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# Diminutives in Ivan Vazov's Novel "Under the Yoke" and their English Equivalents

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**Abstract:**
The paper focuses on the category of diminutiveness in languages, its characteristic features and means of expression. It presents a qualitative and quantitative analysis on the diminutive forms in Ivan Vazov's novel "Under the Yoke" in its original Bulgarian text and the equivalent diminutive forms in the English translation of the novel. An attempt is made to explain the diminutive patterns in both studied languages by emphasizing the characteristic features of diminutives in Bulgarian and English. Some conclusions are suggested based on the investigation of the diminutive forms in the Bulgarian and English texts as well as based on some previous research on the topic.
**Keywords:** diminutives, Bulgarian, English, equivalents

## Nature and characteristics of the category of diminutiveness

Diminutiveness is a linguistic phenomenon which has drawn lots of attention during the years. The reason is that diminutiveness is an intriguing feature of language and a lot of research has been carried out in order to define and analyze the nature, characteristics and meanings of diminutive forms.

Traditionally, the term 'diminutive' conveys the idea of 'smallness'. The prototypical meaning of the term 'diminutive' is 'smallness' but it can also express an attitude that "can be either positive or negative, i.e. either affectionate or derogatory, depending on the specific interplay of linguistic and situational factors in a given context." (Schneider 2003:1)

Jurafsky (1996: 534-535) has also stated that the diminutive "can express a bewildering variety of meanings" among which he points out "affection, contempt, playfulness, pragmatic contexts involving children or pets…".

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Huddleston & Pullum (2002) postulate that "the term diminutive applies to affixes which indicate small size and also, by extension, ones which (additionally or instead) mark the off-spring of animals, affection or informality, resemblance or imitation" (2002: 1677).

In general terms, the category of diminutiveness can be defined as a semantic and pragmatic linguistic category indicating smallness in addition to expressing a wide spectrum of emotional nuances ranging from extremely positive to utterly negative, depending on the context. Diminutiveness as a linguistic category can be expressed in all languages by various linguistic means on different levels of language.

There has been another discussion going on among scholars concerning the status of diminutives on a morphological level, namely, whether diminutives are derivational, inflectional or have some intermediate status.

According to Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 92), diminutives are derivational and not inflectional or compositional. Vinogradov (1972) assigns them an intermediary status between inflection and derivation (cited in Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi, 1994).

But diminutives in European languages share no essential properties with inflection. On the other hand, they are not prototypical representatives of derivational morphology either (Dressler et al., ed. 1990).

Mayerthaler (1981: 98) (cited in Schneider 2003: 10) claims that all languages possessing reduplicative diminutive formation pattern also possess the affixational type, and all languages possessing an affixational type possess either a synthetic or an analytic type.

As a whole, as far as Indo-European languages are concerned, "it seems that word-formation and inflection are mutually exclusive processes of diminutive formation in any one language" (Schneider 2003: 10).

It is generally accepted that morphemes can fall into two categories: word-formative (derivational) and form-formative (inflectional). The former derive new words, e.g. *teach (v) > teacher (n); вода (n) >воден (adj),* the latter only change the form of a word grammatically, according to case, gender, person, number or tense.

In traditional grammar, form-formative morphemes are the grammatical endings which change only the grammatical meaning of a word, and do not affect its lexical meaning.

As diminutive morphemes can change the form of a word by giving it a 'subjective' meaning of affection, tenderness or irony, disparagement, it is possible to define them as word-formative.

However, in Bulgarian, diminutive morphemes can change the gender of the diminutivized word, which means that diminutive morphemes share some of the characteristics of form-formative morphemes.

Word-formative morphemes, however, can also change the gender of a word when deriving a new word. For example, in Bulgarian, *готвач (m) >готвачка (f)* are considered different words and not forms of the same word.

Diminutive morphemes cannot be duly qualified as word-formative proper or form-formative proper. Therefore, it can be concluded that they have an intermediary position between word-formative (derivational) and form-formative (inflectional) morphemes.

Diminutiveness is a linguistic category which conveys the notion of 'smallness' and at the same time it can express various evaluative or attitudinal connotations depending on the context. The linguistic means of expression of these emotive-expressive meanings differ across languages.

**Diminutiveness in Bulgarian**

Diminutive forms in Bulgarian are not only numerous but can also convey an array of meanings reflecting the attitude of the speaker towards the referent. In addition to its lexical meaning, a base word may be modified by a diminutive suffix and thus acquire an extra meaning of smallness and a subjective evaluation. This makes diminutives one of the most powerful expressive devices in the language. The range of the possible connotations of a diminutive form is enormous, from extremely positive (e.g. love, endearment, admiration, delight, etc.) to distinctly negative (e.g. irony, sarcasm, depreciation, condescension, etc). But they serve the same emotional-expressive function. As a result, diminutive suffixes in Bulgarian can be classified into several types based on their meaning: purely diminutive (denoting only smallness), diminutive-hypocoristic,

hypocoristic, diminutive-pejorative and pejorative. However, most Bulgarian diminutive suffixes are multifunctional and their exact connotation can be defined only when the diminutive word is used in a particular context.

**Diminutiveness in English**

The common opinion of many linguists is that English has no diminutives. In English grammar books diminutives are mentioned very briefly, if at all. Usually, a few diminutive suffixes are listed as examples of English diminutives illustrating the basic meaning of the diminutives in English, namely, expressing the notion of smallness, e.g. *-ie, -ette, -let, -kin (doggie, kitchenette, streamlet, lambkin).*

Diminutiveness in English is a linguistic phenomenon which can find expression on different levels of language – morphological, lexical or phraseological. The semantics of diminutiveness can be expressed not only on the level of morphology (affixation, clipping, partial reduplication) but also on the syntactical level (rhyming, diminutive word groups). Diminutiveness conveys the meanings of small or little size, amount, quantity, power, value, importance, etc. which are often accompanied by different emotional nuances. However, the meaning of 'small' or 'little' is not absolute and depends on personal evaluation. As Schneider (2003: 11) puts it, "it must be emphasized that smallness […] depends entirely on the category in question. A small elephant, for instance, is still considerably larger than a large mouse".

According to Schneider (2003: 85), truncation and reduplication are closely connected to suffixal formation. He asserts that "polysyllabic nouns are truncated when *-ie* or other suffixes such as *-a, -er, -s* are attached, e.g. *Lizzie, hankie, commie*. The suffix *-ie* is also involved in reduplication, e.g. *Annie-Pannie, piggy-wiggie*." Poynton (1989) (cited in Schneider 2003: 85) also considers the repetitive type of reduplication (e.g. *Joe-Joe*) as a means of diminutive formation in English.

Another process of diminution in English, though not very common, is multiple suffixation, i.e. a combination of two or more diminutive suffixes in one word. This process, however, is not possible with all diminutive suffixes.

**Formation of diminutives across languages**

There are two major types of diminutive formation across languages: synthetic (i.e. by means of affixation) and analytic (i.e. by means of attributes which belong to the semantic field organized around the concept 'SMALL').

**Synthetic diminutive formation**

This type of diminutive forms is considered highly productive in languages such as Russian, Bulgarian, Italian, German, Czech, Polish, Spanish, etc, and not so productive in other languages, such as English. Synthetic diminutive formation results from affixation as a morphological process of word-formation. Although there are a couple of prefixes which can express small size of an object, namely *mini- (minibus, minibar, miniskirt*) and *micro- (microscope, microchip, microprocessor)*, they only convey the non-affective quantitative meaning of 'small or reduced size' and do not have any affective or emotive connotation. Suffixation, on the other hand, is the most usual way to form diminutives in inflected languages. Most often diminutive suffixes are added to the base forms of nouns, thus forming nominal diminutives conveying the meaning of 'small size of the denoted object' or the speaker's attitude towards the denoted object. More frequent are the suffixes that convey both meanings (i.e. combining both diminutive and hypocoristic meanings), e.g. positive attitude because of the small size of the object or a negative attitude because of this small size of the object.

As Volek (1987: 51) states: "[…] base stems have varying degrees of combinability; they may combine with only one, or with two or more diminutive suffixes." As a result, first-grade, second-grade or third-grade diminutives are formed. The ability of a base form to combine with more suffixes is characteristic mainly of some Slavic languages.

**Analytic diminutive formation**

The major alternative to the prototypical synthetic diminutive formation is the analytic one. It is the adjective + noun construction in which the noun is the base word and the adjective – the diminutive marker. Adjectives used in this function belong to the word field SMALLNESS

(Schneider 2003: 122). According to Haas (1972: 148) this type of formation can also be referred to as 'syntactic modification'.

Analytic and synthetic diminutive markers can be combined in one form. A distinctive feature of Bulgarian adjectives is that they can agree with the noun they modify not only in gender, number and case, but also in expressiveness. Thus, it gives rise to the following four possible variants of the adjective + noun construction:

1) base adjective + base noun (e.g. in Bulgarian: *малкакъща, дребноживотно*);

2) base adjective + diminutivized noun (e.g. in Bulgarian: *малкакъщичка, дребно животинче);*

3) diminutivized adjective + base noun (e.g. in Bulgarian: *мъничкакъща, дребничко животно);*

4) diminutivized adjective + diminutivized noun (e.g. in Bulgarian: *мъничкакъщичка, дребничкоживотинче).*

Although English has a few synthetic diminutive markers and is generally claimed to form predominantly analytic diminutives, it is possible to combine analytic and synthetic diminutive markers in one form, e.g.*a little chappie, poor little Rosie, talk to your little wifelet, three diminutive Kinglets* (examples cited after Schneider 2003: 137).

Schneider points out that there is a division of functions between analytic and synthetic forms in English everyday communication. For example, synthetic forms are preferred in vocative acts and assertive acts with personal reference, while analytic forms are preferred in directives, commissives and expressives (Schneider 2003: 2).

**Diminutive forms of the parts of speech**

In English only nouns (and very rarely adjectives) are subjected to the process of diminutiveness. There are few examples of other parts of speech being diminutivized in English, but they are extremely rare. E.g. adjectives (*short > shorty*), verbs (*weep > weepie*), adverbs (*alright >alrightie*), and, arguably, exclamations (*Lord! > Lordy!)* (Schneider 2003: 88).

Nouns are the most usual word class to be diminutivized in English. Proper nouns (personal names) are most often diminutivized due to their

communicative function. Diminutives derived by proper nouns (personal names) are the most characteristic feature of the semantics of English diminutives. Their communicative function defines the necessity of a variety of diminutive personal names which can be used in different communicative acts. Diminution of personal names constitutes the most numerous group of diminutive forms in English. A characteristic feature of diminutive personal names in English, unlike Bulgarian, is their use as official names. When acquiring the status of an official name, however, the diminutive form loses its diminutive-hypocoristic and friendly-intimate connotation. E.g. *Tony Blair* (the ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain, whose full name is Anthony), *Bill Clinton* (the ex-President of the USA, whose full name is William). Another characteristic feature of diminutive personal names in English is that not only the first names can be diminutivized but family names as well. E.g. John Smith can be diminutivized as *Johnny* as well as *Smithie*. (Schneider 2003: 89).

Characteristic for Bulgarian is that the most parts of speech can form diminutives:

- nominal diminutives, e.g. *къщичка* (dim house), *прозорче* (dim window);
- adjectival diminutives, e.g. *красивичка* (dim beautiful), *зеленичко* (dim green);
- adverbial diminutives, e.g.*бързичко* (dim quickly), *лекичко* (dim lightly);
- verbal diminutives, e.g. *припкам* (dim run), *гледкам* (dim see);
- pronominal diminutives, e.g. *моичък*(dim my), *някаквичка* (dim some);
- numerical diminutives, e.g. *едничък* (dim one), *двечки*(dim two).

Diminutive suffixes in Bulgarian are so multifunctional that it is very difficult to suggest a precise classification according to their semantic meaning only. Bulgarian diminutive suffixes expressing subjective evaluation can be put into three major groups: 1) predominantly diminutive; 2) predominantly hypocoristic or ironic; and 3) diminutive-hypocoristic or diminutive-pejorative (Vaseva 2006: 100). Very rarely do nominal diminutives express pure diminutiveness. Nominal diminutives are always expressive and convey the subjective attitude of the speaker towards the referent. The third factor, i.e. the context, plays a significant role in defining the exact meaning of a diminutive form. The most appropriate classification, preferred by linguists, is the classification according to the grammatical

gender of the base word, i.e. one comprising masculine, feminine and neuter diminutive suffixes. Other classifications, however, are also possible and they provide an in-depth review of the most characteristic semantic features of nominal diminutive suffixes in Bulgarian. Adjectival diminutives are common in Bulgarian but tend to be used in conversational or colloquial style and in some dialects. Adverbial diminutives are not so numerous and various as nominal and adjectival diminutives but they can be used to convey some additional emotional-expressive meanings. As a rule, adverbs refer to verbs and describe the circumstances under which the verbal action takes place. When these circumstances can be measured or can denote some expressive attitude of the speaker, then the adverbs describing them can be diminuted. Verbal diminutives are not very frequent and are attested predominantly in child-directed speech or in children's language. The number of verbs lending themselves to diminutivization is also very limited. They are mainly verbs connected with basic actions that children perform – to eat, to drink, to sleep, to play, to cry, etc. Pronominal diminutives are found mainly in conversational style and are very rare in written Standard Bulgarian. Numerals in Bulgarian also allow for diminution. The resulting diminutive forms are only used in child-directed speech or in children's language. However, they can sometimesbe found in fiction as well.

**Data Analysis**

In my previous research published in 2020 on the formation and frequency of use of diminutives in Bulgarian, English and Russian, I investigated diminutive forms in children's books. In the present study, I decided to investigate the use of diminutives in a novel which is not aimed at a young children's audience, namely the novel of Ivan Vazov "Under the Yoke". As I mentioned before, diminutive forms express not only positive attitudes addressing children, but a vast array of nuances, both positive and negative, concerning situations of different contexts.

In the novel in its original language – Bulgarian, 595 cases of diminutive forms were attested.

In its English translation (translated by Marguerite Alexieva and Theodora Atanasova, edited by Lilla Lyon Zabriskie, published in 1971 by Twayne Publishers Inc., New York), the number of diminutive equivalents

was 162 or 27% of the Bulgarian diminutive forms were rendered by diminutives. The other Bulgarian diminutives were not rendered by diminutive forms, i.e. 434 cases. It can be noted that only about one third of all diminutive forms in Bulgarian have their diminutive equivalents in the English translation of the novel. This can be explained by the fact that the English language lacks means of expressing a vast array of diminutive meanings and nuances which are to be found in Bulgarian.

**Diminutives in the Bulgarian text**

The most numerous group of diminutives in the Bulgarian text are derived by means of suffixation, i.e. synthetic diminutive formation. There are 390 cases of nominal diminutives (common nouns), which amounts to 66% of all diminutive forms. In these group the main function of the diminutive forms is to express diminutiveness proper, i.e. the form which denotes 'small size of an object' (e.g. *прозорче, вратичка, одърче, дворче*) or to express diminutive-hypocoristic meaning, i.e. to express endearment, tenderness, familiarity or sympathy (e.g. *човечец, дечица, майчице, слънчице*).

The same pattern of diminutive suffixation has been attested to in personal names – 84 cases or 14% of all diminutive forms. The number could be bigger, because of the multiple usages of many of the names. I have put the diminutive proper nouns in a different group as their form is specific to the Bulgarian language and these diminutive names were transcribed into Russian and English in order to preserve their national sound. A specific feature of the diminutive personal names in Bulgarian, which is not to be found in English and Russian, is their ability to combine with a definite article, e.g.*Спиридончето, Кандовчето.* These forms express familiarity but also disparagement.

Another subgroup of diminutive common nouns, but still forming a different group, are the diminutive common nouns which express a derogative meaning – 23 cases or 4% of all diminutive forms. Their diminutive suffixes are the same as in the first group, but based on the context, they have a pejorative or disparaging meaning, e.g.*учителче, дипломица, историйки, графче, интригантче, подло човече.*

Lexicalized diminutive nouns have been presented only by one example, namely, *девствена брадичка* (in the English translation – *a smooth skin*; in Russian – *бородка, которой пока не касалась бритва*). In English, translated by a non-diminutive noun, in Russian – also by a lexicalized diminutive noun.

However, if we combine these three groups, it is evident that diminutive nominal suffixes are the most numerous group of diminutive suffixes in Bulgarian, which comprises 497 cases or 84% of all diminutive forms in the Bulgarian text. This once again emphasizes the fact that synthetic formation is the most common pattern of diminutive formation in Bulgarian.

The other parts of speech which can be diminutivized in Bulgarian by means of suffixation, but are far less numerous in the text, are:

- diminutive adjectives – 35 cases (6 %), e.g. *тъничко, лудичка, сухичка, едничък, дребничък, по-хубавичка,* etc;
- diminutive adverbs – 6 cases (1%), e.g. *сегичка, надлъжко, простичко, надалечко, по-скоричко,* etc;
- diminutive verbs – 5 cases (1%), e.g. *боричкам се, заприпка, припкам*, etc;
- diminutive pronouns – 1 case only, e.g. *нищичко нямаше*.

The next pattern which has been attested in the text is a combination of synthetic and analytic diminutive formation, i.e. an adjective denoting 'small size' plus a diminutive form of a common noun – 26 cases or 4% of all diminutive forms. E.g. *малко/ тесно дворче, малко прозорче, малка врачка, дребно човече, ниски дръвчета, късо сукманче,* etc. There is only one case in which a diminutive adjective combines with a diminutive noun, e.g. *мънички устца.*

The pattern that takes the third place is the analytic diminutive formation, i.e. the adjective denoting 'small size' plus the base form of the noun – 23 cases or 4% of all diminutive forms. The meaning of this pattern is to express diminutiveness proper or pure diminutiveness, which lacks evaluative meaning, e.g. *малка причина, малки деца, мала врата, малки групи, малка зелена кесия, малък парламент,* etc.

**Diminutive equivalents in the English translation**

In the English translation of the novel, the cases of diminutive equivalent are 162, or 27% of the diminutive forms in Bulgarian. The number is less than one third of the diminutive forms in Bulgarian. This is due to the fact that the English language lacks the means of expressing a variety of diminutive nuances which can be expressed in Bulgarian. The number of diminutive suffixes is very small and they are not as productive as in the Bulgarian language. For this reason, the most common pattern to render diminutive meaning in English is the analytic diminutive formation, i.e. the adjective denoting 'smallness/littleness' plus a base form of the noun – 137 cases or 85% of all diminutive forms in English. In 76 cases (or 55%) of the cases, the adjective LITTLE is used, while SMALL is found only in 41 cases (31%). Other adjectives denoting 'smallness/littleness' have also been used, e.g. young (7 cases), tiny (2 cases), weak (2 cases), small + little (1 case). As we can see, the adjective LITTLE plus a base noun is the most usual way of rendering diminutiveness in English.

Examples:

*Little girls, little voices, little skirt, little finger, little door, little town, little boy,* etc.

*Small back yard, small eyes, small door, small paragraph, small night light,* etc.

*Young man, young deacon, young teacher*, etc.

*Tiny brook, tiny feet*

*Weak ray of light, weak flame*

*Small grinning little fellow*

Another pattern for rendering diminutiveness in English is by a lexical diminutive, i.e. a lexical word which denotes a small size or young age of something/someone – 10 cases in the text or 5.5%. E.g. *a bear-cub, a puppy, poetic spot, my lad, dewdrops, penknife*, etc.

Synthetic diminutive formation is attested in 9 cases (5.5%), e.g. *an old granny, kinglet, lassie, rivulet, my very dear auntie*, etc.

In 4 cases (3%), Bulgarian diminutives have been rendered into English by endearing words like *my dove, my darling, dear*; and in 2 cases (1%), by a phrase denoting a small amount of something, e.g. *some brandy* (ракийка), *a bite of pickles* (туршийка).

On the whole, only a third of Bulgarian diminutives have been rendered into English by some form of diminutiveness. In two-thirds of the cases, in English there have been no equivalents to the Bulgarian diminutive forms.

**Conclusion**

Based on the studied examples from the two languages, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The Bulgarian text of the novel, which is the original, contains t**he greatest number of diminutive forms,** as well as the most various patterns of diminutive formation. The most frequent diminutive pattern is the **synthetic one**, i.e. diminutive formation derived by means of diminutive suffixes. The part of speech most frequently being diminutivized is the common noun, followed by personal names and adjectives. A combination of analytic and synthetic diminutive formation is also common. Analytic diminutive formation is the most infrequent.
2. In the English translation of the novel the diminutive equivalents are **the smallest number,** or only one third of them have equivalents in the English text. In the majority of the cases the **analytic diminutive formation** has been used, i.e. the pattern – the adjective small/little + base noun. Synthetic diminutive formation, although possible, has not been much used in the English translation.

These conclusions once again confirm the previously reached conclusions about the diminutive formation in Bulgarian and English which I have drawn in my book on diminutives: namely, English reveals the lowest number of instances of diminutive meaning but has the greatest number of patterns expressing diminutiveness. The most frequent type of formation expressing diminutive meaning in English is analytical, but synthetic diminutive formation is also common.

In Bulgarian the results of the diminutive formation also commensurate the previous conclusions drawn in my book, namely, the total number of diminutive forms is greater than in English and the most frequently used pattern comprises diminutive common nouns derived by diminutive suffixes – over half of all exceptions fall into this group. It can

also be concluded that synthetic diminutive formation is the major means of diminution in Bulgarian. Analytic formation and a combination of analytic and synthetic diminutive formation are also common.

The use of diminutives is characteristic for some authors in Bulgarian, like Ivan Vazov, Yordan Yovkov, Elin Pelin, Hristo Botev, etc. because first, these forms are various and polysemantic, which makes them an easy tool for expressing a vast array of emotions in a text, both positive and negative; second, in Bulgarian these forms are used not only in child-directed speech (where the main meaning is to express endearment), but also in literature, where diminutives can be used to better describe a character's personality through his/her speech. This is what Ivan Vazov has done in his novel. The frequent use of diminutives and the numerous diminutive personal names express the positive and sympathetic attitude of the author towards his characters. At the same time, the profound use of diminutives was characteristic for the period in which the story of the novel takes place, specifically the period before the Bulgarian liberation at the end of the 19$^{th}$ century. A future perspective of the study will be to investigate the use of diminutives by contemporary writers in Bulgaria from the beginning of the 21$^{st}$ century.

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# Expressing solitude and nostalgia in Ray Bradbury's *The Martian Chronicles*

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**Abstract:**
Considered by many critics as a master of nostalgia, Ray Bradbury wrote about the future while reminiscing about the past. In *The Martian Chronicles*, his imagery and poetic descriptions, contrasted with simple and blunt ways of expressing feelings, create a futuristic universe in which humans seem unable to escape their contradictory fate: trying to escape the hardships of a complex and unfulfilling life on a planet on the verge of a nuclear catastrophe, they colonise Mars in a nostalgic attempt to return to a simpler existence, but constantly reminisce about their former life on Earth.
This presentation aims to investigate the ways in which Bradbury renders this feeling of solitude and nostalgia for a lost past, by making use of an accumulation of images, sounds and movement which, paradoxically, create a deserted world overwhelmed by its own solitary fate.
**Keywords**: solitude, nostalgia, imagery, accumulation

Born in the second decade of the 20th century, Ray Bradbury started his writing career at a time when science fiction as a genre was not viewed as legitimate literature, being far less successful than in the post-war period, when his writings, alongside those of other major authors, such as Isaac Asimov, Arthur C. Clark, Philip K. Dick, Ursula K. Le Guin, started to be extensively published and gained international recognition. Their works established the genre and increased its readership not only in the United States, but also throughout the world, and later lead to numerous translations and film adaptations that captivated various generations. Ray Bradbury's style, which singled him out among his fellow writers, made this genre more popular and accessible to other readers than the limited number of aficionados of that period.

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This paper makes a brief analysis of this unique style, focusing on the ways in which Ray Bradbury expresses feelings of solitude (by portraying people and describing places) and nostalgia (for the Earth abandoned for various reasons, for the people left behind and for a previous existence full of habitual activities) in his famous collection of short-stories entitled *The Martian Chronicles*. The analysis will look into the means of expression used by the author, among which descriptive adjectives, accumulations of visual images, sounds and movements, twists and unexpected outcomes that are extremely effective in creating an impact on the readers.

Ray Bradbury made his first attempts at writing when he was twelve. He confessed much later that his work was influenced by authors like H.G. Wells and Jules Verne, but also Alexander Pope and John Donne. He published his first short story in 1938 in a *fanzine* issued by the Los Angeles Science Fiction League, which he had joined the previous year. In the following decade he remained present through his stories in major literary and opinion magazines, among which *Harper's* and *The New Yorker*. *The Martian Chronicles* was published in 1950, the novel *Fahrenheit 451* in 1953, while the fictional autobiography *Dandelion Wine* in 1957. Later in his long and prolific career he also wrote poetry, drama and mysteries, as well as scripts for the cinema adaptations of his novels and short-stories. Besides various literary prizes that he was awarded, a significant recognition of his impact on the science-fiction genre and of his love for the exploration of the Universe came from the world of science: one of the craters on the Moon was named Dandelion Crater, after the title of his novel; more significantly, perhaps, on 6 August 2012, a month after Bradbury's death, the Martian landing site of NASA's rover Curiosity was named Bradbury. More than half a century after the publication of *The Martian Chronicles*, in which a handful of humans start a new life on Mars after the destruction of the Earth, Ray Bradbury found his place on the red planet.

*The Martian Chronicles* was assembled as a *fix-up novel*, that is a collection of short-stories, some of which had already been printed as individual stories, that are linked by means of newly-written stories so as to create a more coherent volume. The original edition is a chronicle of a series of events that range from 1999 to 2026, unfolding mostly on Mars, but also

on Earth. Later editions, for instance the one published in 1997, push forward the dates by thirty-one years, covering the period 2030 – 2057. In his dystopian novel Bradbury criticises the post-war American society and addresses some of the most controversial topics that divide public opinion: imperialism, the nuclear arms race, environmental pollution or racism. The events unfold as snapshots of the colonisation of Mars. The parallel with the Puritans' colonization of America is very obvious, as humans flee from Earth in search of a simpler and better life on a new planet, where the existing civilization is wiped out by chickenpox, brought by the Earthians.

The three parts of the novel present the three stages of this colonization: initially (January 1999 – June 2001) there are three unsuccessful American missions to Mars, then a fourth successful one establishes the first contact between the Earthians and the Martians, and consequently chickenpox destroys almost the entire Martian population. The second part (covering the period August 2001 – December 2005) presents the humans adjusting to their new environment, then witnessing from afar the war that broke out on Earth and returning to the home planet. The third part (April-October 2026) chronicles the life of the last settlers on Mars while the nuclear war ends civilization on Earth, and the arrival of a few new settlers in hope of a new beginning on the red planet.

The title of an article published ten days after Ray Bradbury's death in 2012 encapsulates the essence of his style: *Ray Bradbury: Prophet of Nostalgia*. The author, Patrick West, compares Bradbury's vision with that of his famous fellow writers, stating that

> […] science-fiction writers are often lauded as prophets. Isaac Asimov explored the domains of robotic artificial intelligence before it started to become a reality; Arthur C Clarke is credited with devising the idea of the geostationary artificial satellite; and Philip K Dick doubted objective reality before postmodernism and cyberspace came along.
> Ray Bradbury […] leaves a more peculiar legacy. Paradoxically, his work longed for a future which would recapture the past. He was a prophet of nostalgia[2].

[2] Patrick West, https://www.spiked-online.com/2012/06/15/ray-bradbury-prophet-of-nostalgia/, p.1

While his works imagine worlds in which other planets are visited and inhabited by humans, or a future life on Earth that is highly technologised and in which robots work with and for people, his characters constantly reminisce of a past long gone and lament its loss, while searching for a simpler and calmer existence. What makes Bradbury's writings so peculiar is the poetic side of his style. True, he is mainly seen as a science-fiction author, and technology, robots, aliens, space crafts and other devices are constantly present in the pages of his books, just like in those of other sci-fi writers. And yet, his use of metaphors and similes is a reminder of his activity as a poet. When creating the background of a story by describing places and characters, his focus is more on rendering feelings and human relationships then on praising technology and scientific achievements. The scenes are created by making use of sounds, images, smells and textures, and thus, by appealing to all the senses, the author makes the readers experience the feelings of the characters. There is an elegiac tone that prevails in the entire book, as settlers experience their new habitat and are constantly reminded of the homes they left behind on Earth. While in search of a new life on Mars, away from all the negative consequences of a highly unsatisfying existence, they cannot help but mimic their ancient environment and constantly reminisce of their previous existence: Martian towns look like American towns of the 1920s, daily life unfolds according to the same old patterns, there is constant thought about the friends and relatives left behind on Earth. This feeling of nostalgia builds up in stages and is illustrated at different levels: spatially, at the micro- and macro levels of existence (people experiencing life on a quasi-empty planet and feeling isolated in the universe, as they watch the destruction of Earth, stranded on a distant star); socially, with little communication between the settlers, and more imaginary communication with the lost ones, while makeshift families try to fill in the void left by their disappearance; and personally, with a majority of the characters experiencing a solitary life on Mars. The experience of solitude can be quite different from one story to another, but the general feeling is the same: the survivors of the exodus from Earth long for the life they had before the nuclear war era and wish to recreate a simpler version of it on the new planet they call home.

