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*Les idées, c'est
comme des gosses.
Il ne suffit pas
de les avoir, il faut
les élever.*

(Daniel Picouly,
écrivain)

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**Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*: Male Warrior Ideal
vs. Grotesque Female
Passivity¹**

(*Marloweov Tamburlaine the Great: Mužský bojovník
verzus groteskná ženská pasivita*)

MILENA KOSTIC

ABSTRACT

In his *Tamburlaine Plays*, Marlowe, aware of the danger of the male warrior ideal, supplies his soldier, Tamburlaine, with the consort, Zenocrate. She is compared to the cold contemplative light of the moon; together she and Tamburlaine should form the active and passive principles of life in its balanced totality. But, this Promethean/Herculean hero does not use the opportunity given to him: to prove that he can also become Orpheus, the artist and the lover, who, inspired by his love, subdued wild animals, not by any coercive power, but by the power of his song. Zenocrate's love cannot inspire Tamburlaine to abandon a destructive warrior ideal as Shakespeare's Antony did upon discovering in the Egyptian Cleopatra his 'content absolute'. The chief interest of the play centres on Tamburlaine's military power. To this ambition, all other relationships are subordinated. The most important of these marginalized relationships is the one to Zenocrate and the female values in general. For Tamburlaine, falling in love is not a submission, but rather an exercise of power. He uses Zenocrate as he uses the suit of armour to enhance the sight of his own power. She is a commodity, together with the armour, the gold and the captured lords. His commitment to Zenocrate is basic and lasting, but it is not allowed to dominate. Ted Hughes' 1992 study *Shakespeare and the Goddess of Complete Being*, will be of tremendous help in the analysis of these themes and motifs and their mutual relationships. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plays can certainly be regarded as his critical examination of the Herculean mind, and a warning against the nascent colonialism - Marlowe makes it prophetically clear that the price to be paid for military omnipotence and colonial success is the loss of the soul, epitomized in his tragically grotesque female character, Zenocrate.

KEY WORDS

Promethean/Herculean hero, Orpheus, male principle, female principle, soul, colonialism

Although Ted Hughes dedicated his study, *Shakespeare and the Goddess of Complete Being* (1992), to Shakespeare's plays, it can be of tremendous help in the analysis of the motif of the crime against the feminine which, for the purpose of this paper, will be traced in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine Plays*. Hughes sees the whole of Shakespeare's plays as underlined by a single mythic metaphor, a mythic equation whose first element is the rejection and destruction of the Goddess by the new patriarchal god. Shakespeare's archetypal model is the myth of Venus and Adonis, the Great Goddess and her consort, the sacrificed god, which was one of the most widespread myths in the religions of the archaic world. Instead of responding in kind, as in the original myth, Shakespeare's Adonis, a rational, moralizing young man, rejects the infinite passion of the Great Goddess and

¹ This article is an excerpt from the author's MA thesis, *The Faustian Motif in the Tragedies of Christopher Marlowe*, defended at the Faculty of Philosophy, Nis, Serbia, under the supervision of prof. Lena Petrovic, in March, 2009.

goes hunting, that is, commits himself to a new conception of male virtue, *arête*.² Part of the equation is the consequences of this crime for Western man and his society. Western history, from then on, would be generated, as the rejected Venus prophesied, by ‘power-crazy’ men. Psychologically, the madness is shown in Shakespeare’s tragedies to be the result of the rejection of the Goddess, which “implicates the ego in a simultaneous rejection of its own soul.”³ Finally, the equation contains a project, realized only in Shakespeare’s last plays, of reconciliation with the Goddess and recovery of the lost soul.

This power-crazy Adonis is reincarnated in a variety of Herculean heroes, one of them, of course, Marlowe’s Tamburlaine. The chief interest of the play centres on his military power. To this ambition, all other relationships are subordinated. However, aware of the danger of this ideal, Marlowe supplied Tamburlaine with the consort, Zenocrate. She is compared to the cold contemplative light of the moon; together she and Tamburlaine should form the active and passive principles of life in its balanced totality. But, this Promethean/Herculean hero does not use the opportunity given to him in Marlowe’s play, to prove that he can also become Orpheus, the artist and the lover, who, inspired by his love, subdued wild animals, not by any coercive power but by the power of his song. Zenocrate’s love cannot inspire Tamburlaine to abandon a destructive warrior ideal as Shakespeare’s Antony did upon discovering in the Egyptian Cleopatra his ‘content absolute’.

Tamburlaine’s relationship to Zenocrate and the female values in general is of marginal character. For him, falling in love is not a submission but rather an exercise of power. As Daiches notices, “it is significant that Tamburlaine regards Zenocrate as someone precious whose possession signifies power: as the daughter of the Soldan of Egypt she represents a high and ancient lineage, as the betrothed of the King of Arabia she represents a challenge, and as having supreme beauty she is, like a supremely precious stone, of inestimable value.”⁴ He uses Zenocrate as he uses the suit of armour to enhance the sight of his own power. She is a commodity which, together with the armour, the gold and the captured lords, is put on display to persuade Theridamas to become a traitor.

In so far as Tamburlaine can experience love as a surrender to another human being, he stifles it immediately. Hence, claims Waith, “his commitment to Zenocrate is basic and lasting, but it is not allowed to dominate”⁵. Two scenes especially, from Part I, are a good illustration of Tamburlaine’s unnatural priorities, and I want to examine them in some detail.

Tamburlaine claims at first that the purpose of his military campaign is to win Zenocrate, whose incomparable beauty is more precious to him than the Persian crown:

Zenocrate, lovelier than the love of Jove,
Brighter than is the silver Rhodope,
Fairer than the whitest snow on Scythian hills,
Thy person is more worth to Tamburlaine
Than the possession of the Persian crown,
Which gracious stars have promised at my birth. (1.2. 87-92)

But subsequent events cast some doubt on whether Zenocrate is really more important to Tamburlaine than ‘slippery crowns’. They also demonstrate that Zenocrate is much more human than Tamburlaine who scarcely descends to the human level. She remains silent while he delivers this hymn to her virginity and purity. At that moment, a conflict starts to take place in her mind between a desire to be loyal to her father and a wish to prove herself worthy of Tamburlaine’s love. Agydas plays the part of her absent father and tries to get her to return to the voice that declares that all Scythians are engaged in ‘lawless rapine’:

How can you fancy one that looks so fierce,
Only dispos’d to martial stratagems?
Who, when he shall embrace you in his arms,

² According to Hughes, the Great Goddess manifests itself in three aspects: the Mother, the Sacred Bride and the Queen of the Underworld. The tragic error occurs when the rational hero splits the Goddess into the part that confirms and supports his rational existence and the part that would disrupt it. He cherishes only one her aspect (The Goddess of Benign Love) and suppresses the other (The Goddess of the Underworld). This act of separation is the tragic error, because he cannot reject the one without rejecting the other, and marks the beginning of dramatic consequences. The rejected part of the Goddess, angered by suppression, works to find a way back to life and poses a threat to the rational ego, which must be demolished before she is accepted again, and the hero healed. This is the motif of Shakespearean madness; Marlowe’s heroes do not undergo this madness, but then they do not get reconciled with the Goddess.

³ Ted Hughes, *Shakespeare and the Goddess of Complete Being* (London, Faber and Faber, 1992), 43.

⁴ David Daiches, “Language and Action in Marlowe’s Tamburlaine”, in *Christopher Marlowe: Modern Critical Views*, ed. Harold Bloom (Chelsea: Chelsea House Publishers, 1986), 83.

⁵ Eugene Waith, “The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden”, in *Marlowe: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Clifford Leech (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1964), 77.

Will tell how many thousand men he slew;
And when you look for amorous discourse,
With rattle forth his facts of war and blood,
Too harsh a subject for your dainty ears. (3.2. 40-6)

At this early point in the play, Zenocrate experiences a turmoil, caused by the fact that the voice of the father is increasingly at odds with her own experience. Although she is a princess by birth, she is nevertheless moving towards a position in which deeds are more important than a noble origin.

Agydas persists with his critique of Tamburlaine by offering a forecast of what can be expected from any relationship with a Scythian soldier. His warning proves to be valid, not because Tamburlaine is a Scythian savage, but because he is an emblem of the patriarchal Herculean warrior who spurns female emotion. Thus, in a later scene, as soon as he promises, in response to Zenocrate's pleas to spare the citizens of Damascus, that her father will not be slaughtered along with everybody else, Tamburlaine returns to what appears to be the more important task of humiliating Bajazeth. Feeling that his masculinity has been threatened, he confirms his male virtue through the baiting of a defeated enemy, and appears to have forgotten by Zenocrate's pleas for clemency. In the famous passage on beauty, he reveals the real reason why he is so troubled by Zenocrate's request:

But how unseemly is it for my sex,
My discipline of arms and chivalry,
My nature, and the terror of my name,
To harbour thoughts effeminate and faint!
Save only that in beauty's just applause,
With whose instinct the soul of man is touched,
And every warrior that is rapt in love
Of fame, of valour and of victory,
Must needs have beauty beat on his conceits,
I thus conceiving, and subduing both,
That which hath stopt the tempest of the gods,
Even from the fiery spangled veil of Heaven,
To feel the lovely warmth of shepherds' flames,
And march in cottages of strowed weeds,
Shall give the world to note, for all my birth,
That virtue solely is the sum of glory,
And fashions men to true nobility. (5.1.174-90)

He believes that she will make him effeminate. It is as if her flowing tears threaten to dissolve and engulf his masculinity. He is not just worried about being thought faint or weak. He is also concerned that he will become a feigned, or counterfeit, man. Yet, the speech finds a place for a remarkably idealized version of beauty in the masculine scheme of things, although it is still subordinated to manly virtue. Beauty and power are two supreme human aspirations, but beauty can subdue power, and this, Tamburlaine argues, would be shameful, except in a case of beauty temporarily subduing power for the sake paradoxically of inspiring and completing it.⁶

Tamburlaine's sins against natural justice as opposed to social law can be further illustrated by his treatment of the Virgins of Damascus. His custom when besieging a city was to wear white on the first day to indicate that he would accept an unconditional surrender. He wore red, or scarlet, on the second day to signify that the leaders would have to die. He changed into black on the third day to symbolize the total destruction that was about to take place. The Governor of Damascus describes Tamburlaine as a 'god of war' and yet he still does not respond to the change of colours. He stages a play in which the Virgins of the city plead with Tamburlaine to spare it. He believes that Tamburlaine, although now dressed in black, will nevertheless be moved by this sight. Tamburlaine converts it into one of his own 'sights of power'. The Virgins are doomed even before they begin their formal plea. He draws his weapon and asks the Virgins, "What see you at the point?" (108). When they reply that they see "Nothing but fear and fatal steel", Tamburlaine corrects them with one of the most striking speeches in the play. "Your fearful minds are thick and misty then", he chides, "For there sits death, there sits imperious Death/ Keeping his circuit by the slicing edge." (110-12). This is a portrayal of Tamburlaine's brutality, as well as his belief in control over life and death. He understands Death to be one who serves him. Any further attempts to plead for mercy are cut off: the unison cry "O, pity us!" (119) is shouted down by Tamburlaine's order for them to be taken away. He orders his horsemen to kill the Virgins and their 'slaughtered carcasses' are then hung up

⁶ See A.D. Hope, "Tamburlaine: The Argument of Arms", in *Christopher Marlowe: Modern Critical Views*, ed. Harold Bloom (Chelsea: Chelsea House Publishers, 1986), 51.

on the walls of the city. The inhabitants are then put to the sword. Only the Soldan is spared due to Tamburlaine's promise to Zenocrate to spare her father.

In Part II, the destructiveness of Tamburlaine's masculine concept of virtue is primarily demonstrated in his relationship with his sons. In Act I, we have a family scene: Zenocrate is back in the familiar position of pleading with him to cast off his armour; she sits flanked by her three sons. The virgin bride is now a proud mother. Tamburlaine, whose power over her and others has always been signified by his mobility, restlessly paces up and down making sure that this family grouping mirrors his own importance. The spectre of effeminacy haunts him once again:

But yet methinks their looks are amorous,
Not martial as the sons of Tamburlaine.
Water and air, being symboliz'd in one,
Argue that want of courage and wit;
Their hair as white and soft as down,
Which should be like the quills of porcupines,
As black as jet, and hard as iron or steel,
Betrays they are too dainty for wars. (1.3.21-8)

For all his power of will, he is unable to mould his sons as he pleases. He is distressed by their unwarlike appearance because they look like their mother and he suspects that they may be "too dainty for the wars" (1.3.28). It is true the two youngest sons, Celebinus and Amyras, are desperate to prove that they have the potential to become hard, fighting men. But the eldest son, Calyphas, has no desire to look like a porcupine. He satirizes everything that his father and his younger brothers stand for:

But while my brothers follow arms, my lord,
Let me accompany my gracious mother,
They are enough to conquer all the world,
And you have won enough for me to keep. (1.3.65-8)

Here, for a brief moment, the spirit of Shakespeare's Hal has opposed Hotspur. Preferring his mother's company and playing cards when he should be fighting, Calyphas remains a disappointment to his father. He is a pacifist, who, when he is exhorted to please his father and join in the bloodshed, replies:

I know, sir, what it is to kill a man;
It works remorse of conscience in me.
I take no pleasure to be murderous,
Nor care for blood when wine will quench my thirst. (4.1.27-30)

Tamburlaine is furious and claims that only those who are prepared to 'wade up to the chin in blood' are worthy to be called his sons. He waged war against the hereditary principle in Part I, but now that he has founded his own dynasty, he is prepared to disinherit his eldest son. He still maintains that crowns should only be worn by those whose deeds render them worthy to do so, but the deeds, it is now obvious, are those which require the drying up of "the milk of human kindness" that initially prevented Macbeth from succumbing to his "unsexed" wife's criminal ambition.

This is best illustrated in Tamburlaine's final treatment of his firstborn. In the last attempt to inculcate soldierly toughness in his son, Tamburlaine wounds himself:

View me, thy father, that hath conquer'd kings,
And with his host march'd round about earth,
Quite void of scars and clear from any wound,
That by the wars lost not a dram of blood,
And see him lance his flesh to teach you all.
A wound is nothing, be it ne'er so deep;
Blood is the god of war's rich livery. (3.2.110-16)

The passage quoted introduces another important theme in the play – that of the body. Indeed, the body is the play's obsessive preoccupation which, of course, was not an exception in the Renaissance literature. Yet, the medieval Christian degradation of the body, unfortunately, does not, in Marlowe, give place to its happy rehabilitation and celebration, as it does in Rabelais for example. On the contrary, in the passage quoted, Tamburlaine uses his body to construct another sight of destructive power – he wounds himself for his sons' proper edification in male virtue.

While his younger sons respond enthusiastically to such lessons on military discipline, Calyphas finds the sight of his father letting his own blood a 'pitiful' rather than a powerful one:

I know not what I should think of it;

methinks 'tis a pitiful sight. (3.2.131-2)

Tamburlaine then proceeds to exercise his paternal authority in the most criminal of all his unnatural acts. He drags his son out of the tent and makes him stand before the army. True to himself, he refuses to listen to pleas for clemency because that would be to condone effeminacy. He stabs his supposedly effeminate son to death as a way of demonstrating his own masculinity.

Eugene Waith sees it as “almost a ritual killing – the extirpation of an unworthy part of himself.”⁷ But the scene is also a contribution to the theme introduced with Tamburlaine’s self-wounding, that of the body. Greenblatt’s general comment on the way the destructive use of the body in the play connects to Caliph’s murder is specially revealing:

The body is affirmed only in wounding and destroying it, and this aggression ironically generates the odd note of detachment – bodilessness. A different attitude toward the flesh – sensual enjoyment, self-protection, tolerant acceptance, ease – is explicitly attacked and killed in the figure of Tamburlaine’s ‘cowardly’ (and remarkably sympathetic) son Calyphas.⁸

Blind to the enormity of his crime, Tamburlaine continues to spur his remaining two sons to bloody deeds, even in the presence of their dead mother’s body. The scene following immediately after her death demonstrates the absence of his incapacity for true empathy, not only with his sons, but with his wife, too. It shows once again that Tamburlaine, who once serenaded her with poetry and, as she lay dying, raged against the dying of her light, in fact despises her in death just as he despised her in life. Despite her former pleas for an end to bloodshed, Tamburlaine buries her with rivers of blood. He destroys Larissa, the town in which she died. The town is quite symbolically consumed with fire and it becomes a sight both of his power and powerlessness:

This cursed town will I consume with fire,
Because this place bereft me of my love.
The house, burnt, will look as if they mourn’d;
And here will I set up her stature,
And march about it with my mourning camp,
Drooping and pining for Zenocrate. (2.4.137-42)

Her body is embalmed and wrapped in a sheet of gold so that it can be paraded near the battlefields. Her picture is hung up outside Tamburlaine’s tent to give him an added military advantage. Just as he displayed her to Theridamas as part of the play to get him change sides, so he now displays her picture to his troops to encourage them to fight harder.

Finally, the height of irony, as I already hinted, is that Zenocrate’s death prompts Tamburlaine to make long speeches to his sons glorifying the very arts of war which had caused her so much distress. The only fleeting, redeeming moments in the play are in Tamburlaine’s vision of his longed for reunion with Zenocrate, when he imagines his soul, released from his body by death, will once more see his beloved:

Now, eyes, enjoy your latest benefit,
And when my soul hath virtue of your sight,
Pierce through the coffin and the sheet of gold
And glut your longings with a heaven of joy.

