estates and social status in *Aranyélet* are more often results of or rewards for crime rather than simply scenes of lawbreaking. Since the study focuses primarily on homes, we do not take into account whether the characters talked about play a protagonist or more of an antagonist role in the series. The show lacks characters that have a lasting simplified moral compass role. Moral heroes of *Aranyélet* often turn out to be lawbreakers. With all this in mind, our investigation focuses only on the social status of the owner of the home and the crimes he or she has committed.

Our method is to connect the homes of *Aranyélet* with the strata of the Hungarian society according to the abovementioned study conducted by GfK

Market Research and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Kozák–Veres 2014: 24–25). This paper focuses on how the show is representing these strata and connects the homes with the crime committed by the character they belong to.

3.1. The Élite

Most scenes take place in the vicinity of the élite, where the Miklósis want to belong. Crime is part of the everyday life for a character who belongs to this class. The élite is quite diverse in the show. One of their main representatives is Endre Hollós. Hollós is an important character, who is connected to most members of the Miklósi family by strong bonds: best friend of the father, Attila; lover of the mother, Janka; and godfather for the son, Márk. Hollós was a drifter during and before the regime change, built an empire on sin, and became a high-level figure of the organized crime life of Budapest.

His home represents the drifter roots and an upstart taste. The classicizing villa is full of large spaces and expensive materials such as marble, leather, and hardwood. The swimming pool, the bar, and the study, packed with bookshelves are all in central position even though we never see him reading, and on one occasion he openly questions the usefulness of knowledge from books.

There are multiple bedrooms in his residence although he lives there alone in the first episode, when we get to know the character. Throughout the episodes, his home is mostly for representation rather than to serve as a comfortable home, and the most featured scenes are the gate, the driveway, and the entry hall. Hollós owns a poker table for holding regular gatherings for his business partners. Although the garden is also suitable for holding events like these, only the next owners of the residence will use it for a garden party. Another function of the villa is keeping secrets and hiding various objects. This function is mostly connected to the kennel, where his two beloved bloodhounds live. The villa is deeply connected to crime in all aspects.

Another villa owner is Kálmán Csér, lover of the Miklósi mother, Janka, and a rich CEO. Csér was an emerging young economist. He “only” commits white-collar crimes such as tax evasion, embezzlement, and fraud. An indication of his sketchy businesses is that all of his luxury cars have a Slovakian licence plate completed with a fake disability certificate used for free parking.

Classicizing, new-money taste that was so obviously visible in Hollós’s house is nowhere to be seen in Csér’s villa. His home is full of high-tech gadgets and expensive, modern materials, such as glass or metal, and timeless classics such as leather and hardwood. In addition, it is a minimalist architectural masterpiece. Design seems to be more important for him than for Hollós, but even so his home is not a place of representation. There is no garden, and the living room and terrace with the pool are both too small for social gatherings. There is no study

as far as we can see: the whole residence is built for personal relaxation and recreation.

The difference between the two homes can be related to the different backgrounds of the characters: a former drifter and an emerged – former – young intellectual. Both homes meet the basic needs of their owners and, in addition, provide extra luxuries depending on their lifestyles. Common features in both homes are spacious rooms – even if they are not always fit for parties – filled with expensive materials, and a comfortable distance and distinct fencing separating the property from the neighbours.

There are two more buildings in *Aranyélet* which represent the same stratum and that belong to minor characters of the show. One is a villa of a corrupt state secretary, and the other is the house of a building contractor, who is consistently overpricing work for her wife’s foundation. We could argue, however, that the latter family is part of the upper middle class and not of the élite.

It is hard to say whether the home of the Miklósi family in Season 3 is a representation of an élite residence or not. By this point, the family has sunk quite deep in sin but are quickly rising on the social ladder. The Miklósi Villa in Season 3 is not in Budapest, and we know that it was previously owned by a gangster. In its appearance and size, it follows the patterns of the Hollós Villa, while mimicking a rural, Mediterranean style.

The rural mansion of Feri Gáll – who plays a sort of a “godfather” character in the show in every sense of the word – lies somewhat outside of the spectrum of this study as it is not situated in Budapest. It is, however, worth a mention as it portrays a fundamentally different aesthetics than the abovementioned ones. Gáll’s two-storey chateau is an example of vernacular architecture with its simplistic, folksy exterior and impressive, open-plan interior. The furnishing of the living room – which is the space we see the most – highlights the differences between a new-money Budapest lifestyle and a classy, comfortable rural living. Natural materials such as leather and wood dominate the space, which is filled with books – reinforcing the feeling of slow, village living but also giving an intellectual vibe to the home of a character who is essentially the brains behind elaborate criminal activities.

3.2. Upper middle class

The most important motivation of the protagonist family is to advance on the social ladder. In the first episode of the series, we meet a family living in a suburban area of Buda. In the neighbourhood, upper-class families live in detached houses with spacious gardens. In their two-story house, the Miklósi parents and the two children all have their own rooms, a garage fit for two vehicles, and a sauna. The house is a modern minimalist building with the interior reflecting a carefully

designed and deliberate architectural concept: angular shapes, whites and greys dominating on walls, in furniture, even in decorations. Apart from the children's rooms, the interior looks as if chosen from a catalogue – much to the contrast of the average lower-middle-class Hungarian family homes, which are usually designed and decorated haphazardly, resulting in a homely but not exceptionally aesthetic environment. The Miklósi house is a symbol of easy life accessible by sin, and it is on the border of *élite* and upper middle class.

The neighbouring house of Klára and Ambrus is similar in style and appearance. The difference between the two families occupying these homes is stark: while Klára is involved in the work of a homeless care foundation, Janka is trying to use the organization for her own social advancement. We do not know about the professions of the residents in the area, but Klára and Ambrus are among the few characters in the series without represented crime. Despite the fact that there are multiple scenes filmed in or around their house, it still looks quite blank and minimalistic in decoration. We see the white, simply furnished living room from an inner angle, with the terrace separated only by a large glass wall in the background. We can see Ambrus smoking on the balcony, we see them gardening, and the viewer also learns that their first car was a Škoda during the time of the socialist regime – Klára remembers this with nostalgia. But there are no objects indicating their identity and virtually no colours around them. By watching them from the point of view of the protagonist family – which is identical to the viewpoint of people watching the show –, we assume them to be an educated, self-made, upper-class couple.

Another character from the homeless care foundation is Judit – also mentioned in the *élite* context. She also has a pool on her property, but her garden is smaller. She lives in a densely populated area in comparison to the *élite*.

Beyond basic function, all of these homes have spacious living spaces suitable for receiving guests. The rooms are usually bright, roomy, and tastefully decorated. The geographic features of the area – visible hills – suggest that these homes are most likely in Buda, the western part of the city, which is an area known to be populated by people from higher levels of society.

3.3. Emerging youth and drifters – The young generations

The 2014 study on the Hungarian social structure mentions two groups that consist mainly of the younger (or at least middle-aged) generation. Young people who get a head start in life through their family and educational background are the emerging youth – virtually the only group in this categorization with a good chance for upward social mobility. Their peers without that head start, having no relationships and having received a poor education are likely to become drifters: wondering through life without stability, changing jobs frequently, and lacking a promising vision for the future.

The younger characters of *Aranyélet* cannot be easily put in either one of these categories. If we take a look at the apartment of the Student Body President character, we see a messy rented flat full of entertainment devices. The living environment suggests occupants ready to use the weaknesses of the system for their own advantages. The young opportunists, trained in university politics, represent a future generation of immoral and corrupt politicians, armed with a valuable social network and the ability to embezzle funds and move up the social ladder – maybe even as far as the *élite*.

The convicted felon, Pisti Mátyás, who is a Roma father in his thirties or early forties, represents another group of Hungarian (relative) youth. He is a drifter in the sense that we are unaware of any occupational qualifications of his; he is most likely a contingent worker, supporting his family by constantly breaking the law. Based on the spacious, two-story suburban family home he has built, he is moderately successful in his affairs. However, he has no intention of leaving “his people” and moving out of the poor quarter with a significant Roma population. Rather, he becomes a gipsy gang leader with his large, architecturally unimpressive house looking like a palace among the humble wooden huts and tiny, worn-down cabins along the dirt roads.

Looking at the interior, we see indicators of Roma identity – garish colours and traditional decoration – combined with Catholic religious symbols.

3.4. Rural and urban intellectuals

The archetypical homes of rural intellectuals in the show are represented by the wooden house of Barbara Nyíredi, the journalist. The house is in Börzsöny, outside of the city. In this paper, we focus on homes situated in the capital because outside the city the sample is too small for proper comparison. Even so, the house of Barbara is definitely worth a mention. Her little garden in front of the building is well kept up, thoughtfully arranged, and full of flowers. The home is also neat, with natural colours and a combination of rustic and modern design. Barbara is the moral compass of the show during her journalist career, but she eventually gives up the fight and becomes a spokesperson for corrupt politicians.

In the case of urban residents that are closest to this stratum, we found it difficult to categorize some of the homes represented in the show, using the classes provided by the 2014 study of the Hungarian society. These characters all have intellectual jobs, and their homes are definitely comparable to each other, but the lifestyle of the characters hardly match the upper-middle-class samples from the show – the only group that is close to the rural intellectual stratum but is suitable for residents of Budapest that the survey has identified. For this reason, we have decided to use the category of urban intellectuals instead to talk

about intellectuals living in the capital as well – a group that we would otherwise identify as middle class in the broad sense of the term.

Rural or urban intellectual characters are guilty of petty crimes at most. One of them is Géza Zebegényi, a divorced state attorney, whose flat in a renovated block of flats becomes an important place in the show, and it is ultimately the home of the Miklósi girl, Mira. However, in the beginning of her relationship with the forty-three-year-old man, she is practically an adolescent. Another crime of Zebegényi is that he is not afraid of the unlawful collection of evidence – which, however unlawful, is potentially morally superior to not trying to get to the bottom of cases.

His lifestyle and the objects of his house suggest his belonging to the middle class: his apartment is full of IKEA furniture, and he owns a large number of books. His kitchen is modern, but the bathroom is too small to make the shootings, so it is not filmed at all. We can interpret his living conditions in the block of flats as a result of committing crimes that do not bring material goods. Therefore, although his “crimes” might be justifiable in some sense, they are not rewarded by money either, and committing them is essentially pointless if the goal is personal success.

Another example in this stratum is the apartment of detective Erika Jakab in Buda. Her apartment is certainly of the same social class as Zebegényi’s flat. The style is different, but similar markers can be noticed: IKEA furniture, modern, probably mass-produced decorations, and a decent-sized living area. Although likely, it is not completely clear whether she gets money for being an undercover agent of an oligarch in the police because her motivation of crime is first and foremost vengeance as opposed to economic well-being. The homes of the detective and the attorney are both worked out to the last detail.

Another home of an urban intellectual is from an outer district, a newly built area of the middle class. The owner, Imre Strasszer, is a corrupt bank employee. The outside of his attached home is beautiful; it is one of at least thirty of the same kind of terraced houses on the street. The inside, however, is crowded, and the design is eclectic. There seems to be no sign of civic identity in the interior.

In a different part of the city, at a modern housing estate, we see two more middle-class apartments, belonging to victims rather than criminals. In the first season, Attila, the father, breaks into apartments and impersonates a real estate agent showing the apartments as open houses. If someone decides to rent the flat, Attila disappears with the deposit. Through these examples, we can see ideal living spaces of young couples and individuals trying to find their first – rented – apartment. In the diegetic world of the series, they are not innocent: Attila’s scam can only work because tenants are not afraid of tax evasion, writing an improper or incomplete contract in order to pay less rent. We could argue that the abovementioned young renters in the first season are also members of the working class, but the truth is that we do not get much information about their background.

3.5. Forgotten people of the Kádár era

This stratum is clearly less represented in the show than the ones mentioned above. However, one example is worth talking about: the house of the retired colonel, Mihály Miklósi, and his wife: the parents of Attila. Although he is not typically a member of this class – his economic and social status from being a former colonel is clearly way too high to be considered a forgotten man –, his home bears some attributes associated with this stratum. However, the furnishing reminds us of the environment of the average Joes of the Kádár era: a generation who could prosper during this period only by constantly stealing from their workplace – a common practice during those years among the working class. The communist colonel used to smuggle art through the border during the socialist regime. His reward was the impressive, civic house in the capital, which was obviously beyond their means. Many years have passed since the regime change, but in the house time has stopped, and the furniture is still the same. It has been a long time since the building was renovated, and it seems like the residents could only conserve the building but without any realistic chance of improvement.

A number of scenes play a special dramaturgical role in this house: in the second season, there are two parallel timelines. One is a flashback to around 20 years ago, when we see a young Miklósi couple in the parents' house. The other is the diegetic present of the show. The Miklósi family had to move back to the house, evoking a sense of past in the viewer as well as in the characters' mind.

3.6. Working class

In comparison to other strata, there are only a few cases of the working class appearing in the series. A clear example of the group, however, is the home of Zoli and Hanna, a small business owner couple living above their self-operated ruin pub in an old civic apartment in the party area of Budapest. The furniture is upcycled and refurbished, and the design is eclectic, just like in the pub right under their flat. In most of the scenes they appear in, we see them engaged in crime: both of them – even the pregnant mother – are marijuana smokers, they dilute the drinks they sell with water, and at one point the man tries to seduce young Mira Miklósi.

Earlier in this paper, we have mentioned that based on their qualifications and background the Miklósi family would have likely belonged to the working class without crime or at least to the group of the Kádár era's forgotten people. The typical home belonging to this class in an urban block of flats, however, only appears at the end of the last season. The series puts the story of the characters in a stagnant yet idyllically depicted, small bourgeois, working-class life in a block of flats. In our interpretation, the story also implicitly claims that starting out

from the lower classes of society this is the highest social level that members of Hungarian society can reach without crime.

3.7. Underclass

The Budapest underclass is traditionally imagined living in run-down, crowded blocks of flats built in the Soviet era in the style of socialist realism. These buildings are famously unfit for comfortable living. They were built with one purpose in mind: to house as many occupants in just a few square meters as possible – no matter the cost. The social life in these buildings mainly takes place on the common porch areas along the corridors.

A Gipsy girl, called Oszi – who ends up in foreign prostitution and even becomes a victim of trafficking for a short while –, lives in a flat like this with her family at the beginning of the series. The area is most likely the Havanna blocks, one of the most infamous neighbourhoods of Budapest, with a very dense population and an even higher crime rate. Oszi does not have her own bedroom: the flat is crowded and furnished with old, weary pieces from the socialist era. The family not having enough room in the flat is not a surprising situation: flats are supposed to be “starting homes” from where young couples can move up in a few years, maybe even to their own house. This familiar fantasy, however, remains a fantasy for most people of the underclass.

Even though this is a violent environment with a drug addict and a lack of personal space around her, Oszi is trying to live a decent life. As she attempts to help Mira, the Miklósi daughter, she loses her job, forcing her to move to Switzerland as a prostitute. This unfortunate event becomes her chance to move up the social ladder: moving back home to Budapest, she can afford her own residence, now in a civic apartment building in the city. This is a significant progress in Oszi’s living conditions. It is likely that the apartment is still in the notorious 8th district of Budapest, and it is quite old and needs a renovation, but at least she now lives on her own with brick walls rather than concrete panels surrounding her. The interior is simplistic, we could even call it empty; it is not overly decorated, but it does have a woman’s touch on it, and it serves as a safe haven for the young lady with such a difficult history. It is telling that the two Roma characters in the show both do well considering their starting situations, yet they both decide to stay in their familiar surroundings and not to move out and away from their familiar communities.

Conclusions

The main goal of this paper was to investigate the kind of society HBO's *Aranyélet* represents relative to the actual structure of the Hungarian society. To do this, we have scrutinized the living spaces of characters from very different statuses, as represented in the show, paying special attention to the suggested location of the homes, to the general condition, style, and furnishing of the spaces, and the lifestyle their layout suggests. For a much deeper analysis, we could have compared just the kitchens – or living rooms per se – of an elite home to a working-class home, down to the very last tile and decorative item, and this is something we would find to be an interesting continuation of this study in the future. The present paper, however, only tries to present a general overview of all the main private locations the series showcases, with the aim to prove that the social structure presented by HBO's hit series provides a rather accurate interpretation of the lifestyle of the different stratum of the Hungarian society.

The series *Aranyélet* – and productions of the Eastern European HBO in general – provides a number of examples where localization, re-positioned and re-branded spaces become the main focal point in the text of the TV series. During our research, however, we have realized that the mediascape represented in the series contains magnifications, or zoom-ins, into living spaces that represent and typify the personal spaces of social classes in a fairly wide range.

As part of a larger, international research on crime fiction (including locality), this paper only tries to prove that hypothesis with the close reading analysis of the texts themselves. In doing so, we have identified all the living spaces represented in the media text, after which we have connected them to relevant social classes. We have also included how crime in narrative crime fiction relates to the social classes represented. We have concluded that the hypothetic wide spectrum is actually a full spectrum based on a recent sociographical systematization.

The analysis of home environments in *Aranyélet* will be the first part of a larger study first aiming to examine the location strategies of the series including the use of public spaces. That then will be incorporated into an even larger study aiming to characterize location strategies in contemporary European crime genres.

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***Chuchotage* – Intermediary Spaces in (Screen) Translation**

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Abstract. The present paper is devoted to the translation theoretical, linguistic-textual comparison of the Hungarian film dialogues and their English subtitles of the short dramedy entitled *Susotázs* [*Chuchotage*, 2018] and directed by Barnabás Tóth, winner of several film festivals and shortlisted for Academy Awards in 2019. Subtitling is considered to be a form of rewriting, requiring text reduction through condensation, reformulation, and omission at word and/or sentence level (Díaz Cintas–Remael 2007). Following the theoretical considerations regarding the linguistic aspects of subtitling and its strategies, the paper discusses several aspects of rendering the Hungarian dialogue in the form of English subtitles, such as forms of address, informal expressions, and culture-specific elements. Finally, the analysis aims to highlight the possibilities of making Hungarian humour available in English.

Keywords: Hungarian film dialogue, English subtitles, interlingual transfer, humour, translation strategies

Motto:

Chuchotage [ˈʃuʃotaːu]: The most difficult form of interpreting, where the interpreter does the simultaneous interpreting without the help of an interpreting system or equipment. Sitting next to the customer, the linguist whispers the interpretation of what is being said by the others but interprets the customer's words aloud. The form of interpreting can only be carried out with sufficient quality where only a very small number of people require interpreting.

(source: Society of Hungarian Translators and Interpreters)

Introduction

Translation is a special space in-between. It offers the target culture receiver a glimpse into another culture. Interlanguage subtitling as a form of audiovisual translation (AVT) has its pivotal role in allowing the audience of a film to have aural and visual access to the source culture. When a foreign language film is

subtitled into English, one of its objectives is to make it accessible, i.e. to offer equivalent information to different audiences (Gambier 2018: 54). Subtitling a Hungarian audiovisual text into English intended for an international audience requires much attention from the translator in order to achieve the greatest impact possible. We believe that the quality of the translation directly influences the cultural impact of the source culture (SC) on the target culture (TC) (see Eco's cultural equivalence (2008) and House's functional equivalence (1997, 2015)). Due to the strong position of the Anglo-American culture, as TC on the film market with respect to the Hungarian SC, today, when marketing and distribution are of major importance, a film targeted at international festivals and markets should heavily rely not only on its filmic/visual qualities but also on the English subtitles that the film is to be released with. When a relatively minor language and culture strives to achieve international attention, one major possibility to accomplish this is through quality translations from the minor language (in our case, Hungarian) into English, at the moment still the *lingua franca* of international culture. In this way, it might be possible to achieve that both the source and the target text will have the same status in their cultural systems (as argued in Bassnett 2007).

The present study aims to analyse the relationship between the Hungarian script and the English subtitles of the short Hungarian film *Chuchotage* (2018) directed by Barnabás Tóth in order to see whether the subtitling of the film contributes to its successful international reception.

So far, this only 16-minute-long film has won 20 awards, 22 nominations in 42 international film festivals¹ and was shortlisted for Academy Awards (Oscar) nomination for the Best Live Action Short Film category in 2019.

1. Theoretical considerations

Translation, in general, requires flexibility and creativity from the translator, and this is even more valid in the case of subtitling due to its spatial and temporal constraints. In spite of the ubiquity of the image in our time, a good reception of a film can be achieved if its three main components – the spoken word, the image, and the subtitles – are in perfect symbiosis. In this respect, intersemiotic cohesion should be attained: the subtitles connect language directly to the soundtrack and to the images visible on the screen in order to achieve a coherent linguistic-visual whole (as argued in Díaz Cintas–Remael 2007: 171).

As opposed to dubbing, which sets only the target text available for the audience and leaves the source text covert, therefore being a more target-culture-bound, i.e. domesticating strategy, subtitling is a more source-culture-bound, i.e. foreignizing strategy, which leaves both the source and the target text overt,

1 Source: Barnabás Tóth's personal webpage: <http://www.barnabastoth.com/>.

specifically audible and visible for the viewers (Szarkowska 2005, Shuttleworth–Cowie 1997: 45).

One of the earliest definitions of subtitling has been given by Gottlieb in 1992:

Benefiting from the support and counteracting the pressure from the array of formal and textual constraints, the subtitler transcodes the uncompromising dialog into equally unavoidable strips of graphic signs conveying a maximum of semantic and stylistic information. In this balancing act, the subtitler (consciously or not) utilizes certain techniques, but as is the case with any type of translation the goal of adequacy – and even less equivalence – is not always reached. (Gottlieb 1992: 166)

As it can be deduced, subtitling is a cross-medium activity (Bogucki 2004: 72) that renders spoken language in writing, with additional information visible on the screen. In this respect, it is considered to be a diagonal form of translation, one in which interlingual subtitles cross over from SL speech to TL script (Gottlieb 2004: 17). It is a form of overt translation (House 1997) as the subtitles are visible and are an inherent part of the subtitling activity (Munday 2008: 189). Taken from the position of text type, as the subtitles retain verbal elements of the ST, it can be considered “a written, additive, synchronous type of translation of a fleeting polysemiotic text type” (Gottlieb 1997: 312).

As mentioned also in Gottlieb’s definition, subtitles must follow certain technical, punctuational, and linguistic requirements. From a technical point of view, subtitles must appear in synchrony with the image and dialogue, and they must be displayed on the screen long enough for the viewers to be able to read them. Spatial and temporal limitations are imposed by the film medium. In this respect, subtitles are different from translations, and so subtitling is considered to be a kind of adaptation rather than translation. The technical limitations impose constraints on the end result. According to the generally accepted rule, there can be 32–41 characters per line and max. 2 lines per frame.

As the qualitative analysis of subtitles leads to a better understanding of the hows and whys of the subtitling process, in this paper we will concentrate on the linguistic (textual and translational) aspects of subtitles, i.e. on the verbal dimension of the text. From this point of view, certain guidelines have been settled (e.g. Díaz Cintas–Remael 2007: 147–183) according to which in subtitles the grammar and lexis tend to be simplified, while interactional features and intonation are maintained only to some extent. Not all features of speech are lost, but rendering all speech features would lead to long (and thus illegible) subtitles.

Besides, *Chuchotage* is a multilingual film, where the majority of the spoken text is in Hungarian, but, as the context of the film dialogue is the world of international interpreters, there are sequences in English and Italian as well.

These languages add a “foreign touch” to the film, which might be in danger to be lost in the subtitles unless the viewer can rely on the soundtrack (Díaz Cintas–Remael 2007: 58).

Regarding the linguistic aspect of subtitles, researchers define subtitling as a form of rewriting which involves a great deal of text reduction due to the above-mentioned technical constraints. Partial reduction means the condensation of the ST message, while total reduction involves deletions and omissions of some segments of the ST (Díaz Cintas–Remael 2007: 144–183). In deciding how much should be reduced or deleted, the principle of relevance should be applied (as argued in Gutt 1991). This means that a “balance between the effort required by the viewer to process an item and its relevance for the understanding of the film narrative” should be achieved, i.e. “achieving a maximum effect with a minimum effort” (Díaz Cintas–Remael 2007: 148). Naturally, when deciding what strategies to apply in the subtitling process, other aspects, such as genre, the target audience, the context, and the speed of delivery, should also be taken into account (Georgakopoulou 2003, qtd in Díaz Cintas–Remael 2007: 149). Consequently, the subtitles are aimed at producing a translation that is well tuned to the needs of the target audience (Díaz Cintas–Remael 2007: 149).

Based on his experience as a television subtitler, Gottlieb enlists ten strategies which are used by subtitlers. These are the following: 1) Expansion, 2) Paraphrase, 3) Transfer, 4) Imitation, 5) Transcription, 6) Dislocation, 7) Condensation, 8) Decimation, 9) Deletion, and 10) Resignation. The following table is taken from Gottlieb’s categories of subtitling. This table consists of different types of subtitling strategies with the characteristics of each one as well as the media type they are specific to (Gottlieb 1992: 166):

Table 1. *Gottlieb’s typology of subtitling (1992) strategy, adapted by the author*

Types of strategy	Character of translation	Media-specific type
1) Extension	Expanded expression, adequate rendering (e.g. culture-specific references)	No
2) Paraphrase	Altered expression, adequate content (non-visualized language-specific phenomena)	No
3) Transfer	Full expression, adequate rendering (“neutral” discourse, slow tempo)	No
4) Imitation	Identical expression, equivalent rendering (proper nouns, international greetings, etc.)	No
5) Transcription	Anomalous, non-standard expression, adequate rendering (non-standard speech, intended speech defects)	Yes
6) Dislocation	Differing expression, adjusted content (musical or visualized language-specific phenomena)	Yes

Types of strategy	Character of translation	Media-specific type
7) Condensation	Condensed expression, concise rendering (normal, mid-tempo speech with some redundancy)	Yes
8) Decimation	Abridged expression, reduced content (fast speech of some importance, i.e. low-redundancy speech)	Yes
9) Deletion	Omitted expression, no verbal content (fast speech of less importance, i.e. high-redundancy speech)	Yes
10) Resignation	Deviant, differing expression, distorted content (incomprehensible or “untranslatable” speech such as tricky idioms and culture-specific elements)	No

As it can be seen from the above table, strategies 1–7 are used in translation in general, and strategies 5–9 are more common in subtitling. Condensation (Strategy 7) is the prototypical strategy of subtitling as meaning and stylistic content are conveyed, but oral features are possibly lost. Semantic and stylistic content suffer the most in the case of decimation and deletion (strategies 8–9), where radical cuts are employed, but due to the presence of the audio and visual track the message is still delivered (Gottlieb 1992: 166–167).

Whenever there is a qualitative analysis of the way the ST is rendered in the TT, each verbal film segment must be analysed with respect to their semantic and stylistic value. In the following, relevant fragments of the script and the subtitles of the film *Chuchotage* will be compared and analysed, the selection of the examples being based on the specifics of the Hungarian language and culture.

2. Methodology

In most cases, it is the script of the film that forms the basis for the film dialogues and, consequently, for the subtitles. In our case, however, the script is not strictly followed by the actors. In one of the most important scenes, for instance, the actor was improvising, which made the audio version even more dynamic and realistic (see: interview fragment).²

In order to be able to compare the source text script and the subtitles of the short film *Chuchotage*, the following steps were followed: When the film was shortlisted for the Oscar Awards, it was made available online by its producers and was shared on several sites throughout the Hungarian media. So, in the first stage, the work was started by watching the Hungarian version of the film together with its English subtitles. In the second stage, the English subtitles were

2 http://www.miromagazine.com/film-tv/reviews-film-tv/chuchotage-review-a-mesmerising-marriage-of-comedy-and-tragedy/?fbclid=IwAR2kXgbNscj_gaoUSHy0x59WZ2vQMCRlksUttRXq_zypY3TmqDvvh7XBex0

transcribed from the screen. Then the two Hungarian scripts of the movie were acquired by approaching the film director, Barnabás Tóth, who provided us with both the pre- and post-production scripts and some information regarding the subtitling process.³ Finally, a database was compiled, and both the source and target texts were placed in a chart for the sake of textual comparison.

3. The story of little men in the shadows

Being people “in the shadows”, who are “only” mediators between languages and cultures, it is quite a rare occasion for translators or interpreters to become protagonists of a film. Suffice it to mention some feature film examples from recent years: *The Interpreter*⁴ (2005), *The Translator*⁵ (2015), *Un Traductor*⁶ (2018). *Chuchotage* is a film with a similar topic but this time in the form of a short, only 16-minute-long masterpiece.

According to its story, during a professional conference on the use of home appliances and their effect on environmental protection and climate change held in Prague, two simultaneous interpreters in the Hungarian booth are informed that only one person is listening to them. The two men try to detect the identity of the person among the listeners, and when this is revealed to them they compete with each other for the person’s attention as in their belief the listener proves to be an attractive woman (hence the working title of the film: *Flört (Flirt)*). Ironically, the trick of the tale is revealed at the very end: the flirt is actually based on a misunderstanding, and the listener turns out to be a middle-aged man.

The film conveys a sweet and bitter central European image of the little man who – having spent all his life in an interpreting booth as a shadow character of conferences – yearns for the lost connection with the world beyond his booth. In this respect, it is a film about spaces in between, as one of its critics described it: “It is a film of translation and transcendence.”⁷

3 I am extremely grateful to Barnabás Tóth for providing me with the two scripts of the film. The subtitles were created by Ágnes Székely, in the case of puns and wordplay helped by the director, Barnabás Tóth himself, and his brother (personal communication).

4 <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0373926/>

5 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PA8HTX6CXBs>

6 <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt4488744/>

7 http://www.miromagazine.com/film-tv/reviews-film-tv/chuchotage-review-a-mesmerising-marriage-of-comedy-and-tragedy/?fbclid=IwAR2kXgbNscj_gaoUSHy0x59WZ2vQMCrIksUttRXq_zypY3TmqDvvh7XBeX0

4. The subtitling of *Chuchotage* – Spaces in between

In this part of the paper, the spaces in between the source text (the sound track) and its subtitles will be examined with respect to Gottlieb’s typology of subtitling strategies. Firstly, forms of address as well as formal and informal (slang) expressions will be studied as they appear in the two interpreters’ dialogues and their English subtitles. Secondly, the culture-specific elements of the source culture as well as the way they are rendered in the subtitles will be analysed. Last but not least, the wordplay and humorous remarks will be discussed as phrases which occasionally prove to be untranslatable items.

4.1. Rendering forms of address, formal and informal expressions

In the film, the two Hungarian interpreters are called András (Andrew) and Pál (Paul), but they address each other as “Andriskám” and “Palikám” (Andrew/Paul + diminutive + first-person possessive pronoun “my”), suggesting the speaker’s scornful and educating attitude towards his addressee.

In the English subtitles, however, the two names appear either as the regular Hungarian first name (András = Andrew) or replaced by a more impersonal, general form of address: *my friend*. The kindness and banter meant by the use of the Hungarian forms of address are lost in the English variants, and so this friendly relationship shared by the two is not verbally signalled. However, we believe that this loss is compensated visually by the characters’ facial expressions and gestures.

Table 2. *Examples – Part I.*

	HU script	EN subtitles	Back translation
1.	P: Andriskám , lehet egy olyat kérni, hogy legközelebb reggelizz a szállodában?	P: András , can I ask you to have breakfast at the hotel next time?	Andrew + diminutive + pers. poss., is it possible to ask that you have your breakfast in the hotel next time?
2.	A: Ezt majd te csinálod, Palikám .	A: That’s going to be your bit, my friend .	A: Then you will do this, Paul + diminutive + 1 st -pers. poss.

A similar Hungarian endearing form of address is *magácska* (you – sg. fml. dimin.), which is a personal pronoun in the process of becoming outdated and mostly used by men to kindly address young girls. It is a diminutive form of the formal honorific *maga* (you – sg. fml.). Today, it already has an ambiguous, slightly erotic taste. In examples 3–5 below, this form of address is used in this connotation when András addresses the Woman, flirting with her more and more aggressively.

Table 3. *Examples – Part II.*

HU script	EN subtitles	Back translation
3. András: Magácska ott a hátsó sorban viszont szerintem abszolút A kategóriás.	You dear , in the back row however could definitely be labelled as A.	You (sg. fml. dimin.) there in the back row, however, I think you are absolutely A category.
4. András: Ilyen magácska is, ebben nem nyitok vitát.	Just like you , no use arguing about that.	You (sg. fml. dimin.) are also like this, I do not open a discussion about that.
5. András: (...) az állampolgárok, mint magácska és én, gyakorlatilag leadhatják a régi eszközöket.	Where citizens like you and me can take our old, unused sexual tools.	(...) the citizens, like you (sg. fml. dimin.) and me, can practically hand down the old tools.

However, as it can be seen from the English context, the rendering of this pronoun appears only once in the form of *you dear*, whereas in the other cases it remains the simple personal pronoun *you*. It is true that the honorific forms of address existing in Hungarian (*ön, maga*) cannot be translated literally, wherefore compensating strategies are required in the translation to render the respect shown by the addresser towards the addressee.

Pál, on the other hand, keeps addressing the Woman as *maga*, showing genuine respect towards her all through his self-confession in the culminating monologue of the film. Similar to András's dialogues, this is rendered by "you" in the English subtitles; so, the foreign viewer does not notice any textual difference in the two men's totally different attitude towards the woman. However, we believe, this contrast is again compensated by the two characters' different facial expressions, body movement, and gestures. Moreover, the different attitude is also highlighted by the way Pál tries to compete for her by mentioning the difficulties of his profession (SZAKMA! 'PROFESSION!' – he writes a note to his colleague in capital letters suggesting that the woman's attention should be drawn by doing their best as interpreters), while András tries to conquer her by courting her, referring to her physical qualities.