Throughout the novel Mars is presented as a deserted planet, the author making use of a wide range of adjectives that describe loss of life and decay. Visual images are used to create a still-life image of vast territories devoid of any sign of life. The few inhabitants live "*by the edge of an empty sea",* or *"a dead sea",* or *"by a fossil sea warm and motionless".* (February 1999. Ylla: 12). The same image of empty, abandoned spaces is rendered by the use of negations that emphasize the lack of life and motion. Darkness prevails, adding to the eerie atmosphere. The visual image is complemented by the overwhelming silence that is omnipresent, enhancing the general image of desolation and isolation. All senses are stirred, the prevailing smell is that of Time, a reminder of a past that is still present in people's memories. The references used in comparisons also belong to the past and speak of silence and abandonment: dust and clocks, quiet snowfall and silent movies in movie theatres long forgotten. Simple adjectives such as *silent*, *empty*, *lonely*, *dead*, *quiet*, *dark* create very poignant images of the deep solitude felt by the few inhabitants of these deserted areas:

> He had been driving steadily for an hour, with no other car on the road, no light, just the road going under, the hum, the roar, and Mars out there, so quiet. Mars was always quiet, but quieter tonight than any other. The deserts and empty seas swung by him, and the mountains against the stars. There was a smell of Time in the air tonight. […] What did Time smell like? Like dust and clocks and people. […] Time looked like snow dropping silently into a black room or it looks like a silent film in an ancient theater. (August 2002. Night Meeting: 106)

Martian cities are described as cities of the dead, full of bones that become toys in the hands of the children who venture to explore the deserted areas. The whiteness of the bones is in stark contrast with the gloomy atmosphere and the dark shadows that shroud the lost city. Again, throughout the novel, most of the abandoned buildings look like empty shells, doors and windows are wide open as if the houses had been left in a rush. These glimpsed into the insides of the houses and into the remains of lives once lived, this stark exposure creates an even stronger sense of abandonment and of solitude:

> …they had reached the dead, forbidden town …Now the dead town's doors lay wide and they thought they could hear the faintest crackle, like autumn leaves, from inside. […]…the first boy there would be the musician, playing the white xylophone bones beneath the outer covering of black flakes. A great skull would roll to view, like a snowball; they shouted! Ribs, like spider legs, plangent as a dull harp, and then the black flakes of mortality blowing all about them in their scuffling dance; (April 2003.The Musicians: 139-140)

In this décor, people's solitude is almost a foregone conclusion. It is expressed by means of the same adjectives, their simple repetition enhancing the overwhelming effect of this feeling of solitude:

> There was a little white silent town on the edge of the dead Martian sea. The town was empty. No one moved in it. Lonely lights burned in the stores all day. The shop doors were wide, as if people had run off without using their keys. […] the town was dead. Its beds were empty and cold. The only sound was the power hum of electric lines and dynamos, still alive, all by themselves. […] Along the empty avenues of this town, now, whistling softly, kicking a tin can ahead of him in deepest concentration came a tall, thin man. His eyes glowed with a dark, quiet look of loneliness. (December 2005. The Silent Towns: 191)

The most striking effect is obtained by the description of an automatised daily routine in such an abandoned house. The house wakes up and prepares everything, to no one's avail. There is an obvious sense of futility of technology, which might be explained by the author's advocacy for a simpler life. This illusion of a normal existence makes desolation even more evident by the frenzy of activity in a house devoid of life:

> Two thirty-five.
> Bridge tables sprouted from patio walls. Playing cards fluttered on the pads in a shower of Pips. Martinis manifested on an oaken bench with egg-salad sandwiches. Music played. But the tables were silent and the cards untouched. (August 2026. There will come soft rains: 219)

> In the kitchen, an instant before the rain of fire and timber, the stove could be seen making breakfast at a psychopathic rate, ten dozen eggs, six loaves

> of toast, twenty dozen bacon strips, which, eaten by fire, started the stove working again, hysterically hissing!
> The crash […]. Smoke and silence. A great quantity of smoke.
> …a last voice said, over and over again, even as the sun rose to shine upon the heaped rubble and steam: 'Today is August 5, 2026, today is August 5, 2026, today is …' (August 2026. There will come soft rains: 223)

There is a dominant feeling of nostalgia that brings together the short-stories and the several vignettes written by Bradbury to connect the major stories. Nostalgia for the places left behind, on Earth, and for an existence that humans try to replicate on Mars, and especially nostalgia for the people left behind, or long gone. These feelings of nostalgia are used by the Martians as weapons against the human invaders:

> Suppose all these houses aren't real at all, this bed is not real, but only figments of my own Imagination, given substance by telepathy and hypnosis through the Martians. Suppose these houses are really some other shape, a Martian shape, but, by playing on my desires and wants, these Martians have made this seem like my old home town, my old house, to lull me out of my suspicions. What better way to fool a man, using his own mother and father as bait? (April 2000. The Third Expedition: 65)

Such is the weight of this feeling that it becomes a disease. By using repetitive structures, and an accumulation of antonyms in otherwise simple, straightforward sentences, Bradbury creates a clear picture of the fate of the human race, stranded between two worlds and two existences: one on a planet on the verge of destruction, which they must abandon if they want to survive, and another on a planet that they wish to be an idyllic copy of their lost heaven:

> The men of Earth came to Mars. They came because they were afraid or unafraid, because they were happy or unhappy, because they felt like Pilgrims or did not feel like Pilgrims. There was a reason for each man. […] They were coming with small dreams or large dreams or none at all. But a government finger pointed from four-color posters in many towns: THERE'S WORK FOR YOU IN THE SKY: SEE MARS! And the men shuffled forward, only a few at first, a double-score, for most felt the great

> illness in them even before the rocket fired into space. And this illness was called The Loneliness, because when you saw your home town dwindle to the size of your fist and then lemon-size and then pin-size and vanish into the fire wake, you felt you had never been born, then there was no town, you were nowhere, with space all around, nothing familiar, only other strange men. […] But the first Lonely Ones had to stand by themselves… (August 2001. The Settlers: 98)

Deeper feelings of loss and despair and the reactivation of memory and nostalgia are triggered in people when witnessing the destruction of the Earth from afar. The author uses short, simple sentences from which feelings of restlessness and anxiety can be inferred and a dialogue that is also simple and repetitive, but also betrays nervousness and worry. Nostalgia and memory are reactivated, and a sense of powerlessness transpires from the short exchanges:

> They all came out and looked at the sky at night. […] To all intents and purposes, Earth now was dead. Space was anaesthetic; seventy million miles
> of space numbed you, put memory to sleep, depopulated Earth, erased the past and allowed these people here to go on with their work. But now, tonight, the dead were risen, Earth was reinhabited, memory awoke, a million names
> were spoken: What was so and-so doing tonight on Earth? What about this one and that one?
> At nine o'clock Earth seemed to explode, catch fire and burn.
> They waited. […]
> 'We haven't heard from Harry for a long time.'
> 'He's all right.'
> 'We should send a message to mother.'
> 'She's all right.'
> 'Is she?"
>
> (November 2005. *The Watchers*: 189)

Another way in which Bradbury emphasizes the feeling of nostalgia is by making the character reminisce about the past or have premonitions about a future that is not as expected and makes them regret the past. Repetitions, a

simple yet effective device, are used once again to show the intensity of the feelings "From the book, as his fingers stroked, a voice sang, a soft ancient voice, which told tales of when the sea was red steam on the shore and ancient men had carried clouds of metal insects and electric spiders into battle." (February 1999. Ylla: 12)

> 'That song. That fine and beautiful song. […] It's something I want always to remember.' […]
> 'Why are you crying?' 'I don't know, I don't know, but I can't help it. I'm sad and I don't know why, I cry and I don't know why, but I'm crying.' (*idem*, 26)

The song is the connection between two moments and two worlds: one lost and only experienced as a feeling of nostalgia for something unknown and lost long ago; the other, a real world that is about to be destroyed.

> It was quiet in the deep morning of Mars, as quiet as a cool and black well, with stars shining in the canal waters, breathing in every room, the children curled with their spiders in closed hands, the lovers arm in arm, the moons gone, the torches cold, the stone amphitheatre deserted. The only sound, just before dawn, was a night watchman, far away down a lonely street, walking along in the darkness, humming a very strange song… (August 1999. *The Summer Night*: 29)

People are portrayed as lonely individuals that have accepted their solitary existence:

> 'Kind of alone out here, aren't you, Pop?'
> 'Not bad'
> 'How do you like Mars, Pop?'
> Fine. Always something new. I made up my mind when I came last year I wouldn't expect nothing, nor ask nothing, nor be surprised at nothing. We've got to forget Earth and how things were. We've go to look at what we're in here, and how Different it is. […] Sometimes I feel I'm here all by myself, no one else on the whole damn planet. I'd take bets on it. (August 2002. Night Meeting: 106-7)

Bradbury uses time travel to accentuate feelings of isolation and cosmic solitude. An encounter between an Earthian and a Martian shows that solitude is a general feeling associated with the planet and no one escapes it. There is the same regret in the voices of the two lonely beings, and nostalgia for a time in which their civilizations thrived:

> 'I felt the strangeness, the road, the light, and for a moment I felt as if I were the last man alive on this world…'
> 'So did I!' said Tomas, and it was like talking to an old and dear friend.
> This can only mean one thing. It has to do with Time. Yes. You are a figment of the Past!'
> 'No, you are from the Past', said the Earth Man. […]
> 'But the ruins prove it! They prove that I am the Future, I am alive, you are dead!'
> '[…] No, no, not dead, not alive, either of us. More alive than anything else. Caught between is more like it. Two strangers passing in the night, that is it. […] Who wants to see the Future, who ever does?
> A man can face the Past, but think […] the sea empty, and the canals dry, and the maidens dead, and the flowers withered? (August 2002. Night Meeting: 113)

Isolation and solitude bring despair and the need for a normal, ordinary life, as it used to be on Earth. The illusion of a normal life is maintained and seems to be a reality until details masterfully inserted by Bradbury shatter the image of a perfect life and disclose a painful reality: a Martian makeshift-family is used to replace the lost human members:

> Mars was a tomb planet. Whether or not Earth was the same was a matter of much silent debate for Hathaway and his family on the long Martian nights. […] He stood looking down at four graves with crude wooden crosses on them, and names. Tears did not come to his eyes. They had died long ago.
> 'Do you forgive me for what I've done?' he asked of the crosses. "I was very much alone. You do understand, don't you?' […]
> 'A rocket is coming to take us all home. It will be here in the early morning'. […]
> 'Here's to us, then. And to our long wait together.' He drank.

> The wife and two daughters and the son raised their glasses to their lips. The wine ran down over the chins of all four of them. (April 2026. The Long Years: 204)

Solitude becomes a normality and is the starting point of a new existence for the few remaining humans on Mars, once the Earth is destroyed and there is no possibility to return there. The same adjectives used initially to describe a hostile planet (*dead, silent, alone*) are used once again to summarize the fate of the handful of Earthians that escaped the nuclear war and hope to have a new beginning on Mars. With an ironic twist of fate, the new Martians are the old Earthians:

> 'Look, kids.' Mother pointed one soft, long arm. 'There's a dead city.'
> They looked with fervent anticipation, and the dead city lay dead for them alone, drowsing in a hot silence of summer made on Mars by a Martian weather-man. […] (October 2026. The Million-Year Picnic: 226)

> 'Now we're alone. We had a handful of others who'll land in a few days. Enough to start over. Enough to turn away from it all back on Earth and strike out a new line –' […]
> I've always wanted to see a Martian,' said Michael. 'Where are they, Dad? You promised.
> 'There they are,' said Dad. […]
> The Martians were there – in the canal – reflected in the water. Timothy and Michael and Robert and Mom and Dad. The Martians stared back at them for a long, long silent time from the rippling water… (*idem*, 234)

**Conclusions**

Although the novel is assembled as a series of short-stories initially published independently, the general tone is the same. Throughout the book various characters share the same feeling of nostalgia. It is experienced by the initial settlers on Mars, who are caught between the wish to escape a far too difficult existence on Earth and rebuild a simple life on a distant planet and the loss of a life with its daily routine in a familiar place they called home. It is also felt by the few settlers who did not return on Earth and were faced with a solitary existence on a still unfamiliar planet, lacking friends

and family that had died decades earlier. The author uses an elegiac tone that is complemented by powerful descriptions of cold, empty spaces dominated by a heavy silence. Darkness is predominant, contrasted with the white or dusty shades of abandoned buildings and of carcasses, which increase the feeling of despondency and solitude. The scenes are dominated by silence and darkness (*only sound, silent, empty, quiet towns*) which enhance the sense of solitude.

While descriptive adjectives (*dead, empty and cold, deserted, fossil, untouched, alone, lonely*) are used to create the poignant images, short, simple sentences narrate brief instances of actions that are is sharp contrast with the general absence of movement and life. This creates significant juxtapositions that emphasize once again the oppressive feeling of solitude and isolation: there is a cacophony of daily life activities that accentuates the lack of human presence and the feeling of loss and abandonment. Another contrasting image that illustrates the futility of life pictures the frenzy of children's play with the skeletons of the Martians in the empty house.

Accumulation is used to create a complete image: colors, textures, smells and sounds are used to describe scenes. Once again, the purpose of these detailed descriptions is to make human absence even more obvious.

There are twists and unexpected outcomes that also show the unpredictability of life. Ironically, humans and Martians switch roles: the lost members of a family are replaced by Martians who fill the void, while humans eventually become the new Martians, the sole inhabitants of the planet. In both cases, they are alone and feel the burden of solitude.

Bradbury's characters have a nostalgic vision of the past life on Earth, while hoping for a new beginning, but there is also awareness of the destruction brought about by the human race. Using simple sentences and inviting the readers to infer meaning from the characters' short statements, Bradbury manages to send across the feeling of all-pervasive solitude that is generally shared: the last inhabitants of the Earth become the only inhabitants of Mars. This cosmic solitude is their fate.

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# The Literary Galata Bridge: A Heterotopian Space on the East-West Axis

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**Abstract:**
Drawing on David Harvey's urban chronotope that determines different conceptions of space and time in distinct societies as well as on Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia, which assembles various apparently incongruent spaces, juxtaposing them in a single real place that reflects the symbolic perfection of the world, this article considers the significance of bridges in cultural history. More specifically, the article focuses on the role Galata Bridge (Köprü) has had in the history of Istanbul as a space of transition between cultures, geographies and ethnicities. The study will investigate how three Western narratives spanning three different geographical and time zones invested Galata Bridge with the symbolism of an autonomous space within a city, while the narratives reconfigure the discursive practices of society and the social relations among individuals in ways that can be resistant or not, but which, nevertheless, change the structural relations that organise society as they do, attributing them with a new function.
**Keywords:** Galata bridge, heterotopia, space, time, Edmondo De Amicis, Herman Melville, Geert Mak, urban environment.

## Introduction

Focusing on the crafting of Galata Bridge in Constantinople/Istanbul as a literary icon of a quotidian space, this article discusses how the multiple functions of the bridge, as revealed in three literary works written from 1800 to the present, have transformed the topography of the area joining Europe and Asia into a heterotopian space, where social and geographical spaces are exposed as intertwined while social norms are re-assessed, a scenario which creates a convivial world of imagined representations that overlap with real, physical ones. By employing David Harvey's conceptualisation of the urban environment as a symbolic expression of time and space,[2] revealing social,

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[2] According to David Harvey, time and space represent the two main coordinates of modernity which underwent transformations after having been commodified under

economic and political transformations and by using Michel Foucault's notion of heterotopia – as opposed to an utopian space - as one fluid image which exposes a myriad of social events materialised in a specific site which changes according to ideological necessity, the present article explores the mediating function that the Galata Bridge (Köprü) has played in the history of Istanbul since the sixth century AD, connecting the two shores of the Golden Horn, the old walled city of Stamboul with Beyoğlu, in the northern district. Accordingly, the people crossing the bridge from both sides reappropriate the space that operates as a mechanism of urban order in order to engage in various social practices to adapt that order to their own purposes so as to evade it by manipulation. In addition, the discursive practices of the writers who gave a detailed account of the bridge in different historical periods reflect the formal manifestation of a textual heterotopia, which emphasizes the powerful relationship between space and narrative. The article explores the various functions the bridge assumes in the literary works by focusing on the temporal and spatial coordinates of each literary representation, the re-evaluation of social norms and social practices as well as the textual heterotopia. These issues are explored in a selection of three geographically different travelogues and narratives set in Constantinople/Istanbul over a time span of three centuries. They were written by Edmondo De Amicis, Herman Melville and Geert Mak.

**Historical Background**

The city of Istanbul, formerly known as Constantinople, is a huge metropolis boasting a long and convoluted history, with previous names which report early signs of cosmopolitanism ranging from Lygos to Byzantium, from Augusta Antonina and New Rome to Constantinople and Konstantiniyye, and finally to Istanbul and its variants, Stamboul, Islambol, even the shorter form Bulin.

This cosmopolitan metropolis has long been thought of as "the Eye of the World," since it is located at the meeting-point of two continents, encompassing both Europe and Asia, and also as "one of the two eyes of the

capitalism. The relationship between capital accumulation and the transformation of the environment according to its profitability has resulted in a continuous process of restructuring the spaces of a capitalist city. See, for this matter, Harvey, 1985, passim.

church" as the quivering hand of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II wrote after finding out the news (qtd in Boyar and Fleet 6). The Bosphorus strait, which is a natural border connecting the Black Sea with the Sea of Marmara, separates the Asian part from the European one. In the mid nineteenth century, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire was known as "The Gate of Happiness" or "The Gate of Felicity" due to the fact that this door in Topkapi Palace led to that part of the palace reserved only for the Sultan. To this embellishment Geert Mak, the Dutch historian adds "the City of the Caliphate," "The Passing Place of the Universe," and mentions the Greek sentimental nomination of Istanbul as "the polis, the very city of the world" (21).

The major turning point in the history of Anatolia and the Byzantine Empire was the battle of Manzikert in August 1071, when the Byzantine emperor Romanos Diogenes was defeated by the Turks. From that point on, it was impossible to stop the flow of the Turks into Anatolia, which resulted in the certainty that "the slow process of Turkification had begun" (Fleet 1). A second single turning point in the Turkish history was the year 1453, when Sultan Mehmed II conquered the capital of the Byzantium, Constantinople, 'the city of Constantine' after numerous Ottoman sieges, thus putting an end to the Byzantine Empire, which had already started its process of disintegration well before 1453. The Latin world was literally shaken and covered in blood. Nicolò Barbaro, who wrote an account of the siege of Constantinople, described "the rivers of blood which poured through the streets of the fallen city and flowed like rainwater in the gutters after a sudden storm;" he depicted the corpses floating out to sea "like melons along a canal; books were desecrated and religious relics were plundered and the bones of emperors and saints were thrown to the pigs and dogs." (Boyar and Fleet 6-7; Mak 23). Not only had the Turks occupied the imperial capital and abusively dilapidated the churches and the sacred old shrines, but they also destroyed a large part of the Christian world. In addition to killing Greek and Latin culture and civilization, they also exterminated the entire Greek population. This city which used to be majestic and glorious was now

> emptied and deserted, despoiled and blackened as if by fire. One might easily disbelieve that it had ever had in it a human dwelling or the wealth or properties of a city or any furnishing or ornament of a household. And this was true although the city had been so magnificent and grand. There were left only ruined homes, so badly ruined as to cause great fear to all who saw them (Kritoboulos, *History*).

Fernand Braudel, in *A History of Civilisations*, speaks of the conflict within civilisations while they keep building up history on piles and piles of continuous and mutual exchange. At the same time, just like a carnival – as an act of liberation - changes the face of the city for a short period of time, when the jester becomes king and order is supplanted by chaos, the same metamorphosis happens after a violent intervention, when order emerges from the chaos and violence is made docile:

> Perhaps it has been the destiny of Islam to attract and use the primitive people who surround or cross its territory, but then to fall prey to their violent power. Ultimately, order is restored and wounds are healed. The successful primitive warrior is tamed by the all-powerful urban life of Islam (54).

Although this barbarous conquest petrified the West and horrified its rulers, for the Turks, it had been nothing but another brick in the wall of the powerful Ottoman Empire. Western history considers 1453 the fall of Christian Constantinople and the creation of a Muslim empire, whereas the sultan regarded this conquest as "a gradual evolution in the Ottoman rule" (Boyar and Fleet 12). Mehmed II had long been dreaming of conquering the city and his interests were imperial inasmuch as they were economic and strategic. Constantinople's location allowed it to control the Straits, the "throat" between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and the crossing from Europe to Asia. This throat of water, "greater than the Nile and mightier than the Danube" was of such beauty that it brought "relief to a man's heart" (12). Having in his power the ability to control the waters on both sides of the Strait was not only strategic, but also commercial and it empowered the sultan to oversee the shipping to and from Constantinople

and to and from the Black Sea, from the important trading settlements in the Crimea, Caffa, and Venetia. These were the most important routes that constructed the geography of the slave trade from the Crimea to the Mediterranean and provided not only slaves, but also luxury products. Despite being a powerful emperor, Constantine could not save the city of Constantinople from being conquered: "Constantinople lay like an island in the midst of an Ottoman ocean" (Chrysostomides 48).

Histories and chronicles of the fall of a great city and the building up of the Ottoman Empire have largely circulated throughout the world since then. Michael Critobulus (Kritovoulos), who was Mehmed's contemporary and loyal servant, wrote *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, a balanced account of that tumultuous and violent historical period, characterizing Mehmed as one of the very few kings "who have united deeds with words and wisdom and majesty" (3). Laonikos Chalkokondyles' history is very sympathetic to the Ottomans, but not so much to Mehmed II, who is depicted as a violent monster, "a monster of lust and violence," according to Michael Angold (65-66). The historian, having been strongly influenced by his master George Gemistos Plethon, thought that the conquering of Constantinople by the Turks was a natural step in the creation of a Hellenic Empire (Angold 65). It appears that Critobulus' history is the most realistic and eloquent one, although he took sides with the enemy. A different perspective, though, was offered by the historian Doukas, who was the only one lamenting the fall of Constantinople and who hoped that the Union of Churches would result in the recuperation of Byzantium, the *pars orientalis* of the Roman Empire. Apparently, these chronicles were less biased than the histories written in the modern age, which present various geographically - and culturally - embedded perspectives. For instance, nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western historians have interpreted the rise of Turkish power in Anatolia and the Balkans through the eyes of nationalism and the emergence of the nation-states, while Turkish historians were indebted to their own construction of "Turkishness."

By and large, this is the historical background that changed the face of Christianity as well as that of the cultural and political geography of both East and West. The siege of Constantinople as part of an inevitable process concluded an empire which, in spite of displaying a variety of linguistic

features, ethnic groups, and religious pluralism, had nevertheless preserved its Greek, Roman, and Christian heritage and culture (Chrysostomides 6). Turkey, itself, has often been seen as a bridge connecting Europe and Asia, the past with the present, or so it results from the film *Turkey: The Bridge*, directed by Derek Williams in 1967; from the documentary *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* directed by Fatih Akin and released in 2005; and from Geert Mak's travelogue, *The Bridge: A Journey Between Orient and Occident*, published in 2007. Akin's film dichotomizes the East-West axis by describing Istanbul as a place pervaded by both Turkish traditional music and rock or hip-hop music. Thus, the bridge becomes a metaphor encompassing Turkey's geographical, political, cultural, and ethnic divisions.

**The Bridge as an Island**

Even the history of the construction of Galata Bridge evokes the instability and disruption of this social place, two attributes which inform the heterotopian space. When the Ottomans invaded the city of Constantinople in 1453, a floating bridge was built and Leonardo da Vinci was employed to design a permanent structure on the Golden Horn, but the project did not materialize. Later, in 1506, the Sultan sent a similar request to Michelangelo, but the scheme similarly failed to take shape. The first Galata Bridge was eventually built in 1845 under the patronage of Bezmi Alem Valide Sultan, Mehmet II's mother and this bridge made of timber lasted for 18 years (Çelik 88). It was erected at the mouth of the Golden Horn estuary, in the place that was closed by a chain during the conquest of Constantinople. The bridge, considered by Edmondo De Amicis "the best place from which to see the population of Constantinople" (I: 45), connected the old traditional Istanbul with the modern and cosmopolitan districts of Galata, Beyoğlu, and Harbiye. In the nineteenth century this wooden structure made the commercial flourishing of the city possible, since it opened up both to the West and to the rest of Istanbul. It crosses the Golden Horn from the *Karaköy* quarter of Galata to Eminönü, the main market quarter situated in the old city, west of the Bosphorus.

In 1863, the existing bridge was replaced with a new one apparently for strategic and political reasons. Pedestrians and carriages had to pay a toll

in order to cover its maintenance costs. Smoking was banned on the bridge for safety reasons and, in addition to that, the bridge was closed during the night. This structure existed for twelve years, but after this period of time, the construction of a more durable metallic bridge was brought into discussion by an English company. It was soon revealed that the building of this bridge was financially challenging; therefore, the project was approved, but the structure was moved to the site of the old bridge between Unkapani and Azapkapi, while a new iron Galata Bridge began to be built in 1875 and was completed in 1878. Coffeehouses, shops and restaurants were built at both ends of the bridge, which made the junction between Istanbul and Galata quarter dominated by Galata tower until 1912, when a new bridge was constructed, the one that is still in place today.

There were other projects for the reconstruction of an improved Galata Bridge, but they were not implemented, mainly for financial reasons, or due to imperfections in the architectural design. For instance, Joseph-Antoine Bouvard, inspector-general of the Architectural Department of the City of Paris, proposed various schemes for the improvement and modernization of the city of Istanbul. His proposal for a new Galata Bridge came in 1902 as a magnificent structure. The model he based his project on was the Pont Alexandre III, which he had built on the Seine for the 1900 World Exhibition. This time, though, it was a four-time longer version of the Alexander III Bridge, a half-arch was added to each end, and some oriental motives were added to the original scheme, such as metal chandeliers, garlands, little domes, and stars. Despite his admiration for Bouvard and his architectural ideas, Sultan Abdülhamid II realized that the expenses were far higher than expected and, thus, he put the projects on hold.

The bridge is a heterotopian space for at least two reasons: on the one hand, it underwent reconstructions throughout time, having been rebuilt five times between 1845 and 1994 due to the rate of population increase and traffic congestion; on the other hand, its polysemic and palimpsestic nature stems from the various functions it has performed ever since its inception in 1845, from witnessing everyday activities to facilitating international trade with the rest of the world. Even if the bridge was built and rebuilt, put on hold or cancelled, it represented and continues to represent not only a

historical symbol for the city of Istanbul, but also a cultural, economic, and strategic icon for Europe and Asia.