Even here, the language is tainted with violence (“pierce through coffin”) and framed in terms of conquest – even the idea of seeing Zenocrate once more, finds expression in terms of Tamburlaine’s masculine conquest of the passive, receptive female.

In conclusion, I would like to refer to one more critic. Sara Munson Deats in her *Sex, Gender and Desire in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (1997) claims that *The Tamburlaine plays* mock the heroic ideal in which martial prowess becomes mindless bloodletting, physical courage becomes savagery, independence becomes hubris, resolution becomes ruthlessness, and eloquence becomes bombast. She claims that:

the deaths of Zenocrate and Calyphas (Tamburlaine’s son) symbolize the expulsion of the feminine from Tamburlaine’s sphere, and Part Two dramatizes the conqueror’s progressive transformation through repetition into an automaton, a desiring machine that produces violence and death. A traditional masculinist perspective might present the invincible warrior of the denouement as still a figure of awe and wonder. From a feminist perspective, however, by the end of Part Two Tamburlaine and Zenocrate

⁷ Eugene Waith, “The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden”, in *Marlowe: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Clifford Leech (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1964), 84.

⁸ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 211.

can be seen as caricatures of the gender polarities frequently celebrated by the early modern culture: the violent man has become a deadly juggernaut; the silent woman, an immobile corpse.⁹

The truth, however, is that Marlowe does suggest an alternative of sorts to the passive Zenocrate. She is presented in the character of rebellious Olympia, whose husband is shot in the battle. Desiring that death carry her son's and her soul to her husband's, and fearing the torture that Tamburlaine's army will inflict, Olympia stabs her son and prepares to kill herself. Theridamas is captivated by her deeds and beauty and offers her to become his wife. Planning to terminate her life, Olympia presents Theridamas with the gift of ointment, which, she says, prevents the skin from being pierced. Offering to demonstrate its power, she instructs Theridamas to cut her neck and she is slain. This episode recalls Tamburlaine's seizure of Zenocrate in Part I, yet here, Theridamas' pursuit suggests that love cannot be won by tyranny. Yet, the question remains whether this active rebellious attitude is a valid emancipation from male ideology or rather its emulation. But in the society Marlowe's play depicts there is no space for any other, or more authentic, affirmation of femininity.

Although traditional punishment, i.e. God's intervention, does not occur at the end of the play, Tamburlaine's death is turned into a kind of moral judgment for his violation of some basic natural principle that keeps all life together. This interpretation, however, requires a distinction to be made between two contradictory conceptions of nature in the play. One corresponds to the Orphic conception of God as the unfathomable and fascinating mystery of all natural world, the basis of all being and the support of all efficacious action. In his essay *On Orphism*, Bela Hamvas¹⁰ writes about this primordial divine concept of nature, as a single unified order, underlying all processes which unfold through the struggle of the opposites. In this struggle, neither polarity is allowed to prevail, because that would be the end of life. This sense of balance, or cosmic justice, is embedded in man's soul too and manifested as a spontaneous intuitive knowledge of what is right and wrong, what enriches life and what corrupts it. The tradition that cherished this knowledge stretches as far back as pre-Hellenic matriarchal myths, is refined in Pythagoras, the mystic and the scientist at once, and in the Orphic mysteries of his followers. Even Socrates, a logician rather than an artist, thinks ethical conduct, that is, the preservation of the natural integrity of one's soul, to be man's paramount task and the path to happiness.

In Marlowe's plays, it is this concept of natural justice and harmony that can be glimpsed in Callyphas's effeminate, that is, mild and peace-loving nature. As a balance of opposites, this conception of the natural is undermined as soon as Zenocrate's moonlight coolness gives way to Tamburlaine's fiery, scorching male aspiration. His ambition in fact is nourished by the other, contrary view of nature. Instead of the harmonious balance of the opposite, it is based on the Darwinian principle of the survival of the strongest and the sacrifice of the weakest. It requires the violation of the principles of justice and love in its insatiable desire for conquest, possession, mastery. The emblem of this power, in *Tamburlaine*, becomes an earthly crown:

Nature, that fram'd us of four elements
Warring within our breasts for regiment,
Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds.
Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous architecture of the world,
And measure every wand'ring planet's course,
Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
And always moving as the restless spheres,
Wills us to wear ourselves and never rest
Until we reach the ripest fruit of all,
That perfect bliss and sole felicity,
The sweet fruition of an earthly crown. (1.2.17-29)

As this passage indicates, Tamburlaine's idea of the natural is that of *discordia concors* - it is embodied in flux, strife and cruelty. For him, the *telos* of nature is in the elements' permanent instability, their insistent rivalry, in ultimate subjugation of one element by another, and not the Orphic creative tension, the contraries pulling against without ever annihilating each other.

Hence, Tamburlaine does not perceive war as disruptive or destructive, but as a principle of order, beauty and knowledge. He feels that the very elements of which our bodies are composed are in a state of constant and ruthless strife, which is also true of the soul and its faculties, of the frame and the structure of the world, of the social order in which man has its place.

But the play does not endorse his view. His very depth is shown to be the consequence of the *discordia* that he has followed as an ideal all his life. The heat within his breast, of which he complains towards the end of the

⁹ Sara Munson Deats, *Sex, Gender and Desire in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (Newark:University of Delaware Press, 1997), 150.

¹⁰ See Bela Hamvas, *Patam* (Beograd: Centar za geopoetiku, 1994), 32.

play proves to be unnatural; so do his angry temperament, pale complexion, fiery eyes, his similarity with a blazing meteor and his victims' hope that his 'hot extremes' may cause him to 'dry up with anger and consume with heat' (the way he consumes the cities). They all prepare us for the physician diagnosis of his terminal illness:

I viewed your urine and hypostasis
Thick and obscure doth make your danger great,
Your veins are full of accidental heat
Whereby the moisture of your blood is dried,
The humidum and calor, which some hold
Is not a parcel of the elements,
But of a substance more divine and pure,
Is almost clean extinguished and spent,
Which being the cause of life imports your death. (II, 5, 3, 82-90)

What Tamburlaine suffers from is not an illness of a particular organ. He suffers from the lack of humanity, the moral force within him, that is, as in the case of Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, the soul. In the speech quoted above, his humanity, the soul, is identified, on the one hand, with one of the four humours, moisture or humidity of the blood; but the Renaissance theory of humours was itself a popular version of the original alchemical teachings, themselves a derivation of still older Gnostic pantheism, about the ideally proportioned mixture of bodily elements as a metaphor for spiritual wholeness and even a guarantee of immortality.¹¹ Hence, the physician's parenthetical observation that the humidity of the blood is considered by some to be of 'a substance more divine and pure' than mere elements. In other words, Tamburlaine is a more serious study than the attribute 'choleric' in its popular Renaissance mechanistic sense would suggest, of a man who has allowed his egotistic, unlawful will to burn down his divine nature¹². The irony of Tamburlaine's earlier great speech on nature, now it becomes obvious, lies in his unawareness of the true meaning of the word – for him nature has been solely a non-spiritual matter, not a subject to any moral forces. As the play ends, we see him defeated by the kind of nature whose existence he denied his whole life.

The betrayal of the feminine is here closely connected to another important issue that the play examines – imperialism. As for the Elizabethan conquerors, for Tamburlaine the vast expenses of the still unexplored world, which the Renaissance audience would unmistakably identify as the newly discovered Americas, are a lure for conquerors, to be reduced to a map and inscribed with their own names:

I will confute those blind geographers
That make a triple region in the world,
Excluding Regions which I mean to trace,
And with this pen reduce them to a Map,
Calling the Provinces, Cities and towns
After my name and thine Zenocrate. (I, 4.4.1715-20)

At his death, the map still stretches before him, but nothing bears his name except the play:

Give me a Map, then let me see how much
Is left for me to conquer all the world,
That these my boys may finish all my wants. (II, 5.3.4516-18)

¹¹ An example of the application of this alchemical teaching is Donne's poem about mutual mystical love as an antidote to death:

My face in thine eye, thine in mine appears,
And true plain hearts do in the faces rest:
Where can we find two better hemispheres
Withot sharp north, without declining west?
If our two loves be one, or, thou and I
Love so alike that none do slacken, none can die.

¹² My interpretation of the motif of the four humours is, among other things, a response to the statement of J. W. Harper that Tamburlaine sees himself as the choleric man in whom one element has become superior to the other three in the war of the humours. He alludes to Ben Jonson's theory of four humours -choler, melancholy, blood and phlegm - that, at the time, were held to constitute the process of human life. I think, however, that the use of this theory, without a full understanding of its mythical origin, and implications, results in a reductive, interpretation of Marlowe's Tamburlaine, and feel the need to complete it. See J.W. Harper, *Introduction to Tamburlaine* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1971).

But as I already suggested, the *Tamburlaine* plays do not support but question and invalidate the idea of imperialism: in the words of Francis Yates¹³, they demonstrate that the imperial triumph does not establish justice and peace. In this, he is in stark contrast to the Elizabethan imperialist cult, so ardently supported by Spenser. Spenser's idealisation of the Empire is undermined by Marlowe's description of imperial cruelty and tyranny. This contrast, writes Yates, was probably enforced by Marlowe on purpose, so that the audience could recognize various elements on the stage from courtly ceremonies performed in the honour of the Queen in the staging of *Tamburlaine* and respond to it critically.

Like Francis Yates, most of the New Historicists, consider these plays subversive of the English imperialist politics. For example, Stephen Greenblatt starts his essay *Marlowe and the Will to Absolute play* with the documentary account of John Sarracoll, the merchant, in whose report of the voyage to the South Seas, casual, unexplained violence of the English crew towards the natives of Sierra Leone is described. Greenblatt ironically refers to this enterprise as 'one of the glorious achievements of Renaissance civilisation'(193), the achievement which is in stark contrast to the humanist trust in man's innate goodness and creative potential that More and Montaigne were pleading for. He claims that if the same crew, on returning to England, went to see the performance of *Tamburlaine the Great* they would have seen the meditation on the roots of their own behaviour. Indeed, the seemingly unmotivated violence in Saracoll's reports sounds very much like Tamburlaine's excesses of cruelty.¹⁴

Marlowe's significance today is certainly bound up with the fact that imperialist tradition, far from being the thing of the past, persists in new and more insidious guises. In addition, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* can be seen as a spiritual and literary ancestor of modern heroes, like Joseph Conrad's Kurtz. The mad ambition of mastering the wilderness led Conrad's Kurtz to the point of savagery where he exhibited severed heads of the natives as his trophies; this was his personal contribution to what he came to see as the white man's mission in Africa: it is contained in the outcry "Exterminate all the brutes!", that he scribbled at the end of otherwise dignified and

¹³ See Frensis Jejts, *Hermeticka filozofija i elizabetansko doba* (Beograd: SKC, 1999), 115.

¹⁴ The description is very important and must be quoted in full:

The fourth of November we went on shore to a town of the Negroes, which we found to be but lately built: it was of about two hundred houses, and walled about with mighty trees, and stakes so thick, that a rat could hardly get in or out. But as it chanced, we came directly upon a port which was not shut up, where we entered with such fierceness, that the people fled out of the town, which we found finely built after their fashion, and the streets of it so intricate that it was difficult for us to find the way out that we came in at. We found their houses and streets so finely and cleanly kept that it was an admiration to us all, for that neither in the houses nor streets was so much dust to be found as would fill an egg shell. We found little in their houses, except some mats, gourds and some earthen pots. Our men at their departure set the town on fire, and it was burnt (for the most part of it) in a quarter of an hour, the houses being covered with reed and straw. Quoted in Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 193.

Consider also the following passage from Edmund Scott's *Exact Discourse of the Subtilties, Fashions, Policies, Religion and Ceremonies of the East Indians* (1606). Scott was the principal Agent for the East India Company in Bantam, Java, 1603-1605. He writes about a Chinese goldsmith who was allegedly involved in an attempt to rob the Englishmen of their gold; however, he would not admit it and the Englishmen then resorted to torture:

Wherefore, because of his sullenness, I thought I would burn him now a little (for we were now in the heat of our anger). First I caused him to be burned under the nails of his thumbs, fingers and toes with sharp hot iron, and then the nails to be torn off. And because he never blemished (i.e. turned pale) at that, we thought that his hands and legs had been numbed with tying; wherefore we burned him in the arms, shoulders and neck. But all was one with him. Then we burned him quite through the hands, and with rasps of iron tore out the flesh and sinews. After that, I caused them to knock the edges of his shin bones with hot searing irons. Then I caused cold screws or iron to be screwed into the bones of his arms and suddenly to be snatched out. After that all the bones of his fingers and toes to be broken with pincers. Yet for all this he never shed tear; no, nor once turned his head aside, nor stirred hand or foot; but when we demanded any question, he would put his tongue between his teeth and strike his chin upon his knees to bite it off. When all the extremity we could use was but in vain, I caused him to be put fast in irons again; where the emmets (ants) which do greatly abound there, got into his wounds and tormented him worse than we had done, as we might well see by his gesture. The Javanese officers desired me he might be shot to death. I told them that was too good a death for such a villain...but they do hold it to be the cruelest and basest death that is. Wherefore, they being very importunate, in the evening we led him into the fields and made him fast to a stake. The first shot carried away a piece of his arm bone, and all the next shot struck him through the breast, up near to the shoulder. Then he, holding down his head, looked upon the wound. The third shot that was made, one of our men had cut a bullet in three parts, which struck upon his breast in a triangle; whereat he fell down as low as the stake would give him leave. But between our men and the Hollanders, they shot him almost all to pieces before they left him. Quoted in Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (London: Routledge Inc., 1990), 11.

noble pamphlet on the suppression of savage customs. Just as in the case of Marlowe's Tamburlaine, his intelligence remained lucid all the time, it was his soul that had gone mad.

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ABSTRACT

To translate the whole of a fictional work into a foreign language, especially into French, means not only to understand the author's style and vocabulary. It needs a real effort to adapt and to transform in order to let a French-speaking public take hold of all its originality. Thus, the main task of the translator is more than to re-write a text issued from a certain context and to set it into another one. It is to bring a new kind of reading of the given work from a semantic and a stylistic point of view. This betrayal - which every translation is - allows the reader speaking a foreign language to seize the closest version possible to the one that the author intended to present.

KEY WORDS

Slovak, French, novel, translation

Introduction

La traduction de toute oeuvre en langue étrangère, en particulier lorsqu'elle se fait vers le français, requiert outre la compréhension du style de l'auteur et de son vocabulaire, un réel effort d'adaptation et de remise en forme afin de permettre à un public francophone d'en appréhender toute l'originalité. Le roman *English is easy, Csaba is dead* est une illustration parmi d'autres des problèmes que peut rencontrer un traducteur francophone du slovaque. Outre les thèmes abordés dans ses pages (mafia, argent, trafics en tous genres, corruption, violence...) ce livre regroupe également plusieurs problématiques traductionnelles récurrentes de la langue slave occidentale qu'est le slovaque (aspect verbal, « absence » d'articles définis et indéfinis, temps verbaux moins nombreux qu'en français) ainsi que d'autres points de réflexion comme son écriture, semblable à une langue parlée écrite jouant de sa ressemblance avec sa voisine tchèque et usant de ses propriétés phonétiques pour y mêler de l'anglais. Cette langue qui fait la force du roman constitue aussi le principal écueil du traducteur français qui se retrouve souvent contraint à remodeler une langue précise et quasi propre à un seul auteur ainsi que le côté éphémère d'un jargon comme le slang qui ne sera plus compris de la même façon dans quelques années s'il n'est pas déjà devenu obsolète, tout cela à l'aide de la langue française, outil tout aussi difficile à manier de par ses conventions et son côté académique, et possédant également un registre plus relâché mais tout aussi normé. Bref, le travail proposé consiste à transformer un ensemble linguistique éphémère en quelque chose de tout aussi éphémère...

Bref résumé du roman

Long d'environ 150 pages et sous-titré « mafiánsky román » (« roman mafieux » ou « de mafieux »), *English is easy, Csaba is dead*, écrit en 2004 par Peter Doktorov, s'inspire d'un récit et de personnages créés au théâtre quelques années auparavant par une troupe de jeunes acteurs. L'intrigue se déroule à l'été 2003, environ un an avant l'entrée de la Slovaquie (et de la République tchèque) dans l'Union européenne. L'histoire racontée est celle d'une bande de dangereux voyous des environs de Bratislava, la capitale. Miki, le chef du groupe (composé de Robo, Edo et Rudi) possède un bar, une salle de sport et un cabaret-maison close, ses hommes de main prennent part pour lui au transport de clandestins qu'ils amènent à prix d'or à Vienne (distante de Bratislava de seulement quelques kilomètres). Toute la bande cherche à supprimer Csaba, un autre gangster, qui a osé trahir Miki. A ces personnages s'ajoutent Paula, la soeur de Miki, et Julo, un professeur de lycée enlevé avant les vacances scolaires. Car, tous voyous qu'ils sont, Miki et ses comparses souhaitent apprendre l'anglais afin

d'étendre leurs « activités » à d'autres pays. Julo est malheureusement professeur de physique et ses compétences en anglais sont plus que limitées...Par chance ses ravisseurs ne sont pas très au fait des subtilités linguistiques, ce qui lui permet d'être vite respecté par Miki et sa bande.

La satire de Doktorov s'inscrit aussi bien dans le registre de langue des ravisseurs incultes, que dans leurs rêves de nouveaux riches dans un pays de l'ex-bloc communiste décrit comme faisant la part belle à la corruption et aux imbéciles.