Table 4. Examples – Part III.

	HU script	EN subtitles	Back translation
6.	Pál: Szigorú szabályok közt élek. Soha semmi nem zökkenhet ki. De aztán jön maga .	I live by strict rules, nothing ever puts me off. Except you .	I live among strict rules. Nothing ever can put me off. But then you (sg. fml.) appear.
7.	Pál: Látom, hogy itt van maga körül 70 ember és senki nem hallja, amit mondok, csak maga .	There are 70 people in that room, but you are the only one hearing me.	I can see that there are 70 people around you (sg. fml.), and nobody can hear what I'm saying except you (sg. fml.).
8.	Pál: Maga miatt kilépek az árnyékból a fényre, maga elé. Ön nem tud angolul, de majd leszek az ön tolmácsa. maga mögé ülök, és sustorgok a fülébe. Megmutatom magának , mi az a susotázs.	For you I would step out of the shadows into the light. You don't speak English, but I will be your interpreter. I'll follow you everywhere, sitting behind you . Whispering into your ear. Showing you what chuchotage is.	Because of you (sg. fml.) I step out of the shadow into the light in front of you. You can't speak English, but then I will be your interpreter. I will come everywhere, will be sitting behind you, and will be whispering into your ear. I will show you what chuchotage is.

In Example (8) the honorific pronoun *ön* also appears twice, as the official formal expression for second person address, but this is similarly rendered in the English subtitles by *you*, wherefore again the foreign-language viewer does not notice any difference in the degree of formality in the verbal behaviour of the two interpreters when addressing the Woman. We believe that Paul's very respectful confession compensates for this loss.

4.2. Rendition of informal language and slang

Rendering informal expressions can also cause slight hesitations for the subtitler. Due to the informal situation in which the plot of the film takes place, the script of *Chuchotage* also contains several informal words, phrases, and slang expressions that had to be translated into/adapted to English. In the first place, there are international words that have been taken over from English into Hungarian, and therefore their rendition probably did not pose a problem (e.g. forms of greeting such as “hello”, which was not even subtitled as the viewer can hear it directly and will surely understand). Similar examples can be seen below:

Table 5. *Examples – Part IV.*

	HU script	EN subtitles	Back translation
9.	Muszáj volt shoppingolnom reggel. Az asszony valami speckó sajtokat rendelt, ami ugye nincs a repülőtéren.	I had to go shopping . My wife asked for some special cheese.	I had to go shopping in the morning. The woman (= my wife) ordered some special kinds of cheese, which, as you know, cannot be found at the airport.
10.	A múltkor egy barokk konferenciát csináltam, ahol a nő mellett melegítette az instant leves port , miközben én tolmácsoltam.	I did a conference on Baroque with a woman who boiled instant soup next to me while I was interpreting.	The other day, I did a conference on Baroque, where the woman next to me was heating the instant soup powder , while I was interpreting.
11.	Valami nagy fejes lehet.	It must be some bigwig .	It must be some kind of big boss .
12.	Biztos valami vén komcsit küldtek.	Must be some old commie , they sent.	Surely they sent some old communist (dimin.).

The last two examples (11–12) show two different types of common slang phrases, typical idiomatic expressions which have been rendered in the English subtitles by employing similar idiomatic phrases. The Hungarian “fejes” is frequently used in pejorative contexts, meaning “an important, influential person” (Kövecses 2002: 94). The English slang term “bigwig” does not have this pejorative connotation here as it means “a powerful, important person, often a politician or bureaucrat”,⁸ but the core meaning and the register as well as the length of the word are the same. Similarly, the Hungarian slangy idiomatic expression *vén komcsi* ‘old communist’ has an ironic reference, which has been rendered as “old commie”, having a negative, derogatory connotation, meaning “communist, today used to refer to Slavic people or those of Russian or Eastern European descent”.⁹ The subtitler’s choice is proper as the context of the dialogue is conference interpretation in Prague, where (ironically) the delegate of a reputable old Hungarian refrigerator factory can only be somebody who remained there as a relic of communist times and who needs interpretation as a non-English speaker.

Obviously, informal language also appears in the English subtitles in the form of phrasal verbs (*Jaj, úgy unom ezeket a szar kajákat*. ‘I’m so **fed up with** this **shitty food**.’) or taboo words (*Nem kell beszarni*. ‘Don’t **shit** yourself.’) In the choice of the latter, the subtitler is brave enough not to avoid them but remains within the limits of decency.

8 <https://greensdictofslang.com/entry/ydabz3y>

9 <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Commie>

4.3. The Eastern European touch: Culture-specific elements

As a Hungarian film showing a conference in Prague on environmental issues, the soundtrack (script) contains geographical names (Jászberény, Prague, Czech Republic), brand names (LEHEL), and names of institutions (MÉH) related to Hungary. These are transferred to the subtitles without change or by employing the English spelling of the particular geographic location. The name of the company (MÉH – Melléktermék- és Hulladékhasznosító Vállalat ‘Residual By-Product and Waste Recycling Company’) was completely deleted due to technical constraints and because the wordplay inherent in the name (to be discussed below) could not be rendered in Hungarian.

Naturally, these culture-specific items do not have the same connotation for a foreign language viewer as for a Hungarian one, but the context helps in correctly identifying the right message.

Table 6. *Examples – Part V.*

	HU script	EN subtitles	Back translation
13.	A: Gyártunk mi egyáltalán hűtőszekrényt? P: Hogyne. LEHEL gyár van Jászberényben. A: Leheeeeel! Gyerekkoromban hallottam utoljára ezt a márkanevet. S a Lehelnél nem tudnak angolul?	A: Do we even produce fridges? P: Of course we do. There is this factory in Jászberény, called LEHEL. A: Lehel! Last time I heard this name I was a child. And they don't speak English at Lehel?	A: Do we even produce fridges? P: Of course. There is a LEHEL (= exhale) factory in Jászberény. A: Lehel! I last heard this brand name in my childhood. And they can't speak English at Lehel?
14.	gyűjtőpontokat kellett felállítani, lásd korábban a MÉH , ugye nem az állat...	Municipalities need to set up collection points.	collection points had to be set up, see previously MÉH (= bee/womb), you see, not the animal...
15.	Mér' nem tudnak egy jó kis juhtúrós sztrapacskát kirakni? Elvégre Csehországban vagyunk, nem?	Why can't they serve a good halushky for a change? We are in the Czech Republic after all.	Why can't they put out some good strapachka 'dumplings' with sheep cheese? After all, we are in Czechia, aren't we?
16.	Megehetted volna valamelyik szünetben is azt a lazacos szendvicset vagy lophattál volna egy makaront inkább.	You could have eaten the salmon sandwich in one of the breaks. Or could have simply taken a macaroon.	You could have eaten that salmon sandwich in one of the breaks, or you could have rather stolen a macaron.

The names of food items (*sztrapacska*–*halushky*, *makaron*–*macaroon*) are dislocated in the subtitles, the terms being adapted for an international audience. The Hungarian *sztrapacska* is a traditional variety of thick, soft noodles or

dumplings, cooked in Central and Eastern European, mainly Slovak and Czech cuisines, which contains grated raw potatoes (the meaning of the word *strapatý* is ‘rattled’, ‘unkempt’) and is usually served with sour cabbage and meat. In Hungary, it is frequently mistaken for *bryndzové halusky*, which is served with sheep’s cheese and bacon. It is in this sense that it is used in the script as well. *Halušky* can refer to the dumplings themselves or to the complete dish – this latter reference is used in the subtitles. Regarding the transfer of the Hungarian *makaron*, we find a misspelling in the subtitles as there is a difference between French macarons (spelt with one ‘o’) and coconut macaroons (spelt with double ‘o’), which translates into Hungarian as “mandulás csók” (lit. ‘a kiss with almonds’).¹⁰

As it can be seen in Example (16), there is a further hint at the Eastern European attributes of these characters as it appears in their verbal and non-verbal behaviour. The Hungarian soundtrack tells us about Pál’s advice to András, suggesting that he should have *stolen* a macaroon. However, the subtitler generalizes the verb “steal” to its hypernym (*taken*). In another scene, before starting their work as interpreters, the technician asks them what language they interpret into; Pál has an apologetic expression on his face and tone of voice when he utters the word “Hungarian” as if he meant “Sorry, it’s only Hungarian, small language, insignificant nation.”

4.4. Rendering humour and wordplay

Last but not least, the humour, especially the verbal humour of the film, is what makes it special and challenging for the subtitler. The two interpreters make a deal: “The one who makes her laugh can have her!” In order to make her smile, András starts telling erotic ambiguities into the woman’s headphones. While interpreting the conference speaker’s words into Hungarian, knowing (actually believing) that it is only the woman who hears him, he uses words, phrases that lead to double meaning (see examples 17–23).

Table 7. *Examples – Part VI.*

HU script	EN subtitles	Back translation
17. Azonban akkoriban még csak a C kategóriát érték el a legjobb termékek. Magácska ott a hátsó sorban viszont szerintem abszolút A kategóriás. Azok a termékek szépültek, kerekedtek, domborult...	When the first label was introduced, the best products were labelled as C. You dear, in the back row however could definitely be labelled as A. Products have improved, got a fancier look, smoother touch, rounder curves...	However, back then the best products reached only category C. You (sg. fml. dimin.) there in the back row, however, I think you are absolutely A category. Those products have become nicer, rounder, curvier...

10 <https://www.thespruceeats.com/difference-between-macarons-and-macaroons-435337>

HU script	EN subtitles	Back translation
18. Javítok: maga egyenesen A+-os, még így félprofilból is.	Update: you are an A+ even from this angle.	I correct myself: you are directly an A+, even like this, from semi-profile.
19. Én megfelelően kezelném magát...	We could do something more effective together.	I could treat you in a proper way...
20. ...ugyanis az Európai Unió jogszabálya különböző kívánalmakat... igen, kívánom, kívánom...	...material recovery has been further promoted by legal needs introduced by EU waste legislation. Yes-yes needs, I need you!	...namely the legislation of the European Union ... different needs ... yes, I need you, I need you...
21. Az önkormányzatoknak mindenképpen gyűjtőpontokat kellett felállítani, lásd korábban a MÉH, ugye nem az állat , hanem az állampolgárok, mint magácska és én, gyakorlatilag leadhatják a régi eszközöket .	Municipalities need to set up collection points. Where citizens like you and me can take our old, unused sexual tools .	The self-governments had to set up collection points at any rate, see previously MÉH (= bee), you see, not the animal, but the citizens, like you and me, can practically hand in the old tools.
22. Házastársi , akarom mondani, háztartási hulladék különválasztása fa, műanyag, papír, mézeskalácsszív...	The separation of pubic ... uhm, public waste into wood, plastic, paper, mistletoe...	Separation of spouse, I mean, household waste into wood, plastic, paper, gingerbread heart...
23. Öntől eláll a lélegzetem. Vagy mondjam úgy, hogy „ bennrekedt a LEHEL-letem ”?	I'm totally escaping all control here with you. You took my bras away .	You take my breath away. Or should I say “my breath gets stuck in”? ¹¹

The latter examples (21–23) deserve more attention for the analyst as they are based on word play. The name of the recycling company, MÉH (see above) is homonymous with two other nouns in Hungarian: the bee (an insect), which is also mentioned by the speaker, while the other homonym is the noun designating the woman's womb, which, in this context, acquires erotic, sexual connotation. As this triple homonymy could not be rendered word by word in the English subtitles, the translator followed the strategy of compensation: the erotic ambiguity was moved to another section of the sentence, referring to home appliance waste (*unused sexual tools*).

11 On this occasion, I would like to thank Szilárd Szentgyörgyi for providing another excellent solution for this pun: “You give me a chill. Or should I say, you take my frigid-aire?” In this case, the first part of the translation contains the phrase “give me the chills”, where *chill* means “a moment of intense excitement, a sudden, passing sensation of excitement”, while the Hungarian brand name *Lehel* is adapted and transformed into the American brand name *Frigidaire*, similarly a prestigious home appliance company in the US. Additional information is that, ironically, both the Hungarian and the American company have become subsidiaries of the Swedish *Electrolux*.

The following example (22) begins with an apparently false start – the speaker uses two very similarly sounding words: *házastársi* ‘marital’ / ‘conjugal’ – *háztartási* ‘domestic’. This is very ingeniously rendered in the English subtitles as *pubic* vs *public*. The ambiguity mentioned above is maintained here. The list of domestic waste contains “wood, plastic, paper” but the noun *gingerbread heart* is also enlisted, as a Hungarian folk symbol of love. Obviously, if rendered word by word, this noun would not have had the same effect for an English-speaking viewer; therefore, it had to be replaced by another noun, possibly beginning with a similar consonant, *m*, and having the same connotation. The result was again a very creative solution: *mistletoe*, which is similarly a symbol of love in the Anglo-Saxon culture.

Finally, the Hungarian pun *bennrekedt a LEHEL-letem* in Example (23) is based on the similarity of the brand name *LEHEL* and its homonymous verb *lehel* ‘breathe’. In this case, the translator offers the solution “You *took my bras away*”. The verbal joke was solved as the subtitler concentrated on the acoustic similarity between the nouns *breath* and *bras*, thus trying to compensate for the Hungarian play on words.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have compared the Hungarian script and the English subtitles of the short film *Chuchotage*, analysing those linguistic aspects of the two texts that may have proved to be challenging for the subtitler due to the Hungarian “specialities”: forms of address, informal language forms, culture-specific elements, and humour. As the analysis of the above examples readily reveals, the English subtitles come as a very good completion of the visual appeal of the film. The comic and dramatic, the sweet and bitter aspects of the movie are similarly rendered in the English subtitles, which, we believe, hence considerably added to the excellent reception of the film at international festivals.

The translator/subtitler operates in a hybrid, intermediary space, a space in-between cultures and languages. This transgression of borders could be followed in the analysis of the English subtitles. Pál, the conference interpreter in *Chuchotage*, similarly crosses the borders of his own self and his own professional role as an interpreter by confessing his feelings to the Woman and by stepping out of the shade into the light, into visibility. Unfortunately, typical of an Eastern European character, he is disappointed. Hopefully, the viewers of this Hungarian film will be devoid of this feeling, also thanks to the English subtitles.

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The Status of Interdisciplinary Metaphor in Specialized Lexis

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Abstract. The assertion we start from in our study is that in specialized languages metaphor is a figure of reason rather than a figure of speech. The general objective of the study is researching the interdisciplinary status of specialized metaphor – terminological and conceptual – by making reference to the *hard core* of terminology. Derived objectives: comparative research of the degree of scientificity of interdisciplinary metaphor, at the *hard core* of lexis, following metaphorical transfer; descriptive-linguistic and cognitive research of the general and particular conceptual features that are preserved within this type of internal terminology. The approach is descriptive-contrastive.

One of the conclusions of the research is that the *central sphere* of specialized lexis, by expansion, supplies terms that may be specialized or may go through a new metaphorical transfer without altering the degree of scientificity in the target fields.

Keywords: central sphere, interdisciplinary metaphor, multilingual, terminology

1. Introduction

It is unanimously accepted that one of the ways to create terminological metaphors in specialized lexis is the transfer of a term from a source field to a target field. The transfer of specialized terms from one field of knowledge into another is the *sine qua non condition* in the creation of interdisciplinary terminological metaphor (Rastier 1994: 62–64, Bidu-Vrăncianu 2012: 33–50).

The inner structure of specialized vocabulary is not homogenous, being generally formed from a strongly abstracted „central sphere” of terms (Slușanschi 1971), sometimes hermetic, and the *external areas* made up of heterogeneous subassemblies. The question that arises is: to what extent is the degree of scientificity of interdisciplinary metaphors preserved in the process of transfer from the source

field to the target field in accordance with the spheres of specialized lexis taken into consideration? Which are the fields where we find general and particular conceptual features preserved in this type of internal terminology?

2. The relationship between the “hard core” and the feature of “interdisciplinarity” of the specialized metaphor

As we pointed out on another occasion (Butiurca 2015), conceptual-semantic analysis, etymological analysis as well as the degree of stability of terms may contribute to the relative definition of boundaries between the *hard nucleus* and migratory terms, usually interdisciplinary – terminological/conceptual metaphors. The *central sphere* sums up terms and specialized, homogeneous syntagms, which designate a common conceptual background, quasi-universal for each field. The interdisciplinary character of terminology is manifested in various degrees in a field, from a structural perspective. The *hard nucleus* of philosophy, for example, comprises terms of Greek-Latin, Roman, German, Sanskrit origin, etc., and it is the source of interdisciplinary terminological metaphors in numerous branches of science with illustrations in: the formulation of scientific theories in the broad sense [gestaltism (germ. *Gestalt* ‘structure’, ‘configuration’), axiology (Gr. *axio-* ‘value’ + *logos* ‘word’, ‘theory’), eidetic (Gr. *eidos* ‘form’, ‘essence’), entelechy (Gr. *enteleheia*, from *en* ‘in’, *telos* ‘purpose’, and *enhein* ‘to have’), epistemic (Gr. *episteme* ‘knowledge’, ‘science’)]; in methodology [heuristic (Gr. *eristikos*, from *erizein* ‘talk in contradiction’), exoteric (Gr. *exoterikos* ‘exterior’ in opposition to esoteric)]; in the language of literary criticism [ataraxia (Gr. *a* ‘without’ + ‘confusion’), cosmology (Gr. *kosmos* ‘world’, ‘universe’ + *logos* ‘word’, ‘speech’)]; in mathematics [functor (Lat. *functus* from *fungi* ‘to play a part’, ‘have a role’)]; in logic [deontic (Gr. *deon*, *deontos* ‘that which is proper’, ‘which is necessary’)]; in the Christian religion [(Chiliasm (Gr. *chiliasmos* ‘one thousand’)), etc. Towards the hard nucleus of philosophy, the transference of sense was made, coming independently from religion and Greek-Latin mythology, from the Roman juridical language [a priori (*a priori* Latin expression for ‘that which precedes’), a posteriori (Lat. *a posteriori* ‘that which proceeds’)]. Few are the terms belonging to the hard nucleus of philosophy that have not changed their semantic behaviour and their field. Among these, we mention constructs of Sanskrit origin, which designate Oriental religious concepts with a high degree of abstraction: *karma* (in Sanskrit, ‘deed’, ‘action’, ‘reward’), *nyaya* (Sanskrit ‘basis’, ‘conclusion’, ‘method’, ‘logic’), *veda* (Sanskrit ‘knowledge’, ‘science’), etc.

Following the analysis of the *hard nucleus* of philosophy, we deduce that this represents a source of interdisciplinary metaphors, capable of covering the

terminological void for concepts belonging to numerous other modern sciences with the exception of socio-political theories. Along the evolution of human thinking, philosophical terms from the central sphere remained ideologically unmarked. Secondly, the transfer occurs only maintaining the abstract degree of re-specialization of the term in the target field, highly scientific as we can see from the examples: (math.) functor – “structures of conservation of categorical relations...”; (log.) functor – logical operator (DEX 1982); (ling.) functor – any word which acquires a syntactic function; (phil.) eidetic is defined in philosophy with “reference to the essence of things” (DEX 1982), while in psychology it means “stemming from imagination” (DEX 1982). The term *lemma* acquired specific conceptual features in accordance with the field of use: in mathematics, it designates a preliminary or auxiliary mathematical proposition; in logic, it is defined as the premises of a syllogism; *lemma*, in the broad sense, is a scientific statement of reduced circulation.

The metaphors taken into consideration are migratory terms that maintain a high degree of abstraction without building corresponding metaphoric or metonymic series in the heuristic process of formation of terms/interdisciplinary metaphors.

3. The semantic features of the interdisciplinary metaphor

From its formation period, the language of economics imposed itself as an interdisciplinary terminological system (Doina Butiurca 2014) situated at the intersection of two epistemological domains – social sciences and exact sciences. The terminology of economics in the 15th and 18th centuries is characterized by a great power of absorption of the ideological. Realism and “the secularist spirit” in ideology finds its linguistic expression in cognitive constructs such as: *mercantile thinking, etatism, hegemonism*, etc.

In contemporary economics, the ideological is maintained by multiple pathways, with a terminology adequate to the holistic vision in the Panlatin lexis and/or English: Ro. *național* (Fr. national; Sp. nacional; En. national; cf. lat natio-*onis*), and its derivatives: Ro. *naționalitate* (Fr. nationalité; Sp. nacionalidad; En. nationality), Ro. *naționalizare* (Fr. nationalization; Sp. nacionalización; En. nationalization), etc.

In the interpretation of interdisciplinary economic constructs from the “central sphere” of terms, we will have in view not only the transfer from one field to another but also an analysis of semantic behaviour in English/partially in Romance languages. On the basis of the terminology of logic and philosophy, the language of economics organizes the *paradigms of substance and method* in their own

domain: Ro. *formă, a forma un cartel/un consorțiu* (En. *form a cartel/consortium*) (Sp. *formar un cartel*), *model* (cf. Fr. *modèle*, Sp. *modelo*, En. *model*), Ro. *subiect, obiect al proprietății* (cf. Fr. *objet de propriété*// Sp. *objeto de propiedad*, En. *property object*) a.s.o. The option is determined by the arbitrariness of the laws of economics, imposed by the variability of contexts and behaviours, the only invariable in the field being diversity.

There are numerous terms from the fields of *Physics* and *Mathematics* used in economics by metaphorical transfer. The concepts of *mechanism* (economic mechanism, price mechanism), *fluxes* (economic fluxes, real and monetary fluxes), *circuit* (economic circuit), *emergence* (emerging economies), *force* (production forces, workforce, economic force), *velocity* (velocity of money), *acceleration* (consumption accelerator), *elasticity* (elasticity of supply and demand), *hysteresis* (economic science suffers from hysteresis), and *balance* (general economic balance) are interdisciplinary metaphorical constructs, fundamental for the *paradigms of economic processes* in general. *Instruments* (monetary instruments), *levers* (price levers), etc. are constructs through which the *paradigm of resources* is activated.

Insertion/adaptation of mathematical terms and/or terms from the field of physics is achieved by successive formalization and quantification – simultaneous to the constitution of the field of economics on the model of *systems and theories*. Metaphorical constructs used in Panlatin vocabulary and in English terminology (Skeat W. Walter 2007) which designate taxonomies are varied: *sistemul comerțului* ‘system of commerce’, *sistemul mercantilist* ‘mercantile system’, *teoria cantitativă* ‘quantitative theory’, *teoria valorii-muncă* ‘work-value theory’, etc. Ro. *centru* (cf. Fr. *centre*// Sp. *centro*, En. *centre*// cf. Lat. *centrum*) is a highly productive interdisciplinary terminological metaphor: Ro. *centru comercial* (cf. Fr. *centre commercial*// Sp. *centro comercial*, En. *shopping centre*), Ro. *centru de cost* (cf. Fr. *centre du cout*// Sp. *centro de coste*, En. *cost centre*), Ro. *centru de evaluare* (cf. Fr. *centre d'évaluation*// Sp. *centro de evaluacion*, En. *assessment centre*). Other terms and/or interdisciplinary metaphors: (a) Ro. *formula* (Lat. *formula*, -ae) and its derivatives; Ro. *incompatibilitate* (cf. Fr. *incompatibilité*// Sp. *incompatibilidad*, En. *incompatibility*); Ro. *ordin* (cf. Fr. *ordre*, En. *order*, Sp. *orden*, cf. Lat. *ordo*, -inis) and the terminological units formed by calque after French/English: Ro. *ordin de bursă* (cf. Fr. *ordre de bourse*, En. *stock exchange order*), Ro. *regulă* (Fr. *règle*// cf. Lat. *regula*, -ae): Ro. *regula excepțiilor* (cf. Fr. *règle des exceptions*, Sp. *regla de las excepciones*, En. *rule of exceptions*); *value* (Fr. *valeur*; cf. Lat. *valere*) – the most productive term created over 50 terminological units in the Panlatin economic language. The conceptual load of economic terms/metaphorical constructs is much more transparent and ensures higher accessibility to users. In the case of the term *piață* ‘market’ (cf. It. *piazza*) – without accessing a definition first –, the speaker creates a naive representation

of the space where the exchange of goods takes place and relations are established between and among various economic agents, etc. It is a European tradition whose beginnings are found in ancient Rome. Plautus and Horatio used the noun *platea* (wide street, square) with the meaning of “place of trade”, an open space set up for markets, shops, or fairs (forum olitorium, forum vinarium, forum boarium, etc.). We note that *piață* ‘market place’ is *ab initio* a polysemantic word. Univocity of the approximately 30 existing terms in the Panlatin vocabulary is ensured by the compound terminological units/free combinations of words/numerous metaphorical constructs. Semantic and contextual disambiguation allows for the rigorous identification of the specialized denotative meaning. Terminological units thus obtained are accessible, corresponding to the mechanisms of designation that start from the general (*piață* ‘market’) to the particular. The term accommodates extensionally by actualizing the concept in the terminological syntagm: *material goods and services market, production factors market, spot market, etc.*

Metaphorical constructs taken from *sports* serve as a basis for the *scenario of competition: referee, game – economic game, economic actors’ game, game of supply and demand, theory of games, zero-sum game, the rules of economic game, etc.* The metaphorical language of the competition scenario is interdisciplinary and involves the *moral* idea, the *behaviour* of homo oeconomicus.

We observe that structurally interdisciplinary metaphorical constructs are syntagms where the term from the source field is reconceptualized by categorical determinants, nominal indicators that carry some new conceptual features, thus producing fundamental modifications in the semantic behaviour.

The terminological metaphor at the basis of the scenario of resources is *money*. In international terminology, we find the pair *moneda/moneta* – the first stemming from Greek while the second coming from Latin. Both forms led to the same metaphorical concept – instrument of payment. The Latin *moneta* is a semantic derivative of the verb *moneo, -ere, -ui, -itum* ‘recommend’, ‘warn’. In Latin mythology, *moneta* was used as an epithet under the acceptance of “advisor” to define one of the attributes of Juno (the mint in Rome was in the temple of Juno Moneta), the term circulating in current Italian economy (It. *moneta bassa*). French/Panlatin terminology contains approximately 17 metaphorical constructs formed on the model of *moneta / monedă comercială* (Fr. *monnaie commerciale*, Sp. *moneda comercial* – commercial currency); Ro. *monedă fără valoare*; Ro. *monedă din aur și argint* (Fr. *monnaie en or et argent*, Sp. *moneda de oro y plata* – gold and silver coin, etc.).

In the denominative process, reinvigoration of specialized vocabulary is made by *non-specific, rare, or figurative senses* of the classical roots. The English *profit* (gross earnings) is a Roman derivative of the verb *proficio, -ere, -feci, -fectum* – utilized in Latin with the sense of walking ahead and, rarely, meaning *grow*, as used by Plinius (cf. *non proficiente pretio*). Present-day European economic

language actualizes the meaning of “excess income obtained by selling of goods made by an economic agent above their cost”. The root *proficere* is very productive, generating in Romance languages and English approximately 10 metaphorical constructs: Ro. *profit brut* (En. profit/gross earnings, Fr. bénéfice brut, Sp. beneficio bruto), Ro. *profit contabil* (En. accountancy profit, Fr. profit comptable), etc. The generic metaphor *capital* (cf. Latin neutral pl. *capita* ‘heads’) denotes the concept of “totality of financial resources an enterprise has (money, stocks)”, serving conceptually as a basis for approximately 23 terminological metaphors in the language of international business: Ro. *capital circulant* (Fr. *capital actif circulant*, It. *capitale di circolazione*, Sp. *capital circulante* ‘circulating capital’); *capital uman* (Fr. *capital humain*, Sp. *capital humano*, It. *capitali umani* ‘human capital’), etc. The concept is connected to the Roman animal owners’ habit to lend a number of “heads”.

4. Conclusions

Having as main objective the adoption of some new scientific concepts, the interdisciplinary metaphor is conceptual, systematic, or cognitive. Its normative character is conditioned by its appurtenance to a source field and the transfer to a target field in *the central sphere* of specialized lexis. It is the sphere which gives rise, by expansion, to terms that may be subjected to another specialization or another metaphorical transfer, maintaining the degree of scientificity in the target fields; it must not be mistaken for previous fields.

From a strictly theoretical perspective, the observation imposes itself that in the case of interdisciplinary metaphor semantic modifications are variable in accordance with the semantic average. There are slight modifications, consisting in the addition of features that are specific to the domain – contextually marked, if the semantic average is maintained (as is the case with *worn-out metaphors*). Semantic modifications may be major, a situation in which metaphorical transfer meets two requirements that are contextually pinpointed – the change of the domain and the alteration of the sense.

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Plain Language in Law in Hungary

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Abstract. Plain language movement has a long history and has achieved significant changes in the USA and in many European countries. However, the situation is not as good as that in Hungary, especially in the field of law. As a researcher in two empirical “law and language” projects in Hungary since 2000, the author presents her experiences gained during preparing and analysing tape recordings of police interrogations and court hearings as regards comprehension of legal language. The paper focuses especially on the understandability of providing information on the rights and obligations of laymen in legal procedures given by legal professionals. It also summarizes the recent changes in Hungarian legal regulations providing a better understanding of rights and obligations (partly based on the 2012/13/EU Directive on the right to information in criminal proceedings). As regards the practice of adjudication, the paper compares the way of providing information to laymen before and after the modification of legal norms. Two positive examples can be mentioned: (1) a few years ago, a group of legal and linguistic experts prepared a so-called Stylebook with recommendations to improve the structure and wordings of court verdicts, and (2) within the framework of a project called *The Year of Comprehensibility at Courts, 2017* the improvement of comprehensible communication was integrated into an obligatory training for judges.

Keywords: plain legal language, intralingual translation, linguistic model of adjudication, right to information in criminal proceedings, right to fair trial

1. The plain language movement

The Plain Language (or in English-speaking countries: Plain English) Movement is a discipline with the aim of making official or any type of technical language more comprehensible. It includes many plainers, practitioners, and campaigners worldwide, and several organizations were established in this field over the last 40 years. In 2007, the two main international umbrella organizations, Clarity (formed by a British local government solicitor in 1983 for lawyers) and PLAIN

(Plain Language Association International, a Canada-based but international non-profit company), and the Center for Plain Language in the USA decided to work jointly on developing plain language as a profession and formed the International Plain Language Federation¹ at the 2007 PLAIN conference in Amsterdam.

However, there is no generally accepted definition of plain language. So, we can find several, more or less identical concepts. On the IPL Federation website, plain language is defined in several languages (in English, Spanish, Swedish, Dutch, Hungarian, Norwegian, Chinese, German, Portuguese, French, Finnish, Italian, Greek, Indonesian, Romanian, Russian, Catalan, and Japanese); the English definition is the following: “A communication is in plain language if its wording, structure, and design are so clear that the intended readers can easily find what they need, understand what they find, and use that information.” Result-based definitions imply that plain language is not a dialect of the standard language but a relationship between the text and its audience. Therefore, a text that will be plain for one audience will not be plain for another (Adler 2012: 68).

Within the EU, the European Commission also pays attention to clear writing, and in 2011 hand-outs were prepared in all official languages in order to provide some hints on how to write clearly.² Three reasons are mentioned why a clear document should be more effective and more easily and quickly understood: (i) to work more effectively together, (ii) to reduce unnecessary correspondence, and (iii) to build goodwill.

As we can see from the above definitions, law is only one aspect of the movement besides, for example, plain medicine, plain government, plain technical writing, plain finance, and plain scientific papers. Some legal plainers are practising lawyers who write plainly for their clients: they might be private lawyers offering intelligible documents to the public, government lawyers drafting plain legislation, or they help lawyers redraft their standard documents and train them to write plainly for themselves; some are academics teaching the next generation of lawyers to communicate plainly (Adler 2012: 70).

If we compare advantages and disadvantages of plain legal language and of legalese (the traditional style of legal writing), the following issues arise. According to plainers, plain language is more precise, and fewer errors may occur simply because of fewer words and expressions. Plain drafting of legal texts makes it quicker and cheaper to obey the law because people can skip high attorney fees for explaining legal jargon. A plain legal text can be more persuasive for laymen, more democratic because it promotes better access to justice, and, finally, more elegant (however, this is obviously not the most important aspect of legal texts). Proponents of plain legal language list the following requirements, the 4 C-s:

1 <http://www.iplfederation.org/>

2 <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/c2dab20c-0414-408d-87b5-dd3c6e5dd9a5>

legal texts need to be Clear, Correct, Concise, and Complete. On the other hand, proponents of legalese claim that complex ideas, such as those formulated in legal texts, require complex language, and plain language represents irresponsible over-simplification, wherefore plain language is not always appropriate in legal documents (Adler 2012: 71–73).

Probably, we could continue the pros and cons for and against plain language and legalese, but what is sure is that laws are written to be followed and the very fact and everyday experiences that there are doubts and difficulties about interpretation and understanding of legal texts show that something has gone wrong, and something has to be done. A further consideration is that all legal systems have the general presumption that everyone is presumed to know the law, and ignorance of the law is no excuse. From this presumption, one can conclude that law has to be available and accessible to all, and the state also has the interest to enact effective laws and other legal documents (e.g. court judgments) so that people can easily obey them.