**Edmondo De Amicis' Heterogenous Bridge**

In 1877, Edmondo De Amicis was writing about Constantinople in fascinating terms, describing how – approaching the city from the Sea of Marmara as if moving a camera at a slow pace – the mist enveloping the Bosphorus unveiled the minarets and the houses gradually, "like taking small sips from a glass" (Eco viii). In the nineteenth century, De Amicis described the diverse life on the bridge as follows:

> Standing there, you can see all Constantinople pass by in the course of an hour. Two human currents flow incessantly back and forth from dawn to sunset, affording a spectacle which the market-places of India, the Pekin fetes, or the fairs of Nijnii-Novgorod can certainly give but a faint conception of. […] Try to imagine the most extravagant contrasts of costume, every variety of type and social class, and your wildest dreams will fall short of the reality. (I: 45-6)

In the writer's terms, such heterogeneity is not to be seen even in the most festive places and overcrowded markets in the world. Conventional social rules are suspended and people of all nations, religions, races, genders, and social classes are portrayed against the carnivalesque space on the bridge: a crowd of Turkish porters, an Armenian lady, a Bedouin covered in his white cape, an old Turk wearing a white muslin turban and blue caftan, a young Greek, a dervish wrapped in a camel's hair mantle, a Persian regiment in their towering caps of black astrakhan, a Hebrew, a gypsy carrying a baby in a sack on her back, a Catholic priest, a eunuch accompanying ladies of a harem with their veils on, a Sister of Charity from a hospital in Pera, an African slave carrying a monkey and a story-teller dressed up as a necromancer (I: 47). Albanians, Turks, Muslim women on foot, female slaves, and women of Greek, Maltese, Jew, as well as Armenian origin – they all cross the bridge as if they are on a parade of national costumes. A minute observation embraces the people's shoes:

> It is an ever-changing mosaic, a kaleidoscopic view of race, costume, and religion, which forms and dissolves with a rapidity the eye and brain can with difficulty follow. It is quite interesting to fix your gaze on the footway of the bridge and look for a while at nothing but the feet: every style of footwear that the world has known, from that which obtained in Eden up to the very latest phase of Parisian fashion, goes by-yellow *babbuccie*, the red slipper of the Armenian, turquoise-blue of the Greek, and black of the Israelite-sandals, high boots from Turkistan, Albanian leggings, slashed shoes, *gambass* of the Asia Minor horsemen of all colors, gold-embroidered slippers, Spanish *alpargatas*, feet shod in leather, satin, rags, wood, crowded so close together that in looking at one you are aware of a hundred. (De Amicis I: 48-9)

The ambivalence of the heterotopian space, as both metaphorical and material manifestation of a set of relations – a space within a place, still independent, exhibiting various layers of meaning and juxtaposing numerous cultural and geographical spaces – represents an ideal space where reality is an everyday celebration of otherness and diversity. Social ordering seems to be differently created in Istanbul than in other metropoles, since here the social, the spatial, and the temporal are entwined and interdependent: on the bridge, people behave as equals and they are beyond social institutions and material culture. The hypertextuality of the bridge allows for a subjective perspective that builds up a full image from fragmentary flashes marked by the discontinuity of a space which is neither entry, nor exit, having no clear boundary between inside and outside. There is no such thing as a final version of a bridge, given its fluidity, discontinuity, and organism-like metamorphosis. Galata bridge changes every single minute, it is ungraspable and liquid, a space of perpetual reconfiguration in its ambivalent expression of both connecting worlds that are afar and apart and hosting a collage kit that juxtaposes and recontextualises discordant parts.

**Herman Melville's Cosmopolitanism**

Not much is known of Herman Melville as a writer of journals, perhaps because his *Journal Up the Straits*, where he kept a record of his

journey to the Near East between October, 1856 and May, 1857, had not been published until 1935, when Raymond Weaver edited the manuscript, which was published by the Colophon.[3] Melville left three brief journals which recorded voyages by both land and sea. This one was republished as *Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant* in 1955. Like other travellers of the age, Melville "had a taste for the 'picturesque,' the bazars of the East, the cloisters of Oxford, the Oriental style, Alpine and Calabrian scenery, the peasant village, and for the landscapes of Claude and Rosa" (Horsford 11). Many of Melville's obsessive themes that appear in his fiction (*Moby-Dick*, *Pierre*, *Israel Potter*, etc.) are also addressed in this journal: entrenchments of all sorts; enclosing walls which may seem disheartening and unsettling due to their uniformity and invariability; prisons[4] or castles that act as prisons. These symbols stand for Melville's rejection of confinements of all sorts and represent his attempt to get out or above these obstructions. He includes a reference to the Mosque of Valideh Sultan, which was in the vicinity of the Golden Horn, not far from the south end of the Galata bridge across the harbour, precisely to emphasise on its location inside a large square enclosure. Like De Amicis, Melville chronicles the Galata bridge that buzzes with life in his attempt to question "imperialist and expansionist assumptions" (Yothers 162) while he, himself, serves as a distinguished commentator of small and narrow spaces, being used to providing limited settings like ships, bridges, streets and harbours, which he describes with his vivid pictorial alliterative artistry: "All the way from the G Tower down steep hill to bridge, a steady stream of people" (91). His strong disinclination to reconcile to enclosed spaces is reflected in his repetition of the word "narrow" when describing passages, channels, flights of steps, lanes, aisles, quarters, courts, terraces and streets during his journey. Here is a description of an alleyway in Constantinople:

[3] See, for this entry, Flanagan, p. 344.

[4] Bartleby dies in a prison after having been charged with vagrancy (Gale 28). Pierre is imprisoned for having murdered Glendinning Stanley (Gale 439). William Francis Bartlett, who "is alluded to in Melville's poem, *The College Colonel*" (Gale 29), spent some time in Libby prison, Richmond. Also, Isabel Banford, a female character in *Pierre*, poisons herself in prison after Pierre has poisoned himself (Gale 25).

> Forrests of cemeteries. Intricacy of the streets. Started alone for Constant and after a terrible long walk, found myself back where I started. Just like getting lost in a wood. No plan to streets. Pocket-compass. Perfect labryth [labyrinth]. Narrow. Close, shut in. If one could but get up aloft, it would be easy to see one's way out. If you could get up into a tree. Soar out of the maze. But no. No names to the streets […]. No numbers. No anything. (Melville 79)

Melville's focus on urban space is significant because of the importance he attaches to Constantinople as a locus of modernity, a metropolis that catalogues people and places that reflect the sociopolitical and material conditions of the late nineteenth century. He wrote enthusiastically about Constantinople and the Bosphorus Strait and he even climbed the many stairs in the Galata Tower across the Golden Horn in Pera. The writer describes the first appearance of Constantinople from the sea as "magnificent" (77); the views in the city are "glorious" (91); crowds invade the city and the bazar, which is depicted in a dynamic scene, also dominated by narrow streets:

> The Bazaar is formed of countless narrow aisles, overarched; and along the sides looks like rows of show-cases, a sort of sofa-counter before them (where lady customers recline) and a man in each. Persian bazzarr, superb. Pawnbrokers here, money changers, fellows with a bushel or two of coins of all nations, handling there change like pedlers of nuts. (Melville 91-2)

Melville's nineteenth-century Americanness does not exclude a cosmopolitan attitude toward and an acceptance of the rest of the world, which he manifested in all his travels and travelogues. In Constantinople, for instance, cosmopolitanism and ethnic diversity intertwine in his accurate description of the pleasure-houses of the Sultan, the kiosks and fountains, the Turkish carriages on the bridge, Greek servants and gentlemen, black eunuchs and Sherbet sellers, Arabs and Georgians, ladies in yellow slippers and officers followed by their footmen (Melville 95-6).

**Geert Mak's Multiculturalism**

In *The Bridge: A Journey Between Orient and Occident* (2007), the Dutch historian Geert Mak introduces the reader to the bridge as a multi-ethnic space, where Turkey's history discourses with Europe and the West, where the Armenian issue is still painful, and where people live their everyday existence struggling desperately to survive. The bridge is a microcosmic city within a metropolis which not only links European and Asian shores both geographically and culturally, but it has become a visible city in itself, inhabited with different ethnic groups (Jews, Greeks, Persians, Armenians, and others), with petty thieves and police officers, tourists and fishermen, cigarette boys and waiters, booksellers and musicians, the perfume vendor and the tea vendor, the shoeshiner and the nurse, the umbrella salesman and the woman who sells lottery tickets. They all work to support their families. The discourse of the bridge incorporates many of Bakhtin's characteristics: it is ironic, familiar, rough, sometimes vulgar, and filled with laughter. The booksellers inform the reader that

> There aren't many rules on the bridge, but there's one I always try to stick to, if only out of self-preservation: keep your hands to yourself - don't steal – watch your mouth; and keep your dick in your trousers (Mak 93).

Otherwise, the rule of honour is enacted and people might die if they trespass this traditional rule. On the bridge, it smells of fat sardines and fried fish as well as of multiple historical layers - the former Byzantine and Roman Istanbul and the present *cosmopolis*. Galata Bridge is, in Foucauldian terms, a heterotopian space, since it can, at times, become a site of "crisis;" it has had specific functions at different times in history; it is based on an ambivalent system of opening and closing, entry and exit; and it exists in relation with other particular places in order to generate a new symbolic urban culture. When unfolding the third principle of a heterotopian space, Foucault states that the heterotopia is able to assemble different spaces that are apparently incompatible in a single real space. As a heterotopian open space, Galata Bridge juxtaposes ethnic groups, various cultures, and different languages in a single real space. It is also a heterotopian space rejecting compatibility with other spaces, such as the hospital, which is actually a heterotopian space having a precise function in

a society, and yet it is utopian and impossible on the bridge: "On the bridge, sickness is out of the question, hospitals beyond the realm of possibility" (Mak 30). The writer speaks of divisions on almost every page. Immigrant communities exist in isolation from other communities. Political divisions turn former Marxists into Islamists. The Hagia Sophia was once converted into a mosque. The bridge both connects and divides worlds and spirits. It divided the two oldest districts as well as their souls:

> […] the southern shore is conservative and looks towards the East, while the northern side with its centuries-old embassies and merchant's palaces is permeated with the mentality of the West and the lightness of modern life (Mak 32).

If mobility is a significant aspect of modernity and of the global world, the bridge functions both as a metonym for the region it created and as a symbolic chronotope first separating and then uniting sides, shores, cultures, ethnic groups, religions, tastes, and histories. Commodities are a pretext for sociability and human exchange and it is the bridge that helps you know your way in the city. In Geert Mak's account, every social class has its corresponding means of transportation and route: the tramway is regarded as a means of catering for the middle class. The road provides accommodation for the well-to-do, whereas losers, tourists, and dissidents preferred the pavement. The pavement thus required a pair of good shoes, and one hundred and fifty years after De Amicis' depiction of shoes, Mak reinvents the technique and puts forward his own sketch of a multitude of shoes, also corresponding to social position and individual identity: the dirty loafers of a porter carrying a basket of vegetables, the black lace-ups of a waiter, the pavement photographer's white Pumas, the silver sandals of some girls with colourful headscarves, the clogs of a fundamentalist couple in black, and the perfume vendor's worn leather brogues (10). Apart from carrying the weight of our bodies, the adornments of our feet carry specific cultural and social meanings. Shoes tell the reader the story of the people wearing them, the trends in footwear, and the social status associated with a specific pair of shoes.

This depiction, along with De Amicis', results in the same observation that Mak produces in his book: this is "the most multicultural

city of all time: a bizarre hotchpotch of Europe and Asia, of West and East" (29). In the 21st century it is as multifarious and vibrant as it was during previous centuries. And from a historical perspective, there is another element that time has preserved: lack of stability. On the bridge as well as inside the city, stability is an unknown word (36). Generally, most writers noticed similar features that characterise this side of the world: uncertainty, instability, stagnation, inaction, and isolation. All the proposals for building a new Galata Bridge died on paper. Modernisation responded to men only – both Constantinople and the bridge boast a male culture and a culture of honour. According to Elif Shafak, modernisation in Turkey was an experiment proposed by the elite "in effecting social change through government policies" (qtd. in Mak 128). By 'the elite' she meant men, mostly and in Mak's account, all the stories on the bridge are told by men and they are about the subjugation and domination of women. It is an amazing scene to notice the presence of women on Galata Bridge, since the bridge acts as a public space of exclusion for Muslim women. The bridge connects the people crossing it, whatever their religion, colour, and ethnic group, but it seems impossible to connect Turkish history as a whole to the rest of the world. At the end of the narrative, the old porter's words sound prophetic: "The Turkish economy has gone to the dogs. […] There will be another military dictatorship soon, mark my words" (136-7).

The bridge resembles an early-modern period European market town, where capitalism has not pervaded yet, and where independent commodity producers and vendors prevail. The bridge as "a city in miniature" (Mak 137) functions as a site for social interaction, where commodities are not as important as the free exchange of jokes and opinions. It is a liminal space where temporality is still functional, but apparently, time has been suspended. Then and now, however, Islambol represented for the West "a remote corner of the world" (140). Literature and geography disguised as history point out similar misunderstandings on both sides of the world: while Western history considers 1453 the creation of a new empire and the loss of one Christian world, the sultan regarded this conquest as "a gradual evolution in the Ottoman rule" (Boyar and Fleet 12).

The Nobel-prize author Ivo Andrić tells us in his novel, *The Bridge on the Drina*, a fascinating legend about the genesis of bridges. Since

bridges have an ambivalent function and since Ivo Andrić was a Yugoslav and Bosnian writer, which means he himself was divided between cultures and geographical spaces, his story is worth a mention in this article:

> When Allah the merciful and Compassionate first created this world, the earth was smooth and even as a finely engraved plate. That displeased the devil who envied man this gift of God. And while the earth was still just as it had come from God's hands, damp and soft as unbaked clay, he stole up and scratched the face of God's earth with his nails as much and as deeply as he could. (qtd. in Harrison 1-2)

Satan, in his fury and out of his desire to take revenge, created rivers, cleavages, rifts and fissures to separate and divide God's creatures. God's answer to this rupture came from His angels, who spread their wings over these cleavages, in order to unite what Satan had segregated: "So men learned from the angels of God how to build bridges, and therefore, after fountains, the greatest blessing is to build a bridge and the greatest sin to interfere with them" (qtd. in Harrison 2). Here, in this passage, humanity is strongly encouraged to build fountains and bridges that can fill the gap created by man's first disobedience. Eventually, it all depends on the perspective you adopt whether you build or cross a bridge. However, in order to define or redefine social position and individual identity, we all need to know which view to explore the bridge from and how to place ourselves spatially in connection with each of its two ends.

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# Essentials of Medical English. Book Design and Specificity

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**Abstract:**
This paper presents the overall structure and specificity of a book designed to teach English for Medical Purposes (EMP). The study passes into review the medical topics covered in the book, ranging from the anatomy, physiology and physical examination of body systems to history taking, basic medical instruments and medication. On the other hand, the article highlights the correlation between teaching materials and real EMP classroom activities. The focus is on how the EMP book can be designed and structured in order to mirror medical realities and at the same time be able to help students develop all language skills in medical English.
**Keywords:** English for Medical Purposes (EMP), teaching materials, EMP teaching methodology.

## 1. Introduction

A subset of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) education, English for Medical Purposes (EMP) focuses on the teaching aspects of medical English.

Designing a book intended to teach medical English should take into account a number of factors, such as the target group of learners and their level of knowledge, why they need to learn English, as well as the general requirements of national and international EMP programmes, tests, medical curricula and hospital practice.

As for the main goal of an EMP book, its purpose would be to provide a coherent framework for the integration of the various aspects of learning medical English, and at the same time to allow enough room for creativity and variety (cf. Hutchinson/Waters 1987: 108).

In our case, the target group of learners is represented by general medicine graduates (doctors, nurses, physiotherapists, radiologists, and midwives), medical students and other medical professionals, who want to develop

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reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills in medical English. The intended level of the book is intermediate to upper-intermediate.

To be in accordance with national and international EMP programmes, medical curricula and hospital practice, the book should cover a wide range of practical healthcare English, focusing on the profession-specific language used by different medical specialties.

In terms of needs analysis, Romanian medical students, practising doctors, scientists and researchers need to learn English for a variety of reasons, which range from reading medical books and journals in order to become informed on the latest developments in their fields, to attending courses or congresses, and even lecturing to colleagues and trainees. The focus of interest is also on writing forms, reports and medical letters or speaking English more fluently in different aspects of medical care. There are also Romanian healthcare professionals or students who want to complete their medical training, studies or practise medicine in English-speaking countries.

After the pre-planning stage and making decisions about the type of book we want to write, we can actually design and structure the material.

## 2. Book design and specificity

Considering all of the aspects surveyed before, we suggest a book structure that covers the major medical areas listed below:

1) Approach to the medical world
2) Introduction to anatomy and physiology
3) The musculoskeletal system
4) The nervous system
5) The cardiovascular system
6) The respiratory system
7) The gastrointestinal system
8) History taking
9) Case studies
10) Basic medical instruments
11) Medical conference presentations

These medical topics represent in part the specificity of the EMP book. This specificity also contributes to the ways in which the book can

mirror medical realities and at the same time help learners develop their language skills in medical English. For instance, the reading and listening tasks cover a wide range of practical healthcare English, while the writing and speaking activities focus on the profession-specific language used by different specialities.

The material is designed for the learners to understand and use medical language, to activate passive general vocabulary, to learn the English pronunciation of medical terms, and to increase fluency in using English in professional contexts. Besides the study of specialised lexicon, attention is also given to functional grammar, through a series of exercises that combine medical and mainstream English.

The aforementioned core subjects develop in several directions, covering medical topics, vocabulary areas, grammar, and the language skills developed by various tasks, all of these being discussed in sections 2.1. and 3.

Below is an example of the first book chapter, which forwards the specific mixture of medical realities and language acquisition we mentioned before.

1. *Approach to the medical world*

a. Medical topics & vocabulary areas:

- An overview of medical terminology
- The inner life of the cell
- Case study: multiple health problems secondary to injury
- Why medicine and why not
- Body idioms: head idioms

b. Language skills:

- Assessment of writing, reading, listening, and speaking skills
- Watching/listening for gist and opinion

c. Grammar:

- Pronunciation of medical terms
- Word parts: prefixes, suffixes, roots
- Medical acronyms and abbreviations

### *2.1. Medical topics, vocabulary areas, and grammar*

The book opens with three introductory chapters, focusing on

medical terminology. These chapters cover the essentials of anatomy and physiology and the building blocks of the body (molecules and cells, tissues, organs, and body parts).

Then, the structure divides into two main areas, equally important to the medical world. The first direction of study is the anatomy, physiology, and physical examination of major body systems, namely the musculoskeletal, nervous, cardiovascular, respiratory and gastrointestinal systems. The vocabulary focus is on the specific word parts, derived from Greek or Latin terms, pertaining to the terminology of each body system. By means of different types of exercises, learners are encouraged to recognize the meanings of word parts, in order to analyse and remember medical terms of Greek-Latin origin.

A 'word dissection' is such an exercise, especially helpful for learners in identifying the meanings of word parts. On the basis of these meanings, students are asked to infer the sense of the terms that the word parts form. For example, the term *nephritis* is made up of the root *nephro-*, meaning 'relating to the kidneys', and the suffix *-itis*, meaning 'inflammation'. Therefore, learners can deduce that *nephritis* means 'the inflammation of the kidneys'.

A latter direction of study suggested by the specific structure of the EMP book is history taking. History taking is a major aspect of medical life. It relies upon a doctor-patient dialogue, and its aim is to reveal important information about the patient, information that can help the doctor reach a diagnosis and recommend treatment. By taking a history, learners are taught how to ask and answer targeted questions and relate to the patient in English.

From all the activities used in history taking, role-plays can be considered the best tool for provoking communication. As they simulate a real-life encounter, role-plays prove particularly useful and relevant for medical professionals and students. On the one hand, they improve oral fluency, and on the other hand, they train learners for the different situations they could come across in medical practice.

By means of various tasks designed to mirror medical realities, learners gradually acquire and use the vocabulary and language structure necessary for the doctor-patient interview. The main aspects of this dialogue

are briefly outlined below:

- Eliciting general information/personal details
- Present illness:

- starting the interview
- asking about:

✔ body systems
✔ signs and symptoms
✔ duration (of the pain/problem/symptom)
✔ location (of the pain/problem/symptom)
✔ type of pain and severity of the problem
✔ relieving and aggravating factors
✔ precipitating factors
✔ medication
✔ past history
✔ family history

Moreover, by taking a history, learners also practise taking case notes, writing referral letters, and explaining medical procedures to patients, such as blood-pressure measurement, ultrasound scan, X-rays, and MRI. Vocabulary related to medical instruments, types of medication and treatment is also covered.

Finally, the last chapter of the book highlights the structure of medical conference presentations and articles. This is an important topic for medical professionals and students, who regularly attend refresher courses or conferences and lecture to colleagues and trainees in the hospital.

In terms of grammar, the book focuses on functional grammar. It comprises exercises aimed at the pronunciation of medical terms, the use of articles, foreign plurals, the degrees of comparison of adjectives, numerals, the pronoun, tenses, and active and passive voice.

### 3. Teaching methodology. EMP classroom activities

In order to illustrate how to implement EMP teaching materials in the lecture room, we will give examples of real classroom activities, with a focus on the language skills developed by each task.

***3.1. Task 1***

**Language skills:** reading, speaking, writing

**A.** Students work in groups. After individually reading a text about the anatomy and physiology of the cardiovascular system, taken from the medical book *Medical Terminology: An Illustrated Guide* (Janson Cohen 2003, 167-173), they are asked to discuss the questions below. Then, they choose a student to present their points of view aloud.

***Which section states that***

- the pulmonary circuit pumps blood to the lungs? 1
- a vein is a vessel that carries blood back to the heart? 2
- diastole is the relaxation phase of the heart cycle? 3
- the left ventricle pumps blood into the aorta? 4
- the bicuspid valve is also called the mitral valve? 5
- blood pressure is a valid measurement for diagnosis? 6
- the right lymphatic duct drains the upper right part of the body? 7
- the functional murmur is a normal heart sound? 8

***Which section includes***

- the main parts of the heart? 9
- the difference between the right heart and the left heart? 10
- the muscle layers of the heart? 11
- a reference to the blood high in oxygen? 12
- what a physician hears with the stethoscope when listening to the beating heart? 13
- a small blood vessel through which materials are exchanged between the blood and the tissues? 14
- a different type of artery? 15
- the autonomy of the heart? 16
- a reference to the change in diameter of vessels? 17

**B.** Students read the sentences below, taken from the text, and are asked to translate them into Romanian. When they have written the translations, they check them with the class.

1. The heart is contained within a fibrous sac.

2. Blood is kept moving in a forward direction by one-way valves.
3. Any sound made as the heart functions normally is called a functional murmur.
4. Blood pressure is the force exerted by blood against the wall of a blood vessel.
5. All arteries, except the pulmonary artery and the umbilical artery in the foetus, carry blood high in oxygen.
6. Along the path of the lymphatic vessels there are small masses of lymphoid tissue, called lymph nodes.

**C.** With the help of the word parts given below, students are asked to fill in the blanks.

- *cardi/o* – heart
- *atri/o* – atrium
- *ventricul/o* – ventricle
- *valv/o, valvul/o* – valve

1. The word *cardiogenic* means originating in the _____.
2. *Interatrial* means between the _____.
3. The word *ventriculotomy* means surgical incision of a(n) _____.
4. A *valvuloplasty* is plastic repair of a(n) _____.

### *3.2. Task 2*

**Language skills:** watching/listening, speaking, writing

**A.** Students watch the clinical procedure called a "Lumbar Puncture" (Ellenby, et al. 2006). They are told to remember as much as they can. After watching, in pairs, they have to agree on everything they heard and saw, and answer the following questions in writing. When students have written their answers, they compare them with other pairs to see whether they all agree.

1. Is a lumbar puncture indicated for diagnostic or therapeutic reasons?
2. What kind of sample is obtained by performing a lumbar puncture?
3. Name three contraindications of a lumbar puncture.

4. What positions should the patient assume? What is the preferred position and why? In your own words, explain the meaning of "lateral recumbent position".
5. What disinfectants are used to clean the skin?
6. Is a lumbar puncture a painful or anxiety-provoking procedure? Is anaesthesia appropriate?
7. Can cerebrospinal fluid (CSF) be tinged with blood?
8. Should CSF be aspirated? What can a small amount of negative pressure precipitate?
9. What should the amount of fluid collected be limited to?
10. What are the challenges of a lumbar puncture?
11. Name three possible complications of a lumbar puncture.

**B.** Students are told to imagine that they are preparing a patient for a lumbar puncture. They have to instruct the patient to take up the correct position. With all the information gathered while watching the video, they predict the instructions and fill in the gaps. Each blank may represent one or several missing words. Then they watch the excerpt again to see how good their guesses are.

a. Now I want you to move right to the edge of the bed.
b. Lie on _____.
c. Now can you bend both your _____?
d. Put your head _____.
e. Curl _____.
f. Lie _____.

### *3.3. Task 3*

**Language skills:** speaking (role-play)

Students are put in pairs. They are going to imagine and act out a scene in a hospital ward, where one student is a physician and the other is a patient. The subject of the scene is "Chest Pain".

Student A is given the following cues with regard to the areas covered in history taking. The student should ask questions about:

- the onset of the chest pain
- the character of the pain

- the severity of the pain
- duration
- exacerbating factors
- relieving factors
- location
- radiation
- accompanying symptoms
- treatment already received
- past medical history.

Student B gets the following information about his/her health condition:

- very sudden onset
- severe chest pain
- collapse
- pain on exercise
- fearing death
- pain relieved by rest
- pain aggravated by cold, effort, heavy meals
- breathlessness
- vomiting
- sweating
- tachycardia
- smoking
- family history of ischaemic heart diseases
- hypertension and hyperlipidaemia
- treatment with betablockers and statins for 10 years.

### *3.4. Task 4*

**Language skills:** speaking, watching/listening, writing, reading

**A.** The teacher engages learners in a short speaking session related to the topic of cardiovascular system. Then, students watch a video extract (Bickley 2003), in which they see a part of a presentation on the physical examination of the cardiovascular system. While listening, they have to write down:

- the names of the neck vessels specified in the video;

- the methods that can be used to examine the heart;
- the findings of such an examination.

**B.** Students are split into small groups. They listen to a medical meeting presentation on the symptoms of heart disease (http://www.talkingmedicine.com/ 2006). Before they listen to it, they have to make a list of possible causes of heart disease and discuss them in groups. Then they listen and check their predictions with the whole class.

**C.** While listening to the presentation again (http://www.talkingmedicine.com/ 2006), students use the words in the box to fill in the gaps of the transcript.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| thump | syncope | ventricular | symptoms |
| angioplasty | ischemia | dyspnoea | coronary |
| ankles | arrhythmia | angina | atrial |

**Chairman**: Good morning, Ladies and Gentlemen and welcome to this cardiology refresher course. Our first speaker this morning is Jeff Gardener who is going to talk about cardiac …….

**Dr Gardener**: Thank you. Good morning Ladies and Gentlemen. This morning, I'd like to give you a brief overview of some of the more common symptoms of cardiac disease. Before I begin, I'd just like to say that many organic and inorganic diseases may mimic the symptoms of heart disease and it is a challenging task for the physician to distinguish between them. Broadly speaking, the symptoms associated with heart disease result from three types of dysfunction: one, myocardial ……; two, disturbance of cardiac contraction; and three, abnormal heart rate or rhythm.

So, to begin, I'd like to look at myocardial ischemia, which is usually manifested as chest pain, and is called …… pectoris. Angina pectoris is central and crushing in nature like a "tight band". It often radiates across the chest and, in about a third of patients, to the arms. On the ECG, there is associated ST segment depression. Stable angina occurs on effort and is relieved by rest. Unstable angina increases on exercise and occurs without warning at rest. Many patients with unstable angina need …… angiography with a view to possible …… or

surgery. Decubitus angina occurs when lying down at night. During REM sleep, spasm of the coronary vessels sometimes occurs.

Next, I want to discuss symptoms related to deficiencies in the pumping ability of the heart. Fatigue and weakness are common symptoms, but are difficult to assess because they are so subjective. …… on effort or at rest is very common and is usually classified according to the New York Heart Association criteria of effort tolerance. As disability increases, orthopnea and paroxysmal nocturnal dyspnoea, or PND, can occur. PND is caused by pulmonary edema and is usually accompanied by pink frothy sputum or streaky hemoptysis.

Peripheral cyanosis may be present when there is a poor cardiac output and central cyanosis of cardiac origin may be caused by pulmonary atresia or by right to left shunting. Pitting edema of the ……, or of the sacrum in the bedridden, is a sign of congestive cardiac failure or pericardial constriction.

Another common symptom of heart disease is …… or loss of consciousness. There are many causes of syncope; the most common is vasovagal or fainting. Syncope of cardiac origin results from a sudden reduction in cardiac output, often caused by a cardiac ……..

Finally, let me say a few words about cardiac rhythm disturbances. Many patients complain of palpitations and will tell you that their heart stopped suddenly and then restarted with a ……. Missed beats are the commonest type of palpitation and are caused by ectopics or premature beats. They can be …… or …… in origin. Tachycardias are often felt as a fluttering sensation in the chest, sometimes accompanied by pain. Supraventricular tachycardias tend to start and stop suddenly while bradycardias are less common and the patient may be unaware of them.

I hope that you found this brief summary of some benefit and I would be happy to answer any questions that you might have.

**D.** The teacher asks students to read the completed text above and discuss the following questions in pairs. Then they check them with the whole class.

a) What are the most common symptoms related to the deficiencies in

the pumping ability of the heart?

b) What does PND stand for?

c) What are the causes of central cyanosis of cardiac origin?

d) When does decubitus angina occur?

e) When can a spasm of the coronary vessels occur?

f) What does syncope of cardiac origin result from?

## 4. Conclusion

This study has given details on the structure, specificity and teaching methodology for original, home-grown EMP materials, designed to help medical professionals and students develop reading, listening, writing, and speaking skills in English.