Le vocabulaire des personnages

Le registre de langue, ses mots-clés et leur utilisation

Comme indiqué précédemment, le vocabulaire des « mafieux » est plutôt limité et donc répétitif. Le registre ne peut être qualifié de courant puisqu'il est volontiers très familier, voire grossier ou vulgaire. Les insultes et autres jurons ont donc une place de choix dans les phrases des hommes de main incultes de Miki et de celui-ci. L'utilisation des injures répétées constitue donc un des problèmes principaux lors de la traduction. Il faut en effet analyser chaque mot afin de délimiter son contenu sémantique dans une phrase. Le mot « kurva » par exemple (traduisible par « putain ») est utilisé en début, milieu ou fin de phrase et rythme en quelque sorte le récit et les passages en discours direct, ceci a pour effet de modifier sensiblement la syntaxe, un peu à la manière du « fuck » anglais, qui trouve également un équivalent verbal avec le terme « jebat' ». La difficulté s'accroît avec ce verbe puisque le slovaque utilise la préfixation pour changer l'aspect (perfectif ou imperfectif) ou le sens. Que faire donc des « vyjebat' », « pojebat' », « najebat' », « objebat' », et de leurs dérivés adjectivaux ou adverbiaux ? Car même si la palette d'insultes du français reste elle aussi très étoffée, elle ne dispose pas de la même liberté de formation des mots, les différences entre les formes précitées des verbes « jebat' » se retrouveront donc traduites le plus souvent par le même verbe à moins d'être substantivées, solution éliminant plus ou moins les subtilités, mais permettant une meilleure compréhension tout en gardant l'effet comique de répétition.

Le slovaque étant une langue à déclinaisons (6 cas : Nominatif ; Génitif ; Datif ; Accusatif ; Locatif ; Instrumental) il est bien naturel que la bande de malfrats accumulent les fautes d'accords et de syntaxe (la langue slovaque étant soumise à des règles précises régissant la place de chaque élément d'un syntagme, notamment le verbe).

Le procédé de répétition de termes vulgaires quasiment devenus des signes de ponctuation sera perçu différemment en slovaque et en français car si l'effet comique est le premier recherché, les passages de récit en langue plus « respectable » utiliseront également la répétition et ce plus volontiers qu'en français où il faudra irrémédiablement trouver des synonymes, la répétition étant souvent perçue comme un élément « alourdissant » le texte.

Certains passages trouveront également toute leur saveur du point de vue de l'opposition de deux niveaux de langue, principalement lors des situations où Julo, le professeur, intervient. En effet, en tant que représentant du corps pédagogique, son discours est toujours impeccable grammaticalement et plus riche lexicalement, ce qui entraîne de nombreuses incompréhensions.

Une écriture particulière, entre deux langues

Codifiée et unifiée bien plus tard (au XVIII^e siècle) que le tchèque, la langue slovaque reste néanmoins extrêmement proche au niveau du lexique et des sonorités. Le degré de ressemblance entre les deux langues est tel que l'exemple le plus proche permettant d'en expliquer l'impact reste peut-être la réciprocité entre flamand et néerlandais. Un Slovaque se fera sans problème comprendre d'un Tchèque et inversement et ce en raison de nombreux facteurs, comme l'origine slave commune des deux langues ou leur coexistence au sein d'un même Etat durant de nombreuses années. Si le tchèque et le slovaque se différencient peu à peu avec le temps, il reste difficile pour un apprenant étranger de ne pas mélanger l'un avec l'autre dans le cadre de son discours. Les citations en slovaque dans les textes tchèques (et inversement) ne sont pas annotées dans les romans, ni mises en italique et il est peu probable que l'on trouve la mention « En tchèque dans le texte » dans un écrit slovaque (et vice versa) puisque le lecteur comprend déjà de quoi il s'agit. La traduction française se trouve donc une nouvelle fois contrainte d'éclipser un élément du texte pour ne pas en gêner la compréhension, seules des notes ou une mise en garde peuvent permettre au lecteur français de savoir de quoi il en retournait dans le texte original.

Dans notre exemple, il ne s'agit pas de discriminer les phrases en tchèque du texte slovaque puisque le tchèque est imbriqué dans le slovaque, notamment lorsque l'auteur élimine les accents typiques de la langue slovaque, que le tchèque ne possède pas. (ex : « Tu l'as dit ! » s'écrit « Ako povieš ! » en slovaque et « Jak povíš ! » en tchèque, « tu sais » se dit « vieš » en slovaque et « víš » en tchèque, dans le cas de ces deux expressions courantes, c'est la forme tchèque que l'on trouve dans le texte de Doktorov). L'une des caractéristiques de l'auteur est d'éliminer systématiquement les voyelles « ä » et « ô » (prononcées [è] et [ouo] et absentes de l'alphabet tchèque) pour les remplacer par des voyelles longues, plus traînantes, ce qui constitue une

nouvelle entorse aux « règles de bon usage du slovaque écrit » et à la loi rythmique qui n'accepte pas deux longueurs consécutives au sein un même mot ».

Dernier exemple d'utilisation du tchèque, la présence de mots « hybrides » empruntant des caractéristiques morphologiques à chaque langue (ex : « quelqu'un » se dit « niekto » en slovaque et « někdo » en tchèque, on trouvera dans l'ouvrage le mot « niegdo » dont la première partie emprunte la forme écrite du premier et la prononciation du second, [kdo] se prononçant [gdo]).

S'il est bien sûr complexe de trouver un système d'équivalence à ces jeux morphologiques en français, il est cependant possible d'essayer de le traduire en imitant les intonations, par exemple en faisant traîner les longueurs sur les mots, ou encore en interchangeant des voyelles, il faut cependant veiller à appliquer systématiquement le même traitement afin de rendre l'ensemble cohérent.

L'argument comique, l'utilisation de l'anglais

S'il est difficile d'adapter les interactions du tchèque et du slovaque avec une seule langue de traduction finale, il est tout à fait possible d'adapter le pseudo anglais utilisé par les mafieux et leur professeur. Compte tenu de ses propriétés phonétiques, le slovaque permet plus facilement de transcrire une autre langue en utilisant les sons qu'elle possède. Il est d'ailleurs complètement envisageable de garder la version slovaque originale, en ne traduisant que ce qui n'est pas « anglais » dans le texte, comme dans le passage suivant :

„Haj, máj ingliš tíčr Julio !” spíkuje Miki.	[« Hi, my english teacher Julio !” dit Miki]
„Haj, máj lavly stjúdent Miki, ” spíkuje Julio.	[« Hi, my lovely student Miki » dit Julio]
„Havarjú tudej ? ” spíkuje Miki.	[« How are you today ? » dit Miki]
„Senk jú. Very vél” spíkuje Julio	[« Thank you, very well » dit Julio]

Dans ce cas précis, deux solutions peuvent être utilisées : la retranscription de l'anglais avec le slovaque ou la retranscription en utilisant une sorte d'alphabet phonétique français utilisant les graphies françaises des sons. Il faut cependant veiller à ce que les défauts de prononciation des uns et des autres ne soient pas échangés, un locuteur français n'exagérant pas les mêmes sons qu'un locuteur slovaque et inversement, de plus les personnages sont Slovaques, il serait donc plus logique de les voir écorcher une langue avec leurs sonorités propres. En ce qui concerne le mot suivant chaque phrase du dialogue, il s'agit d'un verbe inventé à partir de l'anglais « to speak » suivi du suffixe -ovat', l'une des désinences verbales les plus courantes en slovaque, phonétiquement, « il parle » devient « spíkuje », qui peut être rendu en français par « il speak » ou « il spiique ».

Les temps du récit en slovaque, l'aspect verbal

On a coutume de dire aux étudiants francophones que le slovaque ne possède que trois temps : un passé, un présent et un futur, le passé ou prétérit étant proche sur le plan de sa formation du passé composé français (verbe être + participe passé du verbe). Sur un plan purement théorique, cette explication peut permettre de simplifier les choses. Une différence importante provient cependant de l'aspect des verbes slovaques, perfectif ou imperfectif. Comme indiqué dans les pages précédentes, le slovaque utilise souvent la préfixation pour changer l'aspect et donner au verbe une valeur d'action « terminée dans le temps » ou « se poursuivant dans le temps », la suffixation permet également de former des verbes dits « fréquentatifs » pour des actions répétées ou habituelles. Cette spécificité nécessite souvent lors d'une traduction vers le français l'utilisation de la périphrase ou encore d'adverbes ou de toute autre partie du discours permettant de conserver au verbe son caractère précis en termes de durée, de fréquence ou de mouvement.

Autre élément important, la différenciation en slovaque du futur dit « périphrastique » (verbe être au futur + infinitif) et de celui obtenu grâce à un perfectif à valeur de futur. Dans ce cas, la traduction peut facilement se faire à l'aide d'un futur simple français, la différence sémantique entre les deux futurs slovaques étant nulle.

Le choix du temps, notamment d'un des passés français reste un épineux problème, souvent laissé à l'appréciation du traducteur, si le contexte permet de mieux délimiter la place du discours ou du récit sur un axe des temps, le choix d'un passé simple ou d'un passé composé reste souvent sujet à discussion. L'absence de concordance des temps en slovaque rajoute encore à la confusion, en permettant par exemple l'intrusion fréquente du présent dans un texte jusqu'alors uniquement au passé, par exemple pour décrire des actions.

Conclusion

Comme nous avons dit au début, la traduction de toute oeuvre en langue étrangère demande beaucoup plus que la compréhension du style de l'auteur et de son vocabulaire. La mission principale du traducteur relève donc non seulement d'un travail de réécriture d'un texte issu d'un contexte donné dans un autre contexte, mais également d'une interprétation de l'oeuvre d'un point de vue sémantique et stylistique. La petite « trahison » qu'est la traduction se doit donc de restituer au lectorat ne partageant pas la même langue que l'auteur une version la plus proche possible de celle offerte aux lecteurs parlant la même langue que l'écrivain.

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**Una aproximación a los problemas de la sufijación
apreciativa en el español actual**
(Niekoľko poznámok k problematike modifikačných sufixov
v súčasnej španielčine)
VERONIKA SLIAČANOVÁ

ABSTRACT

Vocabulary is affected by continuous changes. New words are being created, other words disappear or acquire new meaning and form. One of the word-forming processes that significantly contribute to enhancement of Spanish vocabulary is suffixation. Creation of diminutives that constitute the expressive layer of vocabulary is a specific part of suffixation. Spanish language creates diminutives by means of specific suffixes that signalize quantitative and/or qualitative meaning.

KEY WORDS

Spanish language, vocabulary, suffixation, diminutives

La agitación cultural de la España de hoy se pone de manifiesto tanto en la alteración formal del lenguaje como en otros ámbitos. El proceso de formación de palabras en español sigue viviendo un período de dinámica evolución y creatividad léxicas aunque todos o casi todos sabemos que la formación de palabras ha sido durante muchos años la Cenicienta de los estudios sobre lingüística española. En 1920 se publica el libro de José Alemany Bolufer *Tratado de la formación de palabras en la lengua castellana*, que refleja en realidad un estado de conocimientos muy anterior. Agrupa los sufijos por orden alfabético, y dentro de cada uno de ellos distingue las diferentes clases de palabras a que se añaden y las clases de palabras que resultan. En 1935, publicó Amado Alonso su estudio clásico sobre los diminutivos españoles. En los años cuarenta muchos estudiosos (los españoles en minoría) dedican trabajos monográficos a algunos prefijos y sufijos españoles. Según Monge (1996) lo más importante era la abundante y eruditísima producción de Yakov Malkiel, que dedica trabajos particulares a varios sufijos, pero sobre todo, una atención vigilante hacia todos los problemas relacionados con la formación de palabras. En la mayor parte de sus trabajos hay alusiones y desarrollos referentes a este campo, apoyadas siempre en una sólida documentación.

La investigación y el conocimiento fueron mejorando, pero es lo cierto que en otras lenguas románicas, sobre todo en francés la investigación y el conocimiento estaban mucho más avanzados. España estuvo muchos años casi a la cola de las lenguas romances en lo que al estudio de la formación léxica se refiere pero hay que decir que se aprecia un interés renovado por la formación léxica entre los lingüistas españoles y hoy, en definitiva, puede decirse que la formación léxica es un ámbito que está de moda. Como rama de la ciencia lingüística, la formación de palabras estudia el análisis y la comprensión de los mecanismos en virtud de los cuales se crea y se renueva el léxico. Estos mecanismos son principalmente morfológicos, y están referidos a las distintas formas de combinación de palabras y sus subunidades, si bien la creación de palabras puede incluir también otros procedimientos como: préstamos de otras lenguas, formación de nuevos términos mediante la combinación de las letras iniciales de los nombres de instituciones – generalmente conocida como acronimia – o la eliminación de unidades en final de la palabra, conocida como apócope o acortamiento.

Como ya hemos mencionado son varios los procedimientos y los recursos que se aplican a la creación de nuevas unidades léxicas y permiten crear continuamente nuevas palabras para aludir a realidades, fenómenos o situaciones también novedosos. Uno de ellos es la sufijación que constituye el procedimiento de formación de palabras más importante en español porque la lengua española dispone de un número considerable de sufijos. El procedimiento de sufijación consiste en añadir a la raíz de una palabra preexistente ciertos elementos pospuestos que modifican su significado. “La función de la sufijación es la de crear, mediante sufijos de distinta índole, unidades léxicas nuevas e integrarlas dentro de un campo morfosemántico”. (Bartoš-Buzek-Fialová, 2006, p. 25). Según Almela Pérez (1999, p. 71) la sufijación es “el procedimiento que dispone de más unidades, los elementos utilizables como sufijos son muy numerosos.” Ezquerro (1993, pp. 50 – 51) dice que “la sufijación es, sin duda, el más importante de los procedimientos de la derivación que ha tenido una gran vitalidad a lo largo de la historia de la lengua, y aún hoy sigue siendo muy rentable por la creación de muchos neologismos mediante

sufijos. Según apunta Varela (2005), todas las clases de palabras principales – verbos, nombres y adjetivos – entran en este tipo de derivación y además, la sufijación se emplea en todo tipo de lenguaje – técnico y científico, jurídico y administrativo, literario – en todos los registros idiomáticos y tanto en la modalidad oral como escrita.

El sufijo como signo lingüístico, posee la forma (el significante) y el valor genérico (el significado). El lexema expresa nociones sustantivas, adjetivas, verbales o adverbiales. Entre la palabra y el sufijo se desarrolla una interacción dinámica en los ámbitos semántico, funcional y formal que de lugar a una nueva palabra vinculada con la original. Las palabras sufijadas deben ser descomponibles y analizables aunque a veces resulta imposible encontrar relación formal entre el lexema de referencia y la palabra sufijada. Los sufijos derivativos, al imponer su categoría a la base a la que se adjuntan, dan lugar a la formación de nombres, adjetivos, verbos o adverbios de la misma o, sobre todo, distinta categoría que aquella a la que pertenecía la forma primitiva. Un sufijo responde a “una secuencia fónica que se añade a la base de un vocablo, en posición posterior a él y anterior a las desinencias – cuando las hay –; carece de existencia propia fuera del sistema de palabras; está incapacitado para unirse a otro morfema para formar un derivado; es conmutable por otro morfema analizable como sufijo y cuya base es igualmente conmutable por otra”. (Almela Pérez, 1999, p. 113). Los sufijos no deben confundirse con las desinencias morfológicas: estas expresan exclusivamente los accidentes gramaticales (género y número, en los sustantivos y adjetivos; modo, tiempo, aspecto, persona y número, en los verbos), en tanto que los sufijos se integran e influyen en el significado léxico de la palabra derivada. Por lo demás, los sufijos siempre preceden, en su expresión, a los morfemas.

La morfología derivativa del español se caracteriza especialmente por un extenso repertorio de sufijos pertenecientes a la clase de morfemas derivativos que se posponen a la base. Pueden ser apreciativos o no apreciativos. La diferencia principal entre ellos consiste en que los sufijos apreciativos (diminutivos, aumentativos y despectivos) muy numerosos en español, alteran el significado de la base expresando valoraciones subjetivas, pero sin cambiar su categoría gramatical y los sufijos no apreciativos alteran profundamente el significado de la base y, con frecuencia, cambian su categoría gramatical. Otros autores reducen los sufijos a dos grandes clases: “los «expresivos» o «afectivos» (que se subdividen en los que expresan aprecio y los que manifiestan desprecio), y los que se mantienen al margen de todo tipo de apreciación”. (García-Meilán-Martínez, 2004, p. 282).

La lengua cuenta con recursos gramaticales que permiten expresar valores apreciativos, afectivos, connotativos que se vinculan al valor denotativo de las expresiones. Dentro del repertorio de posibilidades que ofrece la lengua para expresar la afectividad, se encuentran las opciones morfológicas, específicamente los denominados morfemas apreciativos. Dedicando la atención a este grupo de los sufijos estos se pueden denominar de manera diversa: apreciativos, afectivos o expresivos. El sistema de sufijos apreciativos en español es dinámico y consta de un amplio repertorio de morfemas derivativos que no es cerrado, recurriendo, cuando es necesario, a sufijos considerados habitualmente como no-apreciativos. Del mismo modo, está sujeto a una continua renovación y expansión mediante el uso de morfemas neológicos del discurso actual que proporcionan color y vivacidad al lenguaje. Monge¹⁵ (1996) los ve como un grupo importantísimo que presenta caracteres diferentes. Según Lang (1990, p. 126), “alteran semánticamente la base de un modo subjetivo emocional, pero sin cambiar su categoría gramatical.” Añaden al significado de la palabra primitiva contenidos referentes al tamaño – pequeño o grande -, o bien expresan el aprecio, cariño, estima – o por el contrario, el desprecio – del hablante ante lo referido por el derivado. “Estos sufijos difieren del corpus general de sufijos considerados semánticamente objetivos en su aplicación por alterar de modo fundamental más que marginal el significado de la base y con frecuencia poseen la capacidad de efectuar un cambio de categoría sintáctica”. (Lang, 1990, p. 126).