There are further arguments (Tiersma 1999: 69) supporting that the reform of legal language may be necessary to protect lawyers from public criticism and rejection as well since one perception is that legalese is unnecessarily exclusive and that preserving stylistic features, such as lengthy and complex sentences with a high degree of subordination and embedding, wordiness, conjoined phrases, impersonal constructions, etc., “excludes those who do not belong”. (This is what we called in our research projects an element of the right to fair trial and access to justice.) However, counter-arguments (Bhatia 2010: 46) say that in legislative writing processes of simplification (carried out under a reformist project) can lead to under-specification, and this has implications for power and control: if the legislature goes for simplicity, it paradoxically gives power to the judiciary to interpret the law and take it away from the people whom the legislature represents.

The obstacles of understanding legal texts stem from several reasons, and these reasons can be found at almost all levels of language such as grammar, syntax, semantics, and vocabulary. The length of a sentence is crucial when assessing the level of complexity in a text. For example, as regards the syntactic structure of British legislative language, researchers found that from 1975 by 2001 sentences became shorter, and their complexity decreased. They also found that there are fewer subordinate clauses in sentence-medial positions, which is the most difficult to understand for non-lawyers, while right-branching syntax is more preferred. Furthermore, one can experience layout devices that make it easier to comprehend legislative texts, while the length of a sentence may increase. Using passive voice instead of active or nominalized verb forms are typical reasons for obscurity as well (Gustafsson 1975, Hiltunen 2001).

As regards vocabulary, researchers found – and laypersons can experience the same too – that in legal texts there are more nouns than verbs or adjectives.

The reason for that, according to linguists, is that there is a belief that nouns create an impression of greater objectivity than verbs. Compound words and phrases, archaic words and phrases, words of foreign (mainly Latin) origin, legal abbreviations and acronyms, polysemy (the same term may express several concepts) and synonymy (several terms express one and the same concept), and terms from other professions (commerce, technology, land surveying, social work, etc.) all hinder the easy understanding of legal texts (Mattila 2012: 30–33).

The list of characteristics of legal language in general or those of particular languages could be continued, but this is not the aim of this paper. Partly based on studies on plain legal language, on the one hand, and taking into account some conclusions of the mainly American movement of “law and language” (including courtroom studies and forensic linguistics), on the other, two Hungarian empirical research projects are going to be presented in the following chapters. Starting in 2000, these studies were carried out at the Department of Jurisprudence and Sociology of Law, University of Miskolc, and some of their conclusions focus on the comprehensibility of written and oral legal language.

2. The first “law and language” research in Hungary (2000–2003)

As the first empirical research in this field in Hungary, the project called *Language Use in Legal Procedures: Language Translation and the Nature of Fact in the Process of Establishing Legal Statements of Facts* was conducted between 2000 and 2003 in Miskolc with the cooperation of lawyers and linguists of the University of Miskolc. In the research, we sought to reveal and analyse the establishment of facts and the process of adjudication during the criminal procedure of gathering evidence at the police and at the court, during which lay narratives are translated into facts phrased in the legal register (this is what the Russian linguist Roman Jakobson calls “intralingual translation” between different codes or registers – in this case between lay code and legal code – within the same language; see Jakobson 1959). We identified the aim of the research as a dual task: the revelation of linguistic features of the lay and professional ways of speech on the one hand and the examination of the influence that the presence of power and coercion in discourse had on the process of the establishment of facts, on the other. We planned to analyse certain legal cases intensively rather than extensively. It was not our primary aim to strive to involve bigger case numbers in the research, but we wanted to follow a case for the longest possible period of time over the course of its proceeding, and we wanted to process it in the greatest depth. As regards the expected results, we declared already in the application that directly applicable results cannot be expected as we undertook to carry out a

basic research with no precedent in Hungary; therefore, the main objective could be “only” awareness raising in a new research area and inspiration for further enquiries. However, being an interdisciplinary research, these results can be (and some already are) involved in the curricula of law and applied linguistics education in the future.

Our objectives were mainly fulfilled with minor changes. We carried out a unique research in Hungary, and as a result we could say that the development of the “law and language” research finally began in our country, which had been in place in other countries for decades. In addition, a further outstanding outcome of the research is that more than 18 hours’ recording was made as the result of data collection, of which 14 and a half hours was made at police interrogations and 4 hours at court trials. This database enabled both linguistic and legal researchers to go on examining the language used in a legal process or analyse it according to their viewpoints. The first example of the fulfilment of this objective is a volume of essays and studies published in 2010, in which the participants of the research summarized the development of legal and linguistic research in the English- and German-speaking countries and analysed the research findings from legal and linguistic aspects (Szabó 2010).

During the empirical research, tape recordings of police and court hearings were prepared with the involvement of law students. We used participant observation as a method developed in cultural anthropology: besides making tape recordings, we recorded all the observations in writing, which could not be perceived in the recording. To prepare tape recordings, permissions were needed. We managed to sign a detailed written agreement on cooperation with the police headquarters in Miskolc; however, we faced difficulties at the court: the leaders of the judiciary provided only an oral permission; therefore, most of the judges did not allow us to record the hearings. This influenced the composition of the resulting database that – as mentioned before – contains much more recordings of police than court hearings.

At the police, besides preparing tape recordings of interrogations and confrontations, we made in-depth interviews with the lay and professional persons taking part in the proceeding. As regards suspects and witnesses, on the one hand, we tried to reveal their ordinary living conditions, education and literacy, and by this means we could exactly define their social status in relation to the style of their language use (a relation revealed by the discipline of sociolinguistics; see Bernstein 1971.) On the other hand, we wanted to inquire into the impression they obtained during the hearing. We asked them for their opinion of the interrogation officer, whether they understood his/her questions and could talk about everything they considered important in relation to the case. We also asked the police officers taking part in the interrogation about interrogations in general, which they conduct as part of their work, as well as

about the concrete case we recorded. We did not manage to similarly interview the participants in court trials.

The exact and detailed analysis of tape recordings required transcription. We investigated various possibilities of transcription applied in linguistics and developed the transcription signs which are the most suitable for the aims of the different (linguistic and legal) analyses. Originally, we also planned to use the method of document analysis, which would have meant the comparison of transcribed versions of recordings prepared at police and court hearings and the official written records. Unfortunately, we could not carry out this comparison as we could not get the records prepared at police interrogations and court hearings from the officials.

From the several conclusions of the research (see more details in Vinnai 2017), two aspects are highlighted here with regard to understanding legal language. By developing the *linguistic model of adjudication*, it is stressed that in legal proceedings the efficiency and success of verbal communication is also the condition of the efficiency of the establishment of facts. From a legal aspect, the proceedings cannot be correct (fair) if they are not so from a linguistic, communication aspect. If there are problems, inadequacy, and distortion in the interaction between the lay and the legal experts, they will have an impact on the process of the establishment of facts and ultimately on the final results of the process, namely the judgment too. This statement – before the beginning of the empirical research – has been established by the results of the American “courtroom studies”; moreover, the hypothesis has also been proved by the analysis of tape recordings of the research in respect of Hungarian legal practice.

During the analysis of tape recordings, it was revealed that delivering information on rights and obligations of laymen by police officers and judges during the procedure takes place as required by law; however, its original aim has not been fully achieved. The recordings clearly prove that although investigators and judges comply with the regulations of the Code on Criminal Procedure and further legal norms, the mode or way of their communication often makes the essence of the warning insignificant, ineffective, and laymen can hardly understand them. Naturally, it is very difficult to prove as the records include the text of providing information, and they are really announced at the beginning of the interrogation (it cannot be left out by chance because from the beginning the sample of the records includes the warnings, out of which the investigators have to choose the most suitable one with respect to the given interrogated person). So, this statement cannot be justified even from the transcriptions of tape recordings; it can only be proved by listening to them. Consequently, the practice meets the strict requirements of law, but the warnings do not fulfil the function that they have been originally created for.

3. The second empirical research (2014–2018)

The title of the project (*Linguistic Aspects of Fair Trial. The Impact of Legal Language on the Fulfilment of Access to Justice*) includes in itself the two keywords in focus: fair trial and access to justice. The research group consisting of lawyers, linguists, and computational linguists³ had the hypothesis that – the previously detected – intralingual translation put laypersons in a subordinate position, which hinders their access to justice; or, in other words (as it was elaborated above): a legal procedure cannot be fair from a legal point of view if it is not fair from a linguistic aspect. Another aim of the research was to build a database from which characteristics of Hungarian written and spoken legal language can be listed that make it difficult to understand for lay people. In order to achieve this aim, new voice recordings were also prepared at court hearings in 2017 (unfortunately, this time we could not sign an agreement with the police), and it provided opportunity to compare the former and the present Hungarian practice on delivering information by professional participants to lay persons on their rights and obligations.

By the end of the project, in 2018, the research group managed to build up a database containing different types of legal texts. The Miskolc Legal Corpus consists of the following 7 sub-corpora:

1. codes of law (Criminal Code, Civil Code, Labour Code, Procedural Codes, etc.),
2. other acts of the Parliament and decrees/regulations,
3. judgments of courts,
4. reasoning of acts of the Parliament,
5. course books for law students,
6. Internet forums, and
7. recordings (and transcriptions) of police interrogations and court hearings.⁴

The overall content of the database is more than 2 million words, which is approx. 150 thousand sentences. In the volume containing the closing conference presentations of the project, linguist members of the research group analysed and compared the main features of the different sub-corpora (Szabó–Vinnai 2018). Due to size limit, only one conclusion is mentioned here. Presuming that each layer of legal language has different linguistic features, i.e. legal language is not homogenous, one of the questions was: which types of legal texts are more comprehensible than others? According to the linguistic analyses, the following scale was drawn as regards the comprehensibility of legal texts (Vincze 2018: 33).

3 The website of the research is available in English: <https://sites.google.com/site/otkamiskolcen/>.

4 The database is available for researchers in order to carry out further analyses in their field of interest (https://sites.google.com/site/otkamiskolc2015/adatbazis_epites).

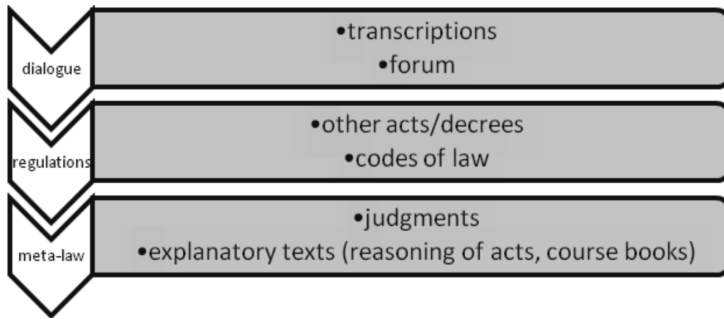


Figure 1. *Scale of comprehensibility of legal texts*

This scale shows that – taking different parameters of comprehensibility into account – spoken language in legal context (at police interrogations and court hearings) and the language of Internet forums are the closest to ordinary language, while – maybe surprisingly – the so-called meta-law (court judgments and explanatory texts and not the language of regulations) is the hardest to understand for lay persons.

4. Some achievements as regards plain legal language

In the last chapter, the most important achievements are collected with regard to applying plain language standards in Hungarian law in recent years. As the written form of legal norms is more important than their spoken version that is heavily based on codified texts, we need to consider this question on two levels: in the codification of legal norms and during their application.

(1) The activity of legislation, the codification process, i.e. the wording of written legal norms in clear language is crucial as regards the comprehensibility of legal texts because it influences all other fields of the operation of law. In 2010, the Clear Writing Campaign was launched in the European Union, and conferences were organized as part of it in several EU Member States, including Hungary, in 2014. At the conference, a representative of the Ministry of Justice declared that a lawyer-linguist internship programme was launched in the Ministry in order to improve the language of codification. However, even at the moment of preparing the manuscript of this paper, there is no official cooperation with linguists in the codification process in Hungary.

Training plain language experts working in the codification process would be very useful. Some universities offer postgraduate specialist training course in codification, where plain language standards can be taught, but undergraduate law students should also meet these standards during their studies; however, this rarely happens unfortunately.

(2) In law enforcement, we can differentiate two further subfields:

(a) In the field of administration, we can see the first steps of applying the plain language perspective in practice thanks to a plain language organization. Two websites⁵ are operated by a plain language expert, where bad and good examples can be found of how to write legal texts clearly for laymen. Members of the organization also train employees of banks, insurance companies, and public utility services in order to make them capable of improving the comprehensibility of their written communication with clients. In some countries, researchers focus on how plain language saves time and money for governments and businesses (Kimble 2012).

(b) In the field of judiciary, we should further divide the area: as regards written decisions of courts, in 2014 and 2015, two working groups composed of practical and theoretical legal and other experts examined court judgments and collected their suggestions in a so-called Stylebook. The Stylebook lists several problems that need to be changed in court judgments in order to make them more accessible for laymen.

The other field within the judiciary system is oral communication at courtroom hearings. As it was mentioned, the first “law and language” empirical research in Hungary concluded that the way or mode of delivering information on rights and obligations by police officers and judges makes it ineffective because laymen can hardly understand it. However, new audio recordings collected in 2017 during the second research proved that the way of delivering information on rights and obligations improved a lot, partly because of legal regulations’ amendments. By the time of the second research, some significant changes were enacted in connection with plain legal language and the better understanding of oral legal communication. In 2015, in accordance with the 2012/13/EU Directive on the right to information in criminal proceedings, the Hungarian criminal procedural act (Act XIX of 1998) was amended as follows:

62. § [...] the court, the prosecutor and the investigating authority shall inform and advise the person involved in the action of his/her rights and obligations.

62/A. § (1) The court, the prosecutor, and the investigating authority shall strive to use simple and accessible language with the person involved in a criminal proceeding during oral and written communication. Information about rights and obligations has to be formulated in an accessible language, taking into account any particular needs of vulnerable persons.

(2) During oral communication, the court, the prosecutor, and the investigating authority shall assure that the person involved has understood the information on rights and obligations and, if necessary, explain them.⁶

5 <https://vilagosbeszed.hu/>, <https://kozertthetofogalmazas.hu/>

6 Translated by the author (E.V.).

This amendment resulted that the Hungarian rules became in accordance with the Directive requiring Member States to provide suspects or accused persons with information on procedural rights (delivered orally for the non-detained) in “simple and accessible language”. Furthermore, it “can be achieved by different means including non-legislative measures such as appropriate training for the competent authorities or by a Letter of Rights drafted in simple and non-technical language so as to be easily understood by a lay person without any knowledge of criminal procedural law” [Directive par. (38)].

In order to comply with the first part of these regulations, the Head of the National Office for the Judiciary (NOJ) announced that 2017 is the year of comprehensibility at courts. During the year, a compulsory training was organized for all judges where they were informed about the suggestions declared in the above-mentioned Stylebook in order to achieve simple and accessible language both in written and oral communication.

As regards the written Letter of Rights to be provided to detained persons, unfortunately, the Hungarian government and Parliament did not urge regulatory changes. In 2015, an NGO, the Hungarian Helsinki Committee, prepared an alternative Letter of Rights in the framework of a project titled *Accessible Letters of Rights in Europe*. The problem with accessible information on procedural rights was previously revealed in many European countries in a 2010 study called *An EU-Wide Letter of Rights: Towards Best Practice*, and the project was launched based on the findings of this study in some EU Member States, including Hungary. As a conclusion of the project, it was proved that the alternative Letter of Rights was far more accessible than the current one(s) provided for detained persons, and it was easier to understand for laymen because of the following reasons: legal terms were eliminated; references to acts were deleted; some examples and explanations were included; the whole text was less formal but more personal; and structural changes such as larger letter size, bold and italic letters, more fragmented text with bullet points, titles and subtitles, and table of contents were included (Moldova 2018).

5. Conclusions

Besides presenting some conclusions of two empirical studies carried out in Hungary and the unique Miskolc Legal Corpus database, the main focus of the paper is on the comprehensibility of Hungarian legal language both in written and oral communication in the light of access to justice and the right to fair trial. Some significant and positive changes can be detected in this field such as applying plain language standards in certain fields of administrative law, amendments of legal regulations, compulsory training for judges, and drafting

an alternative Letter of Rights for the detained (although it is still not used in practice). However, as the written form of legal language is primary to spoken language, improvement of the quality of codified rules would be crucial in the future in the cooperation of lawyers and linguist experts.

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Lexical Emphasis in the Literary Dialogue: A Translational Perspective

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Abstract. Emphasis is largely associated with the expression of emotional involvement in speech acts in general. In the fictional dialogue, the relevance of emphasis is multiplied due to several considerations. Firstly, the emphatic utterances impact the emotional content of the text and affect its style and reception. Secondly, it is the compromises and the careful linguistic and stylistic choices that authors have to make in order to effectively render the emphasis typical of speech in the written mode. Thirdly, if a work of literature is translated, the emphasis that the dialogue displays is to be equally forceful in its target language version. With these considerations in view, the study sets out to examine the possibility of obtaining a similarly emphatic content of an English source text in translational Romanian by means of lexical items. To this end, a relevant number of emphatic dialogic instances have been depicted for analysis from John Fowles's novel *Mantissa* and from its translation into Romanian. The objectives of this study are to identify the level of equivalence in the two versions of the novel and to shed a comparative light on the lexical means that lead to the realization of emphasis in English and Romanian.

Keywords: literary dialogue, emphasis, translation, lexical items

1. Introduction

Fictional dialogue has been subject of research from many vantage points, having been scrutinized within areas pertaining to literary studies, such as stylistics, narratology, or critical analysis, or within disciplines related to language studies and linguistics such as discourse analysis, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, etc. The study presented in this paper focuses on the stylistic load embedded in the literary dialogue of John Fowles's novel *Mantissa*. More precisely, it looks into the manifestation of emphasis by lexical means in the English original version and the way the emphatic load has been transferred to the Romanian translated version. Hence, the main objective of this study is to identify the level of

equivalence in the two versions of Fowles's novel and the way lexical emphasis manifests in the two languages.

Methodologically speaking, this study adopts a comparative approach to emphasis as exhibited in the translation of emphatic language instances of fictional work. Emphasis is a carrier of emotional content and of the stylistics of a literary work, which are essential contributors to the way the work is received by the readership of the original and its translated version. The investigation uses as starting and reference point the manifestation of emphasis in English and proposes a comparison of its expression in Romanian meant to enable the creation of a similarly intense effect in the target text. In order to do so, a relevant number of examples is depicted for a comparative analysis which follows and adapts a classification of emphatic devices in English.

This approach is motivated by the recognition of the importance of emphasis in Fowles's novel, which has substantial bearing upon the stylistic value of the text but also on the construction of its social context. Emphasis occupies a central position in the creation of the novel's specificity provided by the dialogue as a creator of atmosphere, tension and an exhibitor of the characters' individual personalities but also the relationship between them, along with the intensity of their feelings, the strength of their opinions and arguments, their state of mind, etc.

Given all this, the study herein necessarily borrows elements from dialogue studies, sociolinguistics, and stylistics, which provides it with a rewarding interdisciplinary character.

2. Theoretical considerations

2.1. Emphasis in the literary dialogue

Genette claims that experimenting with the speech of literary characters is "one of the main paths of emancipation in the modern novel" (Genette 1980: 173), and Thomas (Thomas 2012) similarly considers that experiments with dialogue are a key constituent of modernist and postmodernist literature. Thomas's argument relies on the fact that dialogue is essential in advancing the plot and exhibiting information about the heroes' actions, who are thereby introduced to the readership as part of the social environment they belong to. The same scholar even praises some authors' success deriving from their skill to have their *ear* fine-tuned for dialogue (Thomas 2012). The large variety of devices adopted by prose writers to do so has been discussed by many scholars in the last few decades, along with the quality of these devices to expose the stylistic content and specificity of the literary characters' speech (Bishop 1991, Fludernik 1993, Herman 2006, Kinzel-Mildorf 2012, Thomas 2012, etc.).

Emphasis is the focus of this study as a means of rendering information about the nature of the characters but most of all as a reflection of their state of mind, reactions, and opinions. All this entails considerable expressiveness and display of feelings. The heroes' opinions – especially the ones contradicting the previous speaker's intervention – are oftentimes accompanied by firmness and intense feelings. In expressing such positions in the characters, the dialogue resorts to various stylistic devices, among which emphasis stands out in various facets. Apart from its being a significant way of mirroring the heroes' states of mind, emphasis is also a powerful stylistic means and a significant contributor to creating atmosphere and effect.

This, in its turn, impacts the readers' perception and ultimately, as a feature of style, the author's reception. Among the particular features of Fowles's style in *Mantissa* that are subject to the readers' perception and the author's reception, most striking are the vividness and the tension of the dialogue. The fast reading and intense effect that these features trigger are "technically" achieved by short and often contradictory replies, which are sometimes interrupted by significant, heavy, and contemplative silence. The auctorial voice is scarce, and the novel is almost in its entirety made up of dialogue, which provides indirect but relevant clues to the interacting characters and the plot. The emphasis embedded in the dialogic utterances does not only provide implicit information about an individual's state of mind, but it also reveals a broader social context which includes relationships between the interacting characters. For instance, violent negation or disapproval can indicate either a close relationship between the speakers or rudeness. In its turn, emphatic disapproval often sounds exaggerated and can entail an ironical attitude. Additionally, such dialogue provides inference of the heroes' belonging to a social class, their level of education but also their thoughts, feelings, desires, etc. This unmediated manner of disclosing the characters' nature, with minimal auctorial contribution, calls for an active and creative stance in the readership, who cannot remain detached.

It is the realm of sociolinguistics that enlightens us on the fact 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). The close relation between language and social context has been tackled quite extensively by scholars such as Bell (1976), Hudson (1996), Bonaffini (1997), Trudgill (2000), Gardiner (2008), Holmes (2008), Spolsky (2010), Wardhaugh (2010), etc. All the feelings and thoughts emerging from the dialogue in association with the extensive use of emphasis are the core creators of atmosphere and effect, thereby having important bearing upon the stylistics of Fowles's work.

2.2. Types of emphasis

Swan (2009: 164–166) distinguishes four types of emphasis in English: (1) emotive and contrastive emphasis, (2) pronunciation: stress, (3) vocabulary: special words, and (4) structures. The first three of them are of interest in this study.

Emotive emphasis occurs when a speaker intends to express strong feelings about some content of an utterance. In contrastive emphasis, strong feelings are also present, but they are accompanied by the expression of a contrast in relation to the interlocutor's previous statement. They can indicate "a contrast between, for example, true or false, or present and past, or a rule and an exception" (Swan 2009: 165).

Additional stress can be added to words in speaking by pronouncing them with a higher intonation or in a louder voice. This can be marked in the written discourse by using italics, bold type, underlining, or capital letters. Alternatively, auxiliary verbs can be added to produce emphasis in such sentences where auxiliaries are not normally used (e.g. *He does like it.*) or in utterances where they are present to form the continuous or perfect aspect; for instance, auxiliaries are the ones taking over the stress which might extend over the entire sentence.

Lexical items, such as *so, such, really, totally, just*, etc., can be added to display emphasis as well as swear words or informal expressions. Strong surprise or disagreement can be revealed in questions such as *What on earth...?, What the hell...?*, etc. (Swan 2009: 165).

Indeed, as will be demonstrated below, emphasis is achieved by several lexical means, all of which ultimately trigger some stylistic effect.

3. The translation of emphasis: Analysis

Mantissa by John Fowles (1982) displays a dramatic content that is generated by the tense conversation between the two characters, a writer and his muse. The relationship between them is expressed as an ongoing controversy in an exchange of wits, which frequently employs emphasis. This plays an important role in the creation of a high degree of emotional involvement present in the verbal interaction, which justifies a systematic approach to the investigation of the variety of emphatic devices.

This section presents the analysis of a considerable number of examples of emphatic utterances occurring in dialogues between characters of Fowles's novel (1982). The selection of the examples relied on criteria relative to relevance and diversity in the attempt to cover as many instances of emphasis. The investigation sets off by broadly and partly pursuing Swan's (2009) classification as presented in the previous section. Nevertheless, the classification has been altered and

completed with additional means of emphasis identified in the fictional dialogues under scrutiny. Each example is accompanied by its translation into Romanian by Angela Jianu (1995) and by comments regarding the equivalence of the emphatic value in the source-language text and in the target-language text.

To start with, for the sake of illustrating the emphatic density bringing about tension and vividness in the dialogue, here is an example which is deemed representative for Fowles's style, exhibiting several means of emphasis (bold type is added by the author of this paper to highlight the emphatic lexical items, whereas italics are taken over from the original text):

- (1) "**Oh sure**. And your name isn't Erato and _"
 "No, my name is *not* Erato! And you're **absolutely** right. **Of course** satyrs are pure myth. **Of course** that grotesque scene never took place. **Especially** as it involved **not one, but two entirely** mythical beings." (1982: 43)
 – **Bine, bine**. Adică, nu te cheamă Erato și ...
 – **Nu, nu** mă cheamă Erato! Și ai **perfectă** dreptate. **Sigur că** satiri nu există decât în mitologie. **Sigur că** scena aia grotescă n-a avut loc niciodată. **Mai ales că nu era vorba de un singur** personaj mitologic, ci de două. (1995: 111)

This example depicts only two dialogic turns, which display a variety of emphatic means most of which are of lexical and syntactic nature, but which comprise also purely stylistic devices and punctuation. A closer look reveals adverbial intensifiers (*absolutely, especially, entirely*), adjectives with intense connotation (*pure, grotesque*), strings of short, tensed elliptical sentences, non-contracted negation (*my name is not Erato*), a negative emphatic structure (*not one, but two*), repetition (*of course*), an interjection (**Oh** sure), italics to mark a stress in pronunciation (*Of course*), and punctuation (an exclamation mark). In Romanian, most of the emphatic lexical means have been taken over as such or replaced by others: e.g. repetition seems to prevail.

3.1. Emotive and contrastive emphasis

Contrastive emphasis is quite frequent as a natural manifestation of the characters' constant disagreements. But disagreement here is rarely neutral. In the dialogues at hand, it is often enforced by additional lexical items, which provides the expression with a strong emotional load. Here are a few examples thereof:

- (2) "I've never denied it."
 "**Oh** yes you have. **Every time** you open your **stupid** mouth." (1982: 30)
 – Da' eu n-am negat niciodată asta.

– **O, ba cum să nu.** O faci **de fiecare dată** când deschizi gura aia **neghioabă.**
(1995: 78)

The strong disagreement is additionally stressed by means of lexical items such as the interjection *Oh*, the adverbial *every time*, and the adjective with strong negative connotation used as offence: *stupid*. All of them have similar ways of expression in Romanian, the target-language version succeeding thus to preserve the emphatic content of the original. Even more, the translator's awareness of the necessity to reveal the emphatic emotive contrast is obvious in the negative expression (*O, ba cum să nu*), which is not only very natural but also stronger than its faithful affirmative version would have been.

Emphatic equivalence is obtained in the next example as well, where the contrastive emphasis is enforced by repetition, an intensifying adverb, and a non-contracted negation. Out of these emphatic devices, only the one using the non-contracted negation in English is not transferred to Romanian due to the structural mismatch between English and Romanian. Practically, the dialogue is entirely and similarly emphatic in both languages, which makes the bold type cover it entirely:

(3) “**You know perfectly well why.**”
“**No. I do not know why.**” (1982: 16)
– **Știți foarte bine de ce.**
– **Nu. Nu știu de ce.** (1995: 41)

As compared to the previous example, the next one does not use a negation to express contrastive emphasis, but the author resorts to italics to mark a phonological stress, which carries the contrastive meaning:

(4) “I adore it when you pretend to be angry.”
“I *am* angry.” (1982: 42)
– Te ador când te prefaci furioasă.
– Păi, **chiar** sînt furioasă. (1995: 110)

The emphatic auxiliary marked as such by the use of italics is not stressed in the Romanian translation, but it is compensated for by the adverb *chiar* ‘indeed’.

The repetition of the word *angry* adds up to the emphatic value as does its repeated counterpart *furioasă* in Romanian.

Just as in Example (4), the translation of the following instance does not use italics to mark the stress. Instead, the translator opts for double quotation marks. Even if double quotation marks are not normally used in Romanian to mark emphatic pronunciation and seem rather inappropriate, they may have the power to take over the emphasis:

(5) “Do you know who ... what I was?”

“**Am.**” (1982: 10)

– Știți cine ... ce eram înainte?

– „**Cine sînt.**” (1995: 22)

3.2. Emphasis realized by pronunciation markers

As has been anticipated in examples (4) and (5) above, pronunciation markers are employed in Fowles’s original to produce a phonological type of emphasis, which is typically a speech marker. Such pronunciation markers are very frequent in Fowles’s *Mantissa* and very important in delivering the intensity of the characters’ feelings in their highly intellectual dialogic interaction in which opinions are often contradictory and almost never neutrally expressed.

As compared to the two translations above, which involve a means of compensation in Romanian, the following ones do not take over the italics and do not employ any means of compensation, as it happens with most of the italicized words. This reduces the intensity of the entire utterance and of the speaker’s emotional involvement. In its turn, this determines a more neutral and detached reading of the target-language version and, considering the frequent occurrence of this phenomenon, it affects the overall atmosphere and the generally present tension between the characters:

(6) “We’re **married**. We have children. You **must** remember that.” (1982: 7)

– Suntem căsătoriți. Avem și copii. Nu se poate să nu-ți aduci aminte. (1995: 16)

(7) “Oh where **is** that nurse.” (1982: 10)

– Pe unde-o fi umblând sora? (1995: 23)

(8) “And will you **please** stop asking these pointless questions.” (1982: 14)

– Și, vă rog, nu mai puneți asemenea întrebări fără rost. (1995: 31)

3.3. Lexical emphasis proper

The dialogues abound in *adverbial intensifiers*, which definitely contribute essentially to the emphatic character of the heroes’ speech. Nevertheless, apart from the wealth and the wide variety of the adverbial intensifiers, the use of low-frequency adverbs has an important intensifying role as well. Some of the intensifying adverbs are used metaphorically and seem exaggerated or are used ironically. Romanian proves to possess similarly rich means of adverbial intensifying expressions, what usually makes the translations equivalent both in meaning and in effect:

- (9) “**Truly** sorry.” (1982: 31)
 – **Zău** că-mi pare rău. (1995: 79)
- (10) “That’s **definitely** two.” (1982: 32)
 – Acum sunt două, **clar**. (1995: 82)
- (11) “It’s **obviously** escaped your notice...” (1982: 45)
 – Este **evident** că a scăpat observației tale... (1995: 119)
- (12) “She was an **extremely** superfluous idea from the beginning.” (1982: 75)
 – A fost o idee **cu totul** superfluă de la bun început. (1995: 190)

If the previous four examples comprised fairly common intensifiers which display also a quite faithful semantic match, the following ones are less predictable and therefore more forceful:

- (13) “How **unspeakably** vulgar you are sometimes.” (1982: 34)
 – Cît de **înfiorător** de vulgar poți fi uneori. (1995: 89)

This is not a literal translation of *unspeakably* into Romanian, but *înfiorător* ‘dreadfully’, ‘terribly’ is a suitable contextual equivalent that triggers a similar effect in Romanian.

A fully faithful translation has been opted for in the following example:

- (14) “You are **unimaginably** insensitive.” (1982: 74)
 – Ești **neînchipuit** de lipsit de sensibilitate. (1995: 190)

The adverb in Example (15) is metaphorical and additionally entails a witty play upon words since one of the characters played an immortal goddess:

- (15) “**Immortally** offended.” (1982: 33)
 – Jignită **de moarte**, așa nemuritoare cum sînt. (1995: 86)

Its translation has been well inspired by a quite common figurative Romanian phrase *de moarte* ‘mortally’. Although it is a naturally sounding intensifying expression, it omits the key idea of immortality, which is nevertheless compensated for by the addition of *așa nemuritoare cum sînt* ‘as immortal as I am’. So, the full back translation would be: “Mortally offended, as immortal as I am.”

Other dialogic turns involve a double adverbial intensification as in the following two examples:

- (16) “This **really** is a **heavenly** color.” (1982: 52)
 – Ce culoare **divină**. (1995: 135)

Interestingly, the translation of this example does not employ two adverbs but uses a syntactic change to compensate for the emphasis realized by the English adverb “really”, whose translation it omits. The syntactic structure is that of an exclamatory question: *Ce culoare divină*. The back translation of this utterance is “What a heavenly colour”.

The double adverbial intensification is perfectly preserved in Romanian in the following example, which is structurally equivalent as well:

- (17) “You have **absolutely** no feeling for my feelings **at all**.” (1982: 34)
 – Nu-ți pasă **absolut deloc** de sentimentele mele. (1995: 89)

In the following example, the negative connotation of the adjective “awful” is doubled by another adjective preceding it, “bloody”. This is faithfully translated into Romanian:

- (18) “It was a **bloody awful** flight.” (1982: 34)
 – Zborul pînă aici a fost **al naibii de greu**. (1995: 89)

As can be inferred from the examples above, although intensifying adverbs can and have been suitably translated into Romanian, some of them have been omitted for no apparent reasons. This might trigger a reduced impact of the target-language version:

- (19) “And as for that infantile and **totally** gratuitous bit of smut about my exposing myself to...” (1982: 70).
 – Cît despre episodul ăla infantil, gratuit și vulgar în care eu, chipurile, mă expun la... (1995: 180)
 (20) “Miles, I warn you. You are on the **very** edge of a precipice.” (1982: 71)
 – Miles, te previn. Te afli la marginea unei prăpăstii. (1995: 183)

Apart from adverbial intensifiers, sometimes *idiosyncratic speech markers* characterize some hero’s speech. “Of course” is often used for disconfirmation in negative utterances or for emphatic confirmation in positive ones. Here is an example of each:

- (21) “I’m not going to be sidetracked.”
 “**Of course not**. I just wondered.” (1982: 31)
 – Să știi că n-am de gând să mă lansez în divagații.
 – **Sigur că nu**. M-am întrebat și eu așa. (1995: 81)
 (22) “Is that **all that happened?**”
 “**Of course** it was **all that happened**.” (1982: 32)

- **Asta-i tot?**
- Bineînțeles că **asta-i tot**. (1995: 81)

In the latter example, (22), “of course” is accompanied by repetition and thus strengthened.