The medical English book we designed includes the study of the medical lexicon and of functional grammar. It gives English learners the tools to understand and use medical language in various professional settings, providing them with the necessary language skills and specialized vocabulary. Though the focus is on carrying out professional activities in English, attention is also given to functional grammar as required.

And finally, by giving examples of real classroom activities, this paper forwards a practical approach to EMP teaching. The actual classroom methodology shows how EMP materials can achieve different teaching goals, by activating one or more language skills in combination, and at the same time mirror medical realities.

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# The Identity of Space and the Space for Identity in the Novel *Redemption Falls*

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**Abstract:**
This paper examines identity in relation to space, to the Irish immigrants in the USA in the second half of the 19th century, and to the Irish language they continued to use even after moving there, in the novel *Redemption Falls* by Joseph O'Connor. The space, shared by various characters in the novel who identify and perceive it in a different manner, is analysed from the perspective of Gaston Bachelard's work, *The Poetics of Space*. The Irish language can be viewed as a bridge that connects the Irish immigrants in the new country. On the other hand, when it is used by them as some kind of a secret language, it can become a boundary between the immigrants and the others who do not speak or understand the language. The Irish immigrants' claim to space for their identity in the new country is viewed in relation to Derrida's concept of "hospitality." Finally, the reconstruction of the boundaries of the main character's identity is analysed with regard to Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization".
**Keywords:** *Redemption Falls*, Bachelard, space, Derrida, Irish immigrants' identity, Irish language, Deleuze and Guattari.

## Introduction

In the novel *Redemption Falls* by Joseph O'Connor, the paper first examines the identity of James O'Keeffe, the main character, in relation to the space he occupies. Then, the identity of the Irish immigrants is analysed in relation to the space they try to claim for that identity in the USA in the second half of the 19th century. Finally, the paper also examines the relation between the Irish immigrants' identity and the language they spoke in the USA. It also analyses how space and language can be a boundary for some people and a bridge for the others. The novel is chosen for this kind of critical analysis for several reasons. First, it brings a detailed description of the space where James O'Keeffe lives. Second, some of the characters,

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including O'Keeffe, are Irish immigrants. Third, the novel also provides the examples of the Irish language spoken by the Irish immigrants.

The relationship between identity and space is analysed from the perspective of Gaston Bachelard's work, *The Poetics of Space*. The Irish immigrants' claim to space for their identity in the USA is viewed in relation to Derrida's concept of "hospitality" and the reconstruction of the boundaries of the main character's identity is analysed with regard to Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization".

One goal of the analysis is to point to the contemporary relevance of the issues related to immigrants and of the term "identity". With regard to migration in general, Said writes: "[…] crossing borders as well as the representative deprivations and exhilarations of migration has become a major theme in the art of the post-colonial era" (Said 1994: 308). These issues do not bear only literary relevance, but they also mark the age we live in: "[…] the massive dislocations, waste, misery, and horrors endured in our century's migrations and mutilated lives" (Said 1994: 332).

The other goal is to show that the critical analysis of the protagonists' personal space can be used to analyse their identity and the relationships they have in the novel. The importance of identity is emphasized in the following passage:

> Nowadays we come across the word *identity* at every step in the literature in the field of social sciences and the humanities, in newspapers and magazines, on the radio and on TV, in the public lectures […], and now, with even more serious consequences, it is unsparingly used in various conflicts and showdowns, which should not be ignored. (Bugarski 2010: 11)

**The relation between space and identity from the perspective of Bachelard's *Poetics of Space***

The relation between identity and personal space is relevant enough for Bachelard to identify the whole field as "topoanalysis" (Bachelard 1994: 8) and to define it as "the systematic psychological study of the sites of our intimate lives" (Bachelard 1994: 8). In this paper, the relation is illustrated with the examples taken from the novel *Redemption Falls*, and is viewed by

means of Bachelard's concepts of verticality, house, door, and light. In the novel, the author gives a detailed description of the space where James O'Keeffe lives, housing several of his identities: the Governor (O'Connor 2008: 39), the General (O'Connor 2008: 91), the husband (O'Connor 2008: 96), and the father-like figure to the boy named Jeremiah Mooney (O'Connor 2008: 166).

According to Bachelard: "[…] A house is imagined as a vertical being. It rises upward. It differentiates itself in terms of its verticality" (Bachelard 1994: 17). He further writes: "[…] a house, constructed by a writer, illustrates the verticality of the human being" (Bachelard 1994: 25). The life of O'Keeffe, an Irish immigrant, followed a vertical line in the USA for a while. O'Keeffe, a convict in Ireland, first sentenced to death, then to exile in Tasmania (O'Connor 2008: 47), climbed up the social ladder in the USA and became the Governor of the Territory (O'Connor 2008: 96) whose "[…] Capital and Administrative Seat" (O'Connor 2008: 96) was the town called "Redemption Falls" (O'Connor 2008: 96). That verticality in his life is reflected in his residence, which starts to rise in Redemption Falls. However, at one point, the verticality of his house is interrupted because it remains unfinished and roofless, both of which are mentioned a couple of times. First, the townsfolk of Redemption Falls notice: "They came up to the Governor's residence, that strange unfinished hulk, […]" (O'Connor 2008: 39). Then the Governor's wife observes that it is: "A cabin, unfinished and roofless" (O'Connor 2008: 91).

The vertical line along which his life moves is broken when O'Keeffe goes from being the person people seek help from, to the person they are ready to lynch (O'Connor 2008: 39). After *The Tempest* had hit that area (O'Connor 2008: 39), the people of Redemption Falls: "looked to their Governor. He was not to be seen. Some accused him of having fled on the last stage out; like all Yankee hirelings he was a coward, they said. A party was formed to go up to the residence. Halfway there, it had become a posse" (O'Connor 2008: 39).

Bachelard thinks that: "[…] the house becomes human. It sees like a man" (Bachelard 1994: 35). The house in the novel is a living space and a space that is alive at the same time: "Icicles on the sills were beginning to melt; the windows seemed to be weeping" (O'Connor 2008: 39). Not only

does the house betray the situation its master is in, but it also seems to betray him, letting know the angry mob that he is at home: "A ribbon of smoke from the solitary chimney – they knew he was inside, and this maddened them more" (O'Connor 2008: 39).

Different people can perceive the same house in a different way, demonstrated here by the impressions of the Governor's house held by the people of Redemption Falls and by his wife. Unlike those people, who identify the house as the Governor's residence (O'Connor 2008: 39) to Lucia: "The house, […] was a practical joke – […] It was smaller than the stables at her father's Manhattan mansion" (O'Connor 2008: 90-91).

Bachelard also writes:

> […] whenever the human being has found the slightest shelter: we shall see the imagination build "walls" of impalpable shadows, comfort itself with the illusion of protection – […] In short, in the most interminable of dialectics, the sheltered being gives perceptible limits to his shelter. (Bachelard 1994: 5)

The townsfolk are under the impression that O'Keeffe identifies his own house as a place of safety and they are out to prove him wrong: "He was safe as an ingot in the crypt of a bank, or he figured he was – but they would show him" (O'Connor 2008: 39-40).

Both spouses identify their living space as a place of loneliness, silence, and sleeplessness: "We eat, we live – we go about alone, […]" (O'Connor 2008: 266); "We hardly speak a syllable to one another anymore, […]" (O'Connor 2008: 266) and "They would dine in silence: graven-eyed Cistercians" (O'Connor 2008: 96).

They are both unable to sleep: "He walks all night […]" (O'Connor 2008: 267). Lucia writes to her sister: "I have tried to sleep but can find no rest" (O'Connor 2008: 262).

They share the same living space, but it does not bring them together. At one point, the walls in the house act as the boundaries they welcome between them: "Our quarters here are separate" (O'Connor 2008: 266) and they "[…] nor even sit quietly in a room with the other. I come in; he departs" (O'Connor 2008: 266).

Although the walls of the Governor's house divide the spouses, they bring together the Governor and boy Jeremiah Mooney who is "a war-waif found by C. […] at a derelict mine […]" (O'Connor 2008: 269). O'Keeffe treats him like a son and he: "[…] could be fatherly to a boy that came out of the night like the rain […]" (O'Connor 2008: 269). The Governor offers him shelter in his house: "We are quite safe in this house … The door is always locked … Do not be afraid … We are all of us your friends …" (O'Connor 2008: 166).

Bachelard puts an emphasis on the door to one's house and describes what a single door can evoke in a person: "[…] a mere door, can give images of hesitation, […] security, […] and respect" (Bachelard 1994: 224). In front of the door to the room where her husband is, Lucia feels hesitation and weakness and she does not dare to knock. "She […] is about to knock – but somehow she is not able to form a fist" (O'Connor 2008: 98). Lucia believes that the front door to the house is secure: "It is black, massively studded; its metal is cold to the touch. Whatever is in the house did not come through such a barrier" (O'Connor 2008: 98). The people are sure that O'Keeffe feels safe behind that front door as if he were in a bank vault (O'Connor 2008: 39-40).

Then, Bachelard asks the question: "[…] onto what, toward what, do doors open? Do they open for the world of men, or for the world of solitude?" (Bachelard 1994: 224) When O'Keeffe finally opens the front door, he faces the world of angry men who want to harm him (O'Connor 2008: 42). Bachelard also points to the double meaning hidden behind the term "door": "But is he who opens a door and he who closes it the same being?" (Bachelard 1994: 224) and he adds that: "[…] there are two 'beings' in a door, […] it is doubly symbolical" (Bachelard 1994: 224). The O'Keeffe who opens the door is not the same as the one who closes it, and in that brief interval, he becomes a murderer who kills a man in order to protect Elizabeth Longstreet, his cook (O'Connor 2008: 42).

Finally, O'Keeffe's uneasiness in his own house can be viewed in relation to Bachelard's concept of light. Bachelard writes that in the house: "The lamp keeps vigil, therefore it is vigilant. And the narrower the ray of light, the more penetrating its vigilance" (Bachelard 1994: 34). In the corridor of the house, Lucia sees a narrow strip of light coming from under

the door to her husband's room: "A scythe-blade of light from under his door. He cannot sleep in darkness. Perhaps he is awake" (O'Connor 2008: 97). In this case, it could be that this light symbolizes O'Keeffe's vigilance, which is not surprising considering his conflict with the locals and his restlessness caused by the alienation between himself and his wife.

**The immigrants' claim to space for their identity from the perspective of Derrida's concept of hospitality**

The Irish immigrants' struggle to claim for themselves the space for their identity in the USA is viewed from the perspective of Derrida's concept of hospitality. Derrida, too, uses the metaphor of the door and threshold when trying to define hospitality: "Now we are beginning or pretending to open the door […] We are on the threshold. We do not know what hospitality is […] Not yet" (Derrida 2000: 6). When he defines it, he writes that it is: "[…] a right, a duty, an obligation, the greeting of the foreign other [...] as a friend but on the condition that the host […] maintains his own authority in his own home, […]" (Derrida 2000: 4).

Said explains that "[…] homeless wanderers, nomads, and vagrants […] exist between the old and the new, […] their condition articulates the tensions, […]" (Said 1994: 332). That tension can manifest itself in the violence used by the host in his attempt to assert his authority over his own home: "Derrida writes that hospitality cannot be 'without sovereignty of oneself over one's home, but since there is also no hospitality without finitude, sovereignty can only be exercised by filtering … and doing violence" (Westmoreland 2008: 6). In the novel, the country, the host of the Irish immigrants, causes them to be subject to and to resort to violence. Some of them are not welcomed with open arms in the USA and they want to continue their search for a new space for themselves in Canada. One Irish soldier describes the treatment they received in the USA and compares it with their treatment in Canada:

> Once, during the War, a comrade told him about Canada. A country where they care for the Irish. Aint gottem these no-count bigots like here in the states, tellin ever one he don't belong. Irishman liked, he respected up there. They know he a slogger, a man of honest toil. […] Down here in the

> states, […] Pat don't count for a rat. […] Pat nothing but a coolieman prayin the beads. Nothin but a slave in a scapular. (O'Connor 2008: 53)

They also suffer the verbal abuse, for example, O'Keeffe is called not only a coward but an "Irish coward!" (O'Connor 2008: 41) where the adjective "Irish" obviously has a negative connotation. The Irish are also called "Hibernian vermin" (O'Connor 2008: 97). They are expected to fight in the Civil war to show allegiance to the new country. "Down here in the states, […] Want Pat to do his fightin for him, […]" (O'Connor 2008: 53). They fight on the side of the Confederacy and on the side of the Union (O'Connor 2008: 23).

One of the reasons why the host might use violence to assert his authority is the fact that the host might feel threatened by the "arrivants" (Derrida 1993: 33), as Derrida calls them, or "newcomers", which is the English equivalent for the French term (Collins French-English Dictionary), and everything they bring with them. Derrida writes that:

> One does not expect the event of whatever, of whoever comes, arrives, and crosses the threshold – the immigrant, the emigrant, the guest, or stranger. But if the new *arrivant* who arrives is new, one must expect – without waiting for him or her, without expecting it – that he does not simply cross a given threshold. Such an *arrivant* affects the very experience of the threshold, whose possibility he thus brings to light […] (Derrida 1993: 33)

When the Irish immigrants came to the USA, the borders of the new country were a threshold which held a promise of a new and possibly better life. Once the immigrants have crossed the threshold, they change the circumstances they find in the space they enter. When James O'Keeffe crosses the borders, he finds the space for himself in the Territory (O'Connor 2008: 96). But he does not stop there and wants that: "The streets would be named for the patriots of his homeland. If anyone couldn't live with it, let him go someplace else" (O'Connor 2008: 96). Then, he takes things even further and tries to claim that entire Territory for the Irish immigrants who fought in the Civil war on both sides (O'Connor 2008: 96).

> […] I, James O' Keeffe, de facto Governor of this Territory, do hereby raise a **PETITION TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS**, to wit, that the name of this Territory shall henceforth be **"NEW IRELAND"** & that the place styled at present **REDEMPTION FALLS**, […] henceforth be incorporated & styled **"DUBLIN CITY"** & that Irish-born veterans of **THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES** be settled here with their dependants & conveyed lands forthwith & that Irish-born veterans of the lately defeated Confederacy be also permitted, with their dependants, to apply, so that a new dispensation may be fostered in the Republic with the **TERRITORY OF NEW IRELAND** its exemplar. (O'Connor 2008: 96)

**The Irish immigrants' language as a part of their identity – a bridge and a boundary**

It should be pointed out that: "Language is indeed an important identity mark […]" (Bugarski 2010: 21). One's vernacular is particularly significant because it is "'the linguistic birthright, the indelible mark of belonging' (Gobard 1976: 34)" (Brisset 2004 :340).

In the novel, the Irish immigrants' vernacular is the Irish language. It is a bridge that connects the Irish in the USA because it gives them the sense of belonging to the community of the Irish immigrants. The importance of their language in the novel is illustrated by the fact that it is a part of the subheading for chapter 28: "And the ancient vernacular of the Irish people" (O'Connor 2008: 161). Their vernacular connects them even on the battlefield, which is shown in the following example. "*Faugh-a-balla*!" (O'Connor 2008: 51) "an anglicized version of the cry *Fâg an Bealach*, most frequently translated as 'Clear the way!' This form of the expression came to be known as a cry of the Irish soldiers in the American Civil War" (O'Connor 2008: 63).[2]

In the following example, the language, or more precisely the knowledge of the language, is again the connection between the immigrants.

> […] an illiterate private born at Ennis Workhouse, County Clare, asked O'Keeffe for help in composing a letter to his wife at Brooklyn. It would be copied many times by O'Keeffe's men […] during the War. The version

[2] This translator's note is from the Serbian translation of the novel *Redemption Falls*, and here it is rendered from Serbian into English by the author of this paper.

> reproduced here was circulated with names and other details left blank. (O'Connor 2008: 132)

The example is also illustrative of Bachelard's concept of "[…] small boxes, such as chests and caskets, […] These complex pieces that a craftsman creates are very evident witnesses of the *need for secrecy*, of an intuitive sense of hiding places" (Bachelard 1994: 81). Governor O'Keeffe keeps this "copy-letter" (O'Connor 2008: 132) in his "field-trunk" (O'Connor 2008: 132). The letter is important enough for him to keep it, though, in that box and out of sight. One reason for that is the fact that the illiterate soldier killed himself since he "[…] suffered […] 'a sundering of his reason, brought upon him by fear'" (O'Connor 2008: 132). Bachelard also states: "The casket contains the things that are unforgettable, […]. Here the past, the present and a future are condensed. Thus, the casket is memory of what is immemorial" (Bachelard 1994: 84). O'Keeffe will not forget this letter because it is the memory of all the other soldiers who died in the war. Some blame him for their death and for the increase in the number of military widows (O'Connor 2008: 97). It seems that he also blames himself for it: "He is tortured […] for so many of his men having died, and wracked by thoughts of their widows and children. He feels that he abandoned them, betrayed them in some way; was the very worst General in all the War" (O'Connor 2008: 268).

When it comes to the relationship between language and identity, with his vernacular, the newcomer inadvertently undermines the identity of his host since: "He surprises the host […] – enough to call into question […] all the distinctive signs of a prior identity, beginning with the very border that delineated […] language, […]" (Derrida 1993:34). The use of the Irish language creates a barrier between the immigrants and the others who do not understand it, particularly when the immigrants use it as a secret language of sorts. Since he trusts his cook, O'Keeffe tries to teach her some Irish phrases to communicate with her in a way that prevents others from understanding them, as he thinks he is surrounded by spies even in his own house:

> *Like he teached me couple words he say the folks be speakin in Ireland. Cause they got they-own language over there I guess. Like 'open the door' an 'fetch in the supper'. Domestic things you know.*

*[…] ... Got in mind that ever last soul be spyin on him you know. So he want me to go speakin some way they caint catch. But it was real hard […] That aint never no language gwine to catch someplace else* (O'Connor 2008: 162).

O'Keeffe clearly could not, and would not, escape his past and his Irish background. To conclude in Bachelard's words: "An entire past comes to dwell in a new house. […] 'We bring our *lares* with us' […]" (Bachelard 1994: 5).

The following example also shows how well this language can work as a secret one, although in an English prison where its speakers nicknamed it "jail-ic": "He was speaking in Gaelic, […] 'Jail-ic' Vinson called it, for he had learned what he had of it in an English prison, where its profanities could be floated without jeopardy at the guards. They thought you were declaiming some myth" (O'Connor 2008: 31).

**The reconstruction of the identity boundaries viewed within the theoretical framework of Deleuze and Guattari**

Since the identity of immigrants is regarded here, it could be said that we scrutinize: "[...] Identity as collectivity. [...] The sociological level, its linguistic correlate: some particular language [...]" (Bugarski 2010: 13). Immigrants' identity is analysed on the example of James O'Keeffe's identity since: "[...] a collective identity can be [...] also seen as an abstraction of individual identities with which it is in constant interaction […]" (Bugarski 2010: 15).

O'Keeffe succeeds in finding the space for himself in the USA, where he reinvents himself and reconstructs the boundaries of his identity. If this reconstruction is considered within the theoretical framework set up by Deleuze and Guattari, it can be said that, upon his escape from exile, O'Keeffe sets in motion the process they call "deterritorialization" (Patton 2006: 288). It "is defined as the movement or process by which something escapes or departs from a given territory (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 508), where a territory can be a system of any kind: [...] social [...]" (Patton 2006: 288). O'Keeffe runs away from the British social system which sentenced him first to death, then to exile (O'Connor 2008: 47). When he arrives in the

USA, the elements of his identity go through the process of "reterritorialization" (Patton 2006: 288) which "refers to the ways in which deterritorialized elements recombine and enter into new relations in the constitution of a new assemblage or the modification of the old" (Patton 2006: 288). Some time after O'Keeffe had come to the USA, he started giving lectures on the adventures he had had throughout his life (O'Connor 2008: 47). He has a poster printed advertising his lectures (O'Connor 2008: 47) which shows the emergence of the "new assemblage" of the elements of his identity; he goes from being a convict in Ireland to portraying himself as the embodiment of the American dream:

> Young JAMES C. O'KEEFFE, of the REBEL COUNTY of Wexford, the democratic HERO of Hibernians the world over, of late arrived to this Republic from his YEARS OF CRUEL EXILE, will LECTURE for ONE NIGHT ONLY on his remarkable experiences: his DEATH SENTENCE in Ireland, its commutation on the GALLOWS, his DARING ESCAPE from England's dungeon-isle of Tasmania […] (O'Connor 2008: 47)

The poster ends with "AN IRISH HERO with a BRILLIANT AMERICAN FUTURE" (O'Connor 2008: 48). He is also called "HANDSOME SCION OF ERIN" (O'Connor 2008: 48).

It can be said that the deterritorialization in O'Keeffe's case was positive for a while and: "It is positive when the line of flight prevails over the forms of reterritorialization and manages to connect with other deterritorialized elements in a manner that extends its trajectory or even leads to reterritorialization in an entirely new assemblage" (Patton 2006: 288). His line of flight has an upward trajectory as he manages to recompose the elements of his identity into a new assemblage, that one of a war hero in the USA, sung about in ballads: " 'Con', the ballads call him […] 'The Blade.' 'The Scabbard.' 'The Rapier.' 'Ireland's Prince.'" (O'Connor 2008: 52). He turns downfalls into virtues and does not hide the nickname he is given: "*Con*, short for *convict*, is a common nickname in

English for an ex-convict. O'Keeffe, too, probably got the nickname for that reason" (O'Connor 2008: 62).[3]

However, at one point, the deterritorialization of the elements of his identity becomes negative which happens "when the deterritorialized element is subjected to reterritorialization that obstructs or limits its line of flight" (Patton 2006: 288). A line of flight is interrupted when it:

> may fail to connect with the necessary conditions of creative development […] and turn instead into a line of destruction. When this happens, lines of flight or deterritorialization are a path to the most extreme failure […] They can become the source of "a strange despair, like an odor of death and immolation, a state of war from which one returns broken." (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 229) (Patton 2006: 292)

In this case, a connection can be established between Bachelard's concept of verticality and Deleuze and Guattari's line of flight. It can be said that they are both interrupted in O'Keeffe's life when he can no longer connect with the townsfolk of Redemption Falls and he falls from favour with them: "Editorials were printed about him in the town's only newspaper […] A carpetbeggar. Janus-faced. A bellwether of fools. […] 'The Fortune Hunter'" (O'Connor 2008: 97). It results in destruction once he kills one of the men in the posse that comes to his house (O'Connor 2008: 42). He cannot connect with his wife, too, which results in the breakdown of communication with her. Consequently, at one point at O'Keeffe's house: "There was a moment of friendless, childless grief […]" (O'Connor 2008: 30). This sombre mood in his house is a result of the interruption in the verticality and in the line of flight in his life.

**Conclusion**

One of the themes that the novel *Redemption Falls* focuses on is immigrants and their identity. The topicality of this theme in this day and age is the main reason why this novel is chosen for the critical analysis. Today, some immigrants might be facing the problems that are similar to

[3] This translator's note is from the Serbian translation of the novel *Redemption Falls*, and here it is rendered from Serbian into English by the author of this paper.

those of their literary counterparts and they might be adopting the similar ways in order to adapt to a new country and to find the space for their identity there. Immigrants today are often between their native country they left and the new country where they are not quite accepted, just like the protagonists in the novel, which confirms Said's description of the migrant as someone: "[…] between homes, and between languages" (Said 1994: 332).

With regard to identity and personal space, the main protagonist in the *Redemption Falls* confirms the thesis that a meaningful connection between the two can be established and that one's personal space is the reflection of one's identity and tells a story about one's life. Therefore, it can be concluded that this relationship between identity and personal space is conducive to the critical analysis of the protagonists and the relationship they have in the novel.

Finally, the linguistic layer of identity (Bugarski 2010: 14) is also under scrutiny here because the examples of the Irish language in the novel show that: "When it comes to the collectives, some language […] can […] confirm their ethnic […] identity […]" (Bugarski 2010: 23). These examples also show that the Irish language can function as a connective tissue between the immigrants and a barrier between them and the others who do not understand it.

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# *Morbusanglicus*? On the range of the influence of English on Polish and Italian medical language

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**Abstract:**
In today's world, English is the language of global communication in both professional and private life. Its dominance is apparent at the lexical level, with a significant number of Anglicisms introduced into other languages. Arrigo Castellani, an Italian linguist, compared the phenomenon to an epidemic, calling it *morbusanglicus*, the English disease, as early as in 1987. The aim of this paper is to study the range of the English influence on the Polish and Italian medical language. The research comprises a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the corpus consisting of *Przegląd Lekarski* and *La Rivista Medica Italiana Online*, Polish and Italian medical journals. Throughout the study, the focus is put on the number of Anglicisms (types and tokens) in the corpus and their functioning in the recipient language, mainly at the morphological level.
**Keywords**: language contacts, Anglicisms, medical language, borrowings

## Introduction

Today, English is the language of international communication in both professional and private milieux. It is used not only in communication with English native speakers, but also, or mainly, among non-native speakers of the language. As Nerrière and Hon (2009: 4) estimate, only 4% of communication in English takes place between English speakers only. This means that English is nowadays mainly the tool of communication for people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. It is the language of international conferences and publications, frequently used even in scientific communication within one language community whose mother tongue is other than English. In addition, as a significant part of research and technological development comes from English-speaking countries, i.e. the United States and the United Kingdom, the position of English in science is

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definitely predominant. As a result, English words are borrowed into virtually all languages of the world and their number has risen significantly in the last two or three decades. As a result, numerous linguists study the dimensions and the quality of the English influence on other languages, e.g. Bombi (2005), Pulcini (2007), and Fusco (2008) in Italian, and Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2008) in Polish. Such studies are often conducted in a comparative key (e.g. Görlach 2003: 2007).

Nevertheless, the issue of the influence of one language on others is one of the topics which generate a heated debate on threats that such an influence may cause to the recipient language. Some linguists and speakers of a given language may be afraid that it will disappear, replaced by the substrate (Castellani 1987). Castellani himself compared the influence of English to an epidemic of the English disease, *morbusanglicus*, which can ruin the Italian language. Other linguists just point to the number of foreign terms introduced and the ways in which they are used in the recipient language (Italiano 1999; Serianni 2005)[2].

Technical languages, i.e. languages of specific branches of science and technology which have their typical traits (Cortelazzo 2004), are believed to be particularly vulnerable to the English influence, also because people working in these sectors often use English in their everyday professional life. In addition, new inventions and technologies often originate in English-speaking countries, mainly the United States, which promotes the use of English among specialists of a given branch of science or industry. This fact leads to a frequent use of Anglicisms in other languages. Also, in medicine, English has a dominant position as most conferences have an international range and are therefore held in English; obviously, publications in highly ranked international journals have to be written in English, as well (Frînculescu 2009: 347). As a result, English is expected to have a significant impact on the medical language in different countries.

## 1. The description of the study

In order to examine real dimensions of the influence of English on

[2] A more detailed description of the discussion among Italian linguists about the influence of English can be found in Karczewska (2015).

professional languages, a study on Anglicisms in Italian and Polish medical journals was conducted. The corpus consisted of online medical journals, namely *Przegląd Lekarski* and *La Rivista Medica Italiana Online*, where articles are written by professionals, academics, and medical staff, all working at medical universities and/or medical centres. All of the articles in the corpus were written either in Polish or Italian, the authors' mother tongues. This fact is of great importance, as the object of the research is the English influence on the Polish and Italian medical language, so the corpus had to consist of texts written originally in these languages. *Przegląd Lekarski* is published monthly, with the number of articles in one issue varying from three to sixteen. *La Rivista Medica Italiana* is published quarterly, with usually five to six articles in each issue. The journals are addressed to medical professionals, presenting current research and its results in different branches of medicine, typical of scientific journals. Therefore, one can assume that the publications reflect the language used by medical professionals in Poland and Italy.

The first aim of the study was to check the number of Anglicisms used in the corpus in terms of both types and tokens in order to discover the real impact of English on these two languages and to see if there was any significant difference in this aspect between the two recipient languages. As Italian is believed, not only by Castellani, to be "invaded" by Anglicisms, a higher number of English loanwords were expected in the Italian corpus. The quantitative analysis was to confirm or deny this hypothesis.

In the second phase of the study, the functioning of Anglicisms in the texts was analysed. The aim of this part of the study was to investigate main patterns governing the functioning of Anglicisms in Polish and Italian. First, the study examined the ways in which Anglicisms were introduced into texts written in Polish or Italian, i.e. if they were written in quotation marks or accompanied by an explanation, etc. Then, as most loanwords are nouns and in both Polish and Italian nouns have a grammatical gender (masculine, feminine or neuter in Polish and masculine or feminine in Italian), Anglicisms introduced to these two languages need to have a gender attributed. The question is, if and what gender they were attributed and what were the reasons for a given choice. Another question is the variability of nouns in the plural, i.e. if they had a plural form and, if yes, how it was

created. In the case of Italian, the correctness of article use was also studied (in Polish, nouns are not preceded by articles).