Este grupo de sufijos expresivos lo constituyen los llamados *diminutivos* y los conocidos como *aumentativos*; los cuales, a su vez, se corresponden, en términos generales, con los apreciativos y despectivos, respectivamente. La sufijación apreciativa comprende los sufijos diminutivos, los aumentativos y los despectivos o peyorativos. “Aun cuando los sufijos aumentativos y diminutivos – que se añaden a nombres y adjetivos – aumentan y disminuyen, respectivamente, la magnitud de lo significado por el lexema, dichos sufijos – y, asimismo, los despectivos – sirven para expresar toda una variada gama de matices apreciativos”. (Carratalá, 2006, p. 159). Desde el punto de vista semántico, estos sufijos se caracterizan por aportar a la palabra resultante un significado de carácter valorativo, relacionado bien con el tamaño (*manita*, ‘mano pequeña’), bien con la calidad (*cochazo*, ‘coche muy bueno’), bien con la expresión de afecto (*abuelita*) o de desprecio (*poetaastro*). Según Miguel (2009, p. 64), “cabe señalar que la habitual distinción entre sufijos diminutivos, aumentativos y peyorativos o despectivos resulta lábil desde el punto de vista semántico, de modo que es frecuente que un mismo afijo se pueda encuadrar en dos de los grupos anteriores, como sucede en el caso de *-ajo* en *pequeñajo*, que presenta un

¹⁵ Véase más: Monge, Félix: Aspectos de la sufijación en español. Disponible en Internet: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=41326>

valor entre diminutivo y despectivo, o en el caso de *-uelo*, que tiene valor diminutivo en *arroyuelo* pero despectivo en *escritorzuelo*¹⁶.

Lejos de limitarse a bases nominales, la morfología apreciativa opera sobre una amplia variedad de bases, tanto en lo referente a su clase gramatical como a su clasificación semántica, a su clase gramatical como a su clasificación semántica. Se respeta la colocación de un sufijo entre el tema y la flexión, pero es fluctuante, como ocurre con la sufijación noapreciativa y la estándar, y no está internamente ordenada, aunque se prefieren ciertas concatenaciones morfológicas que se repiten en algunas estructuras. “La división convencional de la sufijación apreciativa en diminutivos, aumentativos y peyorativos, si bien no es del todo satisfactoria, nos parece válida como marco general de discusión del inventario de los morfemas productivos”. (Lang, 1990, p. 138).

De los tres grupos ya mencionados, nos interesan los primeros. Uno de los primeros en estudiar los morfemas apreciativos españoles fue Amado Alonso en 1935. Este decía que “cuando la idea es realmente distinguir que algo es de disminución, se suele expresar con otros recursos: p.e. Una cajita pequeña”. (GDLE, 1999, p. 4650). Durante los años 60 el lingüista Félix Monge (1965) observó que los diminutivos formados con *-illo/-a* son mucho más numerosos que los formados con *-ito/-a* e *-ico/-a* y dijo que parece que las funciones de expresar subjetividad, por ejemplo valoración, es tan inherente como la función de expresar objetividad. (ibid) Un diminutivo, según el *Diccionario de términos filológicos*¹⁶ “es una palabra ordinariamente formada mediante la adición de un sufijo al que tradicionalmente se atribuye una significación empequeñecedora”. Según Gómez Torrego “los diminutivos suelen expresar valores expresivos de afecto, cariño, entusiasmo, emoción, etc. (acompañados o no de la idea de disminución o pequeñez). Pero también pueden aportar valores apelativos; es decir, se usan no solo para expresar un sentimiento del hablante (valor expresivo) sino también para mover la voluntad del oyente.” (Gómez Torrego 2002, p. 21). Gómez Torrego (2002) pone énfasis en la función de expresar, por ejemplo, cariño y también aportar valores apelativos apunta que los diminutivos unas veces son meramente expresivos o afectivos, y otras, apelativos o conativos.

Los diminutivos no cambian el significado de las palabras de las que se derivan, pero aminoran el tamaño del objeto al que se refieren. Su función es enfatizar el mensaje que se transmite. En ocasiones pueden añadir un valor apreciativo o afectivo, en función del contexto, que a veces es el único matiz que se presenta, y no el de tamaño, cuando dicho objeto no puede ser disminuido, como en *pesetilla* o *semanita*. Además, hay palabras como *ganchillo*, *acerico* o *pañuelo* que con el tiempo se han lexicalizado, es decir, han perdido la connotación diminutiva que tuvieron en su origen. Investigaciones modernas han denunciado como característica del diminutivo la expresión de un afecto. Según Amado Alonso (1982), los sufijos diminutivos presentan una larga escala de matices, en función del contexto, la entonación, las actitudes que adoptan los hablantes. Los diminutivos son sufijos que sirven para la expresión empequeñecedora (*perrito* = *perro pequeño*), se usan más para la expresión afectiva (*mi hermanita* = *mi hermana a la que tengo cariño*), o para expresar, simultáneamente, pequeñez y cariño – ya que lo pequeño suele considerarse con cierto grado de estimación – manso como un *corderillo*; e, igualmente, se emplean con sentido despectivo; p. ej. *mujerzuela*. Los **afijos diminutivos** aportan a la base la idea de pequeño o escaso. Con esta idea suele ir unida la expresión del afecto o del interés del hablante. *Mi hermanito* puede significar no sólo “mi hermano pequeño” sino al mismo tiempo “mi hermano a quien tengo cariño”; a veces desaparece la idea de pequeñez y entonces el diminutivo sólo expresa cariño (*abuelito*, *maridito*, *mujercita*) o compasión (*pobrecito* o *pobrecillo*) o el desprecio y la burla con los sufijos *-ejo*, *-ete*, *-uelo* (*librejo*, *vejete*, *autorzuelo*).

Según Lang (1990) el repertorio básico está compuesto por los siguientes sufijos: *-ito/-ita*, *ico/-ica*, *-illo/-illa*, *-ete/-eta*, *-ín/-ina*, *-uelo/-uela*. Como dice más adelante “sólo *-uelo* resulta problemático, debido a que algunas veces se considera peyorativo, por influencia de la vocal anterior [u] a la que se suele asociar un efecto fonosimbólico negativo”. (Lang, 1990, p. 138). Carratalá (2006) dice que tienen sentido diminutivo los siguientes sufijos: *-ito/-ita* (<*-cito*, *-ecito*, *-ececito*); *-illo/-illa* (<*-cillo*, *-ecillo*, *ececillo*); *-ico/-ica* (<*-cico*, *-ecico*, *-ececico*); *-uelo/-uela* (<*-zuelo*, *-ezuelo*, *-ecezuelo*). Los sustantivos, adjetivos – y algunos gerundios, participios y adverbios aunque no tan abundantes – forman sus diminutivos mediante la adición de los correspondientes sufijos. Si aquellos terminan en vocal, la pierden (*sillita*, *muertecita*, *callandito*, *cerquita*); y si terminan en consonante, la conservan (*porroncito*, *facilito*). De todos sufijos diminutivos, *-ito* es el más extendido hasta el punto de haber sustituido a otros, y ser el auténtico y único sufijo diminutivo de muchas regiones americanas. El empleo de algunos de estos sufijos se limita a ciertas regiones hispanohablantes. Por ejemplo *-ín* es el sufijo corriente en Asturias, *-ino* es característico de Extremadura, *-iño* es típico de Galicia, *-ejo* se emplea como sufijo diminutivo en la provincia de Guadalajara (mientras que es despectivo en otras regiones). El sufijo *-illo* procede de Andalucía (sobre todo Sevilla), *-ico* de Aragón, Navarra, Murcia, Granada, Colombia, Costa Rica, las Antillas, *-ete* del Levante español, Aragón, Cataluña, Valencia, Perú, Costa Rica.

El sufijo diminutivo al que nos dedicamos nuestra atención y que es el más común del español es *-ito/-ita* que presenta un alto grado de utilización, resulta ser el menos marcado dialectalmente y encierra un menor valor

¹⁶ *Diccionario de términos filológicos*, Fernando Lázaro Carreter, 1968, ed. Gredos, Madrid. ISBN 84-249-1111-3.

peyorativo. *Gatito* es un gato pequeño. *Esté quietecito* es una manera simpática de decirle a alguien que no se mueva. Suele implicar una disminución del tamaño o de la cualidad señalada por la palabra derivada respecto de lo indicado por la primitiva. También se recurre a él para enfatizar el cariño o el afecto hacia algo o alguien, y este es el valor que comunica a la mayoría de las palabras que lo reciben. Es precisamente este valor el que lo hace incompatible con palabras de significación abstracta (no existen, por ej., *prudencita*, ni *templancita*). Las bases preferidas con las que se combina son, la mayor parte de las veces, sustantivos concretos, adjetivos, adverbios, y, en algunas ocasiones, nombres propios. Una importante restricción semántica de *-ito* consiste en su tendencia a producir lexicalizaciones de significado, de tal manera que la motivación original llega a perderse, significa que en algunos casos llega a cambiar el significado global de la palabra (*libro* → *librito* ‘papel de fumar; coche → *cochecito* ‘carrito de bebé; *central* → *centralita* ‘central telefónica). Así mismo se añade a bases de procedencia extranjera en mayor medida que sus rivales (*penalty/penaltito*, *modesto/modestito*). Las bases adverbiales están restringidas a formas primitivas (*abajo*, *ahora*, *despacio*...) y no a formas más extensas, como los adverbios en *-mente*. Cuando, ocasionalmente, un adverbio en *-mente* presenta sufijación diminutiva, el correspondiente morfema se sitúa entre la raíz y *-mente* (*regular* → *regularcitamente*, *lento* → *lentitamente*). Como otros apreciativos, no se adjunta a bases que designan conceptos abstractos.

En cuanto a la morfología de este sufijo, los diminutivos se crean de la siguiente forma: se reemplaza la vocal final por *-ito/-ita* (*perro/perrito*, *pájaro/pajarito*); si la palabra termina en *io/ia* se deja una sola *i* (*despacio/despacito*); se agrega *-ito/ita*, después de la consonante final (*papel/papelito*); se agrega *-cito/-cita* (*corazón/corazoncito*), (*duende/duendecito/duendecita*); se reemplaza la vocal final por *-ecito/-ecita*, o se agrega *-ecito/-ecita* después de una consonante final (*quieto/quietecito*, *pez/pececito*, *tren/trencito/trencito*); se agrega *-cecito/-cecita* (*pie/piecito/piececito*).

Llamados diminutivos regulares formados por el sufijo ya mencionado son palabras que terminan en *o/a/io/ia* y reemplazan la terminación por *-ito/-ita* (*gata/gatita*, *Julio/Julito*, *vacio/vaciito*, *feo/feito*). A las palabras que terminan en *e/i/u* sin acentuar se les agrega *-cito/-cita* (*duende/duendecito/duendecita*, *whisky/whiskicito*); a las palabras que terminan en vocal acentuada se les agrega *-cito/-cita* (*mamá/mamacita*, *sofá/sofacito*) – con excepción de algunos nombres propios de personas; a las palabras que terminan en *n* o *r* se les agrega *-cito/-cita* (*camión/camioncito*, *motor/motorcito*); a las palabras que terminan en otra consonante se les agrega *-ito/-ita* (*farol/farolito*, *lápiz/lapicito*). El diminutivo se forma a partir del masculino y/o singular. *Patrón* → *patroncito/patroncita*, no *patrona* → **patronita*. *agua* → *agüita* → *agüitas* → *paragüitas* no *paraguas* → **paraguasito*¹⁷.

Los distintos grados de productividad también diferencian diminutivos. Como ya hemos mencionado el sufijo diminutivo *-ito/-ita*, es el más usado y se combina en mayor medida con cualquier tipo de bases; del mismo modo, es el menos marcado peyorativamente. En el extremo opuesto, el uso de *-ete/-eta* es restringido y su sentido es más peyorativo. Una misma base puede tomar diferentes sufijos, con matices significativos dependientes de las propiedades semánticas inherentes al morfema derivativo y/o a la actitud del hablante (*chico* → *chiquito* → *chicuelo* → *chiquitín*). Podemos constatar que cuanto más común sea la base, mayor variedad de sufijos diminutivos se le pondrán adjuntar. La presencia dominante de *-ito* se produce en época moderna y su uso se ve incrementado por su adopción en los países de Hispanoamérica. Lo cierto es que todos los sufijos que acabamos de reseñar perviven con plena vitalidad en el español actual, entrando en fuerte competencia con otros dentro del sistema sufijal apreciativo.

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La traduzione giuridica. Il passaggio dal sistema giuridico di partenza al sistema giuridico di arrivo.

(Preklad právnych textov. Prechod z východiskového právneho systému do cieľového právneho systému)

KATARÍNA DLHOŠOVÁ

ABSTRACT

The contribution discusses the problematics of expert translation, particularly problematics of legal texts in the field of criminal law, from Italian to Slovak language and vice versa. It is commonly known that legal text is specific not only in its characteristic structure, syntax and terminology but it is also specific due to the fact that a translator, while translating, is required to deal with both – translation of a text from an original language to a target language, as well as transfer from original legal system to a target legal system. Specific expert law terms, articles, rules, regulations, or whole legal texts are related to socio-cultural background and legal system of a particular country, in other words, a meaning of a law term is given by a particular legal system in which the term is used. Regarding this, it is necessary to distinguish technical terms from words of common use, and analyse their presence within a context (ammenda/financial penalty and *multa/fine* are in common language used as synonyms, however, within the field of Italian criminal law *ammenda* is applied in connection with a felony, while *multa* in connection with a misdemeanour). Based on these criteria, a translator of legal texts is expected to meet not only required language competence but also prove themselves competent within the field of law of a given country.

KEY WORDS

Italian language, terminology, expert translation, legal system

La traduzione giuridica è una sottocategoria della traduzione specializzata. Partiamo dal fatto che “il diritto, manifestazione culturale nazionale per eccellenza, è in ogni paese il frutto dell’evoluzione del sentire nazionale: in esso si manifestano la sensibilità, il carattere, la storia socioculturale di un popolo. Si possono comprendere le norme, i concetti, le nozioni, le parole del diritto soltanto facendo riferimento al contesto socioculturale di un paese, oltretutto, naturalmente e soprattutto, facendo riferimento all’ordinamento giuridico” (Viezzi 1997: 199-200). Bisogna quindi considerare la traduzione giuridica come qualcosa di speciale. Speciale nel senso che più che di lingua di partenza e di arrivo possiamo parlare di sistema giuridico di partenza e di arrivo. Insomma, la traduzione dei termini giuridici non è solo un passaggio da una lingua all’altra, ma soprattutto, un passaggio da un sistema giuridico ad un altro. A questo proposito presentiamo lo schema:

traduzione giuridica = passaggio dalla LP alla LA = passaggio dal SGP al SGA

Nella traduzione giuridica, entrambe le fasi fondamentali del processo traduttivo, vale a dire l’analisi e l’interpretazione del testo di partenza (TP) da una parte e la produzione del testo d’arrivo (TA) dall’altra, devono essere finalizzate ai criteri di giudizio di accettabilità¹⁸ del testo tradotto da parte del giurista destinatario. In

¹⁸Federica Scarpa (2001: 184) considera l’accettabilità un altro parametro di valutazione professionale e “l’aderenza della traduzione alle norme e convenzioni che valgono nel contesto in cui avviene l’attività traduttiva a quindi alle aspettative dei destinatari. In questa sua accezione l’accettabilità può quindi rappresentare il parametro situazionale nella valutazione della qualità di una traduzione, il “tertium comparationis” sul quale misurare l’accuratezza e la fruibilità di un testo di arrivo.” Un’interessante definizione dell’accettabilità ce la propone Bruno Osimo (2004: 141): “ Secondo la strategia dell’accettabilità, dunque la dominante del metatesto non è il prototesto, ma la facilità di ricezione del metatesto secondo i canoni della cultura ricevente. Le traduzioni accettabili sono quelle che si leggono con più facilità, ma non danno un grande apporto allo scambio

relazione alla traduzione giuridica Federica Scarpa (1997: 102-103) osserva che "In sede di analisi e interpretazione del testo da tradurre, questo comporterà la conoscenza, da parte del traduttore, del sistema giuridico del quale testo è un'espressione. Anche nella seconda fase del processo traduttivo, quella della produzione del testo giuridico in italiano, la ricerca dell'equivalenza funzionale a livello discorsuale e terminologico non deve necessariamente annullare la distanza tra i sistemi giuridici delle due lingue."

Questo è un approccio traduttivo funzionale (opposto a quello tradizionale puntato o sulla lingua di arrivo o sulla lingua di partenza) consistente sia in una strategia traduttiva incentrata sul giurista destinatario e finalizzata ad esplicitare degli effetti giuridici nel contesto socioculturale di arrivo, sia nell'interesse del destinatario a che sia riconoscibile, nel testo tradotto, la struttura del sistema giuridico di partenza.