Sometimes *interjections* are naturally employed in order to express contrastive emphasis:

- (23) “I’ve never denied it.”
- **Oh yes** you have. (1982: 30)
- Da’ eu n-am negat niciodată asta.
- **O, ba cum să nu**. (1995: 78)

Adjectives are also often used for the sake of emphasis. “Single” is emphatically used both in affirmative and in negative sentences instead of “any”. In Example (24) below, the adverb *now* in italics is additionally used to threateningly highlight the immediate effect of a major decision:

- (24) “One **single** word and it ends *now!*” (1982: 33)
- **Încă o** vorbă și s-a terminat! (1995: 85)
- (25) “There hasn’t been a **single** mention of it before this.” (1982: 35)
- N-ai pomenit **nici măcar o dată** de asta pînă acum. (1995: 92)

“Single” is not translated by its primary Romanian equivalent (*singur*) in either of the sentences above. Instead, the translator opted for the alternative *Încă o vorbă* ‘another word’ in the affirmative sentence, as in Example (24), and for *nici măcar o dată* ‘not even once’ in the negative utterance as in (25). Both are suitable in Romanian, as well as semantically and stylistically equivalent.

Determiners have also been used by Fowles for emphatic purposes. “So” and “such” have a well-known intensifying value:

- (26) “It’s **so** unfair.” (1982: 33)
- E-**așa de** nedrept. (1995: 87)

It is obvious that “so” has the meaning of “very” and strengthens the semantic content of the adjective it precedes. Its translation into Romanian follows the same structural pattern.

In contrast, “such” engages in an elliptical construction which precedes a noun here while omitting a possible adjective and thus creating an emphatic effect. This effect might be perceived even stronger with ellipsis than an explicit

adjective. It is the case of the following example in which other intensifying lexical items are also present:

- (27) “In my entire four thousand years I’ve never met **such** arrogance. And the sheer blasphemy!” (1982: 33)
– De patru mii de ani de când exist pe pământul ăsta n-am mai pomenit **atîta** aroganță. Și ce blasfemie! (1995: 85)

The translation of “such arrogance” follows the constructive manner of the original version and can be back-translated as “so much arrogance”, which is identical with its meaning in English.

Strong feeling is oftentimes revealed by means of *intensifying expressions*, which most of the times occur in interrogatives, sometimes rhetorical ones, to express strong discontent or disbelief:

- (28) “Then who **the devil** do you think you are?” (1982: 43)
– Atunci cine **dracu’** te-oi fi crezînd? (1995: 112)
(29) “And **how on earth** can a harem be putrid?” (1982: 44)
– Și cum **naiba** poate un harem să fie putred? (1995: 114)

Strong annoyance can also be expressed as in the following affirmative sentences:

- (30) “All right. I may, **heaven knows** why, out of some misguided sense of responsibility, have inspired you with the mere gist of a notion of some new sort of meeting between us.” (1982: 33)
– De acord. Poate că, întradevăr, **Dumnezeu știe** cum, dintr-un simț al răspunderii prost ți-am inspirat fie și numai în linii generale ideea unei întîlniri de alt gen între noi doi. (1995: 86–87)
(31) “You **damn well** exist for me, anyway.” (1982: 44)
– **La naiba**, da’ pentru mine ești oricum. (1995: 117)
(32) “And **for God’s sake** stop staring at me like a dog waiting for a bone.” (1982: 36)
– **Pentru numele lui Dumnezeu**, nu te mai uita la mine ca un cățel care așteaptă un os. (1995: 94)

All the expressions above, in examples (28)–(32), have good equivalents in Romanian, which possesses similar phrases, also commonly used for the sake of emphasis in the expression of intense feelings, especially negative ones.

4. Findings

The selected examples and their preliminary analysis enabled a possible classification of lexical means of emphasis, which is nevertheless limited to the resources provided by the nature of the dialogue comprised in the novel *Mantissa* by John Fowles. Roughly speaking, there are two categories of lexical emphasis, one that uses or adapts lexical items to determine or enhance emphasis (as in sections 3.1. and 3.2.) and one in which those lexical items or phrases are used whose connotation is emphatic or becomes contextually emphatic (as in Section 3.3.).

The first section of the analysis looked into the expression of emotive and contrastive emphasis in English and its translation into Romanian. The findings exhibit that strong and emotionally charged disagreements are given not only by the contrast proper (which can be neutral) but by additional emphatic lexical items. That is, the contrastive utterances “oh, yes” or “oh, no” are emotionally loaded by supplementary lexical means (e.g. “every time” or the strong negative adjective “stupid” addressed as offence). In matter of translation, there are good equivalents in Romanian and the emphatic content can be and has been well preserved in the Romanian target-language version.

Further on, attention has been granted to emphasis simply realized by adding pronunciation markers to lexical items so as to stir an emphatic reading. Italicized words occur very frequently in Fowles’s dialogues, and they do bear important stress. The Romanian version too often omits this formal addition, which brings about a loss in emotional intensity, affecting both the stylistics of the target text and the social context.

Finally, lexical emphasis proper was the most resourceful section due to the variety of emphatic means it exhibited. As derived from the scrutinized source-language text, they range within a number of grammatical categories or are expressions commonly used to display emotions. We have identified (in 3.3.) a wealth of adverbial intensifiers, adverbial idiosyncratic speech markers (such as “of course”), interjections, adjectives with strong connotation or added to intensify the stress and determiners. Additionally, we could observe several expressions (e.g. “for God’s sake”) used to add force to a question or a request, to express annoyance, surprise, anger, frustration, etc.

These expressions are important also for their rendering information about the social context – namely, being typical of the common, familiar register, they indicate that there is a close relationship between the characters, so close that they can afford to express their thoughts and feelings very naturally, being at times even impolite or offensive to each other. No less is this valid for Romanian and the target-language version. Thus, Romanian does possess means to equvalate English emphasis in terms of lexical connotation and the stylistic effect produced.

5. Conclusions and further research

Fowles's novel offers a wealth of emphatic devices that provide information about the novel's social context: information about the characters individually, their temporary state of mind but also about the relationship between them and its change in the evolution of the contextual situation. It can be safely stated that emphasis is a major stylistic device in this work of fiction, an intrinsic creator of atmosphere which considerably operates at the reception level. The constant tension and vividness that impact the reading derive mainly from the intellectual and heavily contradictory dialogue in which the heroes hold firm positions, express opinions and beliefs, and exhibit strong feelings.

This justifies this undertaking that can be useful in the translation of other literary works the effect of which relies substantially on emphatic language means. It is a matter of contributing to the proper transfer of a writer's style to another language. This further entails not only obtaining the overall equivalence of the work in another language but also enabling the equivalent reading of the work and an equivalent reception of its author by the readership of a target culture.

Even if the study is limited to the language pair English and Romanian and even if it is not exhaustive in terms of the collection of means of emphasis, it can be completed with other relevant devices in further studies. So far, starting from Swan's classification, it enabled an (initial) more refined and nuanced classification of means of emphasis that occur in the fictional dialogue. Structural emphasis has not been subject to this investigation, but it is a necessary addition with a view to completing the conclusions and providing an overall comparative account of the manifestation of emphasis in English and Romanian. Furthermore, a thorough examination of structural means of emphasis is expected to display a wider contrastive array than the investigation of lexically determined emphasis has. So, structural emphasis, but also stylistic emphatic devices proper, will be the focus of a study to complete this one.

Even though Romanian proved similar in the expression of emphasis, sometimes the emphasis was omitted in the analysed dialogues. This has definitely reduced the intensity of the emotion and has sometimes neutralized the stylistic effect. Therefore, awareness of the emphatic devices and of the emphatic effect are essential in the act of translation as well as finding authentic and consistent means of expressing emphasis in the target language so as to mirror the characters' idiosyncratic speech and the author's style.

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In between Language Teaching Methods: Do We Need (to Know About) Methods at All?

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Abstract. In this study, we attempt to approach the problem of foreign language teaching from the viewpoint of language pedagogy development in different historical periods: from the grammar translation method through the audio-lingual approaches and up to communicative and post-communicative methods. We have come today to reconsider the role and status of language teaching not only because globalization has produced an increase in the number of speakers of English all around the world but also due to the fact that the issue of localization (of language teaching methods and techniques) has also come to the fore. This meta-analytical article circumscribes a number of popular methods amongst which teachers can choose, and we also try to summarize the most important foreign language teaching methods that can be spotted in the era of what is presently called the post-method condition.

Keywords: language teaching methods, methodology, history of methods, choice between methods, communicative and post-communicative language teaching

1. Introduction

The history of the development of language teaching didactics and methodology is a well-documented field of research. In the long history of language teaching didactics, there have been numerous taxonomies regarding trends in language teaching along with different attempts to organize different methods into different categories. For instance, Kumaravadivelu (1994: 29) talks about language-centred methods (e.g. audio-lingualism), learner-centred methods (e.g. communicative methods), and learning-centred methods (e.g. natural approach). Adriana Vizental (2008: 30) operates with the following division: the grammar-translation method (GTM), the audio-lingual approaches (ALA), the communicative approach (CLT), and the post-communicative turn (PCT). Celce-Murcia talks about the following

major classes of methodologies: cognitive approaches, affective-humanistic approaches, comprehension approaches, and communicative approaches (Celce-Murcia 2014: 8).

However, language teaching and learning have a far older history, reaching the ancient world. Language teaching materials and textbooks were written and issued as early as 1272, when Roger Bacon's *Greek Grammar* appeared. In 1524, Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote his *Colloquiorum Libere*. In the Middle Ages, Latin and Greek were taught for the purposes of promoting intellectuality and had a major role for higher education (see: Brown 2007, Dağkiran 2015). One of the most important contributors to language pedagogy and a very famous language teacher and methodologist of the 17th century was the Czech scholar and teacher Johann (or Jan) Amos Comenius (originally Jan Amos Komenský), who published plenty of works on the problem of teaching and educating children (e.g. his *Didactica Magna* completed in 1631 and published in 1657). Language teaching became a scientific discipline in the 19th century, when the bulk of specially designed textbooks and the number of volumes on teaching methodology started to grow.

In this study, we circumscribe a number of popular methods amongst which teachers can choose, and we also try to summarize the most important foreign language teaching methods that can be spotted in the era of what is presently called the post-method condition. We aim to offer a meta-analysis of foreign language teaching methods as they have evolved during different historical periods. We also wish to make a short and synthetic presentation of the most important principles of each of these methods; however, we cannot make a thorough interpretation and/or deep analysis of each as this would exceed the limitations of the present study. We have come today to reconsider the role and status of language teaching not only because globalization has produced an increase in the number of speakers of English all around the world but also due to the fact that the issue of localization (of language teaching methods and techniques) has also come to the fore. We tend to go beyond the frames of a meta-analytical paper and make some experience-based comments only at the end of the article, where we approach the issue of communicative and post-communicative language teaching as these are the approaches that we have experienced more deeply, with their qualities and flaws alike (the description of the principles and techniques and the shortcomings and criticisms we have listed are based on our own personal experience as well).

2. The 19th century

The Grammar Translation Method

The first well-circumscribed language teaching method was the Grammar Translation Method (GTM), “perhaps best codified in the work of Karl Ploetz (1819–1881), a German scholar who had a tremendous influence on the language teaching profession during his lifetime and afterwards” (Celce-Murcia 2014: 4). The Grammar Translation Method was also called the classical method because it first and foremost focused on the teaching of classical languages. Some of the main principles of the Grammar Translation Method (see: Celce-Murcia 2014: 5, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779) are the following:

- The main focus is on morphology and syntax (the forms and inflections of words are learned thoroughly, together with rules and exceptions).
- Focus on written language and sentences rather than texts.
- There is little use of the target language for communication.
- The role of conversation is underestimated.
- The main objective is the study of literary works.

Larsen Freeman states that the most important types of exercises within GMT are the following: translation of literary texts, reading comprehension questions, synonyms and antonyms, deduction of grammar rules, memorization, composition, and building up sentences using certain words (Larsen Freeman 2000: 19–20).

The direct method

The direct method (DM) appeared as an alternative to grammar translation, and it was described in the works of the French teacher of Latin, François Gouin in 1880. As the Grammar Translation Method focused too much on the written forms of language, the direct method was created as a counterbalance, focusing on oral performance and communication. The direct method received its name from the fact that meaning was conveyed directly in the target language with the help of demonstration and visual aids (Larsen Freeman 2000: 21). Some of the main principles of the direct method (cf. Celce-Murcia 2014: 5, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779, Molina et al. 2006: 7) are the following:

- Oral interaction is primary.
- Knowledge of a language is the ability to produce everyday spontaneous speech, which is the first goal of the lessons.
- The most important techniques and procedures are repetitions and drills: questions and answers are the main pathways to reach a gradual oral progression.
- Translation and use of mother tongue are prohibited.

- Lessons begin with dialogues and anecdotes in modern conversational style.
- Correction is not neglected, putting emphasis on correct pronunciation and grammar.

Thus, the most important techniques are: reading aloud, questions and answers, self-correction, conversation practice, fill-in-the-blanks, dictation, map drawing, and paragraph writing (Larsen Freeman 2000: 31–32).

The reform movement

The reform movement was another important reaction to GTM and DM, which focused on the teaching of oral language. Although Celce-Murcia (2014: 5) demonstrates that the reform movement was not considered a full-blown pedagogical approach to language teaching, she also highlights that its adherents had a significant influence on certain subsequent approaches. This movement was initiated by the founders of the International Phonetic Association established in 1886. The principles of the International Phonetic Association can be summarized as follows (cf. Molina et al. 2006: 7–8, Celce-Murcia 2014: 5):

- Foreign language study should begin with the spoken language of everyday life as the spoken form of a language is primary.
- Pupils must be familiarized with the sounds of the FL.
- Among the most important procedures, we mention direct techniques with no use of L1: immersion, questions and answers, small groups, and native speakers.
- Examinations take the form of conversations and interviews.
- The findings of phonetics should be applied to language teaching.
- Learners should be given basic phonetic training to establish good speech habits.

3. The 20th century

The reading approach

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the reading approach was devised for English learners in India and German or French learners in the USA. Michael West, who was a teacher of English in India, endorsed the reading approach, in which he recommended graded reading for its practical utility, without neglecting the skill of speaking. Some principles of the reading approach or reading method are (cf. Celce-Murcia 2014: 6, Molina et al. 2006: 10):

- Only the grammar useful for reading comprehension is taught.
- The learner does not have to master the grammar, but merely recognize it.

- Vocabulary is controlled at first (based on frequency and usefulness) and then expanded (the most basic level was made up of just 300–500 vocabulary items, which led to the introduction of the concept of *Basic English*, as stated in Ogden 1930).
- Translation is a widely used classroom procedure.
- The first language is used to present reading material, discuss it, and check understanding.

The audio-lingual method

The audio-lingual approach, or audio-lingual method (ALM) became dominant in the United States during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Based on the Army Specialized Training Program and emerging from the direct method, the audio-lingual method shifted the emphasis from written language to spoken language by developing first and foremost oral skills. “No explanation in or translation into the students’ native tongue was allowed in their classes: all instructions had to be given in the target language, and meanings were explained with the help of visuals, realia (real objects), paralinguistic and demonstration” (Vizental 2008: 31–32).

Among the most important principles of the audio-lingual method, we mention (as argued in Vizental 2008: 31–32, Celce-Murcia 2014: 7, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779, Molina et al. 2006: 12):

- The learner’s mother tongue is banned, and target language is used exclusively.
- Vocabulary is severely controlled and limited in the initial stages.
- Full priority of oral skills: vocabulary and grammar are taught in context.
- The importance given to habit formation by using commands to direct behaviour, i.e. students perform actions as indicated by the teacher/other students.
- Grammar is generally viewed as difficult and boring; therefore, theoretical presentations should be avoided (grammatical structures are sequenced and rules are taught inductively).
- Skills are sequenced: listening and speaking are taught first; reading and writing are postponed.
- The usage of technology in language teaching: language laboratories and recordings are widely used.

The most popular audio-lingual techniques are: dialogue memorization, backward build-up (expansion) drills, repetition drills, chain drills, single and multiple substitution slot drills, transformation drills, question and answer drills, dialogue completion, and grammar games (Larsen Freeman 2000: 48–49).

The audiovisual method

The audiovisual method appeared in the early sixties in France as the result of the conclusions derived from the CREDIF – *Centre de Recherche et d'Étude pour la Diffusion du Français*. The most important principles of the audiovisual method are (cf. Molina et al. 2006: 13–14):

- Introducing and promoting basic linguistic varieties (*Français fundamental, Basic English*).
- Introducing specialized discourses (E.S.P).
- The steps of the lesson are: 1. Presentation: visual scenarios for meaningful utterances and context (using filmstrips and tapes); 2. Explanation: through pointing, demonstrating, selective listening, questions/answers; 3. Repetitions and memorization; 4. Exploitation (development or transposition), visual emancipation, role-play, and new questions and answers; 5. Grammar.

The oral-situational approach

In Britain, the same historical pressures that fostered the development of the audio-lingual approach gave rise to the oral, or situational approach promoted by Eckersley around 1955 (Celce-Murcia 2014: 7). Among the most important principles of the oral-situational approach, we mention (see: Celce-Murcia 2014: 7, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779):

- Organizing structures around situations (e.g. “at the pharmacy”, at the post office”, “at the bank”, “at the restaurant”, etc.).
- New words and new grammar items are introduced and practised embedded in situations.
- All language material is practised orally before being presented in written form.
- Only the target language is used in the classroom, and there is little (or no) use of the mother tongue.
- Mainly the most general and useful lexical items are presented.
- Among the most important techniques, drills and repetitions should be highlighted.

The cognitive approach, or cognitive code learning

Among the most important principles of the cognitive approach, we mention (cf. Celce-Murcia 2014: 7, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779, Molina et al. 2006: 18):

- Language learning is viewed as rule acquisition, not as habit formation.
- Lessons are presented deductively (the new structure or item is embedded in a meaningful context; learners are told the rule and given the opportunity

to apply it to several examples) or inductively (learners are given a number of examples and then told to infer the rule through guided discovery).

– Errors are viewed as inevitable; making mistakes is part of the learning process.

– Vocabulary is taught in context.

– Little use of the mother tongue.

As Molina et al. (2006: 18) notice, the cognitive approach was not a method on its own, rather a reaction against the audio-lingual method.

The affective-humanistic approach and the designer methods

Building up taxonomies of teaching methods is not an easy task; sometimes there are significant overlaps and the same method is put into different categories by different scholars. Celce-Murcia (2014: 8) states that the term *affective-humanistic approach* or the *comprehension-based approach* covers mainly Krashen's Natural Approach and Asher's Total Physical Response (TPR), whereas Molina et al. (2006: 20–24) consider that the terms *affective-humanistic approach* and *designer methods* are fully synonymous, and they include the following: Community Language Learning, The Silent Way, and Suggestopedia. As Celce-Murcia (2014) puts it, the so-called *designer methods* came to the fore in the 1970s and the 1980s (these have been labelled designer methods by Nunan (1989)), and they included more innovative methods such as Total Physical Response (TPR) and Community Language Learning. Some of these methods developed in the twentieth century and expanded in the early twenty-first century as well.

The most important general features of the affective-humanistic approach (a tendency which views language learning as a social and personal process) are the following (cf. Celce-Murcia 2014: 7–8):

– The feelings of students and teachers and the issues of respect and self-respect are emphasized.

– Students' personal involvement and personal experience should become part of the classroom communication.

– Interactive procedures such as pair and small-group work are widely used (announcing CLT).

– The class atmosphere is more important than materials or methods.

Krashen's Natural Approach

Krashen's Natural Approach (1983) is also called Krashen's theory of immersion and comprehensible input as it is one of the most important comprehension-based approaches. It is also known as the Monitor Model (MM) (Boyadzhieva

2014: 782–783). The most important general features of the Natural Approach are the following (cf. Boyadzhieva 2014: 782–783, Celce-Murcia 2014: 8):

- Listening is the basic skill that will allow speaking, reading, and writing to develop spontaneously over time: learners start to speak only when they feel ready to do so.
- Learners begin with a silent period (they listen to meaningful speech and respond non-verbally in meaningful ways).
- Learners progress by being exposed to meaningful input that is just one step beyond their level of proficiency (*finely tuned input*).
- Language materials should be as authentic as possible and should come from realia rather than from textbooks.
- Meaning is more important than form and grammar.
- The aim of learning is communication with target-language speakers.
- No use of mother tongue is allowed after the first stages of learning.
- Direct grammar teaching is useless and ineffective (rules only serve students' self-monitoring and self-correction, but they do not foster acquisition or spontaneous use of the target language).
- Error correction is unnecessary and counterproductive: what matters is that the learners can understand and can make themselves understood.

Krashen's Natural Approach became influential in the early 1980s and the 1990s, and it laid the foundations of the communicative approach, or communicative language teaching (CLT).

Total Physical Response

Total Physical Response (TPR) is a method labelled sometimes a humanistic approach and some other times a designer method. It was introduced by James Asher in the late 1970s. The main features and principles of TPR are the following (cf. Molina et al. 2006: 22, Celce-Murcia 2014: 9, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779, Dağkiran 2015: 14):

- Only the target language is used, and no mother tongue is allowed.
- Understanding precedes speaking and active use of language: learners learn from responding to verbal stimulus; they understand the foreign language and respond kinesthetically before starting to speak.
- Language learning should activate the right hemisphere, where the motor centre is located.
- The teacher gives commands and shows learners the meaning by doing the appropriate physical action as a response.
- When learners are ready to speak, they begin to give each other commands.
- Structural language is taught by listening and responding with actions, while grammar is taught implicitly.

– Learners will learn better if stress to produce language is reduced: activities must be designed to reduce the affective filter.

The Silent Way

The Silent Way, promoted by Caleb Gattegno (in the 1970s) prescribed the use of an array of visuals (e.g. rods of different shapes and colours and charts with words or colour-coded sounds). As a materials developer, Gattegno was influenced by Cuisenaire, who had successfully used coloured charts and wooden sticks to teach mathematics: the Cuisenaire rods. The main features and principles of the Silent Way method are the following (cf. Molina et al. 2006: 27, Celce-Murcia 2014: 9, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779, Dağkiran 2015: 14, Larsen Freeman 2000: 69–70):

– The teacher directs the classroom but has an indirect role because he/she has to be silent most of the time. The teacher pronounces each element and asks for their repetition. He/she can use mime to guarantee or check comprehension.

– The language taught is very structural: language is taught in building blocks, but the syllabus is determined by what learners need to communicate.

– No use of deliberately designed textbooks.

– The main focus is on pronunciation.

– Grammar structures and vocabulary are introduced, reviewed, and recycled.

– The materials and techniques used: colour rods and charts. First sounds and then words and sentences are taught through coloured rods of different shapes.

– Drilling is not used.

– The method has an audio-lingual touch as translation is avoided.

– Self-correction and learner autonomy are promoted.

Community Language Learning

Community Language Learning arises from Rogers's notions of learners in the role of *clients* and teachers as *non-directive counsellors* (Molina et al. 2006: 25). The main features and principles of the Community Language Learning method are the following (cf. Molina et al. 2006: 25, Celce-Murcia 2014: 9, Dağkiran 2015: 14):

– Group work has an important role.

– The classroom is organized following a circle or a u-shape (also called horseshoe shape) so that participants can really communicate among themselves. Students sit in a circle or in a u-shape, and they decide what they want to say.

– The teacher translates and gets learners to practice in the target language the material that was elicited. Later, the teacher goes over the words and structures on the blackboard. These interactions are recorded and transcribed by the teacher.

– There is no pre-defined *a priori* syllabus: students decide *what* and *when* to learn according to their needs.

– The most important procedures are: translation, recording, and analysis techniques.

Suggestology, Suggestopedia, or accelerated learning

Based on the observation that the ability of acquiring a foreign language is blocked mainly by fear of failure, in the 1970s, Georgi Lozanov came up with a method meant to ensure a relaxing atmosphere in a colourful and decorated classroom with comfortable chairs and accompanied by relaxation music. The main features and principles of the Suggestopedia method are the following (see: Molina et al. 2006: 27, Celce-Murcia 2014: 9, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779, Dağkiran 2015: 14):

– The class starts with the relaxation of the students through the appropriate background music, breathing techniques, and voice of the teacher: in a classroom resembling a living room, learners sit in easy chairs and assume a new identity.

– After relaxation, the teacher starts by introducing a script accompanied by music. This way, the teacher introduces the grammar and lexis in a playful manner, using only the target language. During this phase, the students just relax and listen. Students then use the language in a fun and/or undirected way as this is followed by group or choral reading of the script on the first day, along with songs and games.

– Translation is also used to foster comprehension.

– Interactive activities are employed so that learners are able to use what they have unconsciously acquired.

– No correction is performed.

– Dialogues, dramatized texts, songs, and games are widely used.

– No use of the mother tongue is allowed.

– Yoga techniques are used to facilitate relaxation and concentration.

The Communicative Method, or Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)

The 1970s witnessed the emergence of the communicative approach to language teaching (CLT). The success of CLT is due not only to the changes it involved, as far as methods are concerned, but also to the fact that textbook writers applied its principles quite rapidly. Thus, CLT-based textbooks written and published in Britain spread almost all over the world and turned this method into one of the most influential approaches ever created. The movement was “quickly accepted by language teaching specialists, curriculum developers, and even governments. This provided the impetus for CLT, or the notional-functional approach or functional approach, as it is also termed, to become an international movement” (Molina et al. 2006: 29).

Communicative Approach is an umbrella term that encompasses a range of closely related methods such as Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) or Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). However, some other researchers, such as Rama-Agulló (2012: 182–183), state that TBLT and CLIL are post-communicative trends, whereas Dağkiran (2015: 15) states that after the introduction of CLT Content-Based Instruction (CBI) and Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) emerged as CLT's successors within the scope of Communicative Approaches (CA). There are several very recent language teaching models which belong to Content-Based Instruction such as: *theme-based language instruction* (the language curriculum is built around selected topics or themes), *sheltered subject matter teaching* (carried out in the target language by a content area specialist for a separated class of target language learners), *adjunct language instruction* (students are enrolled in two courses – a content and a language one – which are mutually coordinated), *skills-based approach* (specific subject matter teaching is carried out through the focus on a concrete academic skill area; cf. Molina et al. 2006: 45).

Widdowson (1990: 159), one of the mentors and promoters of CLT, describes it as follows:

It concentrates on getting learners to do things with language, to express concepts and to carry out communicative acts of various kinds. The content of a language course is now defined not in terms of forms, words and sentence patterns, but in terms of concepts, or notions, which such forms are used to express, and the communicative functions which they are used to perform.

By emphasizing language functions, points out Vizental (2008: 39), communicative teaching becomes competency-based (i.e. learners must show what they can do with the help of the language) and task-oriented (i.e. they are taught to perform practical tasks with the help of the language, in situations that simulate or approximate those encountered in real life).

Communicative language teaching relies on the following beliefs and premises (see: Nunan 1991: 279, Vizental 2008: 35–37, Boyadzhieva 2014: 783, Celce-Murcia 2014: 8):

- The ultimate aim of foreign language teaching is to develop the learners' communicative competence.
- Learners' own personal experiences must be enhanced as important contributing elements to classroom learning.
- Learning begins with imitation, but the learner has to move on to the stage of free production; otherwise, the process does not turn into actual learning.
- Developing language skills is more important than teaching content. In some cases, the content is academic or job-related material, replicating real-life

situations (students should use the language functionally and strategically to achieve real-world objectives and goals, the way people do in real life).

- Skills are integrated from the beginning. Teaching aims at developing the four major (macro) skills: reading, writing, speaking, and listening in content- and task-based activities.

- The four skills are divided into two groups: productive (speaking and writing) and perceptive (listening and reading). Perceptive skills facilitate the language input, while the productive skills foster the output.

- Meaning is more important than form or structure.

- Appropriacy of language is as important as linguistic accuracy (as communication takes place in a certain social and discursive context, and students must be taught to observe social conventions, adapt, and select their language according to the requirements of this social and discursive background).

- Active participation, personalization, and affective involvement enhance students' learning.

- Spontaneous, improvised practice is more efficient than mechanical repetition. Students work in groups or pairs to transfer and negotiate meaning in real life-like situations.

- Communication is basically interactive, learners must be given a purpose for producing language (simulation, role-play, and debate are efficient classroom procedures for language learning).

- Language must be learned with the help of authentic material.

- The teacher's role is to facilitate communication and only secondarily to correct errors.

- Grammar should be taught only when necessary. No use of mother tongue is allowed in the classroom.

Nevertheless, there are problems associated with CLT. Among these problems, researchers (Kumaradivelu 1994, 2006; Sreehari 2012) highlight its colonial or imperialistic background. The success of CLT is partly due to the rapid spread of textbooks. Every practitioner knows, however, that CLT textbooks have quite a lot of flaws as well; among these, we mention: too many visual aids, which sometimes make pages rather chaotic and disorganized; little emphasis on language accuracy and more on appropriacy; no bilingual wordlists, mini-dictionaries, which are actually needed by learners; cultural aspects are quite out of reach and are often non-familiar, and thus sensitization towards interculturality is often false and artificial; authentic texts are frequently uninteresting, dull and lack relevance from the viewpoint of learners; replication of real-life situations is sometimes awkward. The typical text of the communicative approach is the authentic material (audio, audiovisual, and printed alike). "Perhaps the biggest drawback of using authentic materials is their isolation from the cultural context in which they originally occur" (Siddiqui 2016: 13). Thus, authentic texts are quite often

random with respect to vocabulary, structures, functions, content, and length, and they are truly useful to learners only if they can relate to them.

Most of the scholars we have mentioned above and practitioners have considered CLT one of the most successful and efficient methods ever implemented. Although in the West CLT started to emerge in the 1970s, and around the 1990s the first critical remarks started to be heard, one must not forget that in Eastern Europe, for instance, CLT penetrated only in the 1990s and is still in vogue these days. What is more, CLT penetrated the teaching methodology of languages other than English some time later. For instance, Bárdos wrote in 2004 that CLT was still the most widespread method which was not being swept away (Bárdos 2004: 70) – although we know that Kumaradivelu's post-method rhetoric had already been heard for at least 10 years by then.

3. The 21st century

Current post-communicative paradigm

A number of new approaches to language learning have appeared in recent years along with criticisms against the concept of method. The first researcher who attempted to challenge the concept of *method* was Mackey (1965), who considered that the meaning of the word *method* was obscure and restrictive (see: Dağkiran 2015: 19). Celce-Murcia (2014: 10) presents an overview of the first manifestations against the concept of *method* and/or against CLT as the best possible method. Thus, she mentions the fact that Strevens (1977: 5) started to articulate criticisms towards various methods in 1977, stating that the complex circumstances of teaching and learning languages (with different kinds of learners, teachers, aims, objectives, approaches, methods, materials, classroom techniques, and standards of achievement) make it impossible that any single method could achieve optimum success in all circumstances.

These trends which have recently emerged have been assigned different names: they are called by Vizental (2008) the *post-communicative turn* (PCT), but the terms *eclectic method* (Prahbu 1990), *cognitive method* (Larsen Freeman 2000), *post-method* (Kumaradivelu 1994), etc. are also used. Although they cannot be described as a unified theory, the new methods show clearly that teachers have analysed the strengths and weaknesses of the previous approaches thoroughly. Anastasia V. Didenko and Inna L. Pichugova also wonder which term is best: *post-method* or *post-CLT*. They seem to highly appreciate the legacies of CLT (its global and local impact, the notion of competence, the idea of communicativeness, etc.). In spite of this, they signal its weaknesses: for instance, the fact that translation as an exercise type has disappeared almost completely from classrooms. (We daresay

the ban on translation might be one of the consequences of what Kumaravadivelu (1994) calls the imperialistic or colonial attitudes to language teaching.) Penny Ur (1996: 7) favours the term *post-communicative period*, but she does not reject *post-methodological* either since “it is now believed that no single method is optimally effective for teaching languages” (Ur 1996: 7).

Despite the fact that the post-communicative era has generated numerous concepts concerning course designs and teaching procedures, none of them is prevailing and has not turned into a method. “This is the basic reason why the post-communicative period in foreign language teaching is often described as eclectic” (Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779).

The term *eclecticism* comes to the fore in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Prabhu (1990) promotes the concept of eclecticism in an article (*There Is No Best Method—Why?*), the title of which suggests the basic concern of the author: the lack of a perfect method or a best method, universally applicable and equally efficient in all contexts. The term *eclecticism* knows a revival in the 2000s, after a period during which the term *post-method* seemed to be preferred. Dağkiran (2015: 17) makes an analysis of the term *principled eclecticism* used by Larsen-Freeman (2000) and Mellow (2002). *Principled eclecticism* can be described as “a desirable, coherent, pluralistic approach to language teaching. Principled eclecticism entails using diverse language learning activities that have different characteristics in response to learner needs” (Larsen-Freeman 2000). As Liu (2004) puts it, the term *eclectic method* (EM) might not be the best descriptor or denominator as “eclecticism or even principled eclecticism could imply that teachers adopt a varied set of practices based on flexibility and variety of the content” (Liu 2004: 146). Nevertheless, sometimes eclecticism can degenerate into “a methodology without orientation, unsystematic and uncritical, practised by teachers with precarious or poor professional training, incapable of creating an informed eclecticism and who only compile a package of techniques originating in various Methods that do not make sense together. [...] This is to say that eclecticism is still dependent on Method” (Cehan 2014: 28).