All these analyses were expected to bring some more general conclusions on the use of English borrowings in Polish and Italian medical language in the key of a contrastive analysis. The results obtained could be then compared with other similar studies conducted on other corpora (other journals or other types of professional languages). As a result, a more solid, quantitative and qualitative image of the phenomenon could be drawn.

## 2. The results of the quantitative analysis of the corpus

As described in the previous point, the corpus for the study consisted of two medical journals, one Polish, *Przegląd Lekarski*, and one Italian, *La Rivista Medica Italiana Online*. What is important is that both are written by medical professionals in their mother tongue, i.e. Polish and Italian, and both are available online. For the study, twenty texts from each journal were selected: issues 1-3 (2016) of *Przegląd Lekarski* and issues 2-4 (2016) of *La Rivista Medica Italiana Online*[3].This selection was arbitrary, but it aimed at obtaining the same number of texts published in the same year. In the study, the number of types and tokens of Anglicisms was calculated and then compared to the total number of words (tokens) used. In this way the percentage of Anglicisms in the overall number of words was calculated. The results are as follows:

| Journal | Types | Tokens | Words (total) | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Przegląd Lekarski* | 173 | 918 | 42730 | 2.15% |
| *La Rivista Medica Italiana Online* | 307 | 759 | 58079 | 1.31% |

Table 1. The number of Anglicisms in *Przegląd Lekarski* and *La Rivista Medica Italiana Online*

The numbers show that in the Italian journal the number of Anglicisms is higher in the category of types, while in the Polish journal, in the category of tokens. This means that in the Italian part of the corpus there is a higher

diversity of English words used, while in the Polish corpus there are fewer types of Anglicisms, but they are used more often (they are repeated more times). Statistically, dividing the number of tokens by the number of types, in the Polish journal, each Anglicism is used about 5.3 times, while in the Italian one – 2.5 times, which means in turn that in the Polish journal, one Anglicism is used twice as often as in the Italian journal. These results are higher than the ones of Mesaroš (2015: 25) who obtained the result of 1.51, but more comparable to the results of Onysko who obtained 3.46 (2007: 114). These results may suggest that in the case of the Polish journal, there are fewer phenomena (diseases, medical procedures, tests) that have English names, but when such borrowings appear, their names are repeated throughout the texts. In the case of the Italian journal, there are probably more inventions and discoveries described, which results in a higher number of various English terms used to present them (see Mesaroš 2015: 25).

In order to have a comprehensive view of the phenomenon, a total number of words used in the analysed texts has to be taken into account, as a difference in the length of articles may lead to a difference in the number of Anglicisms (logically, the bigger the corpus, the higher the number of Anglicisms may be expected). In this way, a degree of the "saturation" of the texts with Anglicisms can be calculated, dividing the number of the tokens by the number of the words in the texts. As results from the above mentioned calculations, the percentage of Anglicisms in *Przegląd Lekarski* is about 2.15%, while in *La Rivista Medica Italiana Online* it is about1.31%. This means that the density of Anglicisms is higher in the Polish journal. This also means that the results obtained in the Italian corpus are more similar to the ones obtained by Onysko (1.11%) in 2007. This data confirms, again, the observation that there are more Anglicisms in the Polish journal than in the Italian one, which seems to deny the hypothesis about a higher number of Anglicisms in the Italian corpus.

In the Polish journal, the number of types per article was between 1 and 23, while the number of tokens was between 2 and 113. In the Italian journal, the number of types per article was between 5 and 43, while the number of tokens was between 7 and 131. Such results prove that the distribution of Anglicisms among the articles analysed is uneven; in some texts, the number of types and tokens is much higher than in others. In most

cases, a higher number of Anglicisms is related to the content of the article; if it describes a disease or medical procedure whose name is in English, the number of tokens rises immediately. A higher number of types, in turn, implies a variety of different items having English names.

Another conclusion of the analysis is that in *Przegląd Lekarski* acronyms are about 82% of all the Anglicisms used, while in *La Rivista Medica Italiana Online*, this percentage was about 22%. Most of the acronyms used are names of diseases, e.g. *POAG-Primary Open Angle Glaucoma* or *AKI- Acute Kindey Injury*, but also other terms related to medicine, e.g. *BMI- Body Mass Index* or *VAS - Visual Analogue Scale*. It seems that they are well-rooted in the medical terminology of Polish and Italian and they are not subject to substitution to either Polish or Italian equivalents or translations. Still, in the Polish corpus, acronyms are four times more numerous than in the Italian one, they seem to be an important part of the Polish medical terminology. In the Italian part of the corpus, most Anglicisms are loanwords.

What is probably the most important conclusion of the quantitative analysis is the fact that Anglicisms were found in all the articles analysed. This means that modern Polish and Italian medicine makes use of English terms, such as names of diseases, symptoms, and various examinations and procedures, most of which probably do not have Polish or Italian names. Therefore, both the Polish and the Italian medical languages are technical languages in which Anglicisms are frequently used.

### 3. The results of the qualitative analysis

As stated previously, a qualitative analysis of the corpus is focused on four points (questions 2-4 apply to nouns only, but they are a majority of the Anglicisms used, so the results are representative for the entire study):

1. How are Anglicisms introduced into the Polish and Italian texts?
2. What gender do they have?
3. Do they have a plural form?
4. In the case of the Italian corpus, are they preceded by articles? Are these articles correct?

In the following part answers to the above questions will be given.

### 3.1. The introduction of the English elements

Because Anglicisms are a foreign, Germanic element used in Polish and Italian texts, their introduction is one of the issues studied. As acronyms are so popular, especially in the Polish part of the corpus, it is particularly relevant to investigate how they are introduced. It turns out that in *Przegląd Lekarski,* most acronyms are introduced according to the following pattern: Polish name + English name + English acronym, e.g. *ostre uszkodzenie nerek (acute kindey injury – AKI)* or, in the inverted sequence, *następowa nefropatia pokontrastowa (CIN- contrast-induced nephropathy)*. In other cases, the Polish name is given prior to the English acronym, but without its English explanation, e. g. *wzrokowa skala analogowa (VAS)*[4], *analgezja sterowana przez pacjenta (PCA)*[5], *rytm serca (HR)*[6], or *tętnice mózgu środkowe (MCA)*[7]. Due to such a sequence, the meaning of the acronyms used is clear. In addition, as each text in the Polish journal has an abstract in English, and most of the acronyms are rendered in their full form in this part of the publication. It can be concluded that such a procedure can even teach Polish readers of the journal these English terms and acronyms, as their description is given in immediate vicinity of the term.

In the Italian journal acronyms are introduced in different ways. In some cases, they are accompanied by their full English form, without the Italian equivalent, e.g. *la CPAP (Continuous positive airway pressure), la FDA (Food and Drug Administration)*or *EPS (extra-pyramidal symptoms).* In other cases, acronyms are introduced in a different way: acronyms are given after the full English name, e.g. *il Confusion Assessment Method (CAM)*. It is worth noticing that in these cases, no Italian explanation is given, which means that the readers are expected to either know the terms given or at least be able to translate them into Italian to understand their meaning. In other cases, Italian terms are followed by English translations and acronyms, e.g. *il glaucoma ad angolo aperto (Primary Open Angle Glaucoma, POAG), cellule ganglionari della retina (RGC, Retinal Ganglion Cells),* or *pressione intraoculare (Intraocular Pressure, IOP)*. This is the

[4] Visual Analogue Scale; the full English name is given in another part of the text.
[5] Patient Controlled Analgesia; the full English name is given in the English abstract to the text.
[6]Heart Rate; the full English name is not given in the text.
[7] Middle Cerebral Artery; the full English name is given in the English abstract to the text.

most comprehensive way of using acronyms, as both English and Italian full names are given. In still other cases English acronyms are followed by their Italian explanation only, with no English version, e.g. *gli OSAS*[8] *(apnee ostruttive notturne)* or by the English explanation only, with no Italian translation, e.g. *il programma SITA standard (Swedish Interactive Threshold Algorithm)*. Sometimes an Italian name is simply followed by an English acronym, e.g. *apnea ostruttiva durante il sonno (OSAS)*. These examples prove that there is no uniformity in the introduction of acronyms in the Italian journal.

When it comes to loanwords, they are also introduced in different ways. In the Polish corpus, loanwords are usually introduced in brackets after the Polish term, e.g. *teoria odpowiedniego dopasowania (goodness of fit hypothesis)* or *ustrukturyzowany grupowy wywiad (group focus interview)*. It is worth noting that the expression *grupowywywiad* is a clear translation of the English expression *group interview*, which is proved by its unnatural, incorrect sequence of elements (the correct one is *wywiadgrupowy*, like *wywiadśrodowiskowy*). In other instances, English terms are simply introduced to accompany the Polish word, usually a noun, to which they are referring: *stadium Risk* or *metoda scarf*.

In the Italian journal, as the number of loanwords is much higher there than in the Polish one where acronyms prevail, there are also different ways in which English terms are introduced. The first way is to put them in quotation marks, e.g. *"Cancer-prone personality"* or *"locus of control"* where no Italian translation is offered. Another way is to precede an Anglicisms with its Italian translation, e.g. *brevi risvegli (arousals)* or to follow an Anglicism with its Italian translation or description, e.g. *red snapper (Sebastes spp. – un tipo particolare di dentice)*. In the last case, as it is a species of fish, its Latin name is also given for easier identification of the animal. Another solution to stress a foreign character of a loanword is to put it in italics: *holes*, or to precede it with the word *cosiddetto* ('so-called'). Apart from all the solutions mentioned, numerous Anglicisms are simply used in the texts without any special introduction.

[8]Obstructive Sleep Apnoea Syndrome; the full English name is not given in the text.

### 3.2. Gender attribution

As stated above, most loanwords are nouns, which is convergent with the fact that loanwords are usually introduced to name new elements of reality, such as inventions or discoveries. In the language of medicine this rule is also valid, as most Anglicisms refer to recently studied diseases and new medical procedures. Therefore, gender attribution to Anglicisms is an important issue, as both Polish and Italian nouns have genders. There are different criteria for gender attribution, some more important than others; Dardano (1986: 238) claims that the choice of masculine or feminine is determined by a number of factors, in the first place, by the natural gender and the gender of the Italian noun which has an analogous form and/or meaning.

This means that, at least in the case of Italian, two most important criteria are the biological sex of the referent (if applicable), e.g. *la miss*, and the gender of the Italian "equivalent" of a given Anglicism. In this latter case, several difficulties may be encountered, as, first, an Anglicism may not have its equivalent, or, second, it may have more than one equivalent, which may differ in gender. Also, it is not always clear which equivalent should be taken into account, especially that in his quotation Dardano mentions the analogy of form and/or meaning, which gives more options of choice. Therefore, a study of this aspect of the Anglicisms used in the corpus seems to be a vital issue for the present discussion.

In *Przegląd Lekarski,* 167 out of 173 types (96.5%) have no gender marked in any way (e.g. by the ending of adjectives or verbs referring to them). In the remaining six cases (3.5%), two nouns are masculine: *TT*[9] *przydatny* and *score wynosił*; one is feminine: *zredukowana EF (ejection fraction)*[10]. In addition, in one case there is an oscillation between masculine and neuter: *obniżony GFR*[11] vs. *wyjściowe GFR*; while in one case between neuter and feminine: *AKI*[12] *wiązało się/rozwinęło się* vs. *AKI wymagająca dializy*. In one case it is impossible to state whether the noun is masculine or

[9] Head-up Tilt Test- test pionizacyjny; the full English name is given in the text.
[10]Frakcjawyrzutowa.
[11] Glomerular Filtration Rate - współczynnikprzesączaniakłębuszkowego; the full English name is non given in the text.
[12] Acute Kindey Injury, ostreuszkodzenienerek, as explained in the text.

neuter due to the case used: *po przebytym CABG*[13]. Analysing the examples given, one can state that in most cases the gender attributed is the one of the Polish equivalent: *test* and *wynik* 'score' are masculine, *frakcja* 'fraction' is feminine. In the doubtful cases, *współczynnik* 'rate' is masculine while *uszkodzenie* 'injury, damage' is neuter. It is difficult to explain why in these cases either the neuter or the feminine gender are also used. In the case of *CABG*, the Polish equivalent of *graft* is *przeszczep*, but in the *CABG* procedure, doctors rather speak about *wszczepienie* which is neuter. What is more, if one wanted to precede the acronym with a Polish word, it would be *zabieg*'medical procedure' which is masculine.

In *La Rivista Medica Italiana*, 135 out of the 307 types have a gender, which is equal to about 44%. Most of these nouns, 103 (76%), are masculine because of the masculine gender of their Italian equivalent. Among the examples one can cite *stroke* whose Italian equivalent, *ictus*, is masculine, just like *mix* and *miscuglio*; also *red snapper* became masculine like *dentice*. Still, there are some cases in which the gender attributed is not the one of the Italian equivalent: *team* is masculine while *squadra* is feminine. Still, when it comes to the feminine gender of the Anglicisms used in the texts, it is attributed when their Italian equivalents are feminine: *unit* like *unità*, *list* like *lista* and *Administration* like *amministrazione*. Still, in the corpus there are cases in which the gender attributed is not stable, e.g. *Confusion Assessment Method* or *PCOS*[14] are either masculine or feminine, sometimes within one text.

This part of the study shows significant differences between the Polish and the Italian journal: in the Polish one, most Anglicisms do not have a gender, while in the Italian one the percentage of the Anglicisms that were attributed a gender is significant (44%). One of the reasons for this discrepancy may be the fact that in the Polish corpus, most Anglicisms are acronyms, usually accompanied by Polish words, nouns, so they have an attributive function. In the Italian corpus, there are more loanwords, nouns which are more independent, and therefore, require a gender. As far as the criterion of gender attribution is concerned, in most cases, it is the gender of

[13] Coronary Artery Bypass Graft, zabiegwszczepienia by-passów; the enfulltire English name is not given in the text.
[14]Policystic Ovary Syndrome; the full English name is not given in the text.

the equivalent that is a decisive factor. In addition, in Italian, most Anglicisms end in a consonant, unlike Italian words that end – both masculine and feminine – in a vowel; such Anglicisms, usually, are masculine.

### 3.3. Plural form of Anglicisms

The variability of English nouns in the plural is probably an issue of minor importance than gender attribution, as a majority of loanwords appear in singular. In the medical language, especially names of diseases, as biological phenomena, usually do not need the plural form. Obviously, in everyday communications, doctors may say that "they have two appendicitises" meaning two patients, or cases, with this illness, but such cases are rare in the formal, written language of medical journals. In addition, acronyms often do not have the plural form, either. If the plural form is needed, verb forms, adjectives and articles (in Italian), convey the notion of the plural while the Anglicism itself remains invariable, e.g. *gli sport* or *alcuni test clinici*[15] or *77 item*[16]. Also acronyms are used in this way, e.g. *gli OSAS* or *i BPSD*[17].

Therefore, in the corpus studied, plural forms of Anglicisms are rare. In the Italian corpus, only nine such examples were found: *scores*, *items*, *caregivers*, *symptoms*, *non-respondents*, *holes*, *trigger points*, *markers*, and *arousals*. As one can observe, when the English plural form is used, there are no hybrid English-Italian structures created (Anglicisms with Italian plural endings). In the Polish corpus, no plural forms were found, as most acronyms are accompanied by Polish words (as stated in the previous section).

[15] In the first case the notion of the plural is given by the plural masculine article *gli*, in the second – by the form of the determiner *alcuni* and the adjective *clinici*, both in the plural masculine form.
[16] In this case the numeral gives the notion of the plural.
[17] In these two cases the notion of the plural is given by the plural articles *gli* and *i*. BPSD stands for Behavioural and Psychological Symptoms of Dementia; the full English name is not given in the text.

### 3.4. The use of articles

As explained above, articles precede nouns in Italian, but not in Polish. Therefore, this part of the study applies to the Italian journal only. The aim of this analysis was to check if the English nouns used are accompanied by articles like Italian nouns are, and if the use of articles is correct. The study shows that out of the 759 tokens in the corpus, 320 are nouns preceded by articles, which is equal to 42%. This percentage seems quite significant; it is a proof that the nouns used are treated as parts of the Italian language. Another question is the correctness of article use. Without going into a detailed analysis of articles and the rules of their use in the Italian language, the study shows that they are usually used correctly; masculine nouns have masculine articles, also in conformity with their form[18]: *il follow-up*, *il red snapper*, *un assessment*, *lo stress*, *uno stent*, *gli sport*, *l'OSAS*, *la clearance,* and *la Food and Drug Administration.* The only problematic case is that of feminine acronyms beginning with a vowel, e.g. *la IOP* and *la OPP* in which, according to rules, the article *l'* should be used: *l'IOP* and *l'OPP*. Apart from these examples, the article use in the corpus can be considered correct.

### Conclusions

The quantitative and qualitative analysis conducted brings several conclusions. First, Anglicisms are an indispensable element of the Polish and Italian medical language, as in all the publications analysed, at least one Anglicism was used. As stated earlier, they are mainly used to name medical cases and procedures, especially those discovered or invented more recently. Second, when it comes to their number, the study shows that in the Italian journal there is a higher number of Anglicisms as types. What is interesting is the fact that the minimal number of types and tokens excerpted from a single article is also higher in the Italian corpus. In this sense, Anglicisms are a more important part of the Italian medical language than of the Polish one. Nevertheless, the percentage of Anglicisms among all the words of the publications is higher in the Polish part of the corpus. In

[18] In Italian the choice of article depends on the gender of a given noun, but often also on its form (if it begins with a vowel or a consonant cluster, or one of the consonants which require another article).

addition, in the Polish journal, the number of Anglicisms in terms of tokens is higher than in the Italian journal. This means that one Anglicism is used more times in the Polish journal, which may be interpreted as its relevance for a given article. Indeed, in the Polish part of the corpus, if an Anglicism appears, it is usually one of the keywords and is repeated throughout the article. It should also be added that while in the Italian journal most Anglicisms are loanwords, in the Polish journal, acronyms prevail.

English elements, especially acronyms, are introduced into the Polish and Italian texts in different ways, often with an explanation in Italian/Polish and full English names, but this is not a strict rule. Text features, such as italics or quotation marks, may also be used.English nouns have a gender mainly in the Italian corpus where almost a half of them have an identifiable gender, in a majority of cases – masculine. The gender of the Italian equivalent seems to be a key factor here. Therefore, the nouns that become feminine are the ones with feminine Italian equivalents. While Anglicisms usually remain invariable in the plural, in the Italian corpus, many of them are preceded by an article according to the rules of the Italian language. This means that, even if still foreign in form, Anglicisms are subject to the same rules as all Italian nouns.

The study is an attempt to investigate the use of Anglicisms in the Polish and Italian medical and its results can be considered as another contribution to the topic of the influence of English on Polish and Italian.

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# Impact of Names on Life and Literature – a general perspective

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**Abstract:**
Names and naming in general have always been an interesting, yet a challenging initiative, given the fact that nowadays parents devote numerous hours to reading forums and written articles when a child is on the way. The same strategy is sometimes applied when writers decide upon a certain title for their piece of writing, as well as the names of personages in their creation. In classical literature, finding the meaning behind a proper name is a challenging and hard task compared to children's literature. Thus, a symbolic name makes the literary character a more powerful "weapon" in the hands of the author and creates yet a stronger emotional and more thorough understanding in the mind of the reader.
**Keywords**: nominative symbolism, charactonyms, onomastics, name rendering in translation

## Preliminary remarks

Names can be perceived as an interdisciplinary phenomenon as they are primarily relevant to onomastics, given the etymology and distribution of a certain anthroponym; yet possessing subsidiary connection to the field of morphology and syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics and theory of translation, when the symbolism of names is concerned. Of course, general onomastics is a parallel branch to literary onomastics, which at hand is closely related to semantics, pragmatics and theory of translation.

As far as literature is concerned, Fowler (2012) not only introduces the term charactonyms to refer to literary names, but also presents the idea of what they are, relating them to the famous Plato's Cratylus and his dialogue with Hermogenes. Cavill (2016) also divides literary names into *Cratylic* and *Hermogenean*. *Cratylic names*, in the view of both researchers, are seen as meaningful, since they represent a significant trait for the person or place they denote. *Hermogenean names*, on the contrary, can be

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perceived as "the conventional application of syllables to identify a person or place" (Cavill 2016: 2).

With all said, in order to discuss the importance of literary names, first a brief idea of what a generally ordinary proper name is.

**Proper non-literary names in the Bulgarian naming system**

Proper names are to be defined as "proper nouns with people referents" (Danchev 1978) which can show genetic background, or can have a wishing or protective nature.

The Bulgarian naming system is a tri-component system, since every Bulgarian has a personal fore-name, a second, or father's name and a surname, or a family name. This structure started to be applied after the Bulgarian Liberation in 1878.

Historically, Ilchev (1969) suggests that proper names, or anthroponyms are multilayered, the first layer of which dates back to the distant past where anthroponyms were inherited and had a two-root structure (*Vladimir, Desislava, Dragomir*). As the second layer of Bulgarian proper names the names of Latin or Thracian origin (*Bunyo, Nero, Rufo* – from Latin; *Kotes, Dadas, Raskos* – from Thrace) can be accepted. According to Ilchev, the third layer of Bulgarian anthroponyms is formed after khan Asparuh's reign. The evidence of such names is very scanty, since they were changed by the early Bulgarian people. However, Ilchev supposes that such are the names *Zhote* and *Pizho*, among others. With the Christianization of Bulgarians in 865 AD, Christian names started being introduced from Hebrew, Greek and Latin and they formed the fourth layer of the Bulgarian naming system. Such names are *Angel*, *Stavri*, *Vitliem*, etc. The Ottoman Rule in Bulgaria formed the fifth layer of naming. *Demir*, *Sevda*, *Sultana* are names from that period of time.

After the Liberation of Bulgaria anthroponyms started acquiring political or literary characteristics. As the topic of this paper is not related to the historical distribution of proper names, only brief attention is paid to the origin of Bulgarian names.

Semantically, Ilchev (1969) classifies anthroponyms as wishing and protective. The first group is considered wishing, because the semantics and the etymology of the anthroponym presupposes the desire of the parents for

their offspring to possess or develop the features which the name suggests. Such names are quite popular even nowadays and include *Victoria* (to be victorious), *Zdravko* (to be healthy), and *Boyan* (to be brave and fearless), etc.

Analyzing protective names, they mainly date back to the times when children did not live longer and parents used to name their children *Kamen* (to be as hard as a stone), or *Zhelyazko* (from "iron"). The idea of the protective name was, and even nowadays is, to provide the name recipient with positive energy and health. In the present day, names of foreign origin, as well as international names, are quite popular.

The father's name has also altered in time. Around 18c., Bulgaria had a two-component naming system, a part of which was the father's name in postposition. In the Turkish registers, the names of people featured as*: Ivan, the son of Yordan*, or a nickname showing either profession or a physical characteristic that was introduced after the fore name. In Bulgarian registers the first name was followed by an inflectional form of the name of the father or the mother.[2] Nowadays, there is freedom in the choice of inflection for the second name, yet it is an obligatory part of the three-component naming system. For example, a person can be registered as Ivan Georgiev Ivanov, or Ivan Georgi Ivanov.

Ilchev (1969: 34) dates family names from the 19c. Before that, they were perceived as an attachment to the first name, just like nicknames. Later on, some nicknames started being inflected and turned into family names.

**Proper non-literary names in the English naming system**

The English naming system in the past was a three-component system, which underwent several long-term phases. The "Roman tria nomina developed in the Republican period and survived into the Empire to be replaced for most classes by a Latin single-name system" (Wilson 2000: 336). After the fall of the Roman Empire, this changed names into being single, whereby the names were composed of specific elements. The Roman and Latin influence of naming persisted a long time after the 5 c. "Even in our present fashion-led situation, most first names are still either Graeco-

[2] http://www.grao.bg/normact/normativ-imena.html

Roman, Biblical or saints' names, and "new" names are revivals from this old stock." (Wilson 2000, 336).

The second name was introduced in the medieval period and around 14 c. it became a fixed family name. "Once fixed from the medieval period, second names survive unchanged down to the present."[3] Crystal (1989) suggests that the second name emerges after the 17 c. where the differentiation between British and American English becomes visible as well. In the British naming system, the second name was written in full, whereas American tradition favoured the second name as only an initial.

Christianity had an impact on the naming practices even for the English naming system, since names of saints are relatively common even nowadays.

When surnames are concerned, they are thought fixed before the 16 c. and have been passed through generations from that time. Crystal (1989) suggests the emergence of the one-component naming system in the early Middle Ages and the family names – around 14 c. According to Weekley: ...every surname must be (i) personal, from the sire or ancestor, (ii) local, from the place of residence, (iii) occupative, from trade or office, (iv) a nickname, from bodily attributes, character, etc. (1914: 2).

In the English naming system the nickname was also a way to form surnames, together with hereditary first names, place names, or professions. Netsova (2016) talks about the formation of the family names as a result of the need to differentiate a unique personality, yet the family name affiliates the person to a group with common background. She further suggests that the family name is an obligatory secondary anthroponymic marker with hereditary features which fulfills identification and family-affiliation function. She further categorizes family names in accordance with the grounds for their formation into family names motivated by personal names (*Richardson, Dixon, Robinson*); toponyms, or place names (*Blackwell, Minton* (a farm in the mountains)); names of topographic peculiarities of the region of residence (*Oak, Stow* (living in a sacred place)); occupations, handicraft and activities (*Arkwright* (a master of coffins), *Marber* (one who digs marble)); nicknames (*Calf* (looking like a calf), *Dumbrell* (stupid)) as well as other sources (*Treasure, Lodder* (beggar)) (Netsova 2016: 57).

[3] Wilson (2000: 336).

**Romanian Proper Names**

The Romanian naming system is a two-component system with a first (given) and a family name. It is interesting to note that in fact while Bulgarian and English names have a strict order of presenting an anthroponym, Romanian names can appear in a different order. The family name appears first in official environments. The most common Romanian given name is *Maria*. Other common names include *Andrei, David, Alexandru, Gabriel* (male) and *Elena, Ioana, Andreea, Sofia* (female). Romanians have one, two, or more given names, e.g. *Ana Cristina Maria* (three given names), all being chosen by the child's parents. One of them is used in daily life while the others are only present in official documents.[4]
Romanian names are also divided semantically into protective and wishing names. Protective names are derived from the Romanian Orthodox calendar of saints. Common names of this type are *Ion* or *Andrei* for males and *Maria* or *Elena* for females, yet varying in form and suffixation.

Wishing names are inspired from nature and examples of these are *Sorin/Sorina* (sun), *Codruț/Codruța* or *Codrin/Codrina* (woods), or flowers. The word *floare* has led to several names such as *Florin/Forina, Florentin/Florentina*, etc.

As far as family names of Romanians are concerned, they are formed using the endings *-escu* and *-eanu*. Historically, when the family name reform was introduced in the mid-19th century, the default was to use a patronym, or a matronym when the father was dead or unknown. A typical derivation was to attach the suffixes *-escu* or *-aşcu* to the father's name, and thus to form the family name as *Ionescu* ("Ion's child") and *Petrescu* ("Petr's child"). The origin of the family names ending in *-escu*, may have several explanations according to Vascenco (1975). They might have formed from names of communities and villages ending in *-eşti,* derived in turn from the name of their founder. The same surnames may be also derived directly from the first names, as a rule without passing through the stage of names ending in *-eşti*.

Following Victor Vascenco (1975), some surnames are personal given names without any special suffixes, the structure of which fully coincides with Christian names. Thus, anthroponyms such as Gheorghe can

[4] https://culturalatlas.sbs.com.au/romanian-culture/romanian-culture-naming

be used both as first names (main value) and surnames (secondary value). Most of these surnames are quite popular (*Dumitru, Cristea, Ștefan*).

## Literary names and Translation

### *Characteristics of literary names*

Literature is the place where the mind of the writer meets their intentions, their "offspring" and their ideas made real. The creation of a literary character is closely related to finding the most prominent features this personage possesses, the way these features develop, and, finally, yet of high importance, the name this character should possess, so that it corresponds to the image they have been endowed with.