Il traduttore che affronta la traduzione che ha come oggetto la lingua giuridica ha poca possibilità di poter praticare la traduzione "parola per parola", quindi di sostituire il termine con l'equivalente dell'altra lingua e non consideriamo neppure il caso estremo dei termini che designano concetti e nozioni assolutamente sconosciuti all'altro ordinamento. Il traduttore è obbligato ad operare un confronto, una comparazione tra il sistema giuridico del testo di partenza (della lingua di partenza) e il sistema giuridico del testo di arrivo (della lingua di arrivo) per qualsiasi termine.

Il contesto giuridico dà il significato al termine. Descrivere qualsiasi azione o comportamento nella lingua non specializzata, non è difficile, ma se vogliamo descrivere quella stessa azione e comportamento in lingua giuridica, bisognerà descriverla con i termini specifici che non coprono esattamente la stessa realtà oggettiva (non sono neppure uguali le implicazioni o le conseguenze di tale azione nei diversi ordinamenti). Per fare un esempio: nell'italiano comune si dice **commettere un reato** 'spáchať trestný čin', mentre invece nella lingua giuridica si parla più specificamente di **reato colposo** 'neúmyselný trestný čin', **reato doloso** 'úmyselný trestný čin', **reato tentato** 'pokus o trestný čin', **reato consumato** 'dokonaný trestný čin'. Nello slovacco comune si dice che uno si è trovato **vo vyšetrovacej väzbe** 'in custodia cautelare' e nella lingua giuridica si parla di **väzba predbežná** 'custodia preventiva', **väzba mladistvého** 'custodia cautelare del minorenne', questi termini non si rifanno tanto ad una realtà oggettiva esterna, quanto ad una realtà giuridica definita nelle sue caratteristiche e nelle sue implicazioni del codice.

La lingua del diritto e la terminologia

"Jazyk právnych textů je jazykem vysoce odborným a natolik specifickým, že pro laika je nejen nesrozumitelný, ale často také „nerozluštiteľný“. Základní kámen úrazu při překladu právnych textů představuje skutečnost, že často vůbec neexistuje ekvivalentní terminologie v jazyce, do ktorého překládáme [...]"¹⁹ (Vystrčilová 2001: 5), ciò conferma sia la specificità del linguaggio giuridico sia il suo particolare uso dei termini, e proprio questa problematica della traduzione giuridica, legata alla terminologia e alla ricerca di corrispondenze terminologiche nella lingua di arrivo, che attrae l'attenzione dei linguisti-traduttori.

La ricerca delle corrispondenze terminologico-concettuali nelle lingue di partenza e di arrivo è uno dei fondamentali aspetti che caratterizzano le attività del traduttore. Se il traduttore non conosce sufficientemente i termini e le espressioni tipiche del campo specialistico a cui appartiene il testo da tradurre, potrebbe trovarsi in difficoltà, produrre un testo scorretto, ovvero trovarsi di fronte all'intraducibilità. Se invece il traduttore ha questa conoscenza dei termini in entrambe le lingue, deve fare poi attenzione alle varianti legate all'uso, deve tener conto di tutte le circostanze, degli aspetti legati alla situazione comunicativa. Una standardizzazione può causare lo scambio del significato specialistico di una parola con il significato più diffuso, per cui, in conseguenza, il testo tradotto potrebbe essere impreciso, anzi scorretto, come se fosse tradotto senza adeguata conoscenza dei termini.

Nella ricerca di corrispondenze terminologiche, in certe situazioni, il traduttore è costretto a dover cercare approssimazioni per i termini della lingua di partenza che non trovano riscontro nella realtà della lingua di arrivo. Le procedure a cui il traduttore specializzato può ricorrere, trovandosi in difficoltà, sono (adattamento da Palumbo 1999)²⁰:

- la traduzione "analogica", valida soltanto all'interno del testo di arrivo a quindi non estendibile ad un termine in tutte le sue occorrenze
- la traduzione descrittiva, più vaga e generica nel designare il concetto corrispondente al termine di partenza
- la spiegazione

tra culture, poiché molto di ciò che è culturospecifico dell'originale viene modificato, in modo da sostituirvi elementi culturospecifici della cultura ricevente, oppure elementi non culturospecifici (standard)."

¹⁹ "La lingua dei testi giuridici è la lingua molto tecnica e talmente specifica, che per un laico diventa non solo incomprensibile, ma spesso anche "insolubile". Lo scoglio fondamentale nella traduzione dei testi giuridici è rappresentato dal fatto che spesso non esiste affatto la terminologia equivalente nella lingua nella quale traduciamo[...]"

²⁰ Vedi SCARPA, F. *La traduzione specializzata*. Milano: Hoepli, 2001, pp.156-157

- il prestito (dei termini che sono trasparenti anche in lingua di arrivo)
- la neoformazione
- l'eliminazione

Per quanto riguarda i termini, bisogna mettere in evidenza la differenza tra la traduzione dei termini tecnico-scientifici e i termini giuridici dovuta alla diversa natura della lingua scientifica e di quella giuridica: “Tipicamente i termini della lingua tecnica e scientifica designano referenti oggettivi universali, mentre la lingua giuridica designa non realtà oggettive bensì realtà universali che esistono soltanto in quanto definite e disciplinate dai diversi ordinamenti,” così Maurizio Viezzi (1997: 200).

Alcuni aspetti teorici e pratici sulla traduzione dei testi normativi

Il testo giuridico più frequentemente analizzato, dal punto di vista dei giuristi e dei linguisti, è quello normativo, di cui le leggi, i decreti, i regolamenti, i contratti sono alcune forme testuali. Il testo normativo, come quello espositivo, ha lo scopo di indurre il destinatario a fare qualcosa. A differenza del testo espositivo, che tale funzione svolge mediante la spiegazione, il testo normativo la svolge mediante le prescrizioni, le manifestazioni coercitive e con l'intenzione che il destinatario riconosca l'autorità dell'emittente.

Ci sono tre caratteristiche molto diffuse all'interno del testo normativo: *la strutturazione testuale (lo stile commatico)*, *la frase unica*, *il registro formale e impersonale* (Cortelazzo, 1997: 39). La prima si può configurare come la struttura schematica del testo che si caratterizza a partire dai seguenti elementi: il numero dell'articolo, la titolazione che ne illustra il contenuto, la successione articolata in blocchi facilmente individuabili; ciò crea, in senso stretto, lo stile commatico che prevede la corrispondenza tra la fase (l'unità che va da un punto fisso a un altro punto fisso) ed il capoverso. La frase unica è un aspetto caratterizzante di molti testi normativi sul piano testuale e sintattico. Indica una frase di ampia estensione e complessità, ricca di proposizioni subordinate ed incidentali, spesso in modo non finito. Tale struttura, linguisticamente e sintatticamente abnorme, può rendere più difficile la comprensione del testo al traduttore. Per quanto riguarda l'ultima caratteristica del testo normativo, cioè il suo registro, notiamo un largo uso dei termini veri e propri per il campo del Diritto, e l'impiego della terza persona, che esclude qualsiasi riferimento personale al singolo destinatario.

L'emittente del testo normativo è ben chiaro, un'autorità pubblica (il Governo, il Consiglio nazionale della Repubblica slovacca), e, per quanto riguarda il destinatario, possiamo designare due gruppi: il primo è quello a cui va applicata la norma (il largo pubblico, ma anche l'individuo, p.e.: la persona sottoposta alle indagini preliminari, il procuratore con i suoi diritti e doveri, il giudice che dispone i provvedimenti, ecc.); il secondo è quello che applica la norma (il giurista). Anche se il secondo destinatario appartiene al primo (la legge è uguale per tutti), l'abbiamo distinto dal primo, perché è un destinatario che contemporaneamente svolge la funzione di mediatore tra il largo pubblico e la legge compresa nel testo giuridico. Potremmo definire il giurista “traduttore”, perché, in qualità di mediatore, avvia la traduzione intralinguistica.

Sarebbe ideale, sia per la traduzione interlinguistica che per la traduzione intralinguistica, che il testo normativo comprenda sempre le caratteristiche che gli attribuiscono gli studiosi, come Jozef Mistrík (1997): “Legislatívny text musí byť matematicky presný, jednoznačný, a pritom zrozumiteľný.”²¹ A questa teoria si contrappone la pratica, visto che ai più gravi problemi di traduzione dei testi normativi appartiene proprio la scarsa comprensibilità del testo. Bisogna individuare le differenti conseguenze che tale incomprensibilità causa nei singoli destinatari: se il testo normativo è diretto ad un soggetto dotato di basso livello di competenza in ambito normativo-legislativo tale incomprensibilità determina il disinteresse o al massimo costringe tale soggetto a rivolgersi ad un giurista; se, d'altro canto, il testo è diretto ad un giurista, quindi ad un soggetto dotato di alto livello di competenze specialistiche, esso può portarlo a formulare diverse interpretazioni possibili della norma (elemento negativo). Per il traduttore, invece, in quanto destinatario del testo di partenza e autore del testo di arrivo, l'incomprensibilità diventa causa di un faticoso processo di traduzione. Se il traduttore risolve il problema dell'incomprensibilità del testo di partenza, visto che diventa responsabile della realizzazione di un testo di arrivo chiaro e funzionale, di nuovo entrano in gioco sia le sue competenze linguistiche che specialistiche.

Con ciò non affermiamo che ogni testo normativo è incomprensibile, né che diventa poco chiaro per un giurista, ma vogliamo sottolineare che il testo normativo, in genere molto specifico, potrebbe diventare ostico e puntiamo la nostra attenzione su casi concreti della traduzione di termini del codice penale italiano e di quello slovacco.

Alcuni esempi della traduzione dei termini giuridici

Nel procedimento penale italiano, l'**imputato** è la persona alla quale è attribuito il reato nella richiesta del Pubblico Ministero di rinvio a giudizio o di giudizio immediato o di decreto penale di condanna. L'imputazione avviene a conclusione delle Indagini preliminari. Fino a quel momento il soggetto potenziale autore del reato non

²¹ ‘Il testo legislativo deve essere matematicamente preciso, univoco e allo stesso tempo chiaro.’

può essere considerato imputato, bensì indagato. In altre fasi del procedimento tale persona è definita “imputato”. A differenza del procedimento penale italiano, quello slovacco fa una netta distinzione tra **imputato/obvinený** e **imputato/obžalovaný**. Dopo l’apertura del dibattimento, l’imputato viene definito obžalovaný. Il traduttore deve conoscere la posizione del rispettivo termine nelle fasi del procedimento penale slovacco e di quello italiano, paragonare i due sistemi giuridici, prendere in considerazione che è il contesto giuridico che dà il significato al termine e quindi tradurre il termine imputato come **obvinený** rispetto alla fase delle indagini preliminari e come **obžalovaný** nella fase dibattimentale. A questo proposito, vogliamo fare ancora un’osservazione. Se si trattasse della traduzione del procedimento penale slovacco, al traduttore si proporrebbe una variante: **accusato/obžalovaný**, che, però, è un’espressione della lingua comune, impropria per il codice della procedura penale italiana, che non rispecchia il significato giuridico del termine imputato.

Nella lingua comune i termini **multa** e **ammenda** sono sinonimi, però nella lingua giuridica, anche se appartengono alla pena pecuniaria, si distinguono secondo la specie di reato. **La multa/peňažný trest** è stabilita per i delitti e **l’ammenda/pokuta** per le contravvenzioni. A questo proposito, il traduttore deve stare attento alla specie di reato.

“Charakteristickým znakom právnych termínov je aj ich formálna podobnosť, resp. zhoda s výrazmi všeobecnej slovnéj zásoby. Na úrovni významovej sa však svojou sémantickou štruktúrou značne od týchto výrazov odlišujú”²² scrive Markéta Škrlantová.

Alla traduzione del termine **diet’a**, il traduttore normalmente penserebbe alle espressioni **bambino** o **figlio**. Ma nel codice penale italiano si trova raramente il termine figlio. È piuttosto l’espressione della lingua comune. Per determinare diet’a nella lingua giuridica italiana si deve usare il termine **fanciullo** ‘diet’a, dečko, chlapec’, appropriato per il codice penale italiano. Si tratta di un termine particolare, perché il suo significato comune è chlapec.

Per tradurre il termine **zdravie** il traduttore si trova di fronte alla scelta tra i termini **salute** ‘zdravie’ e **incolumità** ‘neporušenosť, bezpečnosť’. Traducendo, per esempio, un articolo della procedura penale, dovrebbe scegliere il termine incolumità visto che tale termine si usa nel Codice penale italiano, invece il termine salute è proprio della Costituzione italiana.

Conclusioni

Un grande sostegno e contemporaneamente un punto di partenza per il traduttore sarebbe, sia la comparazione generale di entrambi i sistemi giuridici, sia la comparazione di entrambi i sistemi terminologici (da ciò risulta la necessità pratica di elaborare da noi un sistema terminologico). Un approccio del genere aiuterebbe il traduttore a produrre un testo corrispondente alla funzione, ad avvicinarsi al testo tradotto ideale, accontentando il destinatario. Un traduttore “moderno”, di oggi, coinvolto nella traduzione specializzata giuridica, non può accontentarsi solo delle proprie competenze linguistiche ma, vista la peculiarità dei termini giuridici, è addirittura obbligato a cercare di acquisire un bagaglio professionale supplementare, ovverosia: le competenze specialistiche sul diritto di entrambi i sistemi giuridici.

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²² ‘Il segno caratteristico dei termini giuridici è la loro somiglianza formale, la loro corrispondenza con espressioni del lessico comune. Però, a livello di significato, con la loro struttura semantica si distinguono notevolmente da queste espressioni della lingua comune.’

Sitcoms: A Case for Stereotypes
(*Populárne seriály: prípad pre stereotypy*)

JAROSLAV MARCIN

ABSTRACT

Stereotypes always work at cross purposes. What is more is they are inevitable and necessary as much as they are shunned. This is especially true of situation comedies. Sitcoms, as products of the entertainment industry, are powered by humor. It follows from that that they make frequent use of stereotypes, which are a typical source of humor, and can commonly be found in another more or less distant predecessor of sitcoms, *commedia dell'arte*. However, in recent years stereotypes in the media have been heavily criticized. The paper discusses this criticism in order to disprove a negative view of using stereotypes in sitcoms, which stems from lack of media literacy.

KEY WORDS

sitcoms, comedy, humor, stereotypes

The Criticism

Situation comedies (or sitcoms) are a popular television genre attracting large audiences. Like other products of popular culture, “they are consumed by audiences whose influence over what they are given and how they receive it is often limited to the bare right of refusal or a meaningless choice between virtually identical products” (Heffernan 2006: 354). Given this rather undemocratic character of TV programming, and the long history of misrepresentation/underrepresentation of various minority cultures, many have expressed criticism of the use of stereotypes in sitcoms (and TV in general).

Such criticism has indeed come from a diversity of sources and has addressed a variety of issues. In a 1993 *New York Times* article, for instance, Isabel Wilkerson criticizes sitcoms on account of racial issues, remarking that “[m]ost seasons, old stereotypes pass for shorthand sociology, broken only by contrarian moments” (Wilkerson 1993). What she means becomes clear as she adds: “Of the 30 million blacks in the country less than half are male, a fraction of them are teen-agers, and only a quarter of those have criminal records. Yet they are the lead characters in most of the recent black movies and many television shows” (ibid.).

Similarly to the African American community, other groups have often been presented in an inaccurate way. Shirley Biagi, writing in 2001, points out that “[o]bservers of the stereotyping of women point to past and current media portrayals showing very few women in professional roles and the lack of women shown as strong, major characters” (Biagi 2001: 282). Theresa Brown, a registered nurse, writes in a similar vein of the way her profession is perceived by the general public and/or portrayed in the media, pointing out that the majority of nurses she has worked with do not wear caps and are independent medical staff rather than “doctors’ helpers” (Brown 2009).

With so much criticism coming from civil rights organizations, individual activists, the academia and the media itself, the question that remains to be answered is what to make of this criticism? My suggestion is that to arrive at a conclusion, we must first examine the validity of the critics’ claims, the impact sitcoms have on their audience with regard to the groups stereotyped, and the overall plausibility of representational correctness. It is the aim of this paper, therefore, to find the answers to the following three questions:

1. Are the critics’ claims substantiated?
2. Do stereotypes in sitcoms produce negative effects?
3. Is a “correct” representation possible?

The Claim

Stereotypes are simplifications, or, as Schiappa (2007) puts it, “*pejorative overgeneralizations*. When we think about a specific group of people in stereotypical fashion, we tend to categorize *all* members of that group as having the same attributes.” Understood this way, indeed many examples of stereotypes can be found in sitcoms. “‘Remarkable people, the Blacks,’ Alec Baldwin says on an episode of *30 Rock* on NBC. ‘Musical, very athletic, but not very good swimmers, and again, I’m talking about the family,’” (Stanley 2007) The punchline is, of course, that while Baldwin’s character is seemingly referring to the African American family he and his wife have taken in after Hurricane Edna (the family’s surname is Black), he is in fact voicing stereotypes about the racial group as such.