Stephen Bax (2003: 278–287) describes an approach which may put an end to CLT, which he names the *Context Approach*. “This approach disagrees fundamentally with the CLT attitude by arguing that methodology is *not* the magic solution, that there are many different ways to learn languages, that the context is a crucial determiner of the success or failure of learners” (Bax 2003: 281). Context Approach insists that while methodology is important, it is just one factor in successful language learning.

From 1990 onwards, however, foreign language teaching entered a stage of the post-communicative era, states Boyadzhieva (2014: 784). Based on postmodern and postcolonial ideas, Kumaravadivelu (1994: 27) suggested the deconstruction of the term *method* and coined the term *post-method condition*. Kumaradivelu prefers the term *post-method* to *eclectic method* due to several

reasons: “eclecticism at the classroom level invariably degenerates into an unsystematic, unprincipled, and uncritical pedagogy because teachers with very little professional preparation to be eclectic in a principled way have little option but to randomly put together a package of techniques from various methods and label it eclectic” (Kumaravadivelu 1994: 30–31).

Kumaravadivelu’s post-method condition aims at providing practitioners with a framework which helps empower teachers with knowledge, skills, and autonomy so that they can tailor for themselves a coherent alternative to method, i.e. more context-situated, teacher-developed *methodologies*: “the postmethod condition [...] signifies a search for an alternative to method rather than an alternative method” (Kumaravadivelu 1994: 29). According to Kumaravadivelu (1994: 29, 2006: 170–171), the post-method condition emphasizes three features: a) an alternative to the concept of method, b) teacher autonomy and reflection, and c) principled pragmatism, which is different from eclecticism. Principled pragmatism focuses on “how classroom learning can be shaped and managed by teachers as a result of informed teaching and critical appraisal. One of the ways in which teachers can follow principled pragmatism is by developing what Prabhu (1990) calls a *sense of plausibility*. Teachers’ sense of plausibility is their subjective understanding of the teaching they do” (Kumaravadivelu 1994: 30–31).

Kumaravadivelu’s post-method theory and the *Ten Macrostrategies* framework it relies on are inspired by Stern’s (1992) *Three-Dimensional Framework* and Allwright’s (2000) *Exploratory Practice Framework*. This *Ten Macrostrategic Framework*, proposed by Kumaravadivelu (2001), is shaped by a three-dimensional system that consists of three operating principles: *particularity*, *practicality*, and *possibility*.

Many of the principles and techniques of the post-communicative turn have their roots in communicative teaching. The performances of the communicative approach are improved in terms of grammar, writing, literature, cultural issues, and first-language usage. Still, there are other aspects that post-communicative teaching should reconsider. We agree with Swan (1985a, 1985b) and Molina et al. (2006: 32) in the sense that they rightly notice that an excessive focus on appropriacy may obscure “the necessity of teaching lexis, and enough vocabulary, in Swan’s opinion, is what the learners need, not appropriacy” (Molina et al. 2006: 32). One of the domains which post-communicative or post-method or eclectic pedagogies should re-examine, and perhaps change, is this excessive emphasis put on appropriacy (functions) to the detriment of learning and teaching words. “Functions without lexis are no better than structures without lexis”, conclude Molina et al. (2006: 32). We add that teaching functions is important and useful, but functions imply a lot of structures and lexemes of different levels of difficulty. Teachers might find themselves in the position to teach structures which are far beyond the level of students.

Can (2009: 2) also makes it clear that it is important to have a clear understanding of the distinction between the concept of *method* and *post-method*. The best way of making this clear-cut distinction is to rely on the writings of Kumaravadivelu (1994, 2001, and 2006), the father of the post-method condition. Method is “knowledge-oriented” and can be defined to “consist of a single set of theoretical principles derived from feeder disciplines and a single set of classroom procedures directed at classroom teachers” (Kumaravadivelu 1994: 29), whereas post-method is “classroom-oriented” and refers to the construction of classroom procedures and principles by the teacher himself/herself based on his/her prior and experiential knowledge regarding teaching and his/her own classroom experience. Therefore, post-method is totally different from the existing methods, and it emerged as a result of the limitations of the methods, and hence another method cannot aim to overcome the limitations of the concept of method (Can 2009: 2).

The main features and principles of the post-communicative method/or of the post-method condition are the following (cf. Molina et al. 2006: 27, Celce-Murcia 2014: 9, Boyadzhieva 2014: 777–779, Dağkiran 2015: 14, Erdei 2002: 48, Cadario 2014: 30):

- Learning how to learn is a central element.
- Presenting the forms of grammar and vocabulary: grammar still tends to be taught inductively, but grammar explanations should be based on contrastive and comparative approach.
- Task-based classroom activities; pair and group work, collaborative dialogue between learners, individual work with the use of Internet.
- Reintroduction of mother tongue and translation tasks in the language classroom.
- Use all good and effective teaching practices established in every previous approach that proved to be efficient.
- Return of long-forbidden techniques such as repetition or drilling in case of structures as drills facilitate memorization especially with adult learners.
- Rehabilitation of essay writing, texts about cultural and intercultural issues and literature.

Thus, post-communicative language teaching does not mean non-communicative language teaching, highlights Erdei (2002: 47). It is rather an ameliorated or superior variant of CLT, more radical, more practical, and more complex, based on the optimization of its deficiencies.

Still, this post-method alternative does not go without criticism, and there are some paradoxes and/or problems that are not solved by post-method/post-communicative approaches:

- The teaching of phonetics and phonology as part of the oral production are deferred in most textbooks and classroom practices.

– Spelling is still seen as part of the learner’s writing proficiency (see: Boyadzhieva 2014: 787).

– The obvious discrepancy between teaching and testing (testing is always behind teaching; it is far more traditional and reluctant to change).

– The formal, grammatical, and structural aspects are dealt with implicitly, states Erdei (2002: 48), whereas the mediated content is managed explicitly (though other authors stand up for teaching grammar explicitly).

– Without proper teacher education programmes, the post-method condition might entail the risk of ELT practitioners adopting some sort of “my-own method” style (see: Soto 2014).

Molina et al (2016: 37) also name some of the possible future trends in language teaching, which might follow the post-communicative period: the *Lexical Approach*, based on the concept of the lexical chunk (also termed lexical phrase, holophrase, composite, gambit, prefabricated routine, patterned phrase, frozen form, routine formula, or formulaic expression), i.e. a group of up to eight words that serve as the ideal unit which can be exploited for language learning, *Neuro-Linguistic Programming*, or NLP, *Multiple Intelligence Theory* (based on the existence of eight kinds of intelligences which work together: Intrapersonal intelligence, Interpersonal intelligence, Logical-Mathematical intelligence, Linguistic intelligence, Musical intelligence, Spatial intelligence, Bodily-Kinaesthetic intelligence, and Naturalist intelligence, which may be systematically involved in language lessons to foster language learning), *Cooperative Learning* (in which students work together in groups to reach common goals), and *Bilingual Education Programmes* (in which the foreign or second language is used to teach the regular school curriculum). Besides these, they name a few orientations and directions in language learning and teaching such as *Language for Specific Purposes* (LSP, a movement which prepares learners to fulfil specific professional roles), *Immigrant On-Arrival Programmes* and *Programmes for Students with Limited English Proficiency (SLEP)*: (which focus on the language which immigrants need to integrate in the receiving country), or *Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach* (CALLA, which combines language, content, and learning strategy instruction into the transitional ESL classroom) (Molina et al. 2006: 45).

Boyadzhieva (2014: 785) also mentions some possible future trends in language teaching pedagogy, probably following the post-communicative turn: *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL), introducing the idea that any specific content can be learned with the help of a foreign language; *Computer Assisted Language Learning* (CALL), which focuses on the introduction of the computer in language teaching and learning; *Blended Learning*, based on the belief that the traditional face-to-face communication in the language classroom must be combined or blended with distant, Internet-mediated learning; *Dogme learning*, i.e. a topic-based approach focusing on communication, which denies the use

of course books, claiming that course books tend to focus on grammar and rules and are often culturally biased. Michel Candelier comes up with a novel concept in language pedagogy, i.e. the *pluralistic approach* to language teaching, based on the idea of plurilingual and pluricultural competence and learners' linguistic repertoires (2008: 4). Nevertheless, we do not aim to describe these trends and directions as they are still part of an ongoing shift in language teaching.

4. Conclusions

Post-method pedagogy attempts to validate itself at the expense of previous, past methods, though it is seen by many as a mere search for a method, an attempt to unify procedures in a more holistic way. Post-method pedagogy is, therefore, seen by Bell (2003: 332) not as a true shift or paradigm in language teaching but rather a synthesis of various methods under the umbrella of CLT, or what Liu (1995: 176) calls a *method redefining condition*. However, neither the post-communicative approach nor any other previous method can be realized in their purest form in the actual classroom.

Thus, the shift from one method to another resembles somehow the well-known quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns as progress has always come with an inherent attack on the authority of previously established views and the rise of new trends, which usually claim a great divide from the *ancients* and challenge their authority by opening fire on their very *raison-d'être*. The truth is that no new method has ever completely discarded all previous *ancient* methods. Questioning the authority or efficacy of a method and challenging inquiries in predominant systems is one thing, but changing the paradigm is another, however radical this change of paradigm might seem. There have always been overlaps between different methods. New methods usually try to correct the insufficiencies of previous methods, but they never efface them totally but rather overtake some of their techniques in slightly modified versions.

Nevertheless, we tend to highlight the *in-between-ness* of the post-method condition as it aims to put an end to the era of well-established methods, but it does not state that post-method era means an era without methods. Kumaravadivelu himself points out this idea when stating that post-method condition does not mean methodlessness; it rather means "that the framework is not conditioned by a single set of theoretical principles or classroom procedures associated with any one particular language teaching method" (Kumaravadivelu 1994: 32). That is why we prefer the term *post-communicative* period as today's tendencies (be they called post-communicative, post-method, eclectic, etc.) seem to correct the deficiencies of CLT and apply several of its good strategies and techniques rather than replacing CLT totally and irreversibly with something else (whether we call

it a method or a post-method though the semantics of the term *post-method* has not been neatly defined and established). Today's language teaching paradigm seems to us to be an improvement of CLT with *localized* materials and techniques.

Methods are complex constructs with good and bad aspects as well. We also accept that methods are social and often socio-political constructs bearing all the flaws of the societies that create them. But in the practice of teaching what really matters is the way teachers manage (or do not manage) to make the most of the methods they are familiar with. After all, "Methods could be prescriptive, quasipolitical or mercenary (Pennycook 1989), and non-transferable (Nunan 1991), but it all depends on how we look at them. It is the conceptualization of methods that matters" (Liu 2004: 150).

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Translator Trainees' Reading Literacy, Problem Solving, and Translation Skills

A Comparative Study

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Abstract. Linguistic and cultural mediators, such as translators, interpreters, and language teachers, need complex and well-developed language skills in all the languages they work with. In this study, we examine the connections and correlations among the following skills: reading literacy in native language, reading literacy in foreign language, problem solving and translation. Three of these skills (reading in native and foreign language and problem solving) are evaluated on a three-level scale based on the three cognitive processes used in Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) assessments (location of information, understanding, evaluation and reflection) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – OECD 2018). The methodology of measuring reading comprehension in native language and problem-solving skills has already been developed and applied by our research group (Pletl 2019, Harangus 2018); therefore, after assessing the foreign language reading literacy and translation skills, we will be able to analyse the translator trainees' results based on the aforementioned three-level scale and examine possible connections and correlations between the different but interrelated skills. With an interdisciplinary approach, this study concentrates on revealing the overlaps and meeting points, the spaces in between the use of these skills.

Keywords: problem solving, reading literacy, native language, foreign language, translation

1. Introduction

This study presents a needs analysis and assessment, targeting a group of first-year translation and interpretation students at Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania regarding the relationships and eventual correlations between their following skills: reading literacy in their native language (Hungarian), reading literacy in English as a foreign language, problem solving, and translation. Based on previous studies and our experience, considerable interdependence may be revealed among these skills due to the complexity of the processes of reading, problem solving, and translation. Three of these skills (reading in native and foreign language and problem solving) are evaluated on a three-level scale based on the three cognitive processes used in PISA assessments (location of information, understanding, evaluation and reflection).

Our target-group members attend a teacher training programme as well, which offers them the choice to become language teachers in the future. Our students' native language is Hungarian, and as future translators they train to work with three languages (Hungarian, Romanian – the official language of the country –, and English, which they have been studying as a foreign language). In their future profession, all language skills regarding the three languages (listening comprehension, reading comprehension, speaking, writing, translating, and interpreting) are essential.

The literature related to the assessed skills and the possible connections between them is abundant, but here – due to space limits – we attempt to give only a brief overview of the leading opinions related to our topic.

2. Connections between reading literacy in native language and foreign language

Reading in native and foreign languages may be considered basic skills to be developed in translator and teacher training, and reading skills and strategies in the native language can determine how successful the text comprehension is in foreign languages. Therefore, while developing foreign language reading skills and strategies, it may be effective to build upon previous knowledge that has been acquired while reading in one's native language. However, as Koda (2007) suggests, second language reading can be limited by certain language-specific features. The involvement of two languages means a continuous interaction between them and implies necessary adjustments in order to meet the demands imposed by each of the languages involved.

A large number of studies (e.g. Brisbois 1995, Yamashita 2002, Koda 2007, Grabe 2009, Mátyás 2010, Jiang 2011, Brevik, Olsen–Hellekjær 2016) discuss and demonstrate the importance of the experience in native language reading to

second or foreign language reading, examining target groups of different ages from a various range of cultural, social, and ethnic background, with different second or foreign language levels, varying motivations, areas of interest, and attitudes towards reading. Several studies also examine the contribution of second or foreign language variables, such as phonological, vocabulary, morphologic, syntactic or text-structure knowledge, to reading literacy.

Cummins's (1979) "interdependence" and "threshold" hypotheses served as part of the theoretical background for some of these studies. The interdependence hypothesis states that first-language literacy skills can be transferred if learners are exposed sufficiently to a second language. On the other hand, the "threshold" hypothesis suggests that such transfer of skills is possible only after a threshold level has been reached in second language proficiency. Cummins's research targeted bilingual children, but Alderson (2000) – who also developed a threshold hypothesis where first language refers to the native language and second language to any non-native language – states that a threshold "must be crossed before first language reading ability can transfer to the second language. However, it is clear that this linguistic threshold is not absolute but must vary from task to task: the more demanding the task, the higher the linguistic threshold" (p. 39). The ideas that skills acquired in one's dominant (native) language can be transferred when developing second or foreign language skills and that language proficiency highly influences reading comprehension in second or foreign language are now widely accepted.

Transfer is a complex process, defined by Koda (2007) as the "automatic activation of well-established L1 competencies (mapping patterns) triggered by L2 input. Thus, transfer transpires regardless of learners' intent (nonvolitional) and its occurrence cannot be easily controlled (nonselective)" (p. 17). She mentions three assumptions underlying this view of transfer. "First, for transfer to occur, the competencies in question must be well rehearsed – to the point of automaticity – in a L1. Second, transfer is not likely to cease at any given point in time during L2 development. Third, the transferred competencies will continue to mature through experience with L2 print input" (pp. 17–18).

Grabe (2009) highlights the complexity of second language reading comprehension by describing the many differences between native and second language reading contexts. He suggests that between first and second language reading there can be:

(1) *linguistic and processing differences* (differing amounts of lexical, grammatical, and discourse knowledge at initial stages of L1 and L2 reading; greater metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness in L2 settings; varying linguistic differences across any two languages; varying L2 proficiencies as a foundation for L2 reading; varying language transfer influences; interacting influence of working with two languages);

(2) *individual and experiential differences* (differing levels of L1 reading abilities; differing motivations for reading in the L2; differing amounts of exposure to L2 reading; differing kinds of texts in L2 contexts; differing language resources for L2 readers);

(3) *sociocultural and institutional differences* (differing sociocultural backgrounds of L2 readers; differing ways of organizing discourse and texts; differing expectations of L2 educational institutions) (p. 55).

He also concludes that “current L2 research suggests that the L2 reader is one who incorporates both L1 and L2 language and literacy knowledge” (p. 56).

In this study, we propose to examine students’ native and foreign language reading literacy, following the guidelines formulated in the PISA, which defines reading literacy as “understanding, using, evaluating, reflecting on and engaging with texts in order to achieve one’s goals, to develop one’s knowledge and potential and to participate in society” (OECD 2018: 8). Accordingly, we chose to examine three main cognitive processes defined by the PISA reading literacy framework: locating information, understanding, evaluating and reflecting (OECD 2018: 3–4).

3. Problem solving and reading

Problem solving and reading literacy can be regarded as interdependent skills concerning tasks and situations which involve work with written texts and their interpretation both in one’s native and second/foreign language. Reading can be regarded as the product of a complex combination of knowledge, skills, and various problem-solving strategies. Therefore, we believe that students with more developed problem-solving skills can comprehend texts more easily.

Although there are many interpretations, definitions, and theoretical models of problem solving in the literature, they share a common definition of the problem: there is a gap between the initial and target states, i.e. the path to achieving the target state is unknown. First, the problem has to be identified, and then possible solutions are searched for (Mayer–Wittrock 1996). Measuring the level of problem-solving skills is not new; it is one of the most widely researched thinking abilities in the dynamically developing world of the last two decades. Its development has been part of a number of educational and assessment programmes (e.g. OECD PISA measurements).

Pólya’s (1957) model is one of the most popular process models for problem solving, and it also served as a basis for the PISA measurements. Based on this, the first step in solving the task is to interpret the text of the task. We need to recognize what we know and what we are looking for. After that, the problem has to be formulated, and a plan has to be prepared to solve it; then the right strategy has to be chosen, the task has to be solved, the correct solution is interpreted,

and the validity of the solution is verified. As a final step, it is also important to communicate the result in an intelligible form. According to Pólya (2010), the most typical human activity is problem solving – purposeful thinking, searching for tools to achieve a goal.

The definition of problem solving given by the PISA 2003 Assessment Framework states that: “Problem solving is an individual’s capacity to use cognitive processes to confront and resolve real, cross-disciplinary situations where the solution path is not immediately obvious and where the literacy domains or curricula areas that might be applicable are not within a single domain of mathematics, science or reading” (OECD 2003: 156). As this definition highlights it, problem solving is a complex skill, involving various cognitive processes and interdisciplinary background knowledge. Focusing on the development, problem-solving skills have become more important in secondary education in the last few years.

4. Translation as a problem-solving activity

The efficiency of translators’ work is highly influenced not only by their language proficiency skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking) but also by their problem-solving skills.

Put as plainly as possible, translation is problem-solving. The overriding problem is to get a text from one language to another. Theoretically, this can never be done. Practically it happens all the time. The translator with talent equal to his task need only be patient and resourceful, ignoring the detractors while working on his problems. As long as we remember at the outset that every text will present specific problems, we can still identify general problems – or problem areas – for which each text will present variations. (Rose, 1979)

In the process of translation, various difficulties and obstacles may arise, which require decision making and problem solving. As Wilss (1994) suggests, the boundary between problem solving and decision making in translation is unclear, and hence they cannot be separated from each other. Whenever a problem occurs, different translation strategies are activated in order to solve them. There have been several attempts to describe and categorize problem-solving strategies in translation.

Wilss (1996), for instance, approaches the question of problem-solving strategies from a cognitive perspective and describes what can happen when translators have to make choices and decisions in order to solve different problems in their work. He defines six stages that can occur in a decision-making process:

- (1) identification of the problem,
- (2) clarification or description of the problem,
- (3) researching and collecting background information,
- (4) deliberation on how to proceed – pre-choice behaviour,
- (5) moment of choice, and
- (6) post-choice behaviour – evaluation of translation results.

But he also admits that problem solving and decision making may not be such a clearly constructed process in reality and practice, and several factors may interfere with these stages.

There may be obstructions at (almost) any stage that may halt or delay the decision-making procedure. What if a problem is not (sufficiently) clarified in Stage 2? How much information collection is required in Stage 3 before the translator dares to proceed further? What determines the length of deliberation in Stage 4; when and why does a translator stop these deliberations? And, what if there is no choice at Stage 5? What if it turns out in Stage 6 that a wrong move has been made? (Wilss 1996: 188)

Because of the complexity of problem-solving strategies in translation, this can be the topic of a following study; here we have only focused on possible connections regarding reading comprehension in native and foreign language, problem solving, and translation.

5. Instruments of assessment

Reading literacy in native and foreign language were examined focusing on three main cognitive processes inspired by the PISA reading literacy framework: locating information (accessing and retrieving information within a text), understanding (representing literal meaning, integrating and generating inferences), evaluating and reflecting (assessing quality and credibility, reflecting on content and form; cf. OECD 2018). However, we would like to note that we did not use any tasks designed for the PISA assessments, and we did not work with multiple texts. Items in the tasks always referred to one text.

When designing the tasks, we took in consideration what our target group studied at school, especially in the tasks testing reading literacy in native and foreign language. Regarding their native language, they studied Hungarian language and literature, meaning that they read, discussed, and analysed texts selected from Hungarian literature (novels, short stories, poems) according to the school curriculum. However, their foreign language studies did not include literary studies; instead they developed their reading skills mainly with the help of texts related to various

everyday topics, belonging to different genres (such as articles from newspapers, magazines and the online media, brochures, letters, and sometimes fragments from literary works as well), and chosen and written for language teaching purposes.

The tasks testing reading literacy in foreign language were designed for our specific group, translation and interpretation trainees (most of them also teacher trainees), while the tasks measuring reading literacy in native language and problem solving had been developed and used in the assessment of a larger target population which also included part of our target group (Pletl 2019).

Reading literacy in native language was tested with the help of a short story, *Házi dolgozat* (Assignment), written by Hungarian author Dezső Kosztolányi. After reading the text, students had to answer 15 questions. The related items were grouped according to the cognitive processes as follows: locating information, understanding, evaluating and reflecting, and each of them were assessed with 5 items. The total score was 100 points, including 23 points for locating information, 33 points for understanding, and 44 points for evaluation and reflection.

Reading literacy in foreign language was tested with the help of two texts and tasks corresponding to the expected language performance level of the group (B2–C1). Each cognitive process (locating information; understanding; evaluating and reflecting) was measured with the help of five items. For locating information, they had to read a text and answer five multiple-choice questions. For understanding, evaluating and reflecting, they had to answer ten questions based on a given text. The maximum score achievable for this task was 100 points, including 40 points for the items measuring information location, 30 points for the items measuring understanding, and 30 points for the items measuring evaluating and reflecting processes.

The assessment of the level of problem solving was also built on the theoretical framework of the PISA research, which means that one of the tools for examining applicable knowledge is when students solve problems that are based on a life-like situation. The solution of the task required the implementation of the same cognitive processes as the solution of the native and foreign language literacy assessment tasks.

The task presented a novel problem for the students, but their solution did not require complex mathematical thinking. When choosing the task, we started from the fact that in everyday situations we constantly meet situations that require logical ordering. For example, when dressing up, the socks and the trousers are put on sooner than the shoes. But the order does not matter in the case of the socks and trousers. Accordingly, the task depicted a series of unique actions within the framework of an event in a graphical form. The actions shown in the figure were linked by arrows indicating their sequence. An arrow from one action to another meant that the first had to happen before the second, but an action

could be followed by several others. Several possible sequences could be formed from the first to the last possible action.

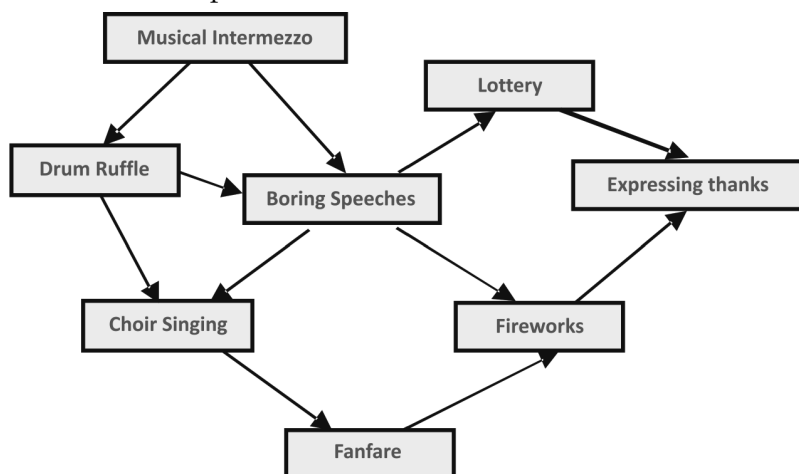


Figure 1. *Problem-solving task*

The problem-solving ability of the students was measured by a series of questions consisting of 20 items: locating information with 10 items, understanding with 6 items, and the evaluating and reflecting with 4 items. The maximum score achievable for this exercise was 100 points, including 35 points for the items measuring information location, 35 points for the items measuring understanding, and 30 points for the items measuring evaluating and reflecting processes.

In this study, students' translation skills were not assessed based on the three cognitive processes (locate information, understand, evaluate and reflect) followed in measuring the three other skills, mainly because – as we have pointed it out previously – translation is an especially complex problem-solving process which in fact includes the previous three examined skills. Problem-solving and cognitive processes involved in translation may be the topic of a further research. Here we only focused on possible correlations between reading comprehension in native and foreign language, problem solving, and translation. For this purpose, we assessed students' translation skills with a translation task consisting of translating two short texts (of approximately 150 words each) from English into Hungarian and two of the same length from Hungarian into English. The translations were evaluated considering the following criteria: correct transfer of information from the source text; appropriate choice of vocabulary and style in the target language; appropriate use of grammar, spelling, punctuation, and syntax. The maximum score achievable for translation was 100 points – 25 points for each translated text.

6. The results of the survey

42 first-year translation and interpretation students were assessed in the first semesters of two consecutive academic years (2017/18, 2018/19), in two steps: 2 hours were given for reading comprehension in foreign language and translation and 2 hours for reading comprehension in native language and problem solving.

6.1. Reading literacy in native language

In the items related to locating information, students had to find, select, and collect information from the text. The degree of difficulty of the operations depended on the amount of information to be retrieved, the form of the information (explicit or implicit), and the complexity of the text.

Example:

Question: *Milyen esemény áll a történet középpontjában?* 'What is the main event in the story?'

Correct answer/key: *Egy házi dolgozat vagy fogalmazás megírása.* 'Writing an assignment, a composition.'

Example for unacceptable answer: *Egy hazugság.* 'A lie.'

At this level, the success rate of students' performance was of 84.00%.

In the items related to understanding, students had to interpret the text in order to attribute meaning. They had to draw conclusions from one or more parts of the text. The factors shaping the difficulty of the operations were the recognition of more hidden relations, the presence of idiomatic expressions requiring deeper understanding, and the length and complexity of the text.

Example:

Question/task: *Jellemezd Pali a szöveg alapján.* 'Characterize Pali based on the text.'

Correct answer/key: *Pali tizenkét éves, harmadik gimnazista. Értelmes fiú, kitűnő tanuló, korát meghaladó tudással, látókörrrel.* 'Pali is a twelve-year-old third-grader. He is an intelligent boy, an excellent student, with knowledge and horizons beyond his age.'

Example for unacceptable answer: *Pali okos, de lusta, rendetlen, nem szeret tanulni.* 'Pali is clever but lazy, messy, he doesn't like to learn.'

At this level, the students' performance was of 69.26%.

In the items related to reflection and evaluation, students had to establish a link between the text and their previous knowledge and experience. The

difficulty of the operation was determined by the complexity of the text, students' background knowledge related to the text, and their thinking strategies. In these items, students often gave only partially correct or incomplete answers.

Example:

Question: *A házi dolgozat értelmezhető-e az alkotási folyamat metaforájaként? Válaszodat indokold!* 'Can the assignment be interpreted as a metaphor for the creative process? Justify your answer!'

Correct answer/key: *Értelemzhető az alkotási folyamat metaforájaként. Az indoklás két szövegrészre is épülhet. (1.) Pali jellemzésére alkalmazott hasonlat: Arca zavart (...), mint egy elborult lángelméé, aki az alkotás gyötrelmében hánykolódik. (2.) Az író reflexiói: „Ha most Pali meg tudná írni, ami valóban benne él, ő lenne a világ legnagyobb írója.” mondattal kezdődő rész.* 'It can be interpreted as a metaphor for the creative process. The justification may be based on two passages. (1.) A simile used in Pali's characterization: His face is confused (...) as that of an overwhelmed genius, tumbling through the agony of creation. (2.) Reflections of the writer: "If Pali could now write what really lives in him, he would be the greatest writer in the world."'

Example for unacceptable answer: *Nem értelmezhető, mert nem Pali írta meg a fogalmazást.* 'Not applicable because the assignment was not written by Pali.'

At this level, the students' performance was of 52.41%.

The following table summarizes the students' averages based on the three cognitive processes:

Table 1. *Reading literacy in the native language – Students' averages*

	Locate information	Understand	Evaluate and reflect
Maximum score	23	33	44
Students' averages	19.32	22.85	23.06
Students' averages in %	84.00	69.26	52.41

The averages achieved by the students are lower than their averages in foreign language reading literacy. Their performance can be classified as high in locating information because 84% of them managed to find the required independent information in different parts of the text. In understanding, the measured results were slightly weaker, with more than two-thirds able to represent literal meaning or integrate and generate inferences within the text. In evaluation and reflection, it became more difficult to perform thinking operations, which required moving

away from the text, forming opinions, and connecting the information with their own background knowledge; thus, the scores achieved were lower. The more abstract wording of the questions and the necessary background knowledge related to literature were the reasons why the tasks measuring reading literacy in native language proved to be more difficult than the tasks assessing skills related to the other two domains. It proved to be challenging to design tasks of similar difficulty level because students face different difficulties when reading in their native language and when reading in a foreign language due to the difference between the expected language performance level in their native language (normally C2) and in foreign language (ideally B2) but also their background knowledge and the nature of their previous studies.

6.2. Reading literacy in foreign language

In the items related to locating information, students had to find, select, and collect information from the text. The degree of difficulty of the operations depended on the amount of information to be retrieved, the form of the information (explicit or implicit), and the complexity of the text.

Example:

Question: *Where can you have wild animals witnessing your wedding?*

Sample answer/key: *Masai Mara, Kenya.*

Example for unacceptable answer: *Banff, Canada.*

At this level, the students' success rate was of 88%.

In order to attribute meaning, students had to interpret the text in the items related to understanding. They had to draw conclusions from one or more parts of the text. The factors shaping the difficulty of the operations were the recognition of more hidden relations, the presence of idiomatic expressions requiring deeper understanding, and the length and complexity of the text.

Example:

Question: *How does Aswany's work change our understanding of Egyptian society?*

Sample answer/key: *It reveals more information about the Egyptian society. / It gives an amazing picture of the Egyptian society, embracing its various layers.*

Example for unacceptable answer: *He writes about people's secret desires.*

At this level, the students' success rate was of 81.9%.

In the items related to reflection and evaluation, students had to establish a link between the text and their previous knowledge and experience. The difficulty of the operation was determined by the complexity of the text, students' background knowledge related to the text, and their thinking strategies. In these items, students often gave only partially correct or incomplete answers.

Example:

Question: *Why is it important for a writer to “stay connected” to the street? Explain it starting from Aswany’s example.*

Sample answer/key: *The street made Aswany successful. By keeping his job as a dentist, he has the possibility to watch what is happening in the street. If writers want constant inspiration and an inexhaustible source for ideas, it may be a good idea to stay connected to everyday life, talk to people, not to get separated from the street, which may always give them new ideas and inspiration.*

Example for unacceptable answer: *To make influential friends.*

At this level, the students' success rate was of 57.6%.

The following table summarizes the students' averages based on the three cognitive processes.

Table 2. *Reading literacy in foreign language – Students' averages*

	Locate information	Understand	Evaluate and reflect
Maximum score	40	30	30
Students' averages	35.52	24.57	17.28
Students' averages in %	88.8%	80%	57.6%

It is noticeable that the averages achieved by the students are higher than their averages in native language reading literacy but close to their averages in problem solving. Their performance can be classified as high in locating information because nearly 90% of them managed to find the required independent information in different parts of the text. In understanding, the measured results are also good, above 80% being able to represent literal meaning or integrate and generate inferences within the text. As for evaluation and reflection, it became more difficult to perform thinking operations which required moving away from the text, forming opinions, and connecting the information with their own background knowledge; thus, the scores achieved were well below the previous two levels but may also be considered satisfactory, approaching 60%. One possible explanation of the high success rate may be that in previous years these students worked hard to develop their reading comprehension in English, and for this

purpose they solved plenty of reading comprehension exercises, and so they had routine and experience in dealing with such types of tasks. Another explanation may be that the two texts they had to read were not literary works but B2- and C1-level texts selected from standardized English reading comprehension tests.

6.3. Problem solving

Regarding the *problem-solving tasks*, our previous research has shown that the more unusual or novel is the context of a task, the more students reject to solve it (Harangus 2018). So, the fact that in our survey 100% of the students tried to solve the problem-solving task shows that we had managed to design it to be motivating and interesting enough.

Taking into account the rules in the figure attached to the task, the first 10 items measured whether the students recognize the start and end points of the event sequence and can determine how many other events can precede or follow each event. The solution of the subtasks required the execution of the *locate information* cognitive process: the graphical representation of the task placed into context had to be recognized, interpreted, the data had to be identified according to the figure, and the relationships between them were determined. 90% of the students were able to correctly identify the information and identify and interpret the problem situations that can be directly understood from the figure, following the path defined by the arrows connecting the events.