Names of literary characters are as important in any story as the plot of the story itself. As Fowler states it: "names in literature are not inherited like this: a fictional character's name must be found or invented – if, that is, the character is to be named at all" (2012: 14). In order for a literary name to be considered symbolic it has to possess certain features and characteristics so as to render the message concealed in its nature from a source to a target text. Vlahov and Florin talk about the major characteristics a meaningful name should have, namely *allusiveness*, i.e. the proper name should allude to a real folklore, literary, or proverbial character. Another characteristic proper names should possess so that they are seen as symbolic is the presence of a phonetic form which can promote a certain effect of the name itself (Vlahov and Florin 1990: 233).

Literary names resemble ordinary proper names to some extent, yet names in a piece of writing are most often used purposefully by the author of a literary work to attach certain features to the character of the bearer, thus making the image of a literary figure outstanding and easily perceivable by the reader. Gibka gives a definition of a literary proper noun as different from the appellative in the aspect that: "(1) nomina appellativa designate classes of objects and nomina propria denote individual entities, (2) unlike common nouns, proper names do not carry a semantic value" (2000: 82).

When the topic of literary names is discussed, I share the firm belief that literary names do have meaning, which is only of help when completing the image of a literary personage a writer tries to convey upon presenting a character. As Fowler suggests:

> the habit of finding moral meanings in all sorts of names led to their being regarded as ideals of behaviour, especially for the bearer of the name. One's name was to be lived up to, and valued because embodying reputation: it might therefore be of ultimate importance (2012: 15)

Van Langendonck (2007: 22) further suggests that proper names possess lexical, associative and emotive meaning, which lies in the core of nominative symbolism.

Gibka quotes Aleksander Wilkoń who proposed a typology of the functions of literary proper names including "one primary function – denoting particular people and places – and five secondary functions: the localizing, sociological, allusive, expressive and semantic"[5]. The list of functions is further developed by other researchers to add myth-creating, documentary, poetic, chronological, evaluative, denotive, symbolic, impressive, didactic-educative, emotive, veristic, informative and mimetic, camouflaging, universalizing, erudite as well as intertextual function.[6]

Although the list of secondary functions is exhaustive, I believe that some of the enumerated functions overlap with the others, so there can be a shorter, yet equally essential list. For example, the myth-creating function partially overlaps with the allusive and intertextual since allusion and intertextual relations are connected to a previously known character or situation the character is found in. The localizing, documentary and chronological can also serve the same purpose, as they refer to the situational context in a piece of writing. The mimetic and veristic functions also coincide to a certain extent, since the veristic function is related to the real nature and designation of a concept or idea in literature, and the mimetic function is related to exhibiting. What also has to be mentioned here is that not all secondary functions appear with the presenting of a symbolic name in a literary work, so the list of secondary functions varies with different literary works.

[5]https://www.academia.edu/33386459/The_Functions_of_Proper_Names_in_the_Literary_Work_of_Art

[6] Gibka (2015, 80)

Considering the process of naming, Gibka presents a model of the nominal act of the literary work which is a combination of "(1) the basic model of the naming process created by Ivan Lutterer , and (2) the model of the nominal act of the microtoponymy of climbing space proposed by Mariusz Rutkowski" (Gibka 2000: 83). Gibka completes the model by combining the three elements Luterrer involved (the name giver, the name-given and the object named) with what Rutkowski suggested (the user and the situational context of the creator) and adding the author, the situational context of the author and the reader[7], thus presenting a full model of how the naming process is established.

Gibka explains that the author of a literary work is in fact the creator of the names, the plot, the piece of writing in general, the situational context of the author refers to the process of inventing names and the circumstances related to this process. The name is just a linguistic sign, while the object is what is being named. The creator is seen not as the author of a literary work, but a "middleman" used by the author to give the name of a literary character. This "middleman" is not always visible. The situational context of the creator is related to the situations in which the name of a literary personage is named in. The user is seen as all the people from the fictional world to the recipient of a certain piece of writing.

As far as the process of creating a name is concerned, Gibka proposes five stages which a name undergoes to become a literary name. The first step is when the author of a certain work comes up with the character, or object, that has to be named. The second stage is when the character is enriched with motivational features which can make him/her memorable and interesting. It is at this stage where the author also creates the situational context where the character can develop. The third stage is the actual naming of the character, whereby the name becomes inspirational and is given a proper symbolic pattern. The fourth step is the meeting of the character with other characters in the piece of writing, where the name is used by other personages. The last stage is the encounter with the audience.[8] If a glance is cast to children's literature, the names of literary characters are symbolic and meaningful, or else called "speaking" names (Boyadzhieva,

[7] Gibka (2000: 83)
[8] Gibka (2000: 84)

2017). Examples of "speaking" names are the *Little Red Riding Hood* (after the fairy tale of the same name); *Cruella DeVill*, the cruel villain from 101 Dalmatians; *Pinocchio* (from the Italian word for a pine tree)[9] the wooden boy created by the Italian writer Carlo Colody, etc.

"Speaking" names are easily identified when obvious, since children might find it difficult to understand the concealed meaning of a name, introduced differently.

When talking about adult literature, the deciphering of a meaningful name is in fact a challenging task. Not all proper names in a piece of writing are considered symbolic. In reality, barely one third of all names of characters in a literary work appear seem "to speak".

***Literary names in Bulgarian and English literature – meanings and ways of rendering them in translation***

The notion of nominative symbolism has rooted in literary works since the thirteenth century as correlating with genres of literary works and distributing certain features of characters (Fowler 2012: 33). Therefore, the interpretation of the meaning of literary names can be seen as a bridge towards the better understanding of characters in a given piece of writing. Literary names carry relatively the same weight when identifying a personage as the images of personages do themselves.

Different genres in literature presuppose different attitudes towards names of characters. Generally speaking, names are not translated when adult literature is concerned. However, when rendered from a source to a target text, certain changes need to take place. Transcription and transliteration are the usual ways of rendering a proper name, either ordinary or symbolic, from one language into another. Transliteration involves substitution of graphemes from a source to a target text, whereas transcription involves the process of phonemic transition. A supporter of the method of transliterating and transcribing anthroponyms is Danchev (1978).

Vlahov and Florin also refer to the subject of name rendering from the source to the target text, differentiating between transcription and transliteration. They point that transcription is closely related to the

[9] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/italian-english/pino

graphological systems of both languages as well as their phonetic rules. When one transcribes using Latin – Latin transfer, the items remain unchanged, as when the process is Cyrillic – Latin – then transcription is the only way to keep the colour of the transferred item (Vlahov and Florin 1990: 66-67). Transliteration, on the other hand, is graphological substitution from the source into the target text.

If a name is seen as symbolic, however, it is supposed to be translated, or at least explained in a footnote. On discussing the issue of translation, proper names undergo changes when transferred from a source to a target language, and it is the translator's intuition which procedure or method to follow when rendering the message contained, i.e. whether to transcribe or transliterate; or whether the name is meaningful and requires semantic reconstruction when rendered from a source to a target text.

The procedures related to name rendering in translation involve orthographic changes, grammatical alterations on morphological or syntactic levels, or certain modulations in the target text.

When Bulgarian literature is concerned, literary names which are seen as symbolic are usually transliterated into English.

Even if the literary name possesses the characteristics of a meaningful name, it does not undergo translation transformation from the source to the target text.

Literary names such as *Boycho Ognyanov* ("Under the Yoke" Ivan Vazov), *Blagodumov* ("New Land" Ivan Vazov), *Okean Velev* as well as *Gorolomov* ("The Adventures of Gorolomov" Yordan Yovkov) are symbolic for the Bulgarian reader, yet not fully understandable for the English one. In order to render the idea a certain author has endowed a character with, they are to somehow show the concealed meaning of this symbolic name. Unfortunately, it is still not a common practice for translators of Bulgarian literature to pay special attention to literary symbolic names and speaking names often remain just ordinary proper nouns with little function in a literary text. One of the preferred ways in which certain characteristics are attributed to literary images in Bulgarian literature is by means of nicknames. They are "mediators" of Bulgarian culture into the English-speaking world.

Nicknames fall into a variety of categories, from physical to psychological characteristics, occupation, food and drink preferences etc., and they are translated from the source into the target text, complying with the morphological peculiarities of the Bulgarian language. In this way, the image of a character is completed for the non-speaker of Bulgarian. Thus, characters like *Колчо Слепецът* (*Blind Kolcho* „Under the Yoke" –Ivan Vazov), *Иван Боримечката (Ivan Kill-the-Bear* "Under the Yoke"– Ivan Vazov), *Сократ* (*Socrates* – "The Man with a Lot of Names" Georgi Gospodinov), *Рустем Рахметлията (Rustem the Late* „The Song of the Wheels" – Yordan Yovkov), etc. are clearly perceived as possessing certain psychological characteristics, or alluding to a well-known character, for example[10].

The situation with literary names is similar in English adult literature. Although some charactonyms are clearly symbolic, they are transcribed when rendered from English into Bulgarian. Charles Dickens, for example," …searched always for the "right name" – "the name that conveyed the outward show and inward mystery of a character or a book, the name which revealed and yet concealed" (Fowler 2012: 150). William Thackeray, in addition shows: "…… the selection of wittily apposite proper names for his characters, with appropriate titles, property, and appendages" (McMaster after Philips 1991: 165).

Examples of symbolic names in English literature which are transcribed in Bulgarian are *Toby Crackit* ("Oliver Twist" – Charles Dickens), *Mrs. Leo Hunter* ("The Pickwick Papers" – Charles Dickens); *Seth Pecksniff* ("Martin Chuzzlewit" – Charles Dickens), *Lady Leach* ("The Book of Snobs" – William Thackeray), *Lord Mumble* ("The Book of Snobs" – William Thackeray), etc.

The importance of literary names comes into prominence with contemporary writers and different genres, such as Terry Pratchett, J.K.Rowling and J.R.R.Tolkien who are representatives of fantasy literature. Charactonyms in fantasy play a crucial role as the syntactic, lexical and allusive patterning when naming the character present a great challenge to the perceiver, this being the translator or the reader of a fantasy novel. Upon translation, literary names in fantasy undergo morphological, syntactic and

[10] Manova-Georgieva,Y (2020).

lexical changes so that they are easily applicable to the target language and comprehensible to the reader respectively. Examples of such modulations can be seen with *Bilbo Baggins* ("the Lord of the Rings" J.R.R.Tolkien– *Билбо Торбинс* (rendered this way by the translator Lyubomir Nikolov); *Cheery Littlebottom* (the Discworld – Terry Pratchett) – *Веселка Дребнодупе* (a case of domestication with the first name and adding a nickname as her post-positioned attributive); *Cut-Me-Own-Throat Dibbler* (the Discworld – Terry Pratchett) - *Диблър Сам-Си-Прерязвам-Гърлото*[11] (a case of syntactic modulation), etc.

**Conclusion**

Nominative symbolism is an issue as important as any other aspect of literature and linguistics. Proper naming of literary characters is not only related to finding an interesting and memorable name for a particular character, it is also a demanding and thought-provoking task which, if successfully completed, contributes to the completion of a literary character. Some writers regard literary names as instruments for rendering the ideas of a literary work in an attempt to reach a broader audience. If names are kept unchanged in the target language translation, their meanings will remain concealed and thus not fully understood by the perceiver of the target language in translation. Therefore, the translation of literary names deserves careful research and attention, followed by the adoption of a proper methodology for their rendering.

Given the functions they fulfill in a text, as well as the meanings they possess, literary speaking names are to be transcribed or transliterated in the target language in accordance with the regulations of the recipient culture. Moreover, they can be explained in a footnote, if they possess symbolic nature, or they can be translated, if the genre of the literary work allows this.

[11] Boyadhieva (2017).

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# Renaissance theatres of the world: staging authority in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*

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**Abstract:**
Drawing on notions of authority as described by Stephen Greenblatt with reference to Renaissance drama and travel writing, of love and obedience explored by William Shakespeare in *The Tempest* and Thomas Harriot in *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, this paper argues that playwrights and travellers to the New World find themselves discoursively connected in imagining, describing and colonising America in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Focusing on the idea of theatre that moves beyond the scope of drama and permeates other fields of writing, the paper discusses rhetorical tropes and commonplaces by means of which literary traditions and overseas ventures address encounters in the New World.
**Keywords:** apotheosis, colonisation, New World, romance, *The Tempest*, Thomas Harriot, travel narrative.

At the end of November 2020, the National Theatre Festival in Bucharest found a way to alleviate the pain of theatre goers by organising the entire event online. Bearing in mind that the times had changed and so had people's lives, the organisers cited on Shakepeare's "The time is out of joint" in acknowledgement of the fact that people's relationships with others and with themselves had been transformed by the pandemic (Patlanjoglu, et al. 2020). A different life called for a different medium. Interviews and recorded performances were broadcast for an entire week and theatre goers and aspiring goers, in fact, anyone interested in the theatre had between 24 and 48 hours to watch the plays and interviews. One could pause the performance, replay it or parts of it, even if for a limited period of time. Among the plays broadcast during the festival was the 2014 performance at the National Theatre in Bucharest of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, a play

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directed by Alexander Morfov and starring Ion Caramitru as Prospero and Mihai Călin as Caliban. With a Prospero that recalls Einstein and a century dedicated to science, Morfov's *The Tempest* dwells on the metaphors of the world as a stage and life as a dream (Patlanjoglu 2014) as it explores the search for power, freedom and love.

We do not know if the organisers ever thought of the notion of being islanded when choosing the play for the memory section of the festival, which included celebrated adaptations of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *The Winter's Tale*, Caragiale's *A Stormy Night* and Chekhov's *Three Sisters* and *Uncle Vanya*, but there we were, islanded in our homes, looking at an islanded Prospero speak of betrayal, loss, banishment and arousing feelings of anxiety in Caliban, Miranda, Ferdinand, and the shipwrecked. Morfov's version of *The Tempest* places the whole performance on half a ship, become the island, the stage and the vessel that is wrecked. This protean space becomes the place where feelings of solitude and isolation, struggles with authority and questions of love and obedience are explored. It is impossible not to wonder what a viewer islanded in their home thought about at the time of a pandemic, struggling with so many questions, echoes from the world without, hearing of people protesting the tyranny of masks, science and facing their frailty, the threat of economic usurpation and social isolation. If we think of the play as a means to contemplate the world without and the world within, then Morfov's vision of *The Tempest* invites the audience to dwell on questions regarding authority, obedience, ideas of love, friendship and freedom and ponder not only on the present, but also on the past.

Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and the context in which it was written and first performed have been the subject of centuries of interpretation and research. Controversies on the early modern material that pours into the fabric of the play have led to questions on the actual connection between *The Tempest* and New World travel narratives. Given the more or less subtle exploration of such topics as natural abundance, civility, freedom, authority and religious belief in Renaissance travel writing on the New World, it becomes evident that a whole body of knowledge about the remote parts of the world was produced and circulated at the time Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest*, albeit his play is set in the Mediterranean and not on an island off

the coasts of the newly discovered territories. We may also argue that the discovery itself was already over a century old at the time of the play's performance, yet sixteenth-century voyages to the new land were fraught with danger and vicissitudes and English attempts to explore and establish colonies on the east coast of the New World sometimes ended in failure, death of the colonists, conflicts with the natives and financial ruin. A whole body of criticism on *The Tempest* suggests that some of the topics and themes of Renaissance travel writing permeate the play and endeavours to trace the possible connections between it and contemporary travel reports, as well as between Shakespeare and Englishmen involved in the exploration and colonisation of the New World at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.[2] Textual and social archaeology looks for clues in the text of the play, contemporary correspondence related to the Virginia colony and travel reports that might reveal what material about the New World might have circulated in Shakespeare's age and whether it is echoed in the play.

**Dramatists and colonists**

In anticipation of our discussion of the connection between the play and Renaissance travel writing, we wish to start from Stephen Greenblatt's (2007) study of the language of colonisation in "Learning to curse: aspects of linguistic colonialism in the sixteenth century" (22-51) and dwell on the metaphor of the theatre which appears to underpin numerous early modern texts of great diversity. Looking at Prospero and Caliban's relationship from a linguistic perspective, Greenblatt recalls Terence Hawkes's analogy between dramatists and colonists in *Shakespeare's Thinking Animals*, in

[2] For discussion of the connection between *The Tempest* and early modern travel reports, see Robert Ralston Cawley. 1926. "Shakspere's Use of the Voyagers in *The Tempest*." *PMLA* 41 (3): 688–726, Charles Frey. 1979. "*The Tempest* and the New World." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 30 (1): 29–41, John Gillies. 1986. "Shakespeare's Virginian Masque." *ELH* 53 (4): 673–707, Stephen Greenblatt. 2005. "Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne." *The Greenblatt Reader*. Ed. Michael Payne. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing. 229-260, Stephen Orgel. 1998. Introduction. *The Tempest*, by William Shakespeare. Oxord, New York: Oxford University Press. 1-87, Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky. 2007. "Shakespeare and the Voyagers Revisited." *The Review of English Studies* 58 (236): 447–72, Alden T. Vaughan. 2008. "William Strachey's 'True Reportory' and Shakespeare: A Closer Look at the Evidence." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59 (3): 245–73.

which the latter suggests that, on the one hand, a colonist plays the role of a dramatist as he describes the new world in his own language and consequently renders it familiar, and endows it with their own language, while, on the other, the dramatist may act as a colonist who, in their exploration of new territory, expands cultural boundaries and creates new worlds for the imagination to explore (33). While he acknowledges the difficulty of looking into the analogy in the context of criticism against colonialism, Greenblatt considers Caliban's language and unyielding resistance to Prospero and Miranda's civilising claims as Caliban insists that the only profit he has derived from being taught how to talk is that he has learned to curse:

> Caliban's retort might be taken as self-indictment: even with the gift of language, his nature is so debased that he can only learn to curse. But the lines refuse to mean this; what we experience instead is a sense of their devastating justness. Ugly, rude, savage, Caliban nevertheless achieves for an instant an absolute if intolerably bitter moral victory. There is no reply; only Prospero's command: "Hag-seed, hence! / Fetch us in fuel," coupled with an ugly threat […]. (35)

Greenblatt's discussion of the language of colonialism extends from *The Tempest* to Walter Ralegh's *History of the World* and the Spanish *Requerimiento* of 1513, which came into force the following year, and examines the essential beliefs on language and reality that deny the possibility of cultural and linguistic barriers and legitimise colonial practices (39-40). The creative, dramatic potential of colonialism seems to find its support in the opportunistic universalism of certain Renaissance texts concerned with the New World. And in that respect, the language of colonists with its purported universal comprehensibility plays an important role in shaping native cultures and describing them in familiar terms. It is worth asking the question whether the dramatic potential of travel reports is limited to their use of language and commonplaces or if there they evince other qualities that might support the analogy between dramatists and colonists.

The sixteenth century saw the rise in popularity of the idea of theatre. The theatre, or theatrum in Latin, could be identified in the title of

numerous nonfictional works of botany, geography and history. As suggested by Ann Blair (1997) in *The Theater of Nature*. *Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (160) and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene (2020) in "The *theatrum* as an urban site of knowledge in the Low Countries, c. 1560-1620" (33), the theatre was not simply a site of renewed interest in classical architecture and literature. Beyond these clear humanist preoccupations, the theatre was a metaphor, a design according to which knowledge of the world could be organised and transmitted. The popularity of the metaphor, as suggested by the numerous works that include the word theatre and its Latin version theatrum in their title, shows that the idea of theatre became engrained in early modern culture. In the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, theatres also included humanist works that were encyclopaedic in their scope. Among them, we count Theodor Zwinger's Theatrum vitae humanae (1565), Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarium* (1571), Jean Bodin's *Theatrum Universae Naturae* (1605). The metaphor of the world as theatre is made explicit in Bodin's *Theatrum*, where the world invited contemplation and understanding of divine power, wisdom and benevolence:

> Indeed you ask for the most beautiful and difficult thing of all which I would consider myself supremely happy to have acquired if I could acquire it from some mortal or god: because we have come into this theatre of the world for no other reason than to understand insofar as we can, by contemplating the appearance of the universe and all the actions and individual works of the greatest Creator of all things, his admirable power, goodness, and wisdom, and to be swept away more ardently in praise of him. (qtd. in Blair 1997: 154)

Whereas Bodin's *Theatrum* was a work of natural history, Ortelius's was an atlas. In fact, it was a systematised atlas, although collections of maps predated its publication. The theatrical design of Ortelius's work becomes evident from the *Typus orbis terrarum*, the world map with which it opens. The quotations from Cicero and Seneca in the five cartouches argue for a Stoic attitude which involves knowing one's place in the universe and contemplating the world from a vantage position that makes human affairs and people's engagement less significant. This vantage

position would also be that of a mapmaker, as John Gillies (1994) would suggest (81). A brief look at the design and contents of these works reveals that the idea of theatre with its implied contemplation of the world had extended from the field of drama to other fields of knowledge production. Theatres of natural history, theatres of maps, theatres of anatomy, theatres of botany, they all seem to reveal a design for the systematisation of knowledge that remains open to further emendation and which may play aesthetic and instructive roles. In Blair's terms (1997), the idea of theatre serves a moral purpose, which brings together understanding and entertainment, and a formal purpose, which provides a global design for extensive subjects (14). However, it would be worth asking the question whether the idea of theatre was restricted to works that contained the name in the title.

Apart from William Strachey's letter on the almost disastrous expedition to Virginia in 1609, which has been often cited in relation to the New World narratives that may be relevant for *The Tempest*, Stephen Orgel (1998) refers in the introduction to the Oxford Shakespeare edition of the play to Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* of 1588 as exemplary of the relation of the old and new worlds (34). Orgel looks into Theodore de Bry's edition of Harriot's report, which was published in Frankfurt in 1590, and which, apart from the original text authored by Harriot and a reworking of John White's watercolour drawings, included a series of copperplate engravings of earlier inhabitants of Britain, among which those of the Picts, in order to show that they had been "as savage as those of Virginia" (34). Moreover, the de Bry's edition of Harriot's report of Virginia opened with an engraving of Adam and Eve picking fruit from the Tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden. In the foreword to the 1590 edition, de Bry compares the early history of humankind to the state of the 'savage nations' and decrees the latter worthy of "the recognition and the admiration of the English" (Sloan 2007: 85). The ethnographic account of Virginia provided the English with the opportunity to contemplate not simply their own past, but the past of the entire humankind. More importantly, de Bry's edition shifts the focus from natural history and advertising pamphlet to ethnographic description by including

the representations of the ancient Picts (Davies 2016: 269-70).[3] Orgel (1998) suggests that this historical perspective provides "another reason for Prospero to acknowledge Caliban as his own" (35). Greenblatt (2007), on the other hand, dwells on the ambiguity of "this thing of darkness I/ Acknowledge mine" (V. 1. 275-76), arguing that, following Caliban's "assertion of inconsolable human pain and bitterness," Prospero simply admits there is a bond between them, yet it is not very clear what awaits Caliban once the former regains his power and his dukedom (36). If what Britain acknowledges is a bond with its past in the contemporary New World, and if, in de Bry's terms, the natives are worthy precisely of recognition, and even admiration, then Caliban, apparently not worthy of Prospero's appreciation, deserves at least to be accepted.[4]

The 1590 edition of Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* differed from the original in terms of illustrations. The copperplate engravings based on John White's watercolours contained additional elements. The plates showed more fish in the water, more abundant crops, more vegetation, in other words, a more fertile land. The plate depicting *An Indian man and woman eating* differs substantially, one might even say dramatically, from the original. Apart from the surplus of food, the natives direct their eyes from their meal and look out of the engraving, in the direction of the reader, as if aware that someone might be looking at them (Sloan 2007: 144). The redirected gaze of the natives invites the question if there is not some theatrical quality to their representation in de Bry's edition of Harriot's report. The report with its thorough description

[3] Surekha Davies (2016) argues that, by including the engravings of the ancient Picts, de Bry's 1590 edition recontextualises Harriot's description and White's illustrations "within broader representational trends in ethnography, cartography and natural history" (269) and, in doing so, it heightens the role of the visual material (272). What seems noteworthy is the potential of original material derived from travel reports to be reworked so as to serve natural historians, geographers, cartographers, and even dramatists.

[4] Sam Smiles compares John White's watercolours to Theodore de Bry's copperplate engravings and considers the context of sixteenth-century historiography as he proposes an interpretation of the images of the Picts and their neighbours based on the debate regarding humanist antiquarianism and imperial designs (2009: 105). Smile argues that "the British plates, in their display of a fierce and martial race, help to insinuate a positive response to the Indians living near the Virginia colony. The British warriors prompt the reader to consider how much more peaceable the Indians are and how tractable they would be in receiving the fruits of civilization from Europeans" (112).

of resources, people, customs and beliefs emerges as an early modern geographic and ethnographic text, while the illustrations, be they watercolours or copperplates, add to its informative and aesthetic qualities. In this respect, it may underpin what Blair (1997) described as the moral theme of theatres, namely, the combination of instruction and entertainment (14). The engravings that visually narrate the everyday practices and rituals of the Roanoke Indians seem to offer a spectacle of life in the New World. It becomes difficult to ignore that a play entails not only a dramatist, but also an audience, an English and even a European audience. It is perhaps this audience that the woman in the plate illustrating an Indian meal is looking at or, in Prospero's terms, which she acknowledges.

**A quest for sources: New World material on the English stage**

The history of textual archaeology is rather controversial in the case of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Orgel (1998) places the beginning of the quest for travel narratives that we may find echoed in the play at the beginning of the nineteenth century and points to Charles Frey's 1979 article, "*The Tempest* and the New World," as the most relevant work with respect to the relationship between the play and early modern travel reports (32). Indeed, Frey's article lists not only Renaissance exploration narratives that we find echoed in *The Tempest* but also provides a timeline for the controversy around these sources and the arguments cited by the critics who support the hypothesis of a connection between the play and travel writing and those who dismiss it as unsubstantiated. Frey (1979) begins his discussion by acknowledging that, despite the play's setting in the Mediterranean, there are several references to the New World in *The Tempest*: the Bermudas are mentioned by Ariel, Setebos, a god worshipped by South Americans, according to Eden's translation of Magellan's encounter with the Patagonians is mentioned by Caliban, Trinculo speaks of "a dead Indian" (II. ii. 33), not to mention Miranda's wonder at the "brave new world" (V. i. 182) (29). Frey places the beginning of identifying possible New World material in the play early in the eighteenth century (29). He also remarks that the difficulty of understanding various words or phrases in the play can be overcome since "useful evidence for many such meanings in *The Tempest* is provided by outside reading in travel literature

of the New World." (33) Frey points to what he believes to be the real purpose of this quest: the relevant question is not what sources Shakespeare used for *The Tempest*, but "what linguistic and narrative force-field we should bring to the play to disclose its meanings." (33) In other words, possible sources and their ability to cast light onto the play are more relevant than attempts to designate a particular exploration narrative as one of Shakespeare's sources for *The Tempest*. Frey suggests that, in the absence of certainty, New World texts may provide a framework for the interpretation of the play, a proposal that proves both reasonable and auspicious, given the historical controversies surrounding William Strachey's letter.

Among the texts cited for their similarities with the play, we mention Francis Fletcher's account of Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the world in 1577-80 (35-37), Richard Rich's Newes from Virginia of 1610 (38-39), and de Bry's edition of Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (39), where the text is introduced by the Latin descrition "Admiranda narratio fida tamen, de commodis et incolarum ritibus Virginiae ... Anglico scripta sermone, a Thoma Hariot" (39). Frey draws attention to the interplay between reality and fantasy in the minds of explorers, which recalls Hawkes's analogy between colonists and dramatists and the linguistic potential of colonists to shape the world and the potential of dramatists to expand the limits of the imagination:

> My point is not that Shakespeare must have read Rich, though it seems likely he did. My point is that we tend not to appreciate the extent to which some themes, situations, incidents, and even phrases in *The Tempest* were part of the common coin of Shakespeare's day. To examine this coin, to read such accounts of the voyagers and adventurers, is to enrich one's understanding of the play. Shakespeare shows how what happened and what was hoped for tended to mingle in the minds of far travelers who said they found what they sought, their woes all changed to wonder, and their losses yielding to greater gain. (1979: 38)

To understand the linguistic and geographic potential of drama and travel writing can be illuminating to both kinds of texts. "In melding history and romance," Frey suggests, "[…] Shakespeare merely dramatized what

his contemporaries enacted" (39). Frey's choice of terms seems to strengthen the perception of exploration narratives such as Thomas Harriot's Report as theatres of the New World to a certain degree.