While not all stereotypes are made as blatant as the instance above, they are quickly spotted by a member of the culture that has produced them because “they are so deeply embedded in our individual memory and so firmly anchored in our collective folklore” (Boskin and Dorinson 1985: 83). Their identification, then, comes not as a difficult intellectual task but as a natural acknowledgment that happens in passing, almost instinctively. The viewer processes them subconsciously; the only evidence of their doing so being the reaction they exhibit. For this particular reason, the sheer extent to which stereotypes are used might easily be overlooked.

When we speak of stereotypes, we mean more than just attributes ascribed to a representative of a group. Using direct attributes (whether verbal or visual) certainly is one of the ways of establishing connections with existing stereotypes. However, we must also think in terms of assertions, actions and reactions, conflicts, or conversations. This is because stereotypes, as simplified as they are, can be fairly complex and include scenarios according to which we expect their objects to behave. This is illustrated in Table 1 below, where each of the six main characters of *Friends* are given a brief look.

Chandler	The (gay) companion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clever, funny, polished and sensitive • Highly competent and successful at work • Liked (but not loved) by women
Joey	The playboy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possesses raw sexual attraction • Uses his sexual magnetism for many sexual adventures • Unstable, relationshipwise • Not very sharp • Does not care about much else but food and sex
Monica	The tense girl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overly competitive and bossy • Wants to please everyone • Cannot be spontaneous • Follows the rules to the point of obsession
Phoebe	The blonde/weirdo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not get things • Does things differently than traditionally accepted/expected • Breaks social conventions • Shocks others with her openness
Rachel	The cheerleader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spoiled • Cares about her looks too much • Uses her good looks to get things • Not used to not getting her way • Understands fashion (but not much else) • A keen soap opera fan
Ross	The nerd/professor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wears blazers with elbow patches • Overpronounces words and corrects others when they speak • Enjoys documentaries and quiz shows • Reads a lot (and not just adult magazines) • Not very athletic or good with girls • Generally quite boring

Table 1. Characters and stereotypes in “*Friends*.”

Of course, the labels I have used here could easily be replaced with others, such as “the sexy Italian” for Joey or “the pretty girl” for Rachel. Also, the characters can be a blend of several stereotyped groups as is the case with Phoebe, who possesses the characteristics of both the blonde and the weirdo. Nonetheless, the point I am trying to illustrate is that once categorized as such, the same types of characters (and stereotypes, respectively)

can be further found in *Friends* and, in fact, across the whole spectrum of sitcoms. The playboy (stereo)type, for instance, is also used in the character of Rachel's boyfriend Paolo in *Friends*, as well as in Barney (*How I Met Your Mother*), Charlie (*Two and a Half Men*), Kelso (*That '70s Show*) or the Fonz (*Happy Days*). The cheerleader stereotype is exploited by the characters of Rachel's sisters Amy and Jill on *Friends*, but also by Kelly (*Saved by the Bell*) and Corky (*Murphy Brown*). Finally, the blonde/weirdo combo can be found in Phoebe's twin sister Ursula (*Friends*), or in Dharma (*Dharma and Greg*), and even in Alice (*The Vicar of Dibley*). That is all to show that sitcoms really do abound in stereotypes.

The Rationale

As enlightening as it might be to find that stereotypes are used in sitcoms, we must not stop here, but rather find the answer to why stereotypes are used in the first place. The frequency of occurrence is, naturally, an interesting phenomenon, but there has to be some rationale. This rationale is revealed upon a further inspection of the realm of humor and comedy, where it becomes clear that as "a shorthand way of presenting easily recognisable characters and character traits as a source of humor" (Teer-Tomaselli 1994: 54), stereotypes provide an efficient tool in the hands of the comedian. For very much the same reasons, stereotypes have found their place in the genre of comedy.

The rise of stereotypes in comedy has to do with character "types". These emerged as early as the Greek New Comedy and were employed on an even larger scale in Roman comedies by Plautus. Among the existing "types" were the flatterer, the swaggering soldier, or the cunning slave. Some of these stock characters later made their way into *commedia dell'arte*, a highly improvised form of Italian comedy, which inspired contemporary dramatists such as Shakespeare or Molière (Bellinger 1927). By way of a cultural legacy, the idea of stock characters entered the world of the sitcom, where it fit quite naturally.

Stereotypes are, however, a much more common occurrence where humor is concerned. One does not need to go as far as inspecting comedies to find stereotypes in abundance. A genre even closer to the common people, the joke, makes rich use of them. Consider, for instance, ethnic humor: In a 1959 study conducted among university students it was discovered that anti-African American jokes (both on a white and on a black campus in the same city)

stressed traditional stereotypes of the Negro, and by far the most common theme was the presumed pronounced sexuality and freedom from sexual inhibitions of the Negro. Some jokes accented other long-standing stereotypes such as the ascribed filthiness and ignorance of Negroes. (Middleton and Moland 1959: 65)

Such jokes and stereotypes were, according to Dudden, identifiable with the beginnings of comic literature in the US as "[r]egional folkways, dialects, and ebullient democracy sponsored Yankee, frontiersman, Dutchman, Quaker, south-western, and immigrant drolleries or stereotypes thereafter" (Dudden 1985: 8). Similarly, ethnic literatures/cultures in the USA could take these stereotypes as a starting point, as was the case of "Jewish comedians as well as Jewish writers ... [who] freshened up old stereotypes and injected doses of Jewish comic wisdom into American life." (Boskin and Dorinson 1985: 90)

Naturally, we must not forget that stereotypes were not employed merely in connection with various racial/ethnic groups. Quite contrary, they were used to target just about any group of population: chauvinist male audience took pleasure in ridiculing the fairer sex, while feminists fought back using the same weapons; at the same time, even the "monolithic" white culture was split into Rednecks, blondes, and policemen, to name just a few, and the ever-popular light bulb jokes (How many ... does it take to screw in a light bulb?) hardly spared anyone.

The Impact

Thus far we have seen not only that stereotypes are found in sitcoms abundantly, but also that this is a natural outgrowth of the centuries-long tradition of humor. Such conclusion would, however, not be satisfactory because it does not address the issue of the impact of these stereotypes on both the audience and the objects (groups) stereotyped. It would certainly be somewhat of a logical failure to assume that the sheer volume of stereotypes in sitcoms makes them right or harmless. Can we safely decide if they are harmful, though?

Those who voice their criticism of the use of stereotypes in sitcoms (and the media in general) seem inclined to think so: Theresa Brown, for instance, in the title of her article insists that "nurse stereotypes are bad for health" (Brown 2009) while Alessandra Stanley is a bit more specific, explaining that "[d]efying political correctness comes with a risk: It could embolden genuine racists to join in the fun." (Stanley 2007) Her point of view, however, if one reads between the lines, does not assert the "magic bullet" fallacy that negative media portrayals (necessarily) equal actual harm to the group stereotyped. After all, the extent to which stereotypes in the media influence us is determined by many factors, e.g. our personality, beliefs, education, etc.

At the same time, we should be careful not to quickly disregard the criticism altogether, acknowledging that perhaps “concerns ... are not entirely misplaced. Negative portrayals of a group of people in film and television, especially a group unfamiliar to many, certainly influence how that group is perceived by the population as a whole, and such perceptions can lead to prejudicial attitudes.” (Schiappa 2007)

The Representation

The critics are right in pointing out the pitfalls of stereotyping in sitcoms. They do, however, as Schiappa (2007) reveals, overestimate the ideal of representational correctness, i.e. they assume that a correct (accurate, authentic) representation is possible. In striving to achieve the chimera, they “end up creating a double bind for representations. *Perpetuate* a stereotype and you reinforce essentialism and polarization... *Challenge* a stereotype and you may undercut essentialism and polarization, but you can end up accused of either reinforcing discriminatory normative beliefs ... or failing to provide representational accuracy or purity.” (ibid.)

What is more, in their heightened sensitivity, they might be more likely to perceive as stereotypes even what was not meant to be interpreted in such a way. Referring to the director of *Strapped*, an HBO movie about “the dead-end lives of urban youth and the horrible choices they must make,” Wilkerson writes that “[h]e said he does not see stereotypes in *Strapped* but a call for solutions.” (Wilkerson 1993) Thus, it could be hypothesized that, at least to some extent, stereotypes (and their negative impact) are in the eye of the beholder. This is even better illustrated in the words of Boskin and Dorinson (1985: 82):

Alan Dundes suggests that Polish jokes are demeaning, but Lydia Fish disagrees. She argues that they actually affirm ethnic pride. Is either position correct? A Yiddish joke, in which a rabbinical sage listened to a dispute, adds perspective. The rabbi found merit in each position. When the *rebbitzin*, his wife, complained that both parties could not be right, the rabbi impartially conceded: “You’re right too!”

Finally, focusing on stereotypes present in sitcoms might mean ignoring several crucial details: In Table 1 I outlined some of the basic stereotypes in the sitcom *Friends*. However, the selection I have provided is a simplified one, listing only the characteristics that fit in with the stereotypes. This image would be rather incomplete if I forgot to note that (a) there are many occasions in which individual characters act contrary to the stereotype (e.g. Phoebe dreams of a normal life); and (b) that individual characters develop over the ten seasons, maturing away from the stereotypes that they originally represented. Therefore, it is quite possible that those who criticize the presence of stereotypes in sitcoms have overlooked the non-stereotypical aspects.

The Conclusion

It is understandable when critics ask the media to provide the audience with a balanced view of things. For this reason, various professional organizations, such as the Society of Professional Journalists, have accepted their own Codes of Ethics, requiring, among other things, that journalists “[a]void stereotyping by race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status.” (Biagi 2001: 358) It, however, seems common sense that we should differentiate between fact (TV news, documentaries) and fiction (e.g. sitcoms) presented on television.

Differentiating between fact and fiction does not mean that we simply “leave fiction alone.” It means that we do not apply the same set of rules or standards to these two distinct groups, bearing in mind that sitcoms are a part of pop culture, which “is made from within and below, and not imposed from above.” (Teer-Tomaselli 1994: 56) Also, it means that we need to acknowledge the need for stereotypes in sitcoms, heirs of the tradition of European comedy and its stock characters. In essence, we need to give up “unrealistic expectations on popular media when criticizing representations or declaring the presence of stereotypes, ... to recognize the fallacy of ‘Representational Correctness’ and move beyond it in our analysis and criticism of popular media texts.” (Schiappa 2007)

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**An Italian Peasant at the Metropolitan Opera:
Stereotyping and Enrico Caruso's Popular Image in
America**

*(Taliánsky sedliak v Metropolitnej opere: Stereotypizácia
populárnej podoby Enrica Carusa
v Amerike)*

TADEUSZ LEWANDOWSKI

ABSTRACT

The Italian tenor Enrico Caruso (1873–1921) was one of the greatest opera singers of the twentieth century, as well as an icon of popular culture. Caruso's career was mainly based in America, where despite holding the status of a purveyor of high art his public image was that of a stereotypical Italian peasant from the Old World. While this simplistic portrait of the tenor 'from the slums of Naples' did much to endear him to his fans, Caruso's ethnicity contributed negatively to his trumped-up trial for public molestation, and subsequent portrayals of the singer in biographies and the Hollywood biopic, *The Great Caruso* (1951). This paper explores how ethnic typecasting informed the way Caruso was presented in American media, citing relevant examples from historical sources, and arguing that his accomplishments were for some time subverted by the Italian stereotypes prevalent in the early twentieth century.

KEY WORDS

Enrico Caruso, Italian stereotypes, opera, media

The Italian tenor Enrico Caruso (1873–1921) was one of the greatest opera singers of the twentieth century, as well as an icon of popular culture. Caruso's career was mainly based in America, where despite holding the status of a purveyor of high art, his public image in print media was that of a stereotypical Italian peasant from the Old World 'bursting with song,' and endowed by nature with a miraculous voice that he used 'instinctively' (Dizikes 1993, 401). While this simplistic portrait of the tenor 'from the slums of Naples' did much to endear him to his fans, Caruso's ethnicity contributed harmfully to a controversial incident soon after his initial burst to fame (Fielder 2001, 77). In 1906 police accused Caruso of molesting a woman in the monkey house of Manhattan's Central Park Zoo, and the papers that had previously promoted him quickly suggested the singer was a dirty foreigner. Occurring within the context of increasing tension over Italian immigration to New York City, the 'Monkey House Scandal' threatened Caruso's career and highlighted the dark side of his stereotyped persona. Though he soon recovered from the unpleasant episode and garnered even greater success and fame, the negative aspects of Caruso's popular façade as a simple-minded peasant far outlived him, detrimentally influencing how his legend was depicted in subsequent biographies and the Hollywood film, *The Great Caruso* (1951). This paper explores how ethnic stereotypes informed the way Caruso was presented in the American media, arguing that his accomplishments as an artist were for decades subverted by the Italian stereotypes popular in the early twentieth century.

Caruso arrived in America on November 11, 1903, having been engaged by the Metropolitan Opera for their 1903/04 season. Despite an initially cool critical reception by music critics and the opera house's wealthy, box-holding patrons in the 'Diamond Horseshoe' – both of whom deemed him too portly, common and bourgeois – Caruso made an immediate connection with the spectators in the galleries due to his unpretentious stage demeanor and willingness to engage in vocal histrionics (Jackson 1972, 106–7). As his appearances continued, Caruso inspired the formerly reserved audience to eruptions of frenzied applause. Having firmly established himself as the Metropolitan's new star, in the following seasons Caruso would transform the character of the once-haughty opera house, bringing in people that had never before considered attending opera. Soon New York, in the words of one critic, was 'Caruso mad,' making him America's first super star tenor and a rising popular idol (Greenfeld 1983, 109).

Concomitant publicity fueled Caruso's growing legend. Billed as "the greatest tenor of all time" by America's Victor record company, all aspects of his life – on stage and off – were reported in the press (Jackson 1972, 109). Caruso cultivated an easy rapport with reporters, but likely because of his poor English and working-class upbringing in Naples the image they constructed of him for public consumption was permeated by Italian stereotypes. Rather than presenting him as a serious artist or intellectual, journalists focused on preconceived characteristics supposedly shared by all Italians, such as their agrarian roots, passionate and superstitious nature, general status as uneducated peasants, and devotion to family. Naturally, whether the portrait that emerged was merely how reporters perceived Caruso, and how consciously or unconsciously it was formed, cannot be determined. Regardless, it certainly registered with the American public at a point when thousands of Italian immigrants of peasant background were arriving in the country (Boyer, et al 2000, 538). Thus within a short space of time, the image of Caruso as an uncomplicated, affable family man of humble roots, settled with his loyal 'wife' Ada (really his mistress) and their son, had been effectively cultivated (Dizikes 1993, 402). One article described their charming domestic setting in Manhattan, far removed from the penury of Italy. It notes, 'The house in which Signor Caruso lives while he is singing in New York is American entirely,' featuring all the 'convenience[s] we call civilization' (Kaufman 1906, 709). However: 'In it Caruso remains Italian,' employing servants from the Old World, and remaining as 'happy as if the sun shone' amid snowy New York nights (709). Like 'a true son of Italy' he has not forgotten his ancient superstitions:

He believes in the evil eye, and in the efficacy of charms to circumvent it. Quite seriously he says: 'Let me meet hay in the street, a bale of hay, and I will dare any high note reached by a tenor! Hay represents infallible good fortune, just as passing under a rope or a scaffolding foretells sure disaster.' (711)

Along with this devotion to folk wisdom came devotion to his wife. Though Caruso receives 'love notes by the bushel,' he refuses 'even to acknowledge that such missives come his way' – this disclosure demonstrating his laudable commitment to Victorian conceptions of domesticity (709). Added to the portrait was an everyman quality, stressing that despite his position he has remained a man of the people: 'He makes of himself just an ordinary human being, without glamour or anecdote of romance' (712). Another article affirmed: 'He is absolutely democratic and always ready to pass the time with the most lowly of his associates' (Greenfeld 1983, 152).

Myths were simultaneously created about Caruso's childhood and voice, both in line with prevailing stereotypes. In an exposition on his 'boyhood in Naples' it is explained that, 'his father and mother were peasants who lived close to the earth, out in the sunshine, making their living out of the ground. Enrico is the fourteenth of their twenty-four children' (Kaufman 1906, 711). In reality Caruso was one of his parents' seven children (only three survived infancy), and his father was a superintendent in a factory (Caruso and Farkas 1990, 20–2). Nonetheless, his rise from such lowly circumstances took on a fairy-tale-like character. The journalist reveals that as a young man Caruso worked as a mechanic at a hotel, where one day a 'Neapolitan prince' with an ear for music discovered him (Kaufman 1906, 712). Upon hearing Caruso sing to himself, the prince kindly fostered his talent, and the rest is history. It is also claimed that Caruso is very emotional about his beginnings as a tenor: 'He weeps now, thinking of his mother, because she used to pause in her work to listen to him [sing]. He was to be great – she was sure of it when others scoffed and laughed' (711). With regard to his prodigious vocal powers, the press promoted the notion that Caruso's singing was a wholly natural endowment, or instinct, rather than the product of intense study and training. One writer claimed: 'Enrico Caruso sings just as nature has prepared him to sing. Art and study may have done something toward fashioning and developing the material given to him, but nature itself "placed" his voice and he sings accordingly' (Dizikes 1993, 401). Another wrote that as a child: '[Caruso] sang without study, without science – he sang at ten naturally, playing in the streets of Naples' (Kaufman 1906, 711). The same piece quotes the tenor as saying: 'I had no teacher...I taught myself. I sang as I breathed – I breathed as I walked. Song was in the air about me,' at the same time explaining: 'With the scientific side of music he has little or no concern. He is not an instrumentalist of any sort. He is a singer made by nature' (711–12). Rumors also circulated that Caruso had lungs twice the size of the average man's, and he could shatter glass on command with his high notes (Dizikes 1993, 399). Articles appeared devoted solely to his miraculous voice. One entitled 'Caruso's Singing Apparatus,' published shortly after his death, discussed his abnormally long vocal tube and vocal chords, and asserted that 'Caruso's lungs were so powerful that when a Steinway piano was pressed against his chest he moved it several inches by the expansion of his lungs' (*Literary Digest* 1921, 29). In addition, his 'whole body seemed to have more than average resonance, and if his knuckles were tapped they gave out a higher note than the knuckles of an average person' – almost suggesting that Caruso somehow resembled an idiot savant, as opposed to thoughtful artist (29). Caruso, it must be conceded, often propagated the notion that his voice was an indestructible force of nature, boasting the four packs of cigarettes he smoked a day did not harm his singing at all (Fielder 2001 77–8). But though he too claimed that he ate and

drank modestly, Caruso's ethnicity and the fact that he was overweight earned him the moniker: 'a spaghetti appetite with a voice of gold' (Greenfeld 1983, 111).