In the subtasks that required the utilization of the cognitive process of *understanding*, the students performed less successfully. 73% of them were able to deduce from the directions in the figure the minimum number of actions that can make up any event, but only 54% were able to say how many different events could be organized. Students had trouble developing a strategy for complex problem scenarios that could lead to the right solution.

In the last subtask, a new action had to be inserted between two existing events, and so four new short events could be organized taking into account the new figure. The task requiring evaluation and reflection assumed the design and development of a multi-step strategy; students had to follow it in order to solve the problem. Almost one third of the students (27%) did not even start this subtask, 55% did not understand the task properly, and only 18% were able to find a solution to the complex problem situation.

Table 3 shows the average scores achieved by students according to the cognitive processes.

Table 3. *Problem solving – Students’ averages*

	Locate information	Understand	Evaluate and reflect
Maximum score	40	35	25
Students’ averages	36.14	24.55	4.55
Students’ averages in %	90.35	70.17%	18.2

It is noticeable that from the three examined cognitive processes the students performed best in locating information. This is followed by the results in understanding, where a little more than two-thirds could interpret and apply data based on different forms of presentation and then create arguments based on them. In the third area of thinking, at the level of evaluation and reflection, it was more difficult to perform the tasks; therefore, the scores were well below the average.

6.4. Translation

In the translation task, the majority of the students (86%) performed better when translating from English (a foreign language) into their native language, which is a natural and widely accepted tendency. A few students (9.52%) were awarded the maximum 100 points, but there were other acceptable translations (45.23%) awarded with 80, 85, 90, or 95 points, without considerable misinterpretations of the source text. Therefore, it can be said that 54.76% of the students produced acceptable translations. Works awarded only with 60, 65, 70, or 75 points (33.3%) contained misinterpretations of phrases or sentences, which affected the overall meaning of the passage. One student (2.38%) received 55 points for producing unacceptable translations containing several misinterpreted phrases and sentences, which significantly altered the overall message and meaning of the target text.

6.5. Correlations

Moderate correlation was found between reading literacy in native and foreign language ($r = 0.521$), native language literacy and translation ($r = 0.636$), and native language literacy and problem solving ($r = 0.573$). Strong correlation was found between reading literacy in foreign language and problem solving ($r = 0.775$), reading literacy in foreign language and translation ($r = 0.851$), and translation and problem solving ($r = 0.858$).

7. Conclusions

With its interdisciplinary approach, this study concentrates on revealing the overlaps and meeting points, the spaces in between the use of translator trainees' native and foreign language reading skills, problem-solving abilities, and translation performance. The first three of these skills were evaluated on a three-level scale based on the three cognitive processes used in PISA assessments (location of information, understanding, evaluation and reflection) (OECD 2018).

Regarding native language reading literacy, the averages achieved by the students in this assessment were lower than their averages in foreign language reading literacy and problem solving. Obviously, this does not mean that in everyday life they would understand and interpret texts (for example, newspaper articles, user's guides, or a letter from a friend) better in a foreign language than in their native language. However, when planning this assessment, we tried to take in consideration what our target group had studied and practised in their school years. We did not expect that the sometimes more abstract wording of the questions, the fact that the text was a short story and that the answers required background knowledge related to literature would result in a lower success rate.

Regarding foreign language reading literacy, the averages achieved by the students were high, which may be due to the fact that in previous years our students worked hard to develop their reading comprehension in English. In their school years, they solved a large number of reading comprehension exercises, so they have considerable routine and experience in solving such types of tasks. The two texts they had to work with in this assessment were not literary works as in the native language reading literacy task but B2 level texts selected from standardized language tests.

Regarding problem-solving skills, the students performed best in locating information, closely followed by the success rate in understanding. At the level of evaluation and reflection, they had more difficulties to solve the tasks; therefore, the scores were below the average.

Moderate correlation was found between reading literacy in native and foreign language, native language literacy and translation, native language literacy and problem solving, and strong correlation between reading literacy in foreign language and problem solving, reading literacy in foreign language and translation, translation and problem solving, what demonstrates the interrelatedness of these skills.

The results of this study are relevant mainly to our target group, as part of a needs analysis, and we would like to use them as a starting point in curriculum development – for example, focusing more on developing the skills of evaluation and reflection in order to increase our students' chances on the labour market as future translators or language teachers.

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Sharing the Indeterminate Space of Gender

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Abstract. The in-betweenness of my research is the indeterminate space between being a man and talking like one and being a woman and talking like one. The control of that space is power-driven, and it consists of a permanent struggle to impose one's discourse as a strong marker of one's gender. Subliminally, gender takes control of one's discourse, impregnating it with the linguistic readily inherited data of manhood and womanhood. My research is an investigation of the discursive strategies that both men and women resort to when asked to state their opinion on different matters. Speech acts, vocabulary choices, liaising or showing empathy or, on the contrary, showing disinterest or taking distance will be interpreted in the framework of gender studies. The study has demonstrated that largely-held opinions of what is gender-specific talking are partially contradicted by the participants in the study, which proves my hypothesis right. Different factors, such as education or family background, influence personal speaking policies to the point of sharing features of the opposite gender. Far from being an issue that needs a clear separation, in-betweenness aims at mapping gender-specific and, if any, overlapping strategies in discourse.

Keywords: gender in-betweenness, linguistic indetermination

1. Introduction and terminological clarifications

The aim of this paper is to check my research hypothesis which states that men and women do not use language differently as linguistic features that have been considered traditionally masculine may easily appear in women's discourse and vice-versa. The limitation of linguistic features to either masculine or feminine appurtenance can be demonstrated by the rare linguistic specialization of men and women in the use of certain linguistic features. The issue of gendered-linguistic specialization will be investigated in this piece of research starting from the much-debated problem of gender. Talking about gender presupposes implicitly talking about sex from which gender has barely managed to separate.

Nevertheless, sex has dominated the discussions about and the disputes between sexes for hundreds and hundreds of years. It was only in the twentieth century that attempts were made at distinguishing between sex and gender. Thus, a terminological clarification is necessary as long as some scientists use gender for sex for the only reason that gender seems to be a less loaded term. Consequently, in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Murray 1999: 786), sex is defined as “the sum of those differences in the structure and function of the reproductive organs on the ground of which beings are distinguished as male and female, and of the other physiological differences consequent on these; the class of phenomena with which these differences are concerned”. On the other hand, gender can be defined as the behavioural, cultural, or psychological traits typically associated with one sex. The same dictionary defines gender as “either of the two sexes (male and female), especially when considered with reference to social and cultural differences rather than biological ones. The term is also used more broadly to denote a range of identities that do not correspond to established ideas of male and female”. Conclusively, in the most basic sense, there is biological determination in sex, whereas there is cultural determination in gender.

The difference between sex and gender has made a valuable distinction between physical characteristics and psychological features, linguistic acquisitions, liaising skills and emotional manifestations of both men and women. Physical characteristics have proved insufficient and powerless in the attempt at explaining not so much the different male and female behaviour but the complex, fairly frequent cases when sexual features are exceeded by social, interpersonal, or linguistic characteristics. The addition of all these elements has made possible the transition from sex to gender as a more appropriate way to explain the complex situations where sex could offer explanations by simply postulating the differences between testicles and vagina. The perpetuation of the sex as the only differentiating criterion between men and women may have been maintained for such a long time due to its simple nature that could immediately tell between what is a man like and what is a woman like. Thus, stereotypes grew to characterize the expected behaviour of the two sexes, and whatever fell out of the largely accepted stereotypes would be easily defined as deviation. Fiske and Taylor (1984: 236) notice that individuality suffers because it is analysed according to the schema, which inevitably outlines and defines whole categories: “accumulated general knowledge about categories of people does not do justice to the unique qualities of any given individual, but it makes possible a certain amount of efficiency and adaptability to social cognition”. Based on categories, stereotypes perpetuate a point of view on what men and women should behave like, talk like, dress like, etc. To illustrate this, Grimm (qtd in Cameron 1992: 46) alleges that the masculine equals to “earlier, larger, firmer, more inflexible, swift, active, mobile and productive”, whereas the feminine means ‘later, smaller, the more still, suffering, receptive’. In the same line, Graddol and

Swann (1995: 68) claim that one's personality and way of being and behaving may suffer since one cannot be who s/he really is but rather someone the society wants to see: "[...] dominant images of femininity and masculinity, which encourage both women and men to seek gratification by conforming to established gender norms, lead ultimately to women's oppression. The way of speaking matches larger social visions about what femininity and masculinity are. Thus, women should take up gentle, nurturing roles, while men should be dominant and aggressive."

The encapsulation of sex into gender has done justice to one category, on the one hand, and has created a somehow blurred definition of what men and women are like and behave like on the other. Firstly, it has done justice to women as it has released them from the burden of marginalizing women to their corporality and to their culturally submitted social being. Secondly, it has blurred the previously strict and clear distinction between manhood and womanhood to the point of swapping features. Thus, in terms of gender, a man, besides the physical features that characterize him, may have other social, cultural, or linguistic features that previously were thought to be feminine (make-up, nail doing, chit-chatting, skirt wearing, leg or chest hair shaving, etc.). Similarly, a woman may have overcome her other-imposed limits, thus becoming a manager, wearing trousers, or controlling her speech. Yet, gender should not be seen as a total liberation from the control of stereotypes as gender itself has fallen under the rules of social definition of womanhood and manhood, which, though more permissive, impose rules, nevertheless.

2. The speech of men and women

Twentieth-century social and linguistic research revealed the existence of significant discrepancies between the way men and women used words. Sociolinguistics aims at identifying variations in discourse for different social categories on grounds of their education, age, social class, income level, and gender. Feminism, the emblematic trend meant to identify, explain, and popularize unfair or demeaning behavioural or communicative aspects when dealing with women, unlike men, who were considered the norm and against whom women would be assessed. Thirdly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), interested mainly in revealing the ideologies behind most public messages, took a great interest in demonstrating the derogatory treatment of certain social categories of which women, children, and black people represent the core and who suffer discrimination.

Discrimination is both individual and collective as the individual is discriminated in person on grounds of his/her belonging to a certain group. Thus, each social category is strongly dependent on the stereotypes that the society at

large has validated for that particular category. In terms of speech, stereotypes claim that men communicate straightforwardly, using simple structures, addressing directly their interlocutors, and being rather competitive. Women are said to talk more, to use more complex structures in communication, to be less direct, and more cooperative. Consequently, these features have been associated by Dragomir and Miroiu (2002: 104) with *the competent* group (the men) and to *the warm/expressive* group (the women). O'Sullivan claims that a stereotype is:

A label which involves a process of categorization and evaluation. Although it may refer to situations and places, it is most often used in conjunction with representations of social groups. In its simplest terms, as easily grasped characteristic, usually negative, is presumed to belong to a whole group, e.g. estate agents are insincere, devious and smooth-talking ... in ideological terms, stereotyping is a means by which support is provided for one group's differential treatment of another. (O'Sullivan qtd in Jones-Jones 1999: 105)

Men and women have been said to differ in their speech in a number of elements ranging from slightly to totally different. Of these, some illustrative examples have been selected and explained. Firstly, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, etiquette books, which aimed mainly at establishing what was the socially acceptable behaviour and spoken interaction desirable for women, were published. Women were advised to avoid social interaction on grounds that it was a woman-like behaviour. Etiquette books would rarely refer to men as there was no imposition on how they should behave or speak. Another opinion that stereotypically assigns different influences or uses of the language is that of Jespersen (1925: 27), who claimed that men, thanks to their lucrative activity, could invent new words, whereas women had a rather dulling effect on language. Thirdly, an iconic researcher of the phenomenon of gender discrimination, Lakoff (1975: 82), deemed that women are not inferior by birth, but they are trained to be inferior, showing that their inferiority is not innate but acquired from and transmitted by education. Fourthly, in terms of language use, women have been considered to use more colour and shades of colour names than men, who find it difficult to identify and name them. Women are also believed to use empty adjectives, such as "extraordinary" or "incredible", whereas men show preference for "consistent" words. Lastly, tag questions represent another point where it is supposed that men and women speech differs. Thus, it was claimed that women use extensively question tags, which signals their distrust in themselves, which supposedly justifies their need for confirmation.

Yet, there were other researchers who claimed that differences may exist between men's and women's speech, but they cannot be simply explained by

their biological data. Education, culture, social and family background, exposure to knowledge may represent factors that have an impact on the way someone uses language, which illustrates the very aim of this article: to demonstrate that language elements that traditionally are believed to be used exclusively by either men or women are at times or frequently used by the opposite gender. This is because the multitude of elements that make a human being what he or she is can hardly respect the traditional framework for the masculine and feminine gender. And who says that it actually should?

3. Questionnaire

Starting from the traditional approach on gender, the aim of my research is to demonstrate that the border which supposedly separates the language of men and that of women is mostly an illusion, but certain people like to believe it exists or want to impose it. In fact, such elements are freely and interchangeably used by either men or women, mostly based on some external factors such as education, culture, social and family background, exposure to knowledge, and personality features. In order to demonstrate my hypothesis, I devised a 5-item questionnaire where I included questions that are likely to obtain prototypical answers from male and female respondents. Supposing this were the case, then my hypothesis would be wrong, which means that actually, when speaking, men and women use different strategies, different words, and different morphological and/or syntactic structures.

The first two items, “Describe in a few lines the maternal grandmother” and “Describe in a few lines the maternal grandfather” are meant to reveal the respondent’s attitude to one’s maternal grandmother/grandfather. It was expected that the respondents write a thorough description with details, characterizing adjectives. At the same time, male respondents are expected to provide shorter answers, to master and/or hide their feelings, whereas female respondents are expected to give more details, to write longer sentences, and to express their feelings to their grandmothers/grandfathers. The third item, “Because you cannot go to work, you write a message to your boss by which you inform him/her about your absence. Include all types of details that might justify your absence”, has been included as it might address another traditionally typological difference between men and women. Thus, when writing a message to one’s boss/superior, men are largely expected to write short notes and to provide short reasons for their absence. Moreover, their degree of familiarity is expected to be higher than in the case of women, who are likely to use more formal formulas when addressing their boss. As women are supposed to be more talkative and willing to share different events of their lives, whereas men are usually said to not be

so communicative, the fourth item, “You have had an extraordinary success at work. What sort of strategy do you use in order to make your success known to your colleagues, family, friends?”, is meant exactly to check if this assumption actually proves true for both men and women. The fifth item in the questionnaire, “Your best friend (of the same sex) is in a difficult situation. What would you tell him/her to sooth him/her? Would you act differently if your friend were of the opposite sex?”, is meant to aim at same-sex communication and different-sex communication, which is regularly expected to run smoothly when in same-sex pairs or groups and rather less smoothly when in different-sex pairs or groups.

The respondents to my questionnaire are two married couples, which means that the participants are two men and two women. They were participants in one of my English courses, and I asked for their acceptance to participate in one of my pieces of research. It was not my intention to have married couples as respondents, but anyway, by marriage, there is no assumption that the way they think, talk, or write suffers any change. The small number of participants, thus a limit to my piece of research, comes as a consequence of the fact that the adult group I was teaching at the time of the data selection was a small one, and some course participants expressed their desire of not participating.

Due to the reduced number of respondents, to the fact that the data are authentic, and that theory and research data are fused, I consider that the type of research that I carry out is qualitative (Neuman 2014: 82). Though the research includes some quantitative data, the focus is on the elements that blur the supposedly existing border between the feminine and masculine use of the language. Secondly, my research is a small-scale research that could confirm or infirm my hypothesis against the traditional concept that men and women speak two different languages with different means and to different ends. Thirdly, the purpose for carrying out this piece of research is not to claim the failure of the traditional approach of sex-specialized use of language but to state that in some cases, of which this could be one, that hypothesis may not cover all possible communication situations.

4. Findings

The analysis of the collected data begins by stating that there are going to be both inter-gender considerations (as the intention is to identify similarities and dissimilarities between my male and female respondents) and intra-gender considerations (as I would not miss the opportunity of highlighting the existence, if any, of some dissimilarities between the male and the female respondents). I will analyse the data according to certain criteria: length of the response (habitually, men are thought to give shorter, more concise answers, whereas

women are considered to formulate longer answers), number of adjectives used in descriptions (usually, men are said to use a reduced number of adjectives, whereas women use adjectives extensively), degree of formality (men are said to be less formal, whereas women are considered to be more formal), (in)security, and empathy, cooperative or competitive interpersonal behaviour.

In order to facilitate data manoeuvring, I have decided on some coding to indicate the gender, as in M for male and F for female, doubled by a number to indicate if it is the first or the second male or female respondent.

4.1. Length of the response

As formerly indicated, men and women are supposed to produce chunks of language of appreciatively different lengths based on the unique criterion of gender. Thus, as the theory goes, men produce shorter chunks of language due to their innate scarcity for words, which they consider enough to communicate efficiently.

On the other hand, women produce longer chunks of language due to their innate verbosity and to the great quantity of empty words that women use for the sake of embellishing their discourse rather than rendering it more effective.

Against this background, my research, though of a small sample size, brings along elements that both confirm and infirm the traditional approach. One of the male respondents, M1, perfectly illustrates the traditional approach that men do not use many words in their communications. Actually, in this case, the answer to the first two questions, when they were asked to describe their maternal grandparents, is reduced to one word, “severe” (to describe his maternal grandmother) and “intelligent” (to describe his maternal grandfather).

Contrastively, the second male respondent, M2, offers an incomparably longer answer, which contains some details and more complex grammatical structures (a number of characterizing adjectives, a variety of tenses, complex deductive modals, and means of expressing cause).

M1 – Q1 – “Severe” WC (1)

– Q2 – “Intelligent” WC (1)

M2 – Q1 – “Gentle, warm-hearted character. We didn’t interact so much due to the distance that separated us. Anyway, we were extremely happy when we met.” WC (23)

– Q2 – “He was a tougher person, he had been at war and that must have influenced him.

He would rarely play with us, and at night he was the only one capable to put us to bed.”WC (36)

Elseways, the female respondents have both confirmed the largely held ideas that women talk more and communicate extensively. With few exceptions when the sentences are incomplete, all the other sentences are complete (Greenbaum 1996: 23), full sentences that aim at building a portrayal of the grandparents. Similarly, the variety of grammatical structures and the complexity of the morphology and syntax are to be noticed.

F1 – Q1 – “Very hard-working and determined in everything she used to do. Perfect housewife. Slightly domineering as a woman, but, as my grandmother, she used to spoil me a lot.” WC (28)

– Q2 – “Being a teacher, he used to be patient and permissive. Pretty sensitive. Willing to help whomever he could.” WC (18)

F2 – Q1 – “My grandmother is 80, and she feels lonely and helpless all the time, even when there is someone with her. She worked a lot in her life, and now she neglects herself, she expects to be treated as a child.” WC (40)

– Q2 – “My grandfather was a respected man, and he liked jokes.” WC (10)

Table 1. *Length of the response*

Respondent	Word Count
M1	Q1 – 1
	Q2 – 1
M2	Q1 – 23
	Q2 – 36
F1	Q1 – 28
	Q2 – 18
F2	Q1 – 40
	Q2 – 10

If in this particular case the two women respondents confirm the claim that women communicate more than men, there is a blatant difference between the two male respondents; while one of them confirms the already proverbial shortness of men’s communication, the other one is, by his way of communication, closer to women’s way of communication. This is a first confirmation of the research hypothesis of this article: being a man or a woman does not necessarily circumscribe you to the communication means, skills that stereotypically are said to be used by men or women. Gender is more than sex.

4.2. The number of adjectives used in descriptions

Adjectives are characterized in the Cambridge Grammar of the English Language as expressions “that alter, clarify, or adjust the meaning contributions of nouns”. Deborah Tannen (1990: 45), Jennifer Coates (1998: 78), and Janet Holmes (2001: 96) carried out research which claims that women use a higher number of adjectives due to the “emotional language” that women are more likely to use. Moreover, it was claimed that in some cases the adjectives were “empty adjectives” – namely, they are adjectives that do not add any meaningful content to the context, but they try to soften or attenuate some tougher structures.

Thus, in a comparative study, women are expected to use more adjectives than men due mainly to their cooperative speaking style, whereas men are expected to use fewer adjectives due to their competitive speaking style. To the request of describing their maternal grandfather, respondents chose different ways of dealing with it. Thus, the first male respondent described the maternal grandfather by only one adjective: “intelligent”, but the second male respondent gave a longer answer, and so did the female respondents.

A simple identification of the adjectives in each answer shows that there are two respondents, a male (M1) and a female (F2), whose descriptions contain one adjective. The other male respondent (M2) used 2 adjectives, and the other female respondent (F1) used 4 adjectives. Judging by the number of adjectives used by three of the respondents, it is very difficult to assert that either category is more or less inclined in using adjectives. The exception that could actually confirm the opinion that women use adjectives extensively is represented by F1, who uses 4 adjectives to describe her maternal grandfather.

M1 – Q2 – “*Intelligent*”

M2 – Q2 – “He was a *tougher* person, he had been at war, and that must have influenced him.

He would rarely play with us, and at night he was the only one *capable* to put us to bed.”

F1 – Q2 – “Being a teacher, he used to be *patient* and *permissive*. Pretty *sensitive*. *Willing* to help whomever he could.”

F2 – Q2 – “My grandfather was a *respected* man, and he liked jokes.”

4.3. Degree of formality

The discussion of women’s using more formal structures than men started with Trudgill (1972: 120), who claimed that female respondents use more “prestige standard forms more frequently than men”. In this piece of research, the respondents gave written answers, and it is rather unlikely that they might have used slang or

serious grammatical deviation. Nevertheless, as the respondents were asked to write a note to their boss wherein to inform that they could not come to work that day, there are some elements that relate to formality/informality. The first element taken into consideration is the addressing formula: M1 and F2 used a friendly addressing formula, “hi”, which is a marker of informal communication. F1 did not use any addressing formula, but she used a greeting formula: “good morning”.

The only formal addressing formula is used by M2, who begins with the formula ‘Dear Mr. manager’, thus using what is largely believed to be a formal formula for addressing your boss. All the respondents end their note by thanking their boss. Still, the way they do it is different in terms of formal/informal formulas. So, M1 and F2 end their note with “Thanks”, which is an informal way of thanking. M2 and F1 use “Thank you”, which is considered to be formal. M1, M2, and F2 used at some point the emphatic politeness formula “please”, whereas F1 never uses it. Of the four respondents, it is only M2 who used the ending formula “yours”, which is a must-have element in formal pieces of writing. Based on the available data, it is difficult to claim conclusively that the female respondents in this study use more formal structures than men do. On the contrary, the notes prove that the two female respondents use more informal structures than, at least, one male respondent.

M1 – Q3 – *Hi, Marius!*

Please, allow me not to come to work today. I have got some personal issues that can’t be postponed to solve.

Thanks a lot for your kindness.

Have a good day!

M2 – Q3 – *Dear Mr. Manager,*

Today, I will not be able to come to work because my child had high fever last night, my wife is on a delegation, and our family doctor is available only in the morning.

Thank you for being so understanding.

I will recuperate these lost hours, or, if you can, please agree on a leave day.

Yours,

F1 – Q3 – Good morning, unfortunately I cannot come to office today because my daughter has got sick and needs my attention.

I am very sorry, but I will try to recuperate in the coming days.

Thank you for being understanding.

F2 – Q3 – *Hi!* Sorry to bother you. I’ve got some emergency tomorrow morning. Please, allow me to not come tomorrow between 8 and 10. *Thanks.*

4.4. (In)security

The fourth question in the questionnaire was meant to obtain some important data on how the respondents would inform family and friends about their success. The purpose behind this request was an indirect one and hard to guess by the respondents. In psychology, it is claimed that those who feel the need to externalize their achievements are those who feel insecure about their capacity of actually achieving something important (Correa–Willard–de Zuniga 2009; DeWall–Buffardi–Bonser–Campbell 2011; Gentile–Twenge–Freeman–Campbell 2012). To externalize an achievement is equal to a confirmation of one’s capacity to achieve goals and to a chance to prove everyone one’s capacity.

Therefore, the higher the urge to externalize, the higher the insecurity, and the lower the urge to externalize, the lower the insecurity. On the other hand, Hite (1987: 153) claims in a report that has become famous that it is the women the ones who are believed (by men) to be weak, to need reassurance and help, to be overly emotional. So, according to men, women are: “pushy, demanding, complaining, neurotic, behaving like a prima donna, narcissistic, vain, bitchy, self-indulging, hysterical, screaming, irrational, petty, needing reassurance, overly emotional, aggressive, too sensitive”.

At a first glance, it is immediately noticeable that all respondents would choose to break the news of the achievement to family or friends/colleagues. It is important to notice that three out of four respondents break the news personally in a personalized manner; thus, M1 simply tells everybody about it (the implicature may be that there is no much fuss about it), M2 does not answer directly to the question and focuses on the fact that the achievement should be celebrated – so, he focuses on where and whom he would invite. F1 chooses to downsize her importance, but she would nevertheless break the news “so that they know” not because she wants to be appreciated. Interestingly enough, F2 chooses to break the news online by sharing it via either social networks or groups of friends.

M1 – Q4 – I simply tell them.

M2 – Q4 – At weekend, I will invite the entire family and friends for a party at a chalet in the mountains. My co-workers will be invited to a restaurant in the town.

F1 – Q4 – I am not used to being very enthusiastic about myself, and I would simply tell them what I have achieved or obtained, so that they know.

F2 – Q4 – I would post on social[izing] networks, I would send messages to my groups of friends.

4.5. Empathy, cooperative, competitive

Sociolinguists from Lakoff (1975: 87) to Wodak (1997: 386) claimed that due to their gentleness, to their nurturing availability, women are more likely to be more empathetic than men. To be empathetic means to care about the ones around you, and women are apparently endowed to a higher degree with empathy rather than men. Medical studies (Mestre–Samper–Frias–Tur 2009: 78) have been carried out to test if empathy is an innate or acquired quality. The results have demonstrated that empathy is acquired, and the means of acquisition is family and school education, which, stereotypically, teaches girls to be nurturing, whereas boys are taught to be strong, not to cry, and to master their feelings.

Consequently, by the fifth question in the questionnaire, the assumption that women are more emphatic than men is challenged. In order to check the respondents' empathy, they have been asked to specify their stand when facing the following situation: "Your best friend (of the same sex) is in a difficult situation. What would you tell him/her to sooth him/her? Would you act differently if your friend were of the opposite sex?" M1, M2, and F2 state that they would react similarly irrespective of the sex of the friend who is in a difficult situation. Contrarily, F1 asserts that her reaction would be different if she had to deal with a friend of a different sex. In this particular case, the sex of the friend may represent an obstacle to empathy. M1 indicates encouragement as the soothing solution. M2 suggests communication, interconnection with other friends for the common goal of finding a solution. F1 indicates as solutions listening to her friend, talking, accompanying her, if necessary. F2 manifests her interest in the tough situation of her friend.

M1 – Q5 – I try to encourage him or her.

M2 – Q5 – I try to make him communicate the problem he has got so that we find together a solution that might help him. I will also try to talk to other friends if I cannot solve the problem by myself. I would act similarly in the case of a female friend.

F1 – Q5 – I would tell her that I understand her and that I am close to her. That if she needs help I am available at all times. I would listen to her, if she feels the need to talk or I would stay with her if she wishes [to]. If my friend were of a different sex, I think that I would be more reserved. I would maintain certain limits in offering my services.

F2 – Q5 – I understand you are in a tough situation. How could I help you? I guess the approach would be similar.

5. Conclusions

The focus of this article is to check the hypothesis of the blurred borderline between the (socio)linguistic manifestations of men and women. This approach opposes the traditional perspective that men come from Mars and women from Venus, actually implying that the way men and women use language and behave while using the language is totally different. The hypothesis of this article was that men and women are not circumscribed to all-men or all-women linguistic choices, which put serious obstacles to all those that might want to use structures belonging to the other group. Language is a huge combinatory bag from which men and women extract words and structures according to their (family) education (which might indeed impose certain gender-bound structures), age, cultural background, entourage, etc.

Though of small size, the research attempts at testing the hypothesis of the blurred borderline, and the results confirm the hypothesis. The first element that was tested was the number of words that men and women use in ordinary written communication. The results indicated that both F1 and F2 use more words in the description of their grandfathers than M1, who uses only one word, but M2 uses more words in his answer to Question 2, and he is quite close to F1 and F2 when answering Q1. Is M2 a better communicator than M1? It could be, but, according to traditional sociolinguistic research, men are limited in the quantity of words used when communicating. On the other hand, M1 is an illustration of men's directness and scarcity in word use. When answering Q1, both F1 and F2 use more words than men, but they are both outnumbered by M2.

As for the number of adjectives as an indicator of the sex, the data of the research is highly inconclusive as it confirms again the blurredness of language specialization and separation on the criterion of sex. M1 and F2 use an equal number of adjectives, that is: 1, while F1 stands out by a number of 4 adjectives. M2 uses 2 adjectives. The data do not indicate a clear gender-based separation in as far as the number of adjectives is concerned.

As to formality, which is believed to be an advantage of women, this research has shown that for these respondents things are also mixed. M1 and F2 use an informal greeting formula, "Hi", F1 does not use any greeting, whereas M2 is highly formal. Similarly, M1 and F2 use "thanks", the informal variant of "thank you", which is preferred by M2 and F1. This is but another element which contradicts the largely held opinion that women are more formal than men.

When it comes to (in)security, which manifests by one's going viral, the data in the research show that M1, M2, and F1 pay no or little attention to their achievement from the perspective of making it public. Yet, F2 shows her interest in making her success known online. That might partly confirm that women who feel insecure brag about their achievements as the only way of proving their skills.

As far as empathy is concerned, women are said to be more empathetic than men as they usually nurture those around them. The data in the research show that all respondents show empathy to their friends in varying degrees. M1 and F2 indicate that they are interested in the problems of their friends, but their empathy is limited to some encouragements. Contrarily, M2 and F1 act more seriously and profoundly, suggesting further measures that they would take when facing a friend in a difficult situation.

The situation is rather inconclusive in the majority of situations under analysis, which could only signal the entrapment of theories that claim and maintain that men and women either use language differently or they react differently to similar situations. It would be wrong, though, to deny the existence of any variation in language use between men and women, which is exactly an illustration of the in-betweenness of gender linguistic manifestations.

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Border Crossing of an Educational Policy

Towards an Analytical Framework to Study Educational Transfer

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Abstract. This paper aims to better understand the process of educational transfer from Western countries to developing ones by proposing an analytical framework. The framework, besides counting for the major challenges of a specific educational transfer, also proposes to analyse some of the factors of different cultural-educational contexts that may help or burden institutional innovation. The framework had been tested by case study research focusing on the educational transfer of liberal arts colleges from the Netherlands to China. In the cities of Chongqing and Taigu, two undergraduate colleges grounded the case of investigation in order to study the experiential perceptions of stakeholders shortly after the implementation of liberal arts programmes (2012). Meanwhile, the data revealed different interest groups and particular institutional constrains, and the analytical framework greatly helped to understand and illustrate issues of compatibility, acceptance, mobilization of different stakeholders, and strategies for both individual and institutional agency. As the research contributed to a dissertation essay completed in 2016 at Beijing Normal University, the present study's objective is to highlight the importance of analytical framework(s) in the process of interpreting data into research findings.

Keywords: analytical framework, educational transfer, internationalization, cultural context, China

1. Introduction

Educational transfer (often called educational policy borrowing) focuses on extracting educational models that are perceived as effective from other systems (Steiner-Khamsi 2004: 1). Within the ongoing processes of globalization and internationalization, international models of (higher) education have newly become objects of import and export. However, it is important to note that the

act of borrowing is not copying; it draws the attention to processes of local adaptation, modification, and resistance to global forces in education (ibid.). The extent of modification can result in a rather different educational model that barely resembles the borrowed one; on the other hand, this fact does not predict or determine the success of local adaptation. Due to processes of localization, moving policies of higher education draw the attention towards differing cultural, educational contexts and notions of identity across borders – the necessity of interpreting such complex issues required the development of frameworks that could help to understand the impact of transfer both at the individual and institutional level (see the studies of Phillips and Ochs 2004, McDonald 2012, Forestier–Crossley 2014).

The framework for this study was developed focusing on the extensive research of educational borrowing and institutional logics (as defined primarily by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012) and was applied for data analyses in the doctoral dissertation completed in 2016: *Educational Transfer of Liberal Arts Education: Case Studies from Chongqing and Taigu (China)*. The primary purpose of the doctoral research was (1) to discover local actors' (faculty, students, and other stakeholders) efforts in interpreting liberal arts education with particular attention to meanings, curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional strategies (2) and to explore whether and in what ways these individual claims conflict with the current institutional strategies. Some of the key findings revealed modified, “culturally-absorbed” meanings of liberal arts education, unstable curriculum structure, and conflicting educational concepts within the faculty (Hangyal–Jun 2017). The present study aims at highlighting the importance of analytical framework in interpreting the data and developing research findings; thus, it presents some of the major findings regarding the implementation of liberal arts programmes in China.