The history of William Strachey's relevance for *The Tempest*, however, is far from simple and does not manage to steer away from controversy. A 2007 article by Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky places Strachey's letter (True Reportory) in the complex context of Renaissance plagiarism and publication only to argue that Strachey had a penchant for plagiarism of his own works and of the travel narratives of others and that similarities can be traced between his letter and earlier texts (447-472) just as they can be identified between other works by Strachey, such as History of Travel, and authors like Eden, Acosta and Hakluyt (456). Stritmatter and Kositsky contend that "Strachey has a reputation for appropriating the passages and distributing them throughout his own work without acknowledgment" (458), which further complicates the discussion of the connection between exploration narratives and *The Tempest*. Conversely, Alden T. Vaughan (2008) argues against their point and maintains that textual and historical information contradicts Stritmatter and Kositsky's suggestion that Strachey wrote the letter not in 1610, but in 1612 or later, and that he was a plagiarist (268). Vaughan places Strachey's borrowing from other authors in the context of Renaissance writing and publishing practices and concedes that "Strachey related many events he had witnessed, but he also borrowed freely, unashamedly, and often without specific attribution. That was typical of his era." (269). Both the True Reportory and the play begin with descriptions of terrible storms and continue with tales of despair, insubordination and salvation, leading Vaughan to conclude that "Strachey offered a basic outline for the play's meteorological and insular elements and for many of its human interactions" (273). Cawley's 1926 article "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in *The Tempest*" cites other possible sources for the play, based on similarities between *The Tempest* and other texts such as A True and Sincere Declaration by the Virginia Company (1610) and Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588) (688-726). If we attempt to summarise a very long story of textual affinities between *The Tempest* and travel tracts, we may find that the play draws both on earlier

and on more recent exploration narratives that dwell on sea voyages, natural bounty, novelty, native social practices and religious beliefs.

Central to the arguments connecting Strachey's True Reportory and Shakespeare's play are the crisis of authority and the threat of conspiracy. The discussion involves a consideration not only of Renaissance notions of political power and legitimacy, but also of love and obedience, of conformity to the law and rebellion. We suggest that such notions that extend to ethnographic and geographic descriptions of the New World may be found elsewhere in exploration narratives and that they reveal a concern not only with expanding English dominion overseas but also with the construction of authority and legitimacy.

**Dramatists as colonists: on love, obedience and the crisis of authority in *The Tempest***

In the introduction to the Oxford Shakespeare edition of *The Tempest*, Stephen Orgel (1998) writes that, on the island, Prospero compensates for his loss in Freudian fashion. Orgel remarks the absence of wives and mothers and argues that Prospero

> has reconceived himself, as Miranda's only parent, but also as the family favourite child. […] He has been banished by the wicked, usurping, possibly illegitimate younger brother Antonio: the younger brother is the usurper in the family, and the kingdom he usurps is the mother. On the island Prospero undoes the usurpation, recreating kingdom and family with himself in sole command (19).

However, Orgel insists that Prospero is himself a usurper and that he and the witch Sycorax have much in common: a "demand for unwilling servitude", "continual threats of constriction and painful imprisonment" (20). From this point of view, Prospero seems much like a monarch, a Renaissance monarch. He threatens and tests Ferdinand, fills Miranda's heart with fear, coerces Ariel to do his bidding and delays his release from service, and, according to Caliban, "has cheated him of the island" and keeps him in his power, terrorising him. The seeds of tyranny feed on magic as they would feed on spectacles of power staged on the scaffolds of early

modern England. Or, as Stephen Greenblatt (2005) argues, "Prospero's magic is the romance equivalent of martial law" (249).

Magic is used to instil fear and inspire a sense of wonder among old and new conspirators as well as among the lovers, Miranda and Ferdinand. In "Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne," Greenblatt (2005) remarks on the use of anxiety triggered by the shipwreck or the threat of punishment, and followed by forgiveness to strengthen loyalty, defer dissent, mix fear with joy. By avoiding execution or any other kind of punishment, the characters are saved by means of pardon or marriage (238–242). Greenblatt identifies instances of salutary anxiety on both Renaissance scaffolds and stages and defines it as an aesthetic and social strategy (242). While the salutary anxiety of the plays aims to please, the salutary anxiety of government aims to maintain order and reinforce authority. The social products of such anxiety are love and obedience:

> Renaissance England had a subtle conception of the relation between anxiety and the fashioning of the individual subject, and its governing institutions developed discursive and behavioral strategies to implement this conception by arousing anxiety and then transforming it through pardon into gratitude, obedience, and love. These strategies were implicated from their inception in the management of spectacles and the fashioning of texts; that is, they are already implicated in cultural practices that are essential to the making and staging of plays. There was no need in this case for special modifications to adapt the techniques of salutary anxiety to the theater. Indeed the theater is a virtual machine for deploying these techniques in a variety of registers, from the comic anxiety that gives way to the clarification and release of marriage to the tragic anxiety that is at once heightened and ordered by the final solemnity of death. (235)

However, the purpose of salutary anxiety in the plays may not be solely to entertain. We may at least suspect that it could give rise to questions on the nature of authority. The complex issue of usurpation in *The Tempest* casts light on Caliban's resentment and disobedience:

> This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
> Which thou takest from me. When thou camest first,
> Thou strokedst me and madest much of me, wouldst give me

Water with berries in't, and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night: and then I loved thee
And show'd thee all the qualities o' the isle,
The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile:
Cursed be I that did so! All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you!
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king: and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' the island. (I. ii. 331-344)

After launching accusations of usurpation at Prospero and recalling his affection for him, Caliban is ready to worship other gods. He loved Prospero for the wonders that he revealed to him and abhors him for the pleasures that he took from him. The bonds of love seem frail, and Caliban does not display too much willingness to obey Prospero. If, in Hawkes's terms, explorers and colonists have the linguistic potential to shape the world they encounter and to describe it in familiar terms, Caliban uses the potential of the language he has been taught to launch curses and threats. His curses, replete with references to fens, invoke a landscape that is not entirely welcoming and reflect his claim to the island and his refusal to acknowledge Prospero's authority. Love has turned into resentment. Apart from malediction, Caliban's words recall a *topos* that was specific to travel narratives of the New World: the image of bounty.

Images of abundance range among the most common in early modern travel reports for obvious reasons. Ventures of exploration and colonisation required extensive funding and the main function of these reports was to draw resources that were necessary for these voyages. Travel pamphlets played an advertising role. However, the tropes they employed in advertising for these overseas ventures were familiar to Old World readers. John Gillies (1986) argues that there is a moral geography that is poetically and dramatically constructed in the play and which resorts to "a pair of rhetorical *topoi*," namely, "the ideas of temperance and fruitfulness," which were used extensively by travel pamphlets to represent Virginia (676). The original rhetorical construction of the New World as a place of riches, an

almost prelapsarian site of abundance that requires little to no effort to its fruit, was tempered by the reality of less successful voyages that failed to either yield too much profit or to provide potential colonists with a new paradise of long-term health and shelter. Following the voyages of Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh in the late sixteenth century, expectations of wealth decreased while news of misadventures ranging from shipwreck to rebellion and conflicts with the natives, famine and disease multiplied and dented the paradisal image of Virginia. Gillies argues that this crisis which threatened the myth of Virginia was resolved by creating a "moralised landscape" of Ovidian inspiration in which the notions of temperance and fruitfulness were transferred from the description of the territory to the character of the colonists (676-677). Indeed, colonists and the apologists of Virginia used the potential of language to shape the world and describe the landscape of Virginia in terms of temperance, which would promote good health (673) and fruitfulness. However, given the financial threat of unfavourable reports from the New World, the two ideas were transferred from the land to the colonists and the potential for abundance and good health of Virginia came to depend on their character of its colonists, on their willingness to labour and prove obedient (681). Considering the historical context of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century exploration of the New World, the imagery associated with Virginia had to accommodate less favourable accounts and still promote its promise, even if tempered by notions of virtue, diligence and discipline. In Shakespeare's play, the image of the island depends on the nature of the character that looks at it, its potential for good or evil being a reflection of their mind (682-684). Intemperance translates as disobedience, an inclination to conspiracy, idleness and greed. In travel reports, the nature of Virginia depends on the disposition and the abilities of the colonists.

**Colonists as dramatists: on love, obedience and worship in Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia***

Faced with the reality of exploration and colonisation, the apologists of Virginia resorted to tropes that were familiar to English readers: greed and dreams of wealth were replaced by the willingness for labour and the cultivation of discipline, threats to the authority of the English were relieved

by the love and fear they inspired, while religion could play an important role in the success of these ventures. A look at the 1590 edition of Thomas Harriot's True Report reveals that the simplicity of John White's watercolours has been replaced by the refinement of the copperplate engravings in which the topos of fruitfulness is revived: the engravings add further details to the original and present Virginia as more bountiful than White's illustrations. More fish, more crops, more vegetation, more resources suggest that the land is fruitful. Harriot's report is structured in its description of natural resources and native people.

The land yields abundant fruit and the inhabitants wonder at the ingenuity of the English. Their potential for obedience lies in the admiration and fear that Old World inhabitant inspire. Harriot (1590) first allays the concerns of his fellow Englishmen and comments on the impossibility of the Indians to match the weapons of the English in case of resistance, pointing out that they have "no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withall, neither know they how to make any[…], neither haue they any thing to defend themselues but targets made of barcks; and some armours made of stickes wickered together with thread" (24). The natives, by force of their limited skill, art and science, argues Harriot, are bound to befriend and love the English, desire to please and obey them. But he may be responding to fears regarding plantation, to doubts and questions on the nature of what he calls "the savage nations" (38). And the nature of the natives is quite relevant to his fellow Englishmen for it may reassure them that the natives are amenable to the ideal of civility and order in England: loyalty, love, servitude and obedience. Such qualities will only reinforce authority that rests on the law and religion. Whatever crisis of authority may be feared in England or the New World, the odds are in favour of the English.

> In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before thinges of greater value: Notwithstanding in their proper manner considering the want of such meanes as we haue, they seeme very ingenious; For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences and artes as wee; yet in those thinges they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit. And by howe much they vpon due consideration shall finde our manner of knowledgeś and craftes to exceede theirs in perfection,

> and speed for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they shoulde desire our friendships & loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped if meanes of good gouernment bee vsed, that they may in short time be brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true religion (25).

Harriot proceeds with a detailed description of their religious beliefs: they have a hierarchy of gods, believe in the afterlife, and show reverence for the dead. But the true potential of the natives who seem to mirror the aristocratic and royal desires of the English involves the apotheosis of the English in Virginia:

> And this is the summe of their religion, which I learned by hauing special familiarity with some of their priestes. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories but through conuersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiratiõ of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more than we had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expresse.
>
> Most thinges they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea compasses, the vertue of the loadstone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was shewed manie strange sightes, burning glasses, wildefire woorkes, gunnes, bookes, writing and reading, spring clocks that seeme to goe of themselues, and manie other thinges that wee had, were so straunge vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the works of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bin giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made manie of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of god and religion already, it was rather to be had from vs, whom God so specially loued then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that we spake of concerning such matters (27).

There seems to be a mixture of the matter-of-fact style and the humble tone of Harriot, reverent to the royal authority he serves, the humility of which is matched by that of the Indians faced with technological accomplishments of the English and the cognitive dilemma of divinity and

mortality and the nature of the English planters. Perhaps we may read in their dilemma both the triumph and the crisis of authority. Triumph in the sense of inspiring awe and obedience among the Indians, and crisis in the sense of beginning to fear that these men will replace them and speaking of a prophesy that ties marvellously, as Harriot would put it, with a series of incidents. In what follows, the Indians try to entreat the English to ask for the death of their enemies of their God but the English refuse since it is "ungodly" and try to reinforce their humble position. However, a series of incidents described as a "marvelous accident" revive the dilemma regarding the nature of the English (29). Men started to die in the enemy towns of the Indian chieftains, which had not been very friendly to the English either. Nobody knew how, in the absence of an open conflict, the natives started dying mysteriously. Harriot reports that the English and their God inspire awe among the Indians to the point that confusion arises as to their either human or divine nature. The absence of women or of the need for women among the English further enhances their chances of being thought immortal.

In "Invisible bullets," Greenblatt (2005) draws attention to the apparently subversive strategies of Renaissance discourse that reinforce the very power they subvert (122, 127-128). His study starts from a consideration of Harriot's *True Report*. The famous Elizabethan mathematician was suspected, like Marlowe and Raleigh, of atheism. In fact, Harriot's association with Raleigh and the accusations of atheism informally brought against him might already point to the subject of Greenblatt's argument – the use of religion to strengthen loyalty and its subversion by men such as Harriot in travel reports that aim to praise and reinforce royal authority and legitimate imperial projects such as the plantation of the New World. Greenblatt argues that *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588) contains the subversive seeds of religious anthropology of Machiavellian extraction (125). And this anthropology of religion sees in the savage nations of the New World a younger, uncivilised version of the English and in their tendency to worship the English and their confusion about the human or divine nature of the English planters a younger version of the English people in relation to a class they admire and allow to supply them with a set of laws regarding

their social conduct. It is not easy to assess if there is subversiveness or self-awareness of such subversiveness in Harriot's report. But perhaps Harriot himself would have been aware of the mortal danger of questioning the divine authority of earthly government and governors.

The temperance of the air in Virginia, the fruitfulness of the land, the modesty of its inhabitants, their potential for worship, love and obedience serve a clear advertising purpose. Like Raleigh, Harriot was deeply involved in promoting the success of the overseas venture of colonising Virginia. His attempt to train Indian interpreters that would mediate successfully between the English and the native people, his effort to create a universal alphabet that could ease communication, his mapmaking of Virginia, all testify to Harriot's complex ties with the exploration and colonisation of the New World. As for the subversive nature of his description of native religious beliefs, it may prove difficult to appraise given its potentially lethal consequences.

We have argued that the notion of theatre not only lends its name to a number of nonfictional texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but also provides a design for works of geography, botany, anatomy, natural history. We have also argued that there is a somewhat theatrical quality to the copperplate engravings of de Bry's edition of Harriot's True Report. The argument can be further strengthened by a look at the frontispiece of the report. At the very centre of the architectural ensemble that emerges as a richly decorated stage is the title of the report. The personification of continents or virtues that can be identified in works of geography such as Abraham Ortelius's Theatrum orbis terrarum and Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's Civitates orbis terrarum has been replaced by representations of native people in what announces an ethnographic and geographic description of Virginia. Both visually and textually, Harriot's report presents the reader with tableaus of Indian life that inform and invite contemplation. However, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* also serves a clear economic purpose as it encourages financial support. Although they may draw on familiar tropes to describe an unfamiliar territory and peoples, colonists expand the boundaries of what is imagined in the attempt to describe novelty and the interplay between what they sought and what they found.

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# Possible Implied Meanings in Prince Philip's Most Quoted 'Gaffes'. Are we (mis)led by their online Romanian version?

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**Abstract:**
This paper is intended as a pragmatic analysis of the online Romanian version of Prince Philip's most quoted 'gaffes' in point of their possible implied meanings. Once Prince Philip's death was announced, media networks and news sites chose to remind their readers of some of his best-known 'gaffes' by posting a selection of them on their websites. Our hypothesis is that by simply defining them as *gaffes* and using the term in their headlines, the media, as addressers, discouraged the readers from calculating any pragmatic inferences, the intention of the media being to obtain a confirmation bias reaction. Moreover, the readers of the Romanian version of the replies (posted on hotnews.ro) were expected to react assuming a common ground, based on their thinking clichés regarding the concept of political correctness, the cultural backgrounds of Prince Philip's interlocutors and, last but not least, the psychological and communicative profile of Prince Philip as the speaking source. Any inadequacy or error in the translation of the replies would only add to possible misinterpretations.
Even if the intentions of a speaker are not entirely known, the immediate situational context cannot be neglected when calculating them, unless the source itself intentionally gives their replies (apparent) autonomy from that narrow context, seemingly to encourage their taking at face value, or, on the contrary, multiple interpretations.
**Keywords:** implied meaning, Prince Philip, gaffe, Romanian translation

## Introduction

This paper is intended as a pragmatic analysis of the online Romanian version of Prince Philip's most quoted 'gaffes' in point of their possible implied meanings, but without disregarding their face-value interpretations, when the latter seem the most appropriate.

The hypotheses that triggered and motivate our research are:

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- the addressees are encouraged by the addressers' strategies (the media) to think along common ground clichés (for example, political correctness vs. discrimination), which results in a confirmation bias reaction matching their own objectives: the readers, in their role of addressees, uptake the replies as delivered by the media;
- the simultaneous multifaceted approach of the social context through verbal interaction, i.e. the manifestation of more than one type of relationship between the interlocutors by using different registers of the same language, may qualify as a type of metaphorical switch. The respective individual choices of the speaker would require the addressees to calculate the inferred meanings for themselves;
- Prince Philip as the speaking-source can signal dual social positions: his social identities are simultaneously inhabitable and they can create ambiguity, and even exploit it strategically (Woolard 1999: 16-17 in Hall and Nilep 2015: 601), which can mislead the addressee pragmatically.

The general premises to be considered in our analysis are:

a. a good knowledge of the source's personality, communicative behavior, and intentionality; nevertheless, their manifestation can be distorted, discouraged, or even banned; Philips (1998: 358) discusses some cases when the speaker is "part of an institution which changes [or tries to change, our note] his identity [and outlook, our note], as he is caught up in its practices"; Prince Philip fights this tendency but, paradoxically, his attempts of breaking free discursively become subject to misinterpretation and misjudgment;

b. a good knowledge of the situational context; the immediate or larger situational context is highly relevant for the source, but since it is generally viewed as typical to the source's major dimension of the social role, it may become secondary as importance.

In point of the method chosen, we have in view a quantitative and qualitative pragma-semantic analysis, in the line of the compositional theory of meaning, but also considering the presuppositional context which is part of a conceptual world, in an attempt to make use of opposite theoretical frames.

## I. Theoretical background

### *1.1. Language and thought: presuppositional context vs. compositional theory of meaning*

> "Chomsky (1964) takes the primary function of language to be its use in the free expression of thought[2]. He speaks approvingly of Humboldt's emphasis on the connection between language and thought, especially the way in which a particular language brings with it a world view that colours perception, thought, and feeling: „[T]he concepts so formed are systematically interrelated in an 'inner totality', with varying interconnections and structural relations . . . This inner totality, formed by the use of language in thought, conception and expression of feeling, functions as a conceptual world interposed through the constant activity of the mind between itself and the actual objects, and it is within this system that a word obtains its value . . ." (1964: 58–9 in Harman, p. 595)."

In line with this, implied meaning becomes as natural as the role of perception on thought, since inferences determine the course of thoughts, and so does the presuppositional context, part of one's conceptual scheme.

A theory of the content of thought might exploit the Humboldtian idea that the meaning of a linguistic expression is derived from its function in thought as determined by its place in one's total conceptual scheme. Sellars (1963) identifies the meaning of an expression with its (potential) role in the evidence-inference-action language game of thought. Quine (1960) has argued that meaning at this level admits of a special sort of indeterminacy (*ibidem* 599).

Keeping with the argumentation above, the opposite view, the compositional theory of meaning (based on the assumption that a hearer determines the meaning of an utterance on the basis of the knowledge of the meanings of its syntactic structure components) remains relevant because sentence meanings are identified with relevant general (i.e. community-shared) messages, i.e. thoughts' contents[3], via the code.

[2] The claim that language is used primarily in thought is based on the identity between the language used to communicate and the language used to think with.

[3] According to Grice (1957), the thought meant is the one the speaker intends the hearer to think the speaker has, by virtue of his recognition of the speaker's intention.

### *1.2. Humour: jokes, gaffes & blunders*

What is humour? To Holmes (2000: 163) it refers to "utterances which are identified by the analyst, on the basis of paralinguistic, prosodic and discoursal clues, as intended by the speaker(s) to be amusing and perceived to be amusing by at least some participants." In face-to-face interaction, the definition does not account for unintentional and failed humour. In our case, the selection of Prince Philip's utterances by the hotnews journalists rules out this remark.

When attempting to describe the characteristics and role of humour, it is noticeable that this all-encompassing and complex concept triggers a certain level of generality in its approaches.

Humour occurs in many forms and conversational settings and to Norrick (1993: 129) its function is "smoothing the course of interaction", in line with Holmes (2000: 166): "the most general or basic function of humour is to amuse. But one can ask *why* does the speaker wish to amuse the audience." Her answer is to study humour as a form of politeness (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987).

Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) introduced the successful metaphor of humour being used for "bonding and biting" (*affiliative* and *disaffiliative* – perceived as aggressive), the role of humour as an interpersonal function device being obvious in this case. "[...] all utterances are multifunctional…Hence, a humourous utterance may, and typically does, serve several functions at once" (Holmes 2000: 166). Jane Holmes concludes that "in work contexts humour can be used by subordinates as a subtle (or not so subtle) license to challenge the power structure, as well as by those in power to achieve the speaker's goal while apparently de-emphasizing the power differential" (*ibidem* 176).

As far as humour forms and their respective characteristics are concerned, we select three, relevant to our analysis: *jokes*, *gaffes* and *blunders*. Most *jokes* revolve around stereotyped shared knowledge and puns revolve around shared knowledge of the linguistic system, both of which hardly lend themselves to testing (Attardo 2015: 170, referring to Sacks' "understanding test" (1989)); consequently, there appears a distinction between *improvised/spontaneous jokes* and *canned jokes*, the latter being already "pre-packed", stored in the (collective) memory and

used whenever considered appropriate. *Gaffe* is a term chosen by media in headlines and defined by its political correctness-relatedness; originally, it was connected to shows, which indicates the focus on the source who assumes the role of the amuser. The source remains extremely relevant when defining a *blunder*, but in this case there is a double relevance: the source assumes the role of the amuser, but also performs a face-threatening act aimed at the various identity facets of a referent. The same intention is behind *teases* (Drew 1987), *playful insults* (Hay 1994), or *irony* (Gibbs 2000; Eisterhold, Attardo and Boxer 2006; Kotthoff 2003), all mentioned by Attardo (*ibidem* 172) as triggering serious reactions, as opposed to the typical ones (laughter or silence). He introduces the term *mode adoption* to name the process of uptaking the humourous dimension of the IF and reacting typically and positively, i.e. "in kind" (*idem*).

**II. Contextual dimensions: cultural background typology - the source, the addresser & the target audience/readers**

The simultaneous multifaceted approach of the social context through verbal interaction (i.e. the manifestation of more than one type of relationship between the interlocutors by using different registers of the same language), may qualify as a type of metaphorical switch. "Conversational or metaphorical code switching can be defined as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems (Gumperz 1982: 59)."

> "At the heart of this distinction lies the assumption that there are situational parameters such as participant constellation, topic, mode of interaction, etc., that allow one to predict language choice; there is a "simple almost one-to-one relationship" (Gumperz, 1982: 61) between extra-linguistic parameters and the appropriate language for this situation (Auer 1984: 88)."

If we agree that metaphorical switching qualifies as expressing or simply making the interlocutor infer more than one relationship with the same situation, then we should agree that the markers are atypical discursive

features, even within the frame of the same code: lexical choices, syntactic combinations, and inference triggers count as such.

### *2.1. The profile of the source - identity facets: why do they use humour?*

We believe that both the potential intrinsic and extrinsic reasons of Prince Philip's use of humour fit those mentioned by Tannen (1984): "one of the most distinctive aspects of any person's style is the use of humour" (Tannen 1984: 130) and "humour makes one's presence felt" (*ibidem* 132). We strongly believe that the intrinsic reason has to do with Prince Philip's psychological profile as an intelligent, involved, and active personality, whereas the extrinsic reason lies in his need to express himself (i.e. his true self), "filling" the frame of his social role with the substance of modern thinking and consequent courses of action. As it appears, humour, as a mitigator and change facilitator, proved to be one of the solutions he found to constantly fight against his early position at the Court, that of a purely symbolic and submissive personage; his revolt had been sublimated into his rhetorical question "What am I? Am I an amoeba?" Throughout time, his replies that have become famous quotes prove quite the contrary.

As a speaker addressing a variety of audiences, he intentionally plays upon the thinking clichés, but in all the quotes under analysis the speaking source observes the following levels:

1. stating something/inquiring about something;
2. laughing at an atypical/uncomfortable/unacceptable situation; S makes an expressive SA;
3. encouraging the inferential process (given the syntactic and semantic structure of the utterance).

The third level should not be considered obligatory, meaning that the possible inferences should not block the interpretation of the utterance at face value, if more appropriate.

The assumed constant features of the source-speaker are the [+disaffiliative] attitude and humour, as a form of conscientiously and (self-) ironically assuming the role of "Court jester", and consequently being willing to threaten his face while making the most of his status/position on

the vertical axis of power precisely by assuming dual social positions marked by the occurrence of atypical discursive features.

### *2.2. The profile of the Romanian addressers reflected in their organizing the selected quotes. The target audience*

The profile of the Romanian addressers (quite abstract, since we talk about a news site) may be very difficult to draw, but it is obvious that the selection of the quotes might not have implied any changes from the set recirculated by the international media once Prince Philip died. For the corpus under discussion, we believe that the economic interests of the news media in getting high access rates of the quotes (what they called *gaffes*), due to the position of the source and, in close relation to him, due to the topics approached, exceed any political interests possibly linked to promoting a certain image of the British monarchy, and by extension to the concept and perception of monarchy in general.

Nevertheless, domination and subordination relations determine a certain linguistic ideology, whether we consider general discourse ideology (Philips 1998) or community of use ideology. In their turn, "linguistic ideologies shape and constrain discourse, and thus shape and constrain the reproduction of other kinds of ideologies, such as ideologies of gender, race and class (Hill 2008: 33)." There is a causal relationship between ideas about language and the actual use of language. And gender, race, and class ideologies have become thinking clichés that Prince Philip fights against by apparently embracing.

The manner of organizing the quotes combines the chronological criterion with that of alternating the themes, to counterbalance the effect of stylistic monotony caused by repetitive patterns. The perlocutionary effect on the target audience will depend on their presuppositional context, on their social and psychological profiles, and also on their level of general and communicative competence. Our hypothesis is that the target readership was considered to be primarily made up of different gender, age, and class subcategories. Following Hofstede's classification (1980), the Romanian target audience belongs to a type of culture which historically manifested as rather masculine, favouring high power distance, high uncertainty

avoidance, and formality, and being at the same type a mixture of individualism and collectivism.

These features definitely influence the possible interpretations of the utterances under discussion.

## III. Mini-corpus analysis

Our quantitative and qualitative pragma-semantic analysis of the mini-corpus selected will take into consideration the interlocutor typology, the SA locutionary characteristics, and possible illocutionary values, based on different uses of humour.

Attardo (2015: 183) refers to a triangulation method he advocated (first in 2012), according to which

> "any given instance of humour is given an evaluation based on all the available evidence, both theoretical and circumstantial and considers several factors, such as:
> (1) markers including laughter and smiling and other markers such as orthographic ones in written text, graphic ones (e.g., smiley faces), acoustic ones (laugh tracks), and so on;
> (2) a full semantic/pragmatic analysis of the text, along the lines of the cognitive theories of humour, to uncover the incongruity of the potential humour.
> and (3) any metalinguistic indications of the humourous intention of the speakers."

### *3.1. Quantitative analysis*

We consider it appropriate to establish some relevant criteria which help us to group the utterances under discussion. Three were found: topic, group- vs. community-orientedness, and situational context dependence. These are factors which could help obtain the intended perlocutionary effect or, on the contrary, quite an unexpected one.

#### *3. 1. 1. Establishing pertinent criteria of grouping the quotes*

Considering the speech events which included and actually triggered the analysed utterances, topic ranks first in importance for the participants (whether active or passive), followed by the approach of a referent by the

speaking source according to their belonging to a community and/or group; the (immediate) situational context-dependence is the general criterion which qualifies the examples as a mini-corpus; that dependence is expressed in the form of some minimal information about the speech event.

a. Topic: general themes vs. political themes

According to our analysis, general themes include gender, health, environment, eating habits, and fashion. Political themes cover British social issues (use of firearms; migrants; education, and alcoholism) - 7 occurrences or with foreign policy issues - 8 occurrences. It is obvious that political themes prevail, hence a politically-correct bias reaction, if intended, might be triggered more easily. Table 1 indicates how the utterances were distributed according to the theme approached.

b. Group-orientedness (G) vs. larger community-orientedness (C)

Group-orientedness includes, but it is not limited to, gender, ethnic, or professional communities; in many cases, group-orientedness is ambiguous or proves irrelevant pragmatically. Larger community-orientedness references a population/nation. Most mini-corpus examples refer to large communities (9), whereas the number of examples clearly referring to smaller groups is 5. The third case is represented by utterances in which the reference to a group or to a larger community is equally possible (6) and they are particularly interesting from the perspective of the analysis.