Caruso's persona at times featured a risqué element. He had a knack for creating a sensation in the papers, and one event on stage that demonstrated his intrinsically macho Italian bravado was reported with vigor. Singing opposite the legendarily prudish soprano Emma Eames in Puccini's *Tosca*, Caruso took full advantage of his role as her 'lover,' engaging in a lengthy lip-lock (Warwick and West 1992, 213). One critic took delight in what was dubbed the 'Caruso kiss':

Kissed full on the lips for half a minute, while held as in the grip of a bear, Emma Eames, upon the stage of the Metropolitan last night, must have felt the sensation of her life. It was the first act of Puccini's 'Tosca,' in which she was impersonating the diva, and it was Caruso, the Italian tenor, who was Mario Cavaradossi, her lover, that stormed and carried by assault the rock-ribbed reserve of the American prima-donna, and held her captive while an audience that filled the house from floor to roof tittered and then laughed outright. (Greenfeld 1983, 110)

Opinion, however, was divided as to the appropriateness of the tenor's actions, and this 'marvelous, transcendental kiss,' as one reporter described it, created a small scandal (110). Some New Yorkers expressed offense at the brazen display of Latin passion on the Metropolitan's stage, and a feature writer for the *Evening Telegram* speculated whether the tenor had garlic on his breath, and the potential effect on Eames (110). Such rumblings, it turned out, foreshadowed a greater public outcry at Caruso's supposedly lewd nature that was soon to come.

On November 17, 1906, just ten days before the opening of the opera season in Manhattan, the singer's name appeared in the headlines: 'Signor Caruso, Tenor, Arrested in the Zoo' (*NYT*, 1). The previous day he had been apprehended by plainclothes patrolman James A. Caine, who testified that he witnessed Caruso pinching the buttocks of a woman, Hannah Graham, in the Central Park Zoo's monkey house. Taken to the police station, confused and unable to make himself understood, Caruso was restrained by two policemen and forced into a cell. The Metropolitan's general manager posted bail, and a very public trial ensued (2). At the first hearing both singer and victim failed to appear – Caruso sent a doctor's note with his lawyer, testifying to his illness with sciatica, while Graham's absence was left unexplained. Nevertheless, Caine shocked those assembled by claiming that he had observed Caruso molesting women in the past, and that 'this foreigner' was a habitual offender (*NYT* Nov. 18, 1906, 1). Yet at the same time, the patrolman was forced to admit that Graham had inexplicably given a false address and could not be located. A second court date was set, and when the trial resumed Caruso entered the courtroom to a mixture of raucous support and jeers and hisses from the crowd. The police proceeded to make several other accusations, stating that Graham feared appearing because Caruso's Italian supporters in the courtroom might threaten her with violence. The deputy commissioner who prosecuted the case eagerly stoked anti-Italian sentiment against Caruso:

They ask us why Hannah Graham has not appeared. It is because of the crowd of moral perverts and dogs and curs out there in the courtroom who come here to listen... She would not come... because she would have to face such a crowd of perverts and curs as has just hissed! Our mothers and our sisters are not safe in the streets; they cannot go about without being subjected to insult by this scum from the lazaretto of Naples. (*NYT* Nov. 18, 1906, 2)

Persuaded, the judge fined Caruso ten dollars. Meanwhile, numerous angry letters were sent to New York newspapers expressing gratitude at Caruso's capture and conviction. One declared that 'every woman and child in this city owes Patrolman Kane [*sic*] a debt of gratitude, while another expressed admiration for the persistency with which the police 'follow up on such cases as Caruso's' (Greenfeld 1983, 123). Some in the press even called for Caruso's deportation (Jackson 1982, 151). The singer immediately appealed, but despite revelations that Caine had contrived eight similar cases against less-prominent New Yorkers, all in the same monkey house – and that Graham turned out to be his friend's sister-in-law and accomplice – Caruso was rebuffed by the courts. Eventually, it was discovered that Caine and Graham had worked out a running scheme where she would initiate a conversation with an unsuspecting well-dressed gentleman, allowing Caine to come to her ostensible rescue, threaten prosecution, and later extort money. However, when Graham learned of Caruso's fame and the publicity it would bring, she refused to participate any further (Scott 1988, 96). Nonetheless, the judge who heard the appeal found that Graham's mysterious absence from the proceedings was irrelevant because: 'The offense is not so much against the individual as it is against public order and decency' (*NYT* Dec 30, 1906, 9). Nor did he find 'any error prejudicial to the defendant' (9).

To put the public ire behind the incident in greater perspective, the 'Monkey House Scandal' occurred during a period of increased immigration from Italy. Between 1900 and 1910 Manhattan's Italian population doubled to

340,000, resulting in the ethnic tension that the New York police happily exploited in prosecuting their case (Scott 1988, 96). Thus fearing demonstrations from the public, the Metropolitan's management thought it prudent to cancel Caruso's appearance for the opening night of the season. When he returned to the stage a week later twenty-five policemen were present to prevent a potential riot. When the curtain was raised Caruso's presence provoked hisses from some in the audience, but they were shouted down, and at the opera's end he received a tremendous ovation (Greenfeld 1983, 124). The event firmly behind him, his career flourished along with the stereotyped image constructed before his spurious conviction, sometimes blending the sexual and more mundane aspects of the typical Italian male. In 1909, for instance, it was reported that Caruso was giving up singing to marry a nineteen-year-old Sicilian girl and become a farmer (168). Despite the story, he sang for over a decade more at the Metropolitan. The tenor's career was cut short, however, in December of 1921 when he began spitting up blood during a performance. Experiencing a rapid deterioration in health, he returned to Naples, where he died of pleurisy on August 2 at age forty-eight. A typical obituary politely mentioned the widely held notion that Caruso 'lacked some elements of a rounded education,' signaling that the stereotype of the artist would long outlive him (*The Outlook* 1921, 597).

In 1951 the highly distorted Hollywood biopic *The Great Caruso* debuted in American movie theaters and speedily garnered huge success. The tenor screen idol Mario Lanza (1921–1959) played the famous singer with zest, yet the film's depiction of Caruso was clearly informed by the ethnic stereotypes that dogged him during his lifetime. In accordance with legend, the singer is born in the slums of Naples to humble folk, in consequence always exuding a simple, naïve manner and passionate temper. He gets his start singing in bars for tips, and as a result of this rough background later experiences trouble fitting into the haughty operatic milieu. Caruso makes a poor impression in his first international engagement in London. The leading soprano, incensed at his obvious lack of sophistication, calls him an 'Italian upstart' and declares, exasperated: 'Look at him, wouldn't you know he was an Italian tenor!' (*The Great Caruso* 1951). Caruso responds with confusion: 'Perhaps my English is not good to understand your joke' (GC). 'Your English is vile and your clothes are worse,' she coldly retorts, 'You have the manners of a Naples street singer' (GC). At that he storms out in a fury, only to be coaxed back by the opera house's understanding general manager. Arriving in New York he, too, finds himself out of place. Before his first appearance he looks out from behind the curtain, wondering how he will satisfy so many people. 'Forget the galleries,' his soprano advises 'only the Diamond Horseshoe counts' (GC). Despite his efforts, his interpretation of the noble warrior Radames in Verdi's *Aida* fails miserably. Those in the boxes do not applaud him and the next day the critics complain disdainfully of his plebian deportment. One writes, 'Caruso has the exuberance of an Italian peasant' (GC). After a box-holder complains in the tenor's presence that his 'performance was not that of a nobleman,' Caruso admits with chagrin: '...I am a peasant' (GC). Bewildered but determined, he decides that only by being himself can he succeed in his next portrayal of the starving poet Rodolfo in Puccini's *La Bohème*. He rejects pre-performance advice from the general manager to use gentlemanly restraint to win over the Diamond Horseshoe, and balks at the suggestion that he should keep his hands out of his pockets when on stage. Aggravated but determined, he gives an impassioned speech:

No...I am no gentleman...America is full of people who sit in the galleries, and I can sing for them. Tonight I play a man who is cold, without a penny, and hungry. Up in the galleries they know this man. I know this man, too. He keeps his hands in his pockets whether the Diamond Horseshoe likes it or not! (GC)

Even though to some degree the spirit of the film, particularly in its retelling of the singer's first season at the Metropolitan, can be seen as a legitimate angle from which to approach Caruso as a biographical subject, such dialogue – however quaint – creates a simplistic portrait of the artist more true to stereotypes than historical verisimilitude. Scenes in which Caruso prays devoutly before performances with his 'good luck piece' in hand meanwhile round out the film's plentiful pre-conceived notions of Italians (GC).

T. R. Ybarra's *Caruso: The Man from Naples and the Voice of Gold* (1953) came close on the heels of *The Great Caruso*. The book was the first full-length biography on the tenor, and though certainly reverential, it is burdened by the same stereotypes that permeate the film. Numerous references to the singer's character carry an obvious stereotyped quality. Ybarra declares that: 'Enrico Caruso was born a Neapolitan, lived a Neapolitan, and died a Neapolitan,' writing of his 'native Neapolitan explosiveness,' 'Neapolitan mischievousness,' and 'the little Neapolitan urchin inside him' (1953, 166, 263, 163, 203). The author creates a maddeningly unintelligent psychological portrait, writing that: 'There is no doubt that deep down, Enrico Caruso asked little from life but the sun, sociability, and spaghetti of Naples' (201). It is stressed that despite his extensive travels and experience, Caruso was 'essentially of the people,' and retained his 'simple, uncomplicated nature' (114, 203). An obviously apocryphal story about an Italian 'bootblack' recommending Caruso to the Metropolitan Opera's general manager also appears – equally unlikely as that of the Neapolitan prince who previously discovered Caruso (16). Most troubling, however, is Ybarra's contention that Caruso probably did make an advance on Graham in the monkey house, a conclusion reached from 'knowing something about male Latins' (129). He posits that it was

likely the time Caruso spent in Argentina that gave him the habit of molesting women on the street, as in Buenos Aires, where Caruso had sung many times, such activities have been elevated to an art form. Such disclosures make the book somewhat perplexing, particularly because Ybarra at times comes out against Italian stereotypes. He reports that in 1917 Caruso agreed to draw caricatures at a charity event for a Long Island hospital. When he arrived he found his booth decorated with dry spaghetti and refused to draw until the organizers removed it. Caruso purportedly told his wife on the way home: ‘They do not imagine such a thing will offend because they think of Italians only like that’ (215). Yet despite Ybarra’s expressed disdain at the organizers’ presumptions, *The Man from Naples and the Voice of Gold* appears an equal offense.

As a result of the Mario Lanza film and the Ybarra biography, the stereotyped image of Caruso constructed in the early twentieth century endured, so much so that even John Bello’s *Caruso: A Centennial Tribute*, published twenty years later, makes mention of the tenor’s supposedly ‘uncomplicated personality’ (1973, 1). Thankfully a series of Caruso biographies appeared over the ensuing decades, one co-written by the singer’s son, which effectively dispelled the archaic notion that Caruso resembled in any way a simple Italian peasant from the Old World. Though he clearly possessed a lively personality and sense of humor, the lamentable caricature of Caruso offered little insight into a sophisticated individual of profound talent and ambition, who in addition to his operatic career was a skilled composer of music, sketch artist and painter, and brilliant designer of gardens. Likewise, it remains unfortunate that the popular image influenced by Italian stereotypes for so long undermined the accomplishments and intellectual acumen of an artist who transformed the aesthetics of opera singing, and left a vast recorded legacy that continues to be the standard by which all subsequent tenors’ artistry is judged. To be certain, the stereotyping of Caruso speaks to the undeniable power of such ethnic typecasting to shape our perception of even great artists that merit the word ‘unique.’

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ABSTRACT

With the ever growing number of Eastern European immigrants in Great Britain a new phenomenon has been introduced into the subconscious of the British society – the pitiful Eastern European immigrant smattering English and desperately searching for ‘some’ job. Lack of knowledge and information inevitably leads to cultural generalization and exaggeration of negative images. The media in their hunger for scoop and scandal often do not hesitate to sacrifice objective analysis for a sensational headline that sells the product.

The author of this paper tries to look behind the scenes while peeling off the several layers of the Eastern European image present in the British common knowledge. Starting with a brief historical analysis comparing the romantic vision of the ‘liberated’ east from under communist oppression up to the present – more or less consolidated – situation loaded with a fine admixture of suspicion and distrust the author tries to show the processes of change that have been taking place for the last few decades in the examined area.

There is also an attempt to map, present, and describe the history of the birth and evolution of Czech and Slovak communities in London and possibly in other urban centres. Through a comparative analysis of the Czech and Slovak expatriate press present in England and using the numerous Internet sites as orientation points the author tries to make a rough sketch of reality about these communities – their successes and failures.

Though this might seem as a venturesome enterprise the author also tries to depict and show the most striking differences between the Eastern European image accepted and supported in the British media and the picture built up by the expatriate media comparing and contrasting the news and articles presented by the further or latter.

Finally there is a strong attempt of the author to explore the potential of the Internet as the most flexible and suitable tool for developing expatriate self-consciousness, removing prejudices and serving as a great equalizer in the process of integration and acceptance. By analysing the contents, the language and the messages of the different Internet sites the author tries to uncover the main streams of development in connection with the acceptance – or possible refusal – of the Eastern Europeans.

The present paper will also serve as a tool for presenting the collected knowledge and information after a thorough ‘gold panning’, which will be broadly presented in the dissertation thesis of the author concerning with the processes of change in the British educational system with a special emphasis on racial and ethnic questions among others.

KEY WORDS

prejudice, immigration, Eastern Europeans in the UK, media, press

Introduction

Language is a miracle. It can clarify as well as bring understanding and inspiration among people. Nevertheless, it also has the power to stigmatise, label one bad or good, classify, compartmentalize, rise and enforce prejudice. Being European is still not a coherent concept. Being Eastern European is a status that is heavily loaded with a complicated historical heritage. The picture of the Eastern European immigrant in Britain

is ambiguous. As Thomas F. Pettigrew, a Research Professor of Social Psychology at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in his article: *Reactions Toward the New Minorities of Western Europe* states "...Unlike African Americans, ... new Europeans are often viewed as not "belonging," and gaining citizenship can be difficult. ... Both blatant and subtle forms of prejudice predict anti-immigrant attitudes. ... Similarly, direct and indirect discrimination against the new minorities is pervasive. The author concludes that, "these phenomena are remarkably consistent across Western Europe." [Pettigrew, 1998]

It seems that our common 'European' achievements, the so many times emphasised equality, fraternity and liberty are still a dream even in the luckiest part of the world. Language – this powerful tool – clearly reflects this state and as a finely tuned lute resonates in the chords of prejudice and deliberately or accidentally enforces differences, deepens conflicts, hurts and binds despite the fact that it has an at least equal power of healing and unifying.

The concept of this paper partially correlates with the dissertation topic of the author, which analyses the processes of change in the British educational system from the point of class, religion and ethnicity with an emphasis on the latter one. The paper is the result of a journey to the territory of media and tries to analyse the role of language in building prejudice in enforcing exclusion, in creating artificial minorities to be blamed and accused on the pages of British newspapers.

The hypothesis of the research states that the language of British media accurately reflects the level of prejudice towards Eastern European immigrant groups in that society. In simplified words the presence of negative, neutral or positive expressions reflects the level of prejudice, sympathy or neutrality towards immigrant minorities within the specific social class or group targeted by a concrete mass medium. Thus, on the basis of a simple linguistic analysis, it seems possible to evaluate the level of prejudices, the main directions of the development of antipathy towards Eastern European immigrant groups from neutrality to extreme hatred and the result would allow us to make a realistic guess about the real level of prejudice in the British society. The key questions that should be answered are:

How is this prejudice against Eastern Europeans presented in the British media? Which are the catchwords and slogans that suggest and imply negative feelings and attitude towards Eastern Europeans? Is negative aptitude present similarly in different media products regardless their target social group?

The variables which play the most significant roles in this analysis are primarily adjectives and adjective collocations, together with other parts of speech which cannot be neglected either, as they equally have the power to evoke positive or negative mental reactions in the reader's mind. These expressions and collocations are analysed in different British newspaper articles and the primary aim of this paper is to evaluate their qualifying or defining character, their characteristics and the types of connotations they summon up in connection with Eastern Europeans.