China's need for a maintained economic growth has initiated a diversification of its market. Its shift from a labour-intensive industrial society towards a knowledge-based economy has been spurring the drive for innovation and the development of expertise, resulting in continuous efforts towards improving the Chinese higher education system (see the extensive work on the history of higher education in China by Gu, Li, and Wang 2009). In the sequence of the societal and demographic challenges China has faced as well as the increased number of Chinese young people studying abroad, the Chinese higher education system has embarked on a process of rapid massification, internationalization, and transformation (Kai 2005). Besides higher education policies that targeted attracting more and more foreign students and experts (for example, projects 985 and 211),¹ educational

1 The Chinese Ministry of Education launched Project 211 to give increased financial support to 100 selected universities. Project 985 provided even greater funding to 43 universities in order to help them develop into “world-class universities” by 1998. These projects were focused on complex institutional development strategies.

borrowing from foreign countries has caught greater attention in the recent years. In particular, the tendency of reforming undergraduate education that manifested through the introduction of a broad-based curricular approach with general courses to enhance students' all-round literacy was remarkable (Wang 2014). For this reason, a more "humanist" approach in higher education, the so-called *Rén wén jiào yù* (the closest interpretation of liberal arts education) was implemented in China at many universities such as Peking University, Zhejiang University, Beijing Normal University, and Nanjing University (ibid.). Given the fact that liberal arts programmes have become increasingly popular in the Netherlands – where seven undergraduate liberal arts colleges were founded in the last decade thanks to the extensive work of higher educational expert Hans Adriaansens –, China imported this specific educational model in the cities of Chongqing and Taigu (Mykoff 2012). This specific model of the Dutch liberal arts programmes – which partly modifies the original US model of liberal arts programmes by placing more emphasis on student-centred classroom management and interactive pedagogy – was also implemented in other countries – for example, in Germany and Slovakia (Eschenbruch 2014). Due to the novelty of the Dutch-style liberal arts programmes in China, the transferred model had to be adapted to different educational and socio-cultural traditions. As a result, the implementation process led to several challenges both at the institutional and individual level: how to balance Chinese and Western educational traditions, pedagogical approaches? What kind of institutional strategies could be effective in the localization of a foreign educational model?

The present study intends to present an analytical framework that could deepen our understanding on educational transfer and its contextual burdens. The paper consists of two major parts: the alignment of institutional logics and educational transfer theories into an analytical framework and its application to the empirical case study of liberal arts programmes in China, in the cities of Chongqing and Taigu.

2. Background – Liberal arts education and colleges

The terms of liberal arts and general education are often used interchangeably, especially in the United States (Boyer 1987). As it was mentioned before, general education has been present in the Chinese higher education over the past 20 years: broad-based curriculum was implemented into the undergraduate studies at several research universities (Wang 2014). However, the definition of liberal arts education extends the concept of general education (breadth component of the curriculum): it emphasizes a student-centred, dialectical education ("breadth and depth") that seeks to develop a more effective, interactive classroom

management where the student is not a passive recipient of knowledge but an active participant in a common search (Brann 2000). Examining the model of liberal arts college in the Netherlands, Eschenbruch (2014) described the institution's core concept with the learning relationships and commitment between students and professors (relational framework), with the curricular framework that implements these learning relationships into the curriculum, and with the institutional framework that supports and generates the coherence of the above mentioned two frameworks. There is a flexible curriculum design that ensures the possibility of combining courses from different scientific areas; however, the three major departments are Social Sciences, Sciences, and Arts and Humanities. Based on the course offerings, each student has to create an individual study plan at the beginning of their studies. There are three levels of the courses: introductory, intermediate, and advanced level. Additional features of the Dutch liberal arts programmes are: small class sizes (less than 25 students in each class), academic excellence, focus on undergraduate research, interactive classes, loosely defined curriculum and individual study plans, personal tutoring, and residential living in campus (Eschenbruch 2014).

As the pilot visits for the dissertation research revealed, the undergraduate colleges in Taigu and Chongqing are the results of a bottom-up educational transfer (initiated by a Chinese businessman), and the educational concept was modelled on the Dutch Roosevelt University College in Middelburg. Dutch educational experts helped the implementation process with various visits and trainings. The private colleges in Chongqing and Taigu are rather small-scale institutions as far as their academic capacity is concerned: staff amounts to 25–30 teachers (including administrators), and 100–150 students enrol every year. Besides the popularity of implementing general elective courses into the curricula of many Chinese universities (see Wang's study on the Yuanpei College, 2014), these colleges were among the first universities in China to implement liberal arts programmes with major curricular and pedagogical reforms at the classroom level. The curriculum offers a wide range of courses and ensures a flexible design so the students can combine courses from different scientific departments. Regarding pedagogy and classroom activities, teachers are encouraged to use a more student-centred teaching style, one that focuses on interactive classroom activities that could possibly foster students' critical thinking, communication skills, and social responsibility. Further novelty features are the tutoring system, which assigns an academic advisor to each student, and the class structure, which is made up of relatively small groups (20–25 students per class) compared to other Chinese undergraduate colleges. To ensure a more international environment for the students, the management of the college has built up study exchange projects with foreign universities and seeks to hire teaching staff who has studied abroad.

3. Analytical framework from the perspectives of institutional logics

The analytical framework is a useful tool that can improve the validity of research findings by enhancing objectivity with a strong theoretical background. When it comes to educational transfer from Western countries into developing ones, the differences in the educational traditions and policies also need to be considered carefully. Forestier and Crossley (2014), analysing a two-way educational policy borrowing between England and Hong Kong, had developed a comparative chart that emphasizes the major differences of the progressive Western education schemes and the Confucian heritage model that characterizes most of the East Asian countries' educational traditions. As the pilot visits in the colleges showed, implementing liberal arts colleges in China did not bring either the integration of the Western progressive model or leaving behind the traditional educational heritage; it rather created an "interpretation-adoption" process that needed to happen both at individual and institutional level. To make an example, teachers that had received teacher training according to the Confucian heritage-educational model, placing emphasis mainly on didactic methods (authoritative teacher, content-oriented learning, memorization based on repetition), were required to revise and update their teaching methods and classroom design, introducing more student-centred, interactive methods in the spirit of liberal arts programmes. To what extent have they changed their ideas and attitudes, accepted or neglected changes? How did teachers deal personally with creating an integrated and particular teaching model of liberal arts? At the institutional level, as the preliminary study visit revealed, the biggest challenge was to promote the features of liberal arts education (whole person development, student-centred and collaborative learning) in a competition-based, examination- and result-oriented educational context. How could the institution motivate the faculty to develop any need within for a change? To what extent could the institutional strategy combine the borrowed and local educational traditions, elements? The below presented analytical framework aimed to construct a strong theoretical background that could help to answer these questions and consider the contextual issues that could burden the implementation of liberal arts programmes.

The Netherlands Progressive Western model		China Confucian heritage model
Progressivism/cognitive pluralism	IDEOLOGY	Confucian heritage/ academic rationalism
Whole person development, skill learning, creativity and critical thinking	LEARNING CULTURE	Self-perfection, respect, discipline, humility, competition
Project learning, collaborative learning, assessment for learning	PEDAGOGY	Didactic teaching (teacher-centered, content oriented, lecturing)
Collaborative, constructivist, understanding,	APPROACHES	Memorisation, repetition, competitive, rote learning
Flexible design, subjects at 3 levels (beginner, intermediate, advanced)	CURRICULUM	Subjects designed according to availability, courses are introductory
Project assignment/research paper	ASSESSMENT	Competitive examination
Research oriented BA and BSc programmes	POLICIES	Quality assessment of undergraduate education (2002) updating traditional teaching methods
Progressive: understanding, collaborative, constructivist		

How are these values interpreted within institutional strategies?

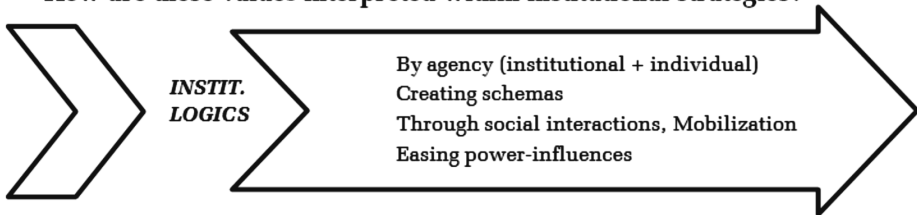


Figure 1. Differing educational contexts and institutional logics to help the transmission. Adapted from Forestier and Crossley (2014) and Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012)

Institutional logics, principally the relevant research by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), aimed at enhancing our understanding of institutional transition processes linked to reforms and innovative policies. Its concepts focus on various strategies that could help policy adaptations and push forward the implementation process. How has the concepts of institutional logics become relevant for my study? Firstly, it focuses on institutional change and on the interactions between organization, individuals, culture, and society; therefore, a detailed contextual analysis could possibly enrich the data and findings. Furthermore, institutional logics can also highlight the cross-level effects and

some of the casual mechanisms between institutional strategies and individuals (Thornton–Ocasio–Lounsbury 2012: 32). Secondly, the institutional logic model accounts for individual cognition. Teachers' and students' sense-making of liberal arts' programmes is a complex issue because it guides the attention far beyond institutional mechanisms, towards fields that can be hardly "theorized" – to individual perception, fields of psychology, and diversity. As Swidler (1986: 275) pointed out, "people may share common aspirations, while remaining profoundly different in the way their culture organizes their overall pattern of behaviour". So to say, the institutional logics model combines both material (structures and practices) and symbolic elements (ideation and meaning). Regarding the symbolic elements, it is important to note that these elements are not stable, and their meanings and interconnectedness can change overtime.

In order to interpret the data and consider them as research findings, the dissertation research involved several indicators based on institutional logics. These trajectories were selected due to their influencing role on institutional and behavioural change. Most importantly, both individual and institutional agency were examined: how did the institution promote particular identities, goals, and schemas? Regarding individual agency, what kind of actions and behaviours had been guided by self-interest? What particular social identities (e.g. profession, age cohort, political party, and ethnicity) were significant in determining the level and depth of learning about liberal arts programmes? (Thornton–Ocasio–Lounsbury 2012: 92). The analytical framework also involved the concept of *schemas* (the ways how people understand, remember, and act upon complex information; how they resolve ambiguities, guide evaluation, and make choices) and the importance of *social interactions* and their roles in transmitting cognitive meanings (2012: 88) on the institutional side, the model considered *mobilization*; institutional strategies that facilitate the development of alternative behaviours, however, are actions that seek to reach collective goals considering individual differences of commitment and embeddedness. Both individual and institutional agency are dependent on different *power-influences* such as the role of family, religion, politics, culture, and educational traditions (id. 78).

4. Methodology

The methodology built upon constructivist research paradigm: the present study relies on participants' views on the phenomenon of liberal arts programmes and colleges in China (Creswell 2003). The case study research design involved qualitative methods and was focusing on two major case studies in the colleges of Chongqing and Taigu. Primary data were collected by semi-structured interviews, non-participant observations (in- and out-of-classroom settings), field notes, and

memos. In total, 31 interviews were conducted in Chongqing and 28 in Taigu (in English and Chinese language) with college students, teachers, faculty members, administrators, and other stakeholders of the colleges. The sampling was purposive in the sense that specific aspects of liberal arts education were examined (meanings and definition of liberal arts education, curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional strategies), and the interview participants had to be closely aligned with the Chinese liberal arts colleges mentioned above. The conceptual framework drew upon Philips and Ochs's (2004) studies on educational transfer analyses and McDonald's (2012) research of the mentioned framework. However, the framework was modified in order to have a better focus on the stage of implementation and on specific aspects of the educational transfer examined through the interviews (for the conceptual framework, see Hangyal–Teng 2017).

The data analyses followed Mayring's approach (2000) on qualitative content analyses, which is a widely recognized method for case study research design (Kohlbacher 2005). The strength of this method is that it considers the given context as a "latent content" that has to be considered in the process of category development (*ibid.*). The categories were organized under the subcategories of the semi-structured interviews' and the conceptual framework's categories and helped the consistency of the interpretation and content analyses process (meanings and definition of liberal arts education, curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional strategies). In order to ensure the validity and reliability of the research, the study involved several triangulation methods: (1) methodological triangulation for data collection, (2) reflexive approach (Luttrell 2010), and (3) theory triangulation introducing analytical perspectives (Denzin–Lincoln 2000). The analytical frameworks that helped to interpret the data were the composite processes of educational borrowing (Phillips–Ochs 2004), institutional logics by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), and theories of differing educational contexts (Forestier–Crossley 2014).

5. Some of the research findings in respect to the analytical framework

General situation of the Chinese colleges – Individual and institutional agency

Implementing liberal arts college and education took place in the period of March–August 2012; however, the transfer at that time had rather aimed at getting the "hardware" ready – the facilities of the colleges (own buildings and classrooms). There were no trained workforce, teachers, administrators, or a dean for the colleges. It had been also expressed that the first-grade students – enrolled

in September 2013 – had no selection criteria to enter the college; it was just about “getting live bodies” – as the dean mentioned later on. In Taigu, it was the duty of the ex-vice-dean to create the curriculum based on the example of the Dutch Roosevelt College. However, the first curriculum was rather a direct translation from the English one into Chinese language, without considering the suitability for the local context; later on, the vice-dean had to rewrite it six times in order to suit the teaching staff’s capacity and the Chinese credit requirements better. Having a teacher shortage also led to unavailable courses and a lack of balance within the departments of Social Sciences, Humanities and Sciences. At this time, the future dean had various visits at both colleges; the structure of majors and the curriculum were only templates to follow, without considering their local suitability (a copy-and-paste stage of implementation): the teachers had no idea about liberal arts education nor how differently they were supposed to teach their courses.

As more interviewees expressed, the real adaptation of the transferred model had started with the arrival of a foreign dean at both colleges, in late March 2013. The dean was a catalyst of many changes at the level of both institutional and individual agency: editing the curriculum to fit more the Chinese higher educational context and credit requirements, organizing teacher trainings, starting micro-teaching for teacher’s peer-learning, peer-evaluation for teachers by attending each other’s classes. Regarding teaching issues, the dean was one of the leading actors that created liberal arts programmes for teachers by revising the course content and support them in their own learning process. How to create a course plan that is interlaced with other subjects’ topics? How to improve classroom management, involving discussions and student work? It could be generally seen that throughout the initial stages of adaptation the institutions had somewhat arranged the transfer but rather according to the Chinese educational ideas and context (curriculum, credit settings, or years of study), leaving behind some of the original features of the transferred Dutch model (for example, the flexible curriculum design, different levels of course offerings).

In the years 2014–2015, a phase of general stagnation manifested at both the individual and institutional level in the life of the colleges also due to several unfortunate external factors such as teacher shortage and decreasing financial funds. As the interviews showed, attracting proper, well-trained teachers was a difficult issue as the colleges are not located in big Chinese cities, and they do not belong to public universities; Chinese teachers prefer to work at public universities because of better welfare, ensured job security, and better societal recognition. The teacher shortage and the frequent changes within the faculty made the institutional planning process problematic. How to have a long-term plan on developing the college in a systematic way? Furthermore, the initial funds that ensured to facilitate the implementation had slowly decreased. The

lack of teacher incentives was also mentioned throughout the interviews: as an interviewee underlined, public universities generally support supervising students or ensure some funds for extracurricular activities such as going to theatre or museums. It was expressed that the actual quota for supervising students in Chongqing was not enough to organize certain activities outside the college. At the individual level, more teachers talked about a carrier bottleneck; they expressed that they could not get any cognitive reinforcement at work or promotion. They were also concerned with limited possibilities of self-progress; they could hardly get any feedback about their work or the results of new teaching methods. The institutional management should have created some additional incentives or performance-based rewards for excellent teachers.

Liberal arts meanings in the Chinese context – Ideology and learning culture

The accounts of various faculty members were similar as far as the concepts and meanings of liberal arts programmes. The definition of liberal arts education showed certain interconnectedness with the society, different social roles, and moral values. Teacher interviewees often expressed that the true meaning of liberal arts programme is to educate students “to be a good person in society”. However, regarding this question, different moral values were explained by teachers – for example, “usefulness for the society”, “behaving properly and having manners”, or “following the rules”. Especially accounts from Taigu showed a significant pattern of mentioning the importance of rules. Such moral values are deeply rooted in traditional Chinese Confucianism and in societal expectations about what “a good education” should stand for. Traditionally, the most important role of a teacher in China is to cultivate morality in students (Wang 2014). For this reason, as the data of qualitative interviews summed up, the definition of liberal arts education in Chongqing and Taigu rather represented *culturally and contextually absorbed meanings*. Semantically, in Chinese language, liberal arts education is often translated as *Ren wen jiao yu*, which could be best interpreted as ‘education in the humanities’ but not necessarily for a Chinese person. The concept of *Ren*, as many Chinese words, refers to thousands of meanings historically (Stefon 2016). According to Confucianism, *Ren* is one of the most idealistic virtues that means humaneness, being altruistic, responsibility for caring for others, therefore ideals with moral and ethical significance (ibid.). Analysing the meanings that interview participants developed, it can be assumed that some people understood *literally* the meaning of liberal arts education (*Ren wen jiao yu*) and aligned some of the cultural-moral meanings into their personal interpretations. Regarding definition and ideology, the interviews showed that only a few percentage of the overall respondents referred to creativity and critical thinking as part of liberal

arts education. This fact draws the attention to the analytical framework and to the Western progressive model of learning culture that puts emphasis on such learning skills; meanwhile, in the Chinese context of liberal colleges, values of creativity and critical thinking were deemed less important.

Pedagogy and learning approaches

Cultural alignments came forward in interpreting liberal arts pedagogies and classroom management too: according to the interviews, teachers, despite understanding the aims of liberal arts education, cannot teach completely in line with its principles because their mindsets are fundamentally rooted in the traditional way of Chinese teacher education. The analytical framework greatly helped to interpret the data by comparing the differences of the didactic teaching (Chinese model) and the progressive teaching model (the Netherlands). While the Chinese educational context emphasizes teacher-centred, content-oriented learning based on memorization and repetition, the progressive Western model supports project learning, collaborative learning in group settings, individual and group assessments (Forestier–Crossley 2014). Implementing collaborative and more interactive pedagogy – as the classroom observation also proved during data collection – was a complex challenge in Chongqing and Taigu as well. According to the Chinese educational system and traditions, teachers exert absolute authority in their classrooms and represent the most important source of knowledge (see Cheng’s (2000) theory on the Chinese culture of learning; Xiao 2006). As Wang (2014) approached the topic in her study on the Yuanpei College in Beijing, there is seldom any group discussion led by students during classes or interaction between teacher and students. These conceptions of frontal learning, as many interviews showed, are deeply rooted both in teachers’ and students’ educational patterns. Most of the teacher respondents stated that due to lack of experience in classroom management they would need more professional training to implement new teaching methods. Based on the data, skill development (collaborative skills in particular) should be enhanced for both teachers and students. However, the data was not always homogeneous regarding teacher–student interactions in the classroom, especially among faculty members’ responses; some of the accounts showed variations in embeddedness regarding the practical application of liberal arts programmes and pedagogies. Some teachers, as the classroom observation proved too, involve students into questioning and discussing classroom topics, making the course more interactive and student-centred. At individual level, the teachers of both colleges were at different stages of their own teaching-learning practice and involvement in liberal arts programmes – somewhere “from knowing nothing about this education mode to know something”, and towards “I might do it much better in the future”. Teachers are eager to change and shift their teaching

methods towards more interactive, student-centred pedagogies. According to the data, most of them had already made significant progresses. As it was mentioned above, teacher trainings, micro-teaching sessions organized by the dean – thus, continuous interactions between the teachers – helped professional development (examples of institutional and individual agency).

Curriculum

The curriculum plan that the colleges implemented failed to satisfy the needs of many students according to the data. One of the main problems is teacher shortage: the courses were created and designed according to the available teachers without considering the demands of students or the original standards of the Dutch liberal arts curriculum (courses were offered in three major departments of Science, Social Sciences and Humanities). Currently, the teachers are mainly specialized in Social Sciences and Humanities rather than Natural Sciences in Chongqing and Taigu, and so the course offerings fail to meet every student's needs. Due to teacher shortage, the college students in Chongqing have to attend some courses at the main campus of the university; and most of these courses involve different teaching standards that are far from the liberal arts programmes' interactive, student-centred methods (lectures are given to 100–150 students). The curriculum is a good example of how the requirements of liberal arts education conflict with the college's current capacities. As it was also expressed by faculty respondents, the curriculum is still unbalanced and inconsistent, and there is no systematic understanding of the reasons for setting up the present framework; as a teacher spelled out, "things are just random". On the other hand, comparing the course offerings of the Chinese and Dutch liberal arts colleges, courses are only introductory and general in both Chongqing and Taigu, missing the modules of different levels that could build up on each other and ensure a deeper understanding of a given subject.

6. Conclusions

The analytical framework highlighted most of the reasons behind the suitability and adaptability of a foreign educational model transferred to China from the Netherlands. In the case of moving policies, it is important to consider the cultural and educational context of the recipient country, which in the given case is strongly rooted in the Confucian heritage model. Understanding Chinese academic traditions and pedagogies that focus on didactic teaching, interpreting faculty's difficulties in adjusting their teaching methods towards a more interactive, student-centred teaching and learning made more sense to the results

of the data. The institutional logics shed light on processes of implementing a foreign policy both at individual and institutional level and highlighted the most important issues to be addressed by the administration of the colleges. Besides understanding how the transfer evolves and what the strengths and weaknesses of a transnational educational transfer are, it is also important to improve the institutional strategies against limited resources and teacher shortage. A limitation of the present study is that it has only shown the Chinese liberal arts education phenomenon in a specific period (2015–2016) when the research was completed, and the findings were based on two case studies. How the colleges will evolve regarding institutional strategies requires future investigation.

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Aspekte der Sprachplanung in den skandinavischen Ländern

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Zusammenfassung auf Englisch/English abstract. Some Aspects of Language Planning in the Scandinavian Countries. The present study deals with language planning and language policy in the Scandinavian countries and aims to sketch their peculiarities. The investigation is both diachronic und synchronic, using the historical-comparative method and making use of the research results of linguistic disciplines as language history, sociolinguistics, etc. Language planning and language policy in the Scandinavian countries are very powerful. In spite of the strong resemblances between the Scandinavian languages and the strong pan-Scandinavian tendencies, the language planning and the linguistic policy of each individual Scandinavian country show differing tendencies. Most consequently, language planning is carried out in Iceland. In Icelandic, purism has gone the furthest. Danish is the most conservative language, but it is also most tolerant towards the foreign words.

Schlüsselwörter/Keywords: Sprachpolitik, Sprachplanung, Traditionalismus, Purismus, Orthophonie

I. Die vorliegende Abhandlung untersucht die Sprachplanung in den skandinavischen Ländern und versucht deren Eigentümlichkeiten zu umreißen. Die Untersuchung ist sowohl diachronisch als auch synchronisch, indem sie die historisch-vergleichende Methode verwendet und sich der Forschungsergebnisse linguistischer Fächer, wie Sprachgeschichte, Soziolinguistik bedient.

Die Sprachplanung ist ein bewusster Versuch, eine Sprache in ihrer Entwicklung zu beeinflussen. Im weiteren Sinne gehören hierher sämtliche organisierte Bestrebungen, die die Lösung von allerlei Sprachproblemen beabsichtigen. Die Sprachplanung kann die Bereicherung, die Veränderung, sowie die Erweiterung der Anwendung der Sprache bewirken. Das Ziel ist immer eine bessere, eine richtigere, oder, gegebenenfalls, eine standardisierte Sprache.

Wird die Sprachplanung von staatlichen Behörden gesteuert, dann sprechen wir über Sprachpolitik. Es werden politische Entscheidungen getroffen, die den Sprachgebrauch und das Verhältnis zwischen existierenden Sprachvarianten erzielen. Die Sprachpolitik bezeichnet alle Maßnahmen und Regeln, mit denen der Gebrauch bestimmter Sprachen (Sprachstatusplanung) oder ein bestimmter Sprachgebrauch durch Sprachregelung vorgeschrieben wird (Kaplan et al. 1997).

II. Das hervorragendste Beispiel gelungener Sprachplanung ist die Entstehung der modernen norwegischen Schriftsprache. Nach 400 Jahren dänischer Herrschaft gab es in Norwegen einen ganz besonderen Sprachzustand: man schrieb Dänisch, ein Teil der Bevölkerung (die höheren Schichten) sprach Dänisch, meistens mit norwegischer Aussprache und norwegischem Tonfall, während die anderen ihre eigene Mundart verwendeten.

Als die Norweger 1814 ihre Unabhängigkeit von Dänemark errungen haben, konnten sie in ihren Bestrebungen, um eine Schriftsprache zu schaffen, zwischen zwei Lösungen wählen: entweder die Norwegisierung der dänischen Schriftsprache oder der Aufbau einer ganz neuen auf der Grundlage der Mundarten. Die erste Lösung ergab das Dänisch-Norwegische Riksmål/Bokmål. Die zweite (als schwieriger geltende) Alternative wurde vom genialen Linguist Ivar Aasen gewählt.

Der Oberschullehrer und Grammatiker Knud Knudsen betrachtete Aasens Plan als unrealistisch, und als Theoretiker der Norwegisierung unterstützte er die Idee, dass die Schreibweise, die Grammatik und der Wortschatz allmählich, „skridtvis“ ‘schrittweise’ norwegisiert werden sollten. Zur Norwegisierung der Buchsprache haben auch die berühmten Schriftsteller Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson und Henrik Ibsen (beide von Knudsen beeinflusst) beigetragen, sowie, mittelbar, auch die Entstehung und die Existenz des von Aasen geschaffenen Landsmåls, die später sogar die Norwegisierungstendenzen wesentlich befördert und beschleunigt hat. Die Abwendung vom Dänischen erfolgte 1907, einige Linguisten (z. B. Jahr 1992) meinen erst 1917.

Im Jahre 1885 hat *Stortinget* (das norwegische Parlament) das Landsmål mit dem Dänisch-Norwegischen gleichgestellt. Seit 1929 heißen sie offiziell Bokmål ‘Buchsprache’ und Nynorsk ‘Neunorwegisch’.

Im Laufe der Jahre haben die beiden Schriftsprachen gewisse Änderungen durchgemacht. Die meisten Rechtschreibsreformen hatten ihre Annäherung als Ziel. Die Anhänger des *Samnorsk* ‘Gesamtnorwegisch’ wünschen sie zu einer einzigen Sprache zu vereinen, bisher aber ohne Erfolg.

III. Im Folgenden werden wir die Sprachplanung der einzelnen skandinavischen Länder aus dem Gesichtspunkt der ihnen zugrunde liegenden Ideologien und Prinzipien untersuchen: Traditionalismus/Konservatismus, Nationalismus, Internationalismus, Purismus, Liberalismus, Demokratismus.

Traditionalismus bedeutet Festhalten an den traditionellen Formen, denn die Tradition ist ein Wert und die schon etablierten Normen sollen unverändert bleiben.

Dänisch ist sehr konservativ, was die Schriftsprache anbelangt, kannte nur wenige Reformen. Dänisch hat seit jeher Konservatismus gezeigt trotz der Tatsache „den lydlige udvikling [foregår] i dag usædvanlig hurtigt set i forhold til de øvrige nordiske sprog“ also ‘dass die lautliche Entwicklung ungewöhnlich schnell [vor sich geht] im Verhältnis zu den übrigen nordischen Sprachen’ (Cramer 1993. 24.).

Isländisch wird als die weitaus konservativste skandinavische Sprache betrachtet: keine skandinavische Sprache oder Mundart hat ihre morphologische Struktur und den ursprünglichen skandinavischen Wortschatz in so einer Art und Weise bewahrt, wie das Isländische. Haugen (1976. 32.) sagt „Icelandic is the ‘classical’ language of Scandinavia, having retained most faithfully the structure and lexicon of Old Scandinavian“.

Früher als irgendwelche andere skandinavische Sprache war Isländisch eine völlig herausgebildete und künstlerische Schriftsprache, und den Isländern gelang es durch Jahrhunderte hindurch ihre Sprache in der ursprünglichen Form zu bewahren. Seit dem Mittelalter haben in der Schriftsprache nur kleine Änderungen stattgefunden.

In Norwegen wurden vor allem bei der (Heraus)Entwicklung des Neunorwegischen (Nynorsk) viele archaische Formen verwendet, die ansonsten in der Sprache nicht mehr existierten. Ivar Aasen, der die Alternative zur Norwegisierung anbot, und, auf der Grundlage der Dialekte, eine ganz neue norwegische Schriftsprache, *Landsmål*, aufbaute, bediente sich oft des etymologischen Prinzips in der normativen Phase seines Lebenswerks.

Für die Normsprache verfolgte Aasen eine Reihe von Prinzipien. Er wollte eine einzige gültige Form, keine Parallelformen, gleichzeitig aber hatte er das demokratische Prinzip vor Augen: kein Dialekt sollte überwiegen. Wenn der Unterschied zwischen den Dialektformen zu groß war, dann sollte das Altnorwegische aushelfen. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Wörtern und Formen, die gemeinsame Wurzeln hatten, sollte in der Schreibweise deutlich sein. Gleichzeitig musste man die Schreibweise der anderen skandinavischen Sprachen berücksichtigen. Aasens Norm beruhte insbesondere auf den westnorwegischen Gebirgs- und Fördedialekten, die das altnorwegische Deklinationssystem größtenteils bewahrt hatten. Deswegen war seine *Landsmål* ein wenig veraltet. Im Gegensatz zu P. A. Munch, der als Grundlage für die neue Schriftsprache eine einzige Mundart haben wollte, die dem Altnorwegischen am nächsten stehen sollte, war Aasens Auffassung demokratischer. Er schuf nämlich eine Sprache, in der nicht nur ein einziger Dialekt, sondern mehrere vertreten waren.

Eine ähnliche Verfahrensweise verwendete der Priester V. U. Hammershaimb, der die färöische Schriftsprache geschaffen hat. Im Falle des Färöischen haben

wir eine Variante der Sprachneubelebung, die als Ausgangspunkt die altnordische Schriftsprache hatte. Hammershaimb schuf eine etymologisierende Schriftsprache, die vom Alt(west)nordischen und Isländischen stark geprägt wurde, bei der Aussprache nahm er aber den großen Dialektunterschied auf den Färöer-Inseln in Betracht. Wenn er für die Aussprache einen einzigen Dialekt bevorzugt hätte, wären die anderen Mundarten diskriminiert worden. Damit war sein Verfahren demokratisch wie Aasens.

IV. Eng verbunden mit dem Traditionalismus ist das Prinzip des Nationalismus. Manchmal kann sich die Sprachplanung auch gegen den Nationalismus richten.

Der Nationalismus agiert oft als Triebkraft für die Entwicklung der Nationalsprachen. Der Nationalismus machte sich auch mit der ersten schwedischen Bibelübersetzung geltend, die die Grundlage der schwedischen Schriftsprache bildete und lange als Vorbild für die Schreibnorm diente. Die Übersetzer der sogenannten Wasa-Bibel hatten auch eine gewisse Normierung der Rechtschreibung vor. So wurde in Gustav Vasas Bibel eine ziemlich konsequente Norm und Rechtschreibung entwickelt. Regiert von antidänischen Gefühlen, haben die Übersetzer in vielen Punkten gerade diejenigen Formen gewählt, die von den dänischen abwichen, dann auch die Unterschiede so viel wie möglich hervorgehoben. Sie nahmen sich der Adoption der Buchstaben *ä, ö, å* an, für die Laute, die im Dänischen die Schriftbilder *æ, ø, aa* hatten, dann bestärkten sie den Gebrauch des Ende-*a* (ein Kennzeichen, das Schwedisch vom Dänisch und Norwegisch differenziert), obendrein wurden die alten Vollvokale wiedereingeführt, obwohl sie schon geschwächt wurden.

Als Gegenteil des Traditionalismus und des Nationalismus-Prinzips gilt der Internationalismus. Dieser macht sich vor allem in den Fachsprachen geltend, in der Übernahme der Terminologie, indem die Fachtermini mehr oder weniger unverändert übernommen werden. In Schweden wird meistens angeglichen, eine puristische Angleichung ist kennzeichnend auch für Norwegen, während sich Dänemark mit starker Internationalisierung auszeichnet. Die Isländer hingegen übersetzen oder ersetzen womöglich alles.

V. Der Purismus macht sich vor allem im Umgang mit den Fremdwörtern geltend. Den Fremdwörtern gegenüber kann man folgende Haltungen annehmen: sie entweder aufnehmen (mit Anpassung oder nicht), ablehnen oder sogar ignorieren, oder einheimische Ersatzwörter finden. Diese wäre die nächste nationale Aufgabe der Sprachplanung: im Allgemeinen gegen Fremdeinflüsse (in allen sprachlichen Bereichen) aufzutreten. Die Ablehnung der Fremdwörter ist als Purismus bekannt.

Language purism ‘Sprachpurismus’ (auch linguistischer Purismus oder linguistischer Protektionismus genannt) ist eine Ideologie, die die Idee der rei-

nen Sprache fördert, geschützt von fremden Einflüssen, die die Sprache unrein machen. Der Nationalismus neigt dazu, den Purismus zu unterstützen und zu verstärken, und die Tendenz, Fremdwörter zu adoptieren, zu schwächen. Der Sprachpurismus kann also Teil der Sprachpolitik der Regierung sein, die verschiedene Formen nehmen kann. (So versuchte zum Beispiel das kaiserliche Japan in den 30-er Jahren alle englischen Wörter zu entfernen.). Der (sprachliche) Purismus hat jedoch in der Entwicklung vieler Standardsprachen in Europa eine wichtige Rolle gespielt.

In seinem Buch, *Linguistic purism*, unternimmt G. Thomas (1991) eine Einteilung der puristischen Richtungen auf der Grundlage von verschiedenen Kriterien: der Verfahrensweise, der Ziele, der Intensität und der linguistischen Ebene.