Table 1 indicates if the analysed utterances can be subsumed to the set oriented towards the community (C), to a group (G), or are intended as group–oriented by the source, but generally interpreted as community-oriented by the addressers, as a result of the overgeneralization process (G & C); consequently, a confirmation bias reaction is expected from the readers as addressees; the opposite case is much rarer, and consists in the confirmation bias interpretation by the source of a group-oriented reality as involving a whole community (C& G).

| No. | Political themes | | General themes |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **British social issues** | **Foreign policy** | |
| 1. | 1966: Femeile britanice nu știu să gătească”/ “British women can’t cook.” (C) | 1967: „Mi-ar plăcea foarte mult să merg în Rusia - deși ticăloșii mi-au ucis jumătate din familie” - întrebat fiind dacă ar dori să viziteze URSS/ “I would like to go to Russia very much–although the bastards murdered half my family.” When asked if he would like to visit The Soviet Union. (G & C) | 1984: „Ești o femeie, nu?” - în timpul unei vizite în Kenya după ce a primit un cadou de la o femeie locală./ “You are a woman, aren't you?” *In Kenya after accepting a small gift from a local woman.* (C) |
| 2. | 1981: „Toată lumea spunea că trebuie să avem mai mult timp liber. Acum se plâng că sunt șomeri” - în timpul recesiunii care a lovit Marea Britanie în 1981./ “Everybody was saying we must have more leisure. Now they are complaining they are unemployed.” *During the 1981 recession.* (C & G) | 1986: „Dacă mai stați aici pentru mult timp o să aveți toți ochii oblici” - către un grup de studenți britanici în timpul unei vizite regale în China/ “If you stay here much longer you'll all be slitty-eyed.” *To a group of British students during a royal visit to China.* (G & C) | 1986: „Dacă are patru picioare dar nu e scaun, dacă are două aripi dar nu e avion și dacă înoată dar nu e submarin, cantonezii (n.r. chinezii) o să-l mănânce” - la o întâlnire a unei organizații conservaționiste. / “If it has four legs and it is not a chair, if it has got two wings and it flies but it is not an aeroplane and if it swims but it is not a submarine, the Cantonese will eat it.” During a meeting with an environment |

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| | | | preservation organisation.(C) |
| 3. | 1996: „Dacă un jucător de cricket, de exemplu, decide subit să intre într-o școală și să omoare cu bâta de cricket o mulțime de persoane, lucru pe care l-ar putea face foarte ușor, veți interzice bâtele de cricket?" - vizavi de cererile de a interzice armele de foc în Marea Britanie ./ "If a cricketer, for instance, suddenly decided to go into a school and batter a lot of people to death with a cricket bat, which he could do very easily, I mean, are you going to ban cricket bats? " I*n response to calls to ban firearms after the Dunblane shooting.* (C & G) | 1993: „Nu se poate să fi trăit aici de atât de mult timp, nu ai burtă mare" - către un britanic pe care l-a întâlnit în Ungaria./ "You can't have been here that long, you haven't got a pot belly." *To a Briton he met in Hungary.* (C) | 1992: „Oh, nu, s-ar putea să iau vreo boală oribilă" - în Australia când a fost invitat să mângăie un urs koala./ "Oh, no, I might catch a ghastly disease." (when asked to stoke a koala in Australia) (C) |
| 4. | 1995: „Cum îi țineți pe indigeni departe de băutură suficient de mult pentru a trece testul?" - către un instructor auto din Scoția./ "How do you keep the natives off the booze long enough to pass the test?" (to a Scottish driving instructor). (G& | 1994: „Nu sunteți majoritatea din voi urmași ai piraților?" - către un locuitor bogat al Insulelor Cayman./ "Aren't most of you descended from pirates?" *To a wealthy islander in the Cayman Islands.* | 2001: „Ești prea gras să fii astronaut" - unui băiat în vârstă de 13 ani care i-a spus că vrea să ajungă în spațiu./ "You're too fat to be an astronaut." *To 13-year-old Andrew* |

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|---|---|---|---|
| | C) | (G& C) | *Adams who told Prince Philip he wanted to go into space.* (G) |
| 5. | 1999: „Arată de parcă a fost asamblat de un indian" - referindu-se la un panou electric vechi în timpul unei vizite la o fabrică din Edinburgh. (C)/ "It looks as if it was put in by an Indian." *Referring to an old-fashioned fuse box in a factory near Edinburgh.* | 1998: „Deci ai reușit să nu fii mâncat?" - întrebare adresată unui excursionist britanic care a călătorit prin Papua Noua Guinee (C) "You managed not to get eaten then?" *The* Prince *asked a British student who had been trekking in Papua New Guinea, in 1998.* | 2002: „Arăți ca un sinucigaș cu bombă" - unei tinere polițiste care purta o vestă antiglonț (G) "You look like a suicide bomber." *To a young policewoman wearing a bullet-proof vest.* |
| 6. | 2010: „Ai o pereche de chiloți făcuți din asta?" - către politiciana conservatoare scoțiană Annabel Goldie în timp ce arăta înspre un tartan (G & C) "Do you have a pair of knickers made out of this?" *To Scottish Conservative leader Annabel Goldie Pointing while pointing to some tartan in Edinburgh.* | 2002: „Încă aruncați cu sulițe unii înspre ceilalți?" - întrebare adresată unui aborigen australian. (C)/ "Still throwing spears?" *Question put to an Australian Aborigine during a visit.* | 2009: „Ei bine, nu ți-ai gândit barba prea bine, nu?" - către creatorul de modă Stephen Judge cu privire la ciocul său minuscul (G) "Well, you didn't design your beard too well, did you?" *To designer Stephen Judge about his tiny goatee beard.* |
| 7. | 2010: „Lucrezi într-un club de striptease?" - către o cadetă în vârstă de 24 de ani a Marinei Marii Britanii care i-a spus că lucrează într-un club de | 2013: „Filipinele trebuie să fie pe jumătate goale din moment ce toți sunteți aici lucrând la NHS (n.r. sistemul de | |

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|---|---|---|---|
| | noapte. / "Do you work in a strip club?" *To 24-year-old Barnstaple Sea Cadet Elizabeth Rendle when she told him she also worked in a nightclub.* (G & C) | sănătate public al Marii Britanii)" - către o asistentă medicală filipineză din Luton./ "The Philippines must be half empty as you're all here running the NHS." *On meeting a Filipino nurse at Luton.* (G& C) | |
| 8. | | 2013: „[Copiii] merg la școală fiindcă părinții lor nu îi vor în casă" - către Malala Yousafzai, activista pakistaneză care a supraviețuit unei tentative de asasinare de către talibani și militează acum pentru dreptul fetelor de a merge la școală în țările musulmane. Malala a câștigat Premiul Nobel pentru Pace un an mai târziu./ "[Children] go to school because their parents don't want them in the house." *To Malala Yousafzai, who survived an assassination attempt by the Taliban and now campaigns for the right of girls to go to school without fear.* (C) | |

Table 1. The distribution of the utterances according to the theme and group/community-orientedness

c. (Immediate) Situational context-dependence: utterance ratio 20: 1. The only example de-contextualized and re-contextualized to fit the addressers' intentions has the Coding Time mentioned, its relevance being though debatable: *British women can't cook* (1966); in all the other cases, additional premises are mentioned, which can favor a political correctness-related interpretation.

*3. 1. 2. Hypothesizing on the role of these criteria in obtaining the intended or an unintended perlocutionary effect*

The predominance of political themes, mostly concerning foreign policy, given the perception of the social role of the source, predisposes the readers towards political correctness-related interpretations; general themes concern basically all societies, therefore culture-based opinions, subjectivity (influenced or not by the receiving time), and (induced) political correctness can each tip the scales in point of possible pragmatic interpretations.

We hypothesize that the other two criteria, i.e. group/community membership and immediate situational context dependence, tend to be subsumed by the first, because the media aims at obtaining a confirmation bias reaction based on (alleged) political correctness. Group/community membership might become the prevailing criterion in decoding the message if the interpreter identifies him/herself with the group/community referred to, most probably because they would be members/members of similar groups, in which case subjectivity might prevail and positive discrimination[4]-based interpretations follow.

***3.2. Qualitative analysis at the level of each group. Relevant linguistic structures. Implied meanings vs. face-value interpretation***

The utterance *Femeile britanice nu știu să gătească*/*British women can't cook* appears like a community-centered axiom. The context is highly relevant, since the year when it was uttered, 1966, is related to The

[4] Even if the syntagm *affirmative action* might be the politically correct term, we use the term *positive discrimination* because we believe that it expresses much better the negative dimension of such thinking and practice.

Women's Liberation Movement, the sexual revolution, and the general reconfiguration of women's social roles. Nevertheless, the general premises based on thinking clichés are that *Man appreciate good food* and *women must cook well.* On the other hand, regarding Prince Philip, his genetic German heritage and cultural background, including his childhood and adolescence years spent in France, after going on exile in 1922, add to the two general premises. Prince Philip, as the message source, laughs at an uncomfortable situation, and presents things as a fact, assuming and asserting simultaneously the social roles of a man and a gourmet. At the illocutionary level, we consider the utterance to be a violation of the Maxim of Quality (of course, some British women can cook quite well), and should be taken at face value. In this case, humour is intended by Prince Philip as a form of amazement, acceptance, and maybe even an incentive for getting back to/maintaining the traditional family roles. It might very well qualify as a joke.

From this perspective, most Romanian readers, being rather conservative in viewing the social roles within the family, could favour the adequate interpretation of the utterance, i.e. in line with the source's intentions; it would be a case of humour uptaking, i.e. [+mode adoption] humour, in Attardo's terms.

The addressers, i.e. the media, would rather obtain a confirmation bias reaction from the readers: the media favours the interpretation of the utterance as an example of a blunder, a gender community-oriented one, based on a critical overgeneralization; it would become a case of [-mode adoption] humour, turning Prince Philip's de- and re-contextualized utterance into an offensive anti-feminist statement. In our view, Prince Philip played with the various social roles assumed, threatening his face as Prince Consort by expressing a true personal opinion so bluntly. It wouldn't be a gaffe, but an assumed speech act.

The second example of the thematic group contains generic value pronouns/determinative phrases (E. *everybody;* an inclusive *we, they;* Rom. *toată lumea,* an implicit *ei*), whose indeterminate reference helps to express an overgeneralized criticism. The source, Prince Philip, expresses his apparent amazement directed towards a group (the unemployed), but extended to a whole community (the nation). The literal interpretation of the

utterance causes the readers to draw a logical inference that is paradoxical, since it absolutizes the terms, allowing no gradability: *(a lot of) work means lack of spare time; lack of work means (a lot of) spare time*. In fact, it is too much work which causes lack of spare time, not work as such. The source creates a typical example of British humour to elicit a serious reaction; there is, nevertheless, a pragmatic inference which can be made, if a political perspective and the source-role are considered: no policy seems good enough for a nation who doesn't understand objective reality. The utterance counts as a blunder, with the source assuming the FTA, even if for the media as addresser and for the readers, it might be a gaffe. The linguistic context makes reference to the 1981 recession in Great Britain, which can support both the latter interpretation and the former. The utterance partly de-emphasizes the power differential Prince Philip – the masses (see the solidarity inclusive *we*), only to give him the occasion to use his power position to express a bitter smile-causing paradox. It cannot be denied that the utterance underlies his observance and immediate concern when faced with what he considers a superficial emotional reaction. Romanian readers might react differently in relation to the possible interpretations: the older generation might favour Prince Philip's attitude, since they are used to the long working hours due to their experience during the Communist regime, while the younger generations would interpret the utterance as politically incorrect.

The third example of the group has many similar characteristics. The pronoun *you* has an indeterminate reference, opposing the speaking source to a group (those wanting firearms to be banned), viewed by the former as a whole community which includes the public and possibly any political forces, if they are in accordance. Prince Philip uses a rhetorical question to state a fact: it is wrong to focus on the means (firearms) rather than on the cause (unbalanced people). Like in the previous example, he makes a FTA for the same reasons and for the same purpose, that of raising awareness. The reference to a sport loved by the British, cricket, creates a sense of community with the addressees; the premise that cricket wouldn't exist without the bat, which is a piece of equipment necessary for the game, determines the implicature *anything can become a weapon in the wrong hands*. The reference to a school under a potential attack appeals to the

sensitivity and responsibility of the British as parents, and also creates a bond, implicitly signaling his own role of a parent. For Romanian readers, that type of reality is just an abstract concept, since the use of firearms is severely restricted in Romania, but the reference to a sport and especially to a school might ease the decoding of the message, since it appeals to their social roles as sports fans and, above all, as parents.

The fourth example approaches the subthemes of migration, British industry, and skilled workforce. The situational context (focus on an old electrical installation, seen on a visit to a plant) is mentioned in order to lead to the intended message: to the speaker, the reference to the old installation triggers the association with the image of a migrant Indian's inadequate skills. Prince Philip's reply is technically directed towards a (smaller or larger) group, itself a part of an ethnic community, but functions as a teaser meant as an incentive for change. A biographical detail should be considered: the man who was perceived by Prince Philip as the father figure (and behaved accordingly) was Lord Mountbatten, rather inclined towards socialist ideology and definitely a supporter of India's independence. This detail is relevant to determine the thinking patterns Prince Philip had as models in his formative years. It would be quite natural to consider those premises before deciding to interpret the utterance as a blunder, moreover, as a gaffe, directed towards an entire ethnic community (the Indian migrants in UK), if not towards a nation.

The next example is extremely interesting to discuss, since it contains a series of key words and phrases which might trigger pragmatic inferences: Scottish, Tory politician, tartan, and the proper name Annabel Goldie, itself. How are these key words and phrases to be rated by an interpreter in order to make the most adequate interpretation? At first sight, the rhetorical question would be interpreted by the media and the readers as an offending FTA, a threatening speech act directed either at a gender community (i.e. women, or an ethnic community, i.e. the Scots). In both cases, the speaking source acts discriminatorily, either by assuming the social role of a male chauvinist or as a nostalgic of the British imperialists' view. The sexist interpretation would be, obviously, more at hand for the male interpreters, Romanians included. The ethnic community-oriented interpretation would presuppose some historical knowledge, including of the

movements for Scotland's independence. Undoubtedly, the premises for such interpretations are there: the referent under discussion is a woman, a Scot, and a Tory politician; the speaking source, at the uttering moment, has a whole history of atypical discursive strategies.

But, without ruling out such interpretations, they leave room, we think, for some nuances determined by additional premises: the speaking source is a supporter and admirer of women's potential, otherwise he wouldn't have assumed his primary social role; as for his relationship with Scotland and everything it means, it is enough to refer to his biography and mention Gordounstoun School, a Scottish private school where Kurt Hahn, his professor and mentor throughout his life, helped him find self-reliance and stability. The utterance qualifies as a blunder, humour in the form of teasing, functioning as an incentive for change and an encouragement: as a Scottish woman politician one needs to reconcile one's gender identity to one's political identity. He tests her limits against the clichés: how far is she willing to go? Prince Philip has his own experience in mind in turning a rather symbolic and passive social role into a complex and active one, by changing realities and allowing himself to be changed in the course.

The penultimate example is also addressed by the speaking source to a woman, hence the tendency towards interpreting it as a community-oriented gaffe by the media and virtually by the readers all over. The key words and phrases are Royal Navy cadet, aged 24, female, nightclub, and striptease. Such an interpretation is a clear case of confirmation bias reaction, based on reducing the referent's identity to gender identity. Prince Philip is reduced to his gender identity, and so is his young interlocutor: he appears as a man seeing a young woman who says she works in a nightclub to support herself, while being a RN cadet, but all that a man would be interested in is her gender identity, hence he asks about the type of nightclub, the implicature being that he would like to see her naked. Most male readers, like the media, would go along with such interpretations, since they are catchy.

In our view, the adequate premises (which the speaking source is aware of) in order to start the inferring process are: 1. there are typical jobs young women are preferred for; 2. young people take jobs to pay for their tuition. This presuppositional context causes the speaker to use humour as a

form of acceptance, and even encouragement for her to continue her training in the Royal Navy; such an intention is based on his role of social observer and attitude-molder.

The last example, *„Cum îi țineți pe indigeni departe de băutură suficient de mult pentru a trece testul?" − către un instructor auto din Scoția./How do you keep the natives off the booze long enough to pass the test? (to a Scottish driving instructor)* can be misleading because of the key word *indigeni/natives* in reference to Scots, since it might imply that the speaking source, Prince Philip, assumes the superior identity of a British native, detaching himself and possibly looking down on a part of his subjects. Such an interpretation would be neither truthful to facts nor in accordance to his communicative intentions. Nevertheless, a political interpretation is the only one appropriate but the utterance is group-oriented, and the humoristic effect has an accommodation and incentive-for-change function; it illustrates the "bonding and biting" strategy; the utterance counts as a blunder, meant to determine a serious perlocutionary effect. The generic reference of the NP *the natives* is the result of an overgeneralization, the implicatures being: all Scots are drunkards; they are drunk all the time and implicitly unreliable. It would be very easy to consider that the utterance is community-oriented, and a confirmation bias reaction on the part of the readers would follow. It is a FTA that Prince Philip performs, but the generic reference is intentional and meant to draw one's attention to a serious matter. The social roles assumed by him are those of an involved leader, aware of the realities and curious about the solutions: the discussion with the driving instructor (himself a Scot) is the best proof. Otherwise, insulting the community, i.e. a whole nation, would mean insulting the interlocutor, too, which would have blocked any communication. The interlocutor is perceived through his socio-professional role. For most Romanian readers, the ethnic approach would rank second, we think, compared to the drinking theme, which would facilitate the adequate interpretation of the utterance in accordance with its illocutionary value.

The foreign policy group of utterances is extremely interesting for the humoristic approach of ethnic communities, ideologies, mentalities, historical origins, and lifestyle.

In the middle of The Cold War, Prince Philip uses humour to express tolerance and accommodation, signaling his primary social role (Prince Consort), as a symbolic ambassador of his country, in parallel with the signaling of his family identity. *„Mi-ar plăcea foarte mult să merg în Rusia - deşi ticăloşii mi-au ucis jumătate din familie" - întrebat fiind dacă ar dori să viziteze URSS. / I would like to go to Russia very much–although the bastards murdered half my family. When asked if he would like to visit The Soviet Union.*

The use of the proper name *Russia* suggests the reference to the community, i.e. people, and also the speaker's diplomatic and benevolent attitude. Apparently it contrasts with the second part of the utterance, but, in fact, the ironical-accommodating attitude relating to the country and the people is enhanced by the reference to the representatives of the regime, the Bolsheviks, referred to by a taboo word, *bastards*. The insulting term seems group-oriented, with strict reference to those responsible for killing the tsar and his family, but the Communists are a group which identifies itself with the whole indoctrinated nation, since they imposed their ideology and its consequent practices. The question about a possible visit to Russia is provocative, since the media are quite aware of the German roots of Prince Philip, the same as those of the Romanov family, and a possible blunt signaling of his personal pain and maybe even hatred would have made the headlines. Instead, a superior attitude of realism but also of openness is conveyed to the readers. The emotional overtones of the utterance, i.e. the anti-Bolshevik attitude, would be fully understood and sympathized with by the Romanian readers due to the historical context of the Soviet occupation after the WWII; they would equally grasp Prince Philip's communicative strategy, since making fun of difficult situations is part of their philosophy of life.

The next example is a group-oriented utterance and the interlocutors are a group of British students present there during one of Prince Philip's visits to China: *By the time you get back home you'll have slitty eyes. (to some British students during an official visit to China).* His humoristic effect is based on a metaphor which extends the reference to a whole community: British young people, the young British generation of

the time. The message is that they should consider themselves advised against being captivated by the Communist ideology.

Of course, the narrow situational context-based reference could be to Chinese lifestyle, but, at that time, it couldn't have been separated from the official ideology which was impregnated into any aspect of everyday reality. The implicature, quite easily understood by the Romanian readers, due to the similar situational context is: young people are impressionable and idealistic, easily drawn to utopic ideas.

The next example also deals with the British people living abroad and, more or less, adapting to the natives' lifestyle. The interlocutor is specific and definite in this case, the subthemes are food and being overweight. The fat belly becomes a symbol of Hungary's lifestyle and the British interlocutor, although living there for a long time, does not show any sign of it, which results in Prince Philip's use of humour as a form of amazement, the utterance is group-oriented but expressed as if it were community-oriented, in order to play upon thinking clichés by apparently accepting them. That clearly contradicts its presentation as a gaffe. Meant as a personal remark addressed to a clear addressee, it can be considered a blunder, but only functioning as a teaser in relation to that interlocutor. After all, the fat belly as a symbol, sends implicitly to tasty food, unless it is a sign of medical problems. In our view, rich and tasty food is the key concept of the message intended, therefore, there is also a politically correct inferred meaning.

The next three examples share some situational context features: exotic location, reference to the historical origins and ancestors, the relationship past-present. A bias confirmation reaction could be expected by the media, since apparently Prince Philip signals the social role of the civilized and civilizing British upper-class member, exhibiting the mentality of a colonist. Beyond this rather superficial variant of interpretation, there is also the interpretation of the speaker's humour as a teaser, but also as a form of amazement and acknowledgement of the progress made by the regions referred to, implying that there should be realistic expectations and no denying of their roots. The Cayman Islands are seen as a financial paradise and the reference to pirates when talking to a rich inhabitant of the island can connote dishonesty, but also courage, initiative, or resourcefulness. In

the other two quotes, the theme is 'primitive' violence and cannibalism, approached in our view by using humor not as a form of insult, but as a form of accommodation to a different reality, the interlocutor being a British resident of the region. The message of the utterance is an attempt to accept in amazement a new lifestyle, and the immersion into a world which is totally different from Western European society.

The two last examples of quotes deal with the subthemes of migration and schooling. A politically incorrect interpretation of the utterances, as community-directed, seem appropriate, since Prince Philip is quite explicit.

Nevertheless, regarding the penultimate example, as in others previously analysed, he assumes an active social role as an involved leader and proves to be extremely informed and concerned about the labour market, the particular situation of the NHS, and the effects that the migration of skilled workforce has on the domestic economies of the source countries. Humour takes ironical nuances, the indirect criticism being in our view small community-directed, both at those Filipinos who leave their country for a better life, proving to be rather individualistic, but also towards the NHS that benefits from the advantages of hiring qualified people who might accept smaller wages than the natives, while the migration source countries have spent huge sums of money with their training. A confirmation bias reaction would be envisaged by the media, since Prince Philip's criticism can be viewed as a manifestation of a retrograde view against the free movement of people. With so many highly qualified Romanians living and working in the UK, including in the NHS, Romanian readers would, in this case, favour the confirmation bias reaction and take the utterance as a blunder which is community-oriented.

The last example, referring to schooling, is presented with a series of details of the interlocutor's life: Malala Yousafzai, a Pakistani militant for women's right to education in Muslim countries, a survivor of an attempted murder by the Talibans and, later, a winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace. Such a presentation, opposed to Prince Philip's reply, places the latter almost on the same side with her opponents, in terms of political views. But we suggest a more complex interpretation, at least mitigating the gender-oriented discriminatory remark. His own schooling was taken very

seriously, and later, his own educational programme, The Duke's Educational Programme, and also Scouts Programme are just two examples proving his concern with the young generations. But, in the case under discussion, we consider that his early exile, his mother's premature death and generally the fact that he was deprived of a real stable home make him cherish the role and background of the family in the process of educating children. The reply could be the overgeneralization of a personal frustrating childhood experience of a sensitive nature, even if the speaker is quite blunt in his observations and his assertive strategy hides that sensitivity. On the other hand, maybe the individualistic lifestyle of many 21-st century parents, who are pursuing their own objectives and pleasures rather than minding their own children, could have triggered such a reply. Romanian readers, belonging to a society which is a mixture of individualism and collectivism, but behaving quite protectively with their children and being focused on the family, would probably take the utterance as a gaffe, in line with the biased reaction envisaged by the media.

Getting to the last set of replies grouped by us under the heading *general topics*, it is true that many could be interpreted as pertaining to the set dealing with political issues, whether domestic of foreign, since the locations, interlocutors or general situations would favour such an approach. Nonetheless, some details mentioned by the media offer relevant information about the situational context of the verbal interaction and are premises for less biased interpretations. At a deeper level of interpretation, all the examples deal with the relationship appearance-essence, whether we talk about gender groups (men or women), age groups (adolescents), or [−human] referents, be they animals or objects.

For the utterance *„Ești o femeie, nu?" în timpul unei vizite în Kenya după ce a primit un cadou de la o femeie locală/* "*You are a woman, aren't you*?" *In Kenya after accepting a small gift from a local woman*, the key words are woman, native, Kenya, and gift. It would be too simplistic to reduce the utterance to a generic community- (i.e. the Kenyan nation) and gender-oriented FTA, and thus reduce the speaking source to a cliché: the limited, pretentious, and chauvinistic white male individual, a symbol of white race supremacy attitude. The premise would be: men are visual human beings, therefore group-assignment is done primarily according to (familiar)

visual signals, for the category *woman*, too. A woman is what looks like a woman, therefore the implicature would be *you don't look like a woman.* An intentional playful insult? An unintentional gaffe? Considering first the main social role of Prince Philip and also his quality as a guest, moreover receiving a gift, a face-value interpretation of his question is in order. He uses humour precisely to mark his openness to cultural diversity, and genuinely looks for confirmation. He signals a dual social role as a foreigner, and as man and guest, in need to act gentlemanly in relation to a woman. The translation of *native* by *locală* and not *băştinaşă,* or *indigenă*, might make the Romanian readers infer that the utterance could be group/small community-oriented and that small community could have specific garments, atypical to the European observer.

The utterance *„Arăți ca un sinucigaș cu bombă" – unei tinere polițiste care purta o vestă antiglonț/* "*You look like a suicide bomber." To a young policewoman wearing a bullet-proof vest*, should be analysed by starting from the following premises: the situational context is that following the 9/11 terrorist attacks; there are policewomen in the police force; Prince Philip is a witness and an informed observer of the events. Interpreting the utterance requires the activation of thinking patterns such as *protection means camouflaging to look like danger-source itself*, or *action determines an equal reaction.* The politically-correct interpretation would treat the utterance as a blunder, a FTA directed towards a gender community, women, and equally towards a professional community, police force members. By stating a fact based on visual effects, and using humour interpreted in relation to the interlocutor in that particular situation means connoting it with the functions of accommodation (to the idea that safety prevails over feminine appearance) and even encouragement, since the blunt comparison might cancel any hesitations or fears of a member of the police force, due to age or sex traits; to us it is clear that the utterance was referent-directed, under the circumstances of the narrow situational context, which is not specified by the media, precisely to favour a confirmation bias reaction following misogynistic thinking clichés.

The other examples of the group illustrate thinking clichés, too, related to approaching the overweight issue with teenagers, fashion, or animal protection (and abuse), but we consider that the speaking source

actually exploits such clichés through humour. The utterances are directed towards the interlocutors as individuals, and any extrapolation to their group/community identity should be made with caution, considering the contextual premises. Telling a teenager that he is too fat to become an astronaut looks like an insult, but humour can function as an incentive for change to Prince Philip, who favours explicitness. One should find their strong points rather than have unrealistic goals. Telling a famous fashion designer his negative opinion about the latter's appearance in point of eccentricities is also an example of perceiving the interlocutor as an individual, who can take a sincere criticism, not as a self-centered celebrity.

The subtheme of animal protection is also approached with humour by Prince Philip: he refuses to stroke a koala, when in Australia; his reply can be interpreted as a realistic reaction to the premise *any animal can be a pet.* He assumes a dual social role: he identifies himself with the persona represented by an individual genuinely fearful of diseases (and death), but also makes use of his official position to speak his mind against the above-mentioned premise. The implicature conveyed is *not any animal can and should be (treated like) a pet.* Not interfering with wildlife and their habitats is the best way of loving them. The same message is conveyed by the utterance referring to the species used by Canton Chinese as food and Prince Philip makes up a sort of a riddle in order to express that message with the intended poignance. The politically correct interpretation would focus on the community of canton Chinese, turning the utterance into a FTA, rather than focusing on the made-edible referents. The situational context (i.e. mentioning the professional association that the listeners were part of) should direct the readers towards an adequate interpretation. Animal protection and environment preservation policies interfere in many cases with traditional lifestyle and it wouldn't be easy to accommodate them.

**Conclusions**

Identifying the speaker's identities is essential for an adequate interpretation of the utterances, in spite of the inherent pressure exerted by their politically-correct reading. The speaker's social roles are implicitly negotiated and the perlocutionary effect depends on that, but the identification of a certain/multiple simultaneous social and discursive role(s)

in the context may be THE perlocutionary effect intended by the speaking source, Prince Philip.

Social and moral authority is turned into power in discourse: paradoxically, the speaker "changes hats" as Goffman put it: Prince Philip shifts to one of his secondary social roles while remaining in his primary one, even if apparently he exits it; thus, he affords to use atypical discursive features in the context, including humour, for his communicative purposes.

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