Je nach den Zielen unterscheidet Thomas demokratischen, vereinenden, defensiven, abgrenzenden und Prestigepurismus. Der isländische Purismus ist defensiv (verteidigend), seine Motivation ist der Schutz vor fremden Einflüssen.

Basierend auf der Intensität des Purismus spricht Thomas im Falle des Isländischen von einem konstanten, stabilen Purismus.¹

Auf Grundlage des sprachlichen Niveaus unterscheidet Thomas (1991) zwischen lexikalischem, orthographischem, morphologischem, syntaktischem and phonetischem Purismus, und er erwähnt auch andere Formen des Purismus, wie z. B. den regressiven Purismus und den Ultrapurismus (ein Beispiel für den Ultrapurismus ist *Háfrónska*, die Hochisländische Sprachbewegung). Aufgrund dieser Annäherung ist der isländische Purismus ein archaisierender Purismus.

Isländisch hat eine der am systematischsten und konsequentesten durchgeführten Sprachplanungen. Dank dem ersichtlichen Erfolg der isländischen Sprachpolitik kann die Sprache als die am puristischsten orientierte Sprache der Welt betrachtet werden. Aber dieser strenge, rigoröse Purismus hat seine Wurzeln in der Geschichte.

Um für die Aufrechterhaltung der Sprache und für ihre Reinigung von fremden Elementen zu kämpfen, legte *Hið íslenska lærdómslistafélag* 'Die isländische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften' eine Prinzipienklärung der isländischen Sprache dar, und formulierte eine offizielle und puristische Sprachpolitik. So entstand der mächtige *nýyrðastefna* (wörtl. 'Neu-Wort-ismus'), strenge Regeln, die dafür sorgten, dass man die isländische Sprache mit Fremdwörtern nicht verderben sollte. Die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft sahen ihre größte Aufgabe darin, die Sprache „rein“ und „schön“ aufzubewahren. Nur solche Lehnwörter, die vor 1400 entlehnt worden waren, durften akzeptiert werden. Statt der Entlehnung von außen suchten sie nach Wörtern in den alten Sagas und der alten ed-

1 Thomas (1991) unterscheidet marginalen (Englisch, Russisch), moderaten, diskontinuierenden (Französisch, Spanisch), ordnenden (Danish, Schwedisch), evolutionären (Finnisch, Ungarisch, Hebräisch), oszillatorischen (Deutsch, Tschechisch), revolutionären (Türkisch) und konstanten, stabilen Purismus (Isländisch, Arabisch).

dischen Literatur, und versuchten Ersatzwörter zu schmieden. Das Original, das Ursprüngliche galt als das Beste, das Entlehnte musste beseitigt werden.

Die Isländer übersetzen alle internationale Wörter, wie *leikhús* 'Theater' (wörtl. 'Spielhaus'), *rafmagn* 'Elektrizität' (wörtl. 'Bernstein + Kraft'), *ritsími* 'Telegraph' (wörtl. 'Schreib + Draht'), *ritvéll* 'Schreibmaschine' (wörtl. 'schreiben + Maschine'), *símaskrá* 'Telefonbuch' (wörtl. 'Telefon + Katalog'), *smjörlíki* 'Margarine' (wörtl. 'Butter + ähnlich'), *vegabréf* 'Reisepass' (wörtl. 'Weg + Brief'). Ein typisches Beispiel ist das isländische Wort *sími*. Als der Telefon und der Telegraph nach Island kamen, versuchte es man mit mehreren Übersetzungen, aber dann haben sie ein vergessenes Wort *sími* für das Phänomen gefunden, und das trat ziemlich schnell in die Sprache ein. Das Wort *sími* existierte im Altisländischen, und bedeutete 'Band; Tau, Seil'. Was die Sprachplaner getan haben, war diesen Archaismus wieder zu beleben lassen und wieder zu verwerten, bzw. es mit einer neuen Bedeutung versehen, und seitdem ist das Wort in der Schaffung von vielen Ableitungen und Zusammensetzungen produktiv gewesen, wie z. B. *talsími* 'Telefon' und *ritsími* 'Telegraph'.

Heute ist der isländische Purismus ein Ausdruck für die nationalen Eigenschaften, und das Prinzip ist die Neuschaffung isländischer Wörter anstatt der Verwendung von Fremdwörtern. Um ins Isländische aufgenommen zu werden, muss ein Wort isländische Buchstaben haben, die Betonung auf der ersten Silbe haben, weiterhin die phonetischen Regeln des Isländischen annehmen, und einer isländischen Flexionsklasse zugeordnet werden können.

Im Norwegischen ist die Anpassung an die norwegische Schreibung und Flexion das Hauptprinzip. Das gilt auch für das Schwedische, indem man eine dem Schwedischen angegliche Schreibweise anbietet und erwartet. Es gibt aber keine Konsequenz in der Ausführung, wie man an den folgenden Beispielen sieht, bei manchen ausgeführt, bei anderen jedoch nicht (*tejp*, aber *clown*).

Im Gegensatz zu Schweden und Norwegen, erfolgt in Dänemark eine geringere Angleichung der Fremdwörter. Erklärungen dafür sind nochmals in der Sprachgeschichte zu finden.

Im 13. Jahrhundert gerieten die festlandskandinavischen Sprachen unter den starken Einfluss des Niederdeutschen (Isländisch und Färöisch entgingen dank ihrer Isoliertheit diesem Einfluss). Seinen Höhepunkt erreichte dieser Einfluss in der Hansazeit. Stedje (1999. 110.) behauptet in diesem Sinne: „Weder früher noch später hat das Deutsche andere Sprachen so stark beeinflusst wie das Mittelniederdeutsche die nordischen Sprachen“.

Die Reformation und der 30-jährige Krieg brachten viele hochdeutsche Lehnwörter ins Schwedische ein. Deutsche Wörter wurden im Schwedischen kaum als Fremdwörter aufgefasst. Durch deutsche Vermittlung kamen auch einige französische Lehnwörter, die später in der Sprache Fuß fassten. Dann aber folgte im 18. Jahrhundert eine Invasion von französischen Wörtern. König Gustav III. war

ein großer Anbeter der französischen Kultur, und er gründete *Svenska Akademien*, die 'Schwedische Akademie' nach dem unmittelbaren Vorbild der französischen. Die Svenska Akademien war am Anfang eine Sprachplanungsbehörde, und sollte für „Svenska språkets renhet, styrka och höghet“ (Ramsfjell–Vinje 1984. 69.) – 'die Reinheit, Stärke und Hoheit der schwedischen Sprache' wirken [m. Ü. K. A.].

Schwedisch hat mehr französische Lehnwörter bewahrt als die anderen skandinavischen Sprachen, und viele von diesen sind in Schweden lebendig, aber in Dänemark oder Norwegen unbekannt, wie z. B. *pjäs* (no. *teaterstykke*), *fåtölj* (no. *lenestol*), *ridå* (no. *teaterteppe*), *trottoar* (no. *fortau*).

Puristen, wie der Dichter Viktor Rydberg kämpften sowohl gegen romanische (lat., fra.) als auch deutsche Fremdwörter, gegen Präfixe (*be-*, *an-*, *för-*) und Suffixe (*-het*, *-inna*). Sie konnten sich aber nicht bei deutschen Lehnwörtern durchsetzen, nur bei einigen romanischen, z. B. *dryfta* für *diskutera*.

Mit der Reformation erlangte Hochdeutsch auch in Dänemark eine starke Position. Der stärkste deutsche Einfluss kam im 17. Jahrhundert. Die Kommandosprache war in der dänischen Armee bis Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts Deutsch, und in den höheren Kreisen war Deutsch die Umgangssprache. Unter Christian V. wurde Hochdeutsch als offizielle Sprache des dänischen Königshofes eingeführt, und seit dem 17. Jahrhundert war Hochdeutsch die Amtssprache. So fanden hochdeutsche Wörter Einzug ins Dänische, wie *ane*, *begeistret*, *geländer*, *gemen*, *glans*, *hurtig*, *luft*, *munter*, *oberst*, *offentlig*, *pludselig*, *tapper*, *træffe*, das Präfix *er-* (*erindre*, *erfaring*) und das Suffix *-mæssig* (*regelmæssig*).

Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts machte sich Französisch geltend, und im 18. Jahrhundert wurde Französisch zur Sprache der Diplomatie und der Königshöfe. *Residens*, *parti*, *kompliment*, *diskurs*, *maner*, *konversation*, *logere*, *divertere*, *passere*, *ordinær*, *agreable* und andere französische Lehnwörter stammen aus jener Zeit.

Aber weder die hochdeutschen, noch die französischen Lehnwörter konnten sich in die Sprache so fest einwurzeln, wie es die niederdeutschen gemacht hatten; der Grundwortschatz blieb unberührt.

Mitte der 1700-er Jahre entstand in Dänemark eine Sprachreinigungsbewegung, wobei die Sprachreiner gegen die lateinischen und französischen Fremdwörter in den Kampf zogen und diese mit dänischen Wörtern zu ersetzen versuchten. Die Ersatzwörter wurden in der Regel nach deutschen Vorbildern gebildet. Beispiele für Wörter, die aus dieser Zeit stammen oder gelegentlich der Sprachreinigung gebräuchlich wurden: *avstand* für *distanse*, *genstand* für *objekt*, *lidenskab* für *affekt* und *passion*, *virksomhed* für *aktivitet*, *digter* für *poet*, *højskole* für *akademi*.

Dann folgte aber eine Zeit des dänischen Misstrauens gegenüber den Deutschen. Dänisch setzte sich als Amts- und Hofsprache durch, und die Puristen fingen an, deutsche oder deutschklingende Wörter und Wendungen durch einheimische zu verdrängen: *Fødselsdag* statt *Geburtsdag*, *forelsket* statt *forliebt*,

Fattigdom statt *Armod*, *ond* statt *bøs*, *træt* statt *mødig*, usw. Die Tendenz wurde auch durch die schleswigschen Kriege verstärkt.

Nun, zurück zu den Fremdwörtern. Der Sprachwissenschaftler Rasmus Rask verlangte, dass man die Fremdwörter *fordanske* 'danisisieren' muss. Der Chemiker und Physiker H. C. Ørsted war Purist in der Schöpfung von Fachbegriffen. Echte Puristen waren die Verfasser des *Dansk Ordbog for Folket* 'Dänisches Wörterbuch für das Volk' (1907-1914), Hans Dahl und Knud Hjortø, die statt Übersetzungen eigene Wortschöpfungen vorschlugen, z. B. *Dødsrune* für *Nekrolog*, *Gudsvidenskab* für *Theologie*.

Heutzutage werden hingegen zusammengesetzte Fremdwörter eher übersetzt, während die einfachen Fremdwörter nicht.

Während die puristische Sprachplanung in Dänemark und Schweden im 19. Jahrhundert gegen die Entlehnungen aus den romanischen Sprachen und gegen niederdeutsche Lehnwörter kämpfte, richtete sich Nynorsk interessanterweise gegen Dänisch und Niederdeutsch.

Ivar Aasen war Purist, was den neunorwegischen Wortschatz anbelangt. Er versuchte Lehnwörter so gut wie möglich zu vermeiden, vor allem die Ableitungen mit den Präfixen *an-*, *be-*, *er-* und den Suffixen *-else*, *-heit*. Lange haben es die neunorwegischen Wortlisten verweigert *anbehetelse-ord* (*an-*, *be-*, *-het*, *-else*-Wörter) aufzunehmen (ein Wort wie *overanstrengelse* ist im Nynorsk nicht erlaubt). So hat man eine Reihe von Adjektiven, die für die beiden Sprachformen gemeinsam sind, aber das entsprechende abgeleitete Substantiv (Adjektivabstrakt) gibt es nur in der Buchsprache Bokmål. [Adj. *anstendig*, *forsiktig*, *likegyldig*, *stolt*, *svak*; Subst. *anstendighet* (bm.) – *sømd* (nn.), *forsiktighet* (bm.) – *varsemnd* (nn.), *likegyldighet* (bm.) – *likesæle* (nn.), *stolthet* (bm.) – *byrgskap* oder *æreskjensle* (nn.), *svakhet* (bm.) – *veiskap* (nn.), usw.]

Übrigens verfährt man heutzutage nur gegen existierende Fremdwörter radikal, aber weniger radikal gegen neue Fremdwörter.

VI. Die Rechtschreibung kann nach zwei Prinzipien normiert werden, entweder nach dem orthophonischen Prinzip, wobei Aussprache und Schreibweise übereinstimmen sollen, oder nach dem etymologischen Prinzip, d. h. abhängig von der Herkunft des Wortes. Orthophonie bedeutet lautentsprechende Schreibweise, mit anderen Worten die höchst mögliche Übereinstimmung zwischen der Schriftsprache und der gesprochenen Sprache (eigentlich der Aussprache). Es gibt verschiedene Stufen der Übereinstimmung zwischen Schrift und Aussprache in den Sprachen der Welt, und der Grad der Übereinstimmung variiert von Sprache zu Sprache.

Der erste, der seine Prinzipien über die Orthophonie dargelegt hat, war der dänische Sprachwissenschaftler Rasmus Rask im Artikel *Forsøg til en videnskabelig Retskrivningslære* (1826). Damals konnte er kaum ahnen, dass anderthalb

Jahrhunderte später gerade seine Muttersprache, Dänisch, als die am wenigsten orthophonische Sprache in Europa betrachtet werden sollte.

Rask wies auf die seit dem 17. Jahrhundert ständig tiefer werdende Diskrepanz zwischen der gesprochenen Sprache und der Schriftsprache hin, besser gesagt zwischen der gesprochenen Sprache und deren Wiedergabe in Schrift. Er gab eine wissenschaftliche Begründung für seine Reformvorschläge, und verlangte, dass die Aussprache die Grundlage für die Rechtschreibung sein sollte. Die stummen Buchstaben sollten beseitigt, sowie die Schreibung von Doppelvokalen abgeschafft werden. Er behauptete weiter, dass *c*, *q*, *x* und *z* in Dänisch überflüssig waren.

Rasmus Rask entwickelte seine Theorie über die Orthophonie, und er ist der Schöpfer des Wortes 'ortofoni' und des Syntagmas 'ortofonisk princip'. Jeder Buchstabe sollte einen Laut bezeichnen, beziehungsweise jeder Sprachlaut sollte nur mit einem Zeichen oder einem Buchstaben wiedergegeben werden. Aber, obwohl im Dänischen das orthophonische als Hauptprinzip gilt, ist „dansk ortografi i det 19. og 20. århundre (...) stærkt konservativ (...) ikke blot konservativ, den er også inkonsekvent“ – ‘die dänische Rechtschreibung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (...) stark konservativ (...) und nicht bloß konservativ, sie ist auch inkonsequent“ (Cramer 1993. 22–23.).

1889 wurden zwar das stumme *e* und die Doppelschreibung der Vokale abgeschafft, sowie *j* in Wörtern, die *kj*- und *gj*- im Anlaut (*kær*, *skøn*, *gennem*, *gøre*) hatten. 1948 kam – teils aus Rücksicht auf die anderen nordischen Sprachen – die Einführung der kleinen Anfangsbuchstaben bei Substantiven, *å* anstatt *aa*, und Doppelkonsonant in *kunne*, *skulle*, *ville* anstatt *kunde*, *skulde*, *vilde*. 1985 folgte die Einführung der dänischen Schreibweise bei einigen Fremdwörtern, aber die alten Formen wurden nicht abgeschafft (*krem*, *majonæse*, *remulade*, *ressurse*, *rostbøf* wurden zu wahlfreien Formen neben *creme*, *mayonnaise*, *remoulade*, *ressource* und *roastbeef*).

Die schwedische Schriftsprache erhielt 1801 dank der *Svenska Akademien* eine feste Form, und seitdem hat sie nur einige kleine Änderungen erlebt. Die wichtigste Rechtschreibreform fand 1906 statt, eine durchaus antikandinavische Reform, aber ganz pro Orthophonie, wobei man einen Teil der stummen Konsonanten (*h* wurde beseitigt, und *vem*, *vad*, *vit* wurde verpflichtend anstatt *hvem*, *hvad*, *hvit*, dann *t* und *tt* anstatt *dt* (*blindt*, *godt*, *rödt* wurde zu *blint*, *gott*, *rött*) zu Ungunsten der nordischen Sprachgemeinschaft abgeschafft hat. Weiterhin wurden *f* und *fv* mit *v* ersetzt, wenn die Aussprache [v] war (*gifva* wurde zu *giva*, *haf* zu *hav*). Was den Grad der Orthophonie im Schwedischen vermindert (Schwedisch wird übrigens als eine ziemlich orthophonische Sprache betrachtet), sind die Wiedergabe des [ʃ]-Lauts ('sj-ljudet') und des [ç]-Lauts ('tj-ljudet'), das Festhalten an stummen Lauten in Buchstabenkombinationen *dj*, *gj*, *hj*, *lj* (alle diese werden [j] ausgesprochen) und die Rechtschreibung einiger Fremdwörter (*dusch*, *chock*).

Das Gegenteil der orthophonischen Schreibweise ist die etymologische Schriftnormierung. Diese hat der Priester V. U. Hammershaimb bevorzugt, als er Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, in den 1850-er Jahren, die färöische Schriftsprache schuf, indem er von den alten (eigentlich der altnordischen) Formen der Wörter Gebrauch machte. So sollte die färöische Schriftsprache dem Isländischen stark ähneln, unterschied sich aber viel von der gesprochenen Sprache. Beispiele für die Kluft zwischen der Schrift- und der gesprochenen Sprache: *æ* wird [ea], *í* [ui] und *á* [âa] ausgesprochen.

Isländisch ist eine konservative Sprache, in der das etymologische Prinzip Primat hat; es verwendet in Schrift lange Vokale, wie *á*, *ó*, die diphthongiert ausgesprochen werden, [au] beziehungsweise [âu] (z. B. *já* [jau], *sól* [sâul]), weiter *é* als [je], *æ* als [ai]. Heute gibt es keinen Unterschied in der Aussprache von *i* und *y*, *í* und *ý*, *ei* und *ey*. Der Buchstabe *f* wird als [v] ausgesprochen, wenn er zwischen Vokalen oder im Auslaut vorkommt (*haf* [hav], *hafa* [hava]). Das etymologische Normierungsprinzip macht sich geltend z. B., wo man [*hlítur*] med *ý* schreibt, wenn es aus *hljóta* 'lyte', aber mit *í*, wenn es aus *hlíta* 'lite' kommt (laut Sandøy 1977. 94.).

Norwegisch wird als eine orthophonische Sprache angesehen. Obwohl es einige Ausnahmen gibt, in denen gegen das orthophonische Prinzip verstoßen wird (z. B. *hv-* und *hj-*), können wir behaupten, dass unter den skandinavischen Sprachen Norwegisch die orthophonischste ist. Dass Norwegisch so orthophon ist, ist in großem Maße der sprachreformatrischen Tätigkeit von Knud Knudsen zu verdanken. Knudsen startete in den 1840er Jahren seinen Kampf für eine orthophonische Schreibweise parallel mit dem Kampf um die Norwegisierung, der sein ganzes Leben lang dauern sollte.

Heute kann man sagen, dass in der Anwendung des orthophonischen Prinzips keine skandinavische Sprache so weit gegangen ist, wie Norwegisch, wie man in den Beispielen *gaid*, *teip*, *skvâsj* und *sørvis* sehen kann.

VII. Der Panskandinavismus kann als ein lokaler, geographisch beschränkter, nur auf Skandinavien bezogener Internationalismus angesehen werden.

Geschichtlich betrachtet, ist die Idee des „(Pan)Skandinavismus“ nicht so alt, obwohl sich die nordischen Völker gegenseitig in die Angelegenheiten der anderen über viele Länder verwickelt haben und das ganze Gebiet im 15. Jahrhundert zeitweilig politisch vereint war (Vikør 1993. 114–15.).

Erst in den 1860er Jahren, in der Zeit der erwachenden Nationalromantik, entwickelte sich ein romantischer „Skandinavismus“ im Studentenmilieu und in den intellektuellen Kreisen in Norwegen, Schweden und Dänemark, beeinflusst vom dänisch-preußischen Streit über Schleswig. Die Bewegung forderte Solidarität von Seiten Schwedens und Norwegens, sowie die Unterstützung Dänemarks im Dänisch-Preußischen Krieg.

Der Schöpfer des Neunorwegischen, Ivar Aasen, nahm gewissermaßen Rücksicht auf die Sprachen der nordischen Nachbarländer, als er sein Landsmål ausarbeitete.

Der Gedanke des Sprachskandinavismus ging von Dänemark aus: vorgeschlagen wurden u. a. gemeinsame Lehnwörter, gemeinsame Geschichts- und Geographielehrbücher, die Literatur aller skandinavischen Sprachen im Original als Pflichtlektüre in der Schule, und – die kühnste Idee – eine gesamtskandinavische Schriftsprache.

1869 wurde eine gesamt-nordische Rechtschreibkonferenz in Stockholm einberufen, die aber nicht offiziell war, und daher nur Vorschläge und Empfehlungen machen konnte. Der Mangel am Erfolg lag am Widerstand der *Svenska Akademien*.

Lediglich der Vorschlag über die vorsichtige Nationalisierung der Schreibweise der allgemein gebrauchten Fremdwörter wurde von den skandinavischen Sprachen ziemlich konsequent verfolgt.

Nach 1905, als sich Norwegen von Schweden trennte, nahm die panskandinavische Tendenz ab, bis in die 1930er Jahre hinein. In dieser Periode, die übrigens als Glanzzeit des Skandinavismus gilt, wurde die sprachliche Annäherung ein wichtiger Teil der gemeinsamen Arbeit, die Solidarität und Einheit im Norden förderte.

Im Laufe der Zeit sind zahlreiche Vorschläge für Änderungen in den einzelnen Nationalsprachen in die Richtung des „Gesamtskandinavischen“ gemacht worden, aber mit wenig Erfolg. Der Däne Lucianus Kofod, Skandinavist und Anhänger des Purismus, hat sogar eine gesamtskandinavische Sprache beantragt; jedoch ohne Erfolg.

Die wichtigste Rechtschreibreform im Schwedischen im Jahre 1906 war ganz antiskandinavisch. Als die konservativen Dänen schließlich mit den Änderungen einverstanden waren, fand 1948 eine ziemlich pronordische Reform statt.

1959 erfolgte zum ersten Mal im Norwegischen (sowohl in Bokmål als auch in Nynorsk) eine pronordische oder proskandinavische Rechtschreibreform, nach einer Reihe von Reformen, die den Gedanken des Panskandinavismus außer Acht ließen. „...die Reformen 1907, 1917 und 1938 waren gleichgültig gegenüber der nordischen Perspektive“ (Lundeby 1991).

Heutzutage gilt die Tendenz, die Standardsprachen so zu akzeptieren, wie sie sind, und eher das gegenseitige Verständnis zu verbessern und zu fördern. Erreichen kann man das durch die Beseitigung von Unterschieden in der Schreibweise, wenn diese ihre Wurzel in den geschichtlichen Traditionen haben, und durch Überwindung der Schwierigkeiten, die vom Gebrauch verschiedener Buchstaben (ø/ö, æ/ä) verursacht werden. Wichtig ist nun, dass die Entwicklung nicht dazu führt, dass die Unterschiede größer werden als sie früher waren. Das wäre z. B. dadurch realisierbar, dass die einzelnen Länder zusammenarbeiten würden,

wenn eine Menge neue Wörter in die Sprachen eindringen, so dass die einzelnen Sprachen nicht verschiedene Termini für denselben Begriff einführen (wie *dator* [sv.], *datamaskin* [no.], *datamat* [da.]).

Wie schwer es ist, sprachliche Einheit im Norden zu erreichen, zeigt die Schreibweise von æ/ä und ø/ö. Im Jahre 1961 verlangten die Studentenvereine die Einführung eines gemeinsamen Alphabets, wobei man die Buchstaben æ und ø mit ä und ö ersetzen sollte. Der Vorschlag wurde den Sprachräten vorgelegt, die aber von Änderungen in der jetzigen Praxis abrieten. Es wurden die großen praktischen Schwierigkeiten hervorgehoben, die eine Reform mitbringen würde, die aber die verhältnismäßig wenigen Vorteile, die man dadurch erreichen würde, nicht kompensieren würden (laut Ramsfjell & Vinje 1984. 58.).

Die Sprachräte in den verschiedenen Ländern arbeiten bezüglich der Sprachfragen zusammen, und ihre Arbeit wird vom *Nordisk råd* 'Nordischer Rat', sowie vom *Nordisk Språkråd* 'Nordischer Sprachrat' unterstützt. Diese Arbeit geht bei Sprachtagungen auf nordischer Ebene und durch die Herausgabe einer Jahresschrift (*Språk i Norden*) vor sich. Hier gibt man Auskünfte über Sprachfragen, über linguistische Zusammenarbeitsprojekte, z. B. Fachterminologie. Die Sprachplanung figuriert jedoch nicht unter den vielen Aufgaben des *Nordisk Språkråd*.

1981 unterzeichneten die fünf nordischen Regierungen eine Konvention über die Rechte ihrer Staatsbürger zum Gebrauch der eigenen Muttersprache in jedem der skandinavischen Ländern.

VIII. Als Schlussfolgerung kann man sagen, dass die Sprachplanung in den skandinavischen Ländern sehr stark, aber trotz der gesamtscandinavischen Tendenzen nicht einheitlich ist. Am konsequentesten wird sie in Island durchgeführt. Im Isländischen ist der Purismus am weitesten gegangen. Dänisch ist die konservativste Sprache, jedoch den Fremdwörtern gegenüber am tolerantesten. Trotz der Ähnlichkeiten der skandinavischen Sprachen, weisen die Sprachplanung und Sprachpolitik in den einzelnen skandinavischen Ländern unterschiedliche Tendenzen auf.

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Book Review



Anca Peiu: *Romantic Renderings of Selfhood in Classic American Literature*
Bucharest: Editura C.H. Beck, 2017

Review by

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Anca Peiu's volume presented in this review comprises essays written on the works of emblematic figures of American literature who created their masterpieces during the 19th century. The writers included in this work represent two basic literary genres, namely fiction and poetry. The species analysed vary from romance, novella, short story, and novel – all belonging to the field of fiction – and various types of poetry ranging from ballads to short, cryptic poems. However, drama is far from being excluded since – as the author points it out in the introduction – all the works selected stem from the writers' "innermost dramatic impulse" (1).

The book is organized into two main parts. The first one, "Selfhood in/or Poetry", discusses selected works of five authors "who laid the foundations of American Poetry" (XIII), namely: Edgar Allan Poe, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and Emily Dickinson. In the second half of the book, "Selfhood in/or Storytelling", the author discusses the works of six prominent story-tellers: Washington Irving, James Fennimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Mark Twain, and Kate Chopin.

In the foreword to her volume, Anca Peiu reveals the principle that is underlying her inevitably subjective selection of the writers who best represent the main theme of this exigent book: "the quest for and the expression of the (literary) self" (XIII). The most salient features that bring these poets and writers on the same platform in the author's system of values are identified as their constant pursuit of self-teaching, their common language of nonconformity, and their intellectual honesty. These features shared by all of the eleven authors discussed permanently shape their literary and private selves alike, and this constant change is exactly the theme scrutinized by the writer of this book, who postulates selfhood "as a fluid entity, as form of existence always in the making" (1).

The author sets the framework for the entire volume in the introduction by relying on two decisive moments of American history leaving indelible imprints on the lives, values, and lifework of the writers discussed. The first of these moments was Christopher Columbus's random discovery of a totally unknown continent in October 1492, which changed America's destiny forever. With regard to this first important moment, the author adopts Tzvetan Todorov's portrait of Columbus as depicted in his insightful book *The Conquest of America. The Question of the Other*. The heroic qualities that Columbus possesses according to Tzvetan Todorov are his fortitude (as an adventurer), his indomitable faith (as a Christian), and his lack of hostility (towards the indigenous people he met on the continent he discovered). With an acute sense of observation, Anca Peiu points out the correspondence existing between these three personal qualities identified by Tzvetan Todorov and the three main preoccupations and challenges that yield 19th-century American literature its unique flavour: the Frontier Myth incessantly urging the newcomers to explore further portions of the wilderness invested with a great deal of potential dangers but an even greater amount of eager hopes and expectations; Puritanism as the predominant form of the Christian faith with its profound repercussions on every aspect of the believers' lives and endeavours; and, finally, the interracial tensions flaring up at regular intervals ever since Columbus's arrival and culminating in the abominable institution of chattel slavery.

The other decisive event that marked not only the destiny of the new continent but also the focus and priorities of the writers discussed in the volume was the adoption of *The Declaration of Independence* on 4 July 1776. One of the most important passages of the document highlighted by Anca Peiu for its relevance to the theme of the present volume specifies the three basic rights of any citizen living on American soil, namely: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The author singles out this last right (the pursuit of happiness) as the one "which represented the American contribution to the contemporary view upon the meaning of human life" (6). In her view, this detail is the one that best distinguishes the American sense of self, and it is also the prevailing theme entertained by the writers inhabiting the book.

The originality of Anca Peiu's analysis of the works – which in time have become classics of world literature holding the attention of so many scholars and literary critics who, in their turn, have written whole libraries on these masterpieces – lies in her comprehensive, multifaceted approach, which engenders multilayered interpretation, bringing to the surface hidden interrelations among the writers and works under scrutiny, among the works included in the volume and other classics of universal culture as diverse in their ways of representation as paintings, music, and films.

The first stage of interpretation is the closest to what we usually envisage when we think of literary analysis: looking closely at the literary text trying to make

sense of it by decoding the system of symbols used by the writer and interpreting and reframing the findings in the light of the writer's other works, his/her life, and that of the epoch in which the work was created. Anca Peiu makes her own contribution to this level by not being afraid of bypassing mainstream interpretations of the work and by focusing on the details that *she* finds important but at the same time readily invoking any other literary critic whose observations she unreservedly shares.

The second stratum of interpretation consists in the mapping of correspondences in content and/or tone of the writers and works under discussion, and so the analyses of the different works are not neatly separated from one another by being carried out exclusively in the subchapter bearing the name of a given writer. Rather, a web of cross-references emerges from the pages, created by the author's organizing mind, which makes it possible for her to point out relevant similarities among the literary phenomena under discussion. Thus, the reader can gain an insight into the source of bitter humour shared by Edgar Allan Poe and Mark Twain, the inherently dialogical nature of Ralph Waldo Emerson's prose and Walt Whitman's poetry, or the voluntarily chosen condition of the reclusive rebel assumed by both Emily Dickinson and Herman Melville – to mention just three of the numerous coincidences highlighted by the author.

The third layer of interpretation unfolds from the author's deep knowledge and understanding of other great works of world literature and – as an Eastern European scholar – familiarity with national, more specifically, with Romanian literature. This is how the American Edgar Allan Poe and the Romanian Ion Luca Caragiale are inevitably brought together in the author's mind by virtue of their "shared bitter disappointment with universal human shallowness, meanness, narrow-mindedness, idle conformity to routine, lack of imagination, lack of loyalty, and above all, crass stupidity" (29). With regard to poetry, one of the reasons why Emily Dickinson's refined poetry resonates so well with the author is that it evokes a much appreciated contemporary Romanian poet, Ana Blandiana (183).

But Anca Peiu does not limit herself to scanning the field of literature for perceiving similar phenomena; she is not reluctant to connect literary figures and pieces of music or paintings (Hester Prynne's romance evoking Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons* and Rembrandt's bold contrasts) or relying on more modern forms of art, such as films, to get her message across as in the following excerpt: "Huck Finn could be also detected at the back of Forrest Gump's (apparently feeble) mind, wondering about the meaning of human life and its chances to the slightest coherence" (320).

An additional layer of interpretation steps out of the realm of literature and that of other forms of art and pertains to life itself, forcing us to reflect upon our everyday petty preoccupations and follies. Centuries may have passed since

the literary works included in the volume were created, but the human psyche has hardly changed ever since, if at all. Self-pity, so harshly criticized by Ralph Waldo Emerson, is at least as widespread as it used to be in the 19th century, exposing the autonomous modern person for what s/he really is: an avoidant personality refusing to take responsibility for his/her own life, “clinging to others for support” instead (72). The same cowardice manifests itself in our propensity towards imitating others, in our snobbery stemming from conformity, our reluctance to go against the grain even if that would be in accordance with our inner truth and values. And exactly this is the point where the great ancestors – some of which are featured in this volume – can encourage us for “it takes courage to keep up against the mainstream: yet it helps a lot to know that others have been there before” (73).

In the introduction to her volume, Anca Peiu dedicates this collection of essays to her 21st-century Romanian university students to serve them as an updated guide in their forays into the realm of American literature. However, after having read it carefully, I consider that the circle of potential readers is much larger than that. Anyone coming from the academic milieu or a layman genuinely interested in 19th-century American literature can read this book with a good profit. Generous excerpts from the works under discussion make it easy for the reader to follow the author’s train of thought.

Aside from the original texts, there are a number of other components meant to ease the reader’s task such as short introductions and closing words at the beginning and at the end of subchapters, short biographies of the writers, a list of literary works analysed in the book, a detailed chronology of the main poetic and political turns of American history, and even fine pencil portraits of the eleven writers included in the volume. And, above all, what really makes this literary time travel worthwhile, there is Anca Peiu’s subtle voice at times guiding the reader, at other times inviting him/her to actively participate in the exploration of meanings with her unexpected, puzzling questions directly addressed to the reader.

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