Starting from the fact that adjectives and adjective collocations can be classified as negative, neutral or positive in stylistics – depending on the level of sympathy or antipathy they evoke in the mind of the reader – a research can be conducted to determine their quantitative and qualitative characteristics in newspaper articles. It can be anticipated that it is only the will of the communicator – the producer of the given text or speech – which defines the direction of the communication process.

Derek Offord states in connection with publicistic style in his book *Using Russian: A Guide to Contemporary Usage* that, "This style has, or may have, as its purpose not only communication of information but also persuasion. ... It is widespread in journalism, though it is not the sole style of journalism, in which it may be as important to present information as to influence opinion. The style is characterised by socio-political vocabulary and it easily absorbs neologisms. It resorts to certain stereotypes and clichés and periphrasis. ... [It] makes use of such graphic, emotive and expressive resources of the language as rhetorical devices, repetition, parallelism and exclamation. ... elements of colloquial language are used to lend it vitality." [Offord, 1996]

Journalistic style can be classified according to its forms and functions. Among its main characteristic features belong clarity and accuracy of utterance. It puts emphasis on situational and cultural context and the most important characteristic from the point of this analysis is the fact that journalistic style operates with positive and negative evaluative adjectives to fulfil its persuasive function. The use of impersonal expressions, emotionally marked language, familiar expressions, euphemisms, metaphors are often attempts to bias the readers' feelings. The usage of professional terminology from different areas of life is applied to persuade the reader that the message conveyed is well-founded, is based on scientifically grounded or generally acceptable facts.

The choice of resources is based on the information from Encyclopaedia Britannica that, "In both sales and reputation the national papers published in London dominate. Within the national newspaper business in the United Kingdom, a distinction has developed between popular papers (often tabloids) with multimillion circulation and quality broadsheet papers with relatively small sales." [Britannica, 2007]

Since the scale of this paper does not allow a deep and extensive analysis of the whole newspaper market the paper focuses primarily on two major players of the British newspaper industry:

a) *The Times* of London is one of the world's oldest newspapers. Since 1981 it is a subsidiary of News International such as The United Kingdom's biggest-selling newspaper, *The Sun*. The Times is a daily newspaper published in London, one of ebcid.com.britannica.oec2.identifier.IndexEntryContentIdentifier?idxStructId=615557&library=EB Britain's oldest and most influential newspapers. It is generally accounted, with *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, one of Britain's "big three" and has long been recognized as one of the world's greatest newspapers. [Britannica, 2007]

b) *The Sun* is a daily tabloid newspaper published in the United Kingdom and Ireland (where it is known as The Irish Sun) with the second highest circulation of any daily English-language newspaper in the world and the biggest circulation within the UK, standing at an average of 2,986,000 copies a day between January and June 2008 and with a daily readership of approximately 7,900,000, of which 56 percent are male and 44 percent female. By circulation it is the tenth biggest newspaper in any language in the world. [Wikipedia, 2009]

As these newspapers represent a relatively big percentage of the total newspaper market in the UK, there is a high probability that their views, comments and use of language can serve as a representative pattern more or less applicable in connection with the research topic of this article.

The research process can be divided into two major phases:

1. The selection of articles was realized by using the built in search engines of the online versions of the selected media products. It proved to be a very useful tool and allowed 'armchair research'. However, the criteria applied in article selection had to be carefully planned as using exclusively the built in search engine would lead an incoherent mass of information as the chosen keyword *Eastern Europe* produced a very lengthy list without any sophisticated selection according to different subject matters. Therefore further criteria were introduced to qualify the research. The selected criteria are the following:

- The article must have political, social or economical background.
- The article should comment issues at least marginally connected with the status of immigrants in the UK.
- The article should be comparable with other articles of similar genre and the whole selection should form a coherent unit.
- The article should provide an overview of the publisher's / reader's concept about the subject area.
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2. The analysis of articles was divided into two parts:

- The analysis of the titles
- and the analysis of the articles' text.

By the analysis of the article titles it is possible to map the areas where the 'Eastern European' concept appears in the British social, political and economic life. The main goal of this analysis is to explore the most sensitive areas and social concepts in connection with the status of Eastern European immigrants. A second issue is to understand which are the catchwords in connection with the discussed topic, in another words which are the scandals, sensations, and interesting topics that sell the news.

By applying the selection criteria 24 articles were examined from the London Times and 29 articles from The Sun newspaper.

Result of article title analysis:

Legend (- negative connotation, 0 neutral connotation, + positive connotation)

	Article title	publisher	
1	An end of tyranny	The Times	-
2	BNP leader to challenge Cabinet minister at general election	The Times	0
3	Cadbury's predators	The Times	-
4	Companies begin moving production back to UK	The Times	+
5	Decade in review: The Noughties party is truly over	The Times	0
6	Double it and you get the real jobless total	The Times	-
7	East Europeans forced by recession to return home from Britain	The Times	-
8	Eastern Europe eclipses the rest of Europe	The Times	-
9	Eastern Europe: The new Detroit	The Times	+
10	Eastern European organised crime recruits British 'mules' to launder stolen millions	The Times	-
11	Eastern Europeans contribute to fall in number of employed British people	The Times	-

12	Half of Amsterdam's red-light windows close	The Times	+
13	Home office covered up immigration risk	The Times	-
14	Kraft's tactics and future of Cadbury	The Times	-
15	Leading Article: Mikhail Gorbachev	The Times	+
16	Lock up your diggers as gang targets sites	The Times	-
17	MI5 files should be in archive	The Times	0
18	New industrial revolution begins in Eastern Europe	The Times	+
19	On Eastern and Western Europe	The Times	0
20	Slow trains through eastern Europe	The Times	+
21	Struggling Romania tests reforming zeal of EU and IMF	The Times	-
22	Union demands details of Kraft's plan for Cadbury	The Times	-
23	World Agenda: 20 years later, Poland can lead eastern Europe once again	The Times	+
24	World Agenda: eastern Europe's economic collapse stalks the West	The Times	-
25	Vice girls charge just 15£ for sex	The Sun	-
26	Million migrants flood in	The Sun	-
27	Welcome to Boston, Europe	The Sun	+
28	Village is moving to UK	The Sun	-
29	Immigrant kids overflow classes	The Sun	-
30	60yrs on for first immigrant wave	The Sun	0
31	Child trafficking 'failures'	The Sun	-
32	No passport? No problem	The Sun	-
33	Teen aged 13 found with gun	The Sun	-
34	Cops fear journo girl gang rape	The Sun	-
35	Police seize keyring gun	The Sun	-
36	Camp man set for rape charge	The Sun	-
37	2 in 5 drink drivers now immigrants	The Sun	-
38	Killer drivers from eastern Europe	The Sun	-
39	Influx from east Europe	The Sun	-
40	45,000 crims to come here	The Sun	-
41	Govt curb on EU migrants	The Sun	-
42	EU migrants into UK rise	The Sun	-
43	A million migrants in 2 yrs	The Sun	-
44	750,000 pour into UK from EU	The Sun	-
45	HIV rates in Eastern Europe	The Sun	-
46	Migrant work trio face jail	The Sun	-
47	Illegals grilling from PM	The Sun	-
48	' Dodgy ' EU doctors fear	The Sun	-
49	Expats warned as tide turns	The Sun	-
50	Cops loosing on immigrant crime	The Sun	-
51	Eastern block is vital for UK	The Sun	+
52	Easy money	The Sun	-
53	NHS is breeding discontent	The Sun	-

Statistical results:

	negative	neutral	positive	total
The Times	13	4	7	24
The Sun	26	1	2	29
total	39	5	9	53

From the results presented in the chart it is clear that both The Times and The Sun presents the overwhelming majority of articles in connection with the Eastern Europeans in a negative context. Only a small percentage of the analysed article titles showed neutral or positive connotation. In the case of The Sun it is approximately 10% of the articles that do not provide directly negative connotation while in the case of The Times positive connotations make up to 54%.

By the analysis of the texts the author sought to decipher the connotations and messages the writers of the articles tried to convey to their readers. Unfortunately the full analysis of the examined articles would create a too wide source of information for a detailed evaluation. Consequently the complex analysis of the text might

not produce a comprehensive database that would show tendencies and would not serve as a readable resource for further work. Thus the author chose to focus on sentences and sentence contexts that contained the expression ‘Eastern Europe or Eastern European’ to narrow down the examined area. The result of this filter was a sequence of sentences, which showed which qualifying words were connected with the examined expression. In the following phase of the analysis the sentences were deconstructed and words were selected with clearly qualifying character. In the final phase the message of the given sentence or sequence of sentences is compared with the overall message of the article(s) with the goal to discover if the chosen words create a logically coherent unit with the whole message or the sentence was just an example of generalization thus reflecting prejudice and not describing a fact.

During this phase of the analysis the following areas were emphasised.

- What adjectives, evaluative adjective constructions or other expressions re used to describe the Eastern Europeans in the sentences?
- Is the overall message of the article closely connected with Eastern Europeans?
- Is there clear evidence of the role of Eastern European immigrants?
- Is there concrete reason of defining Eastern Europeans as negative actors?

Text analysis produced the list of sentences presented below:

The London Times presented the word Eastern European or Eastern Europe in the following contexts:

- Events in Eastern Europe, and now in Romania, show how the people of the East have none the less made their voice heard and their strength felt.
- During the local elections in 2006 it seized on Mrs Hodge’s remarks that eight out of ten families, **fearful** of the **influx** of workers from Eastern Europe, were thinking of voting BNP as a vote winner.
- Perhaps my **saddest memory**: the scattered and **broken pictures** of a ladies’ hockey team, a bowls club and cricket teams I picked out from the debris being **trampled** by a forklift loading machines for transport to Eastern Europe. That **diktat** had come from those same **faceless predators** who are now **sniffing** some **easy short-term gains** from Cadbury.
- Many British manufacturers have outsourced production to countries with **lower labour costs**, in Eastern Europe or Asia, in the past decade, a trend that has accelerated as an increasing number of British companies have fallen into **foreign ownership**.
- That reflects the fact that the working population grew substantially, mostly as a result of another phenomenon of the decade: **large-scale immigration**. Thanks to enlargement of the EU into Eastern Europe, and the decision to open up Britain’s job market to the new entrants, the Polish plumber became an enduring symbol of the age.
- Britain’s population rose from 59m in 1999 to 61.4m by 2008, **swelled** by net migration of more than 150,000 a year.
- The EU’s expansion to the east has brought around 500,000 **extra people** to the UK, but in the long term the issue will be with people arriving from the rest of the world — from Asia, Africa and the Far East. A study by the economist David Blanchflower has found that immigration from Eastern Europe “appears to have had **little or no effect** on the unemployment rate.”
- The **total number** of Eastern Europeans leaving Britain more than **doubled** from 25,000 to 69,000 between 2007 and 2008.
- Other figures published yesterday show the number of East Europeans **registering to work** fell by almost a quarter between 2007 and 2008 to 166,600.
- Eastern European stock markets have boomed as foreign investors have piled in to take advantage of EU accession
- Having said that, Eastern Europe might actually **fare better** than other **emerging markets** if there is a **setback**, because it is considered **less risky** than, say, Latin America.”
- There are also **cracks** in Eastern Europe’s economic miracle.
- Investors who are **worried** about a **setback** in Eastern Europe should check they do not have **too much** of their portfolio in the region.
- The 2,300 workers at Ryton have been sacrificed in the motor industry’s **rush** to establish factories in central and Eastern Europe.
- Korea is regarded as a low-cost manufacturing base, so it is a surprise to learn that making cars in Eastern Europe is **cheaper** than exporting them from the home country.
- Such is the **enthusiasm** for Eastern Europe that Ford finds itself **bidding** against at least three other companies for Craiova.
- **Organised criminals** from Eastern Europe are **duping** British jobseekers, including accountants and financial managers, into giving them access to their bank accounts so that they can **launder** hundreds of **millions** of pounds a year.

- Migrants coming to work in Britain from Eastern Europe are **directly contributing** to a **fall** in the number of British people in work, a new analysis has found.
 - Most of the **prostitutes** are from Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia
 - She said that more than three quarters of the city's 8,000 to 11,000 **prostitutes** were from Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia.
 - She was later **forced** to resign after it emerged she had **misled** MPs about whether she had been warned that Romanian and Bulgarian **crime gangs** might want to **exploit** the UK's decision to open its borders to those seeking work from Eastern Europe.
 - Is it too late to implement a measure of this nature before another fine **British company is surrendered** to short-term interests, and with it the **danger** that much of its manufacturing base will be transferred to Eastern Europe?
 - Even air crashes were state **secrets**. Mr Gorbachev's freeing of the press was the vital first step towards ridding the country, and Eastern Europe, of **totalitarianism**.
 - He left East Europeans to their own **destinies**, worked with Washington to end **regional conflicts** and actively promoted the United Nations, where Soviet **influence** had before been **nothing but destructive**.
 - Gardai and the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) believe the **gang**, based in Monaghan and Fermanagh, is selling **stolen** JCBs and dumpers to **dealers** in Eastern Europe, Asia and the Middle East for as much as €50,000 an item.
 - The tractors had been **stolen** in Britain and were intended for export to Eastern Europe or Asia.
 - There is nothing on MI5's important work in western Germany after 1945, nothing on the **hunt** for Hitler and other Nazi **war criminals** led by Sir Dick White, or the **neo-Nazi** Naumann plot, which MI5 carefully defused; no mention of "Operation Post Report" conducted by MI5 in Britain in the early 1950s that generated intelligence on more than 200,000 immigrants to Britain from Eastern Europe and provided (in 1952) the first hard **evidence** that Anthony Blunt was a **communist spy**.
 - With **extremely low wages** and **very low taxes**, the new Eastern European members of the EU are **attracting** more foreign investment per capita than China.
 - Göran Persson, the Swedish Prime Minister, told the new EU members: "If they believe that we will **tax heavily** in Sweden, Finland and Denmark and **send the money to Eastern Europe**, where **the upper class does not pay taxes**, this is **not sustainable**."
 - The principle danger facing Eastern Europe today seems to me to be the **weakening of its identity**.
 - In Eastern Europe, for example, there is still a **strong conviction** that God is the supreme guarantor of human dignity and human rights.
 - It's certainly hard to imagine the once slightly **mysterious eastern edges** of Europe - Vienna, Prague and Budapest - retaining their magic when they're only a few hours away by air.
 - To our east lay ancient Transylvanian myths that were soon brought alive by the sight of dishevelled **tramps** sitting around a campfire on the edge of a dense forest.
- It was here too that we saw the first of what looked like rows of allotments each with their own seemingly large and well-kept shed. It soon transpired that **these were not sheds but homes**...
- The European Union has achieved a small, surprising success in helping Central and Eastern Europe to avoid a **savage banking crisis** this year.
 - The big banks of Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Sweden had taken over almost the entire banking sector of Central and Eastern Europe. There was a risk that they would **choke off credit** as **confidence fell**.
 - The York **factory** that used to produce Terry's was **closed** in 2005 and production was moved to Eastern Europe.
 - Poland could now **set the pace for the region**, as it did in 1989, by projecting itself eastwards to stabilise the EU borderlands.
 - Riots in Riga - **economic discontent** has fuelled public anger in eastern and central Europe.
 - The **gold rush** in Eastern Europe is now over.
 - So what should we do as **political unrest** – riots, the **tumbling of governments**, the **revival of radical nationalism** takes hold in central and eastern Europe?
 - Everyone in power in the EU knows that the sense of prosperity in the east is built on **unsustainable levels of debt**.
 - Until now, the East Europeans have been the **poster children** of capitalism.
 - The **downside** of the East European boom was obvious to the locals but not the myopic westerners... chronic **unemployment** in regions away from capital cities or financial hubs, a **terrifying gulf** between rich and poor and everywhere **wild borrowing** to catch up with new middle class measures of success, the Toyota in the driveway. Today the alarm bells are beginning to sound in Austria, Italy and the Nordic countries – all have banks that are **heavily exposed** in Eastern Europe.
 - Initially, the problems have to be sorted out at home by **a new stay-at-home generation in the East**.
 - EU leaders can do their bit towards **preventing** this by co-ordinating the various European financial institutions to produce a **plausible emergency fund for the east**.

- **Collapsing banks** in the east, even a **national bankruptcy**, would place the euro in **serious peril**.

The Sun newspaper presented the expression Eastern European and Eastern Europe in the following contexts:

- Researchers posed as **potential "punters"** and phoned 921 **brothels**, which advertised in local newspapers, and discovered that 77 different **ethnicities** of women were **being offered for sex**. Many came from **well-known trafficking hotspots** such as Eastern Europe and South-east Asia.
- Half a million **immigrants** have **flocked** to Britain from Eastern Europe since their countries joined the EU, a survey revealed yesterday.
- An army of 45,000 **crooks** and **gangsters** from Eastern Europe is set to **invade** Britain, it was **revealed** yesterday.
- **Mass move ... migrants** from Eastern Europe...
- Shadow Home Secretary David Davis said last night: "The Government has already made an **incredible mistake** in **under-estimating** the number of migrants from Eastern Europe at the first stage of enlargement.
- The Government **slammed the door** on a flood of immigrant workers from Eastern Europe yesterday.
- **More than** 427,000 of those Eastern Europeans have come to work in Britain since the expansion of the European Union in May 2004.
- The 427,000 total **does not cover** self-employed workers - thought to cover a **significant** number of Eastern Europeans in the building trade.
- A total of 44,995 Eastern Europeans on the worker registration scheme have **applied for child benefit** and 27,280 were **approved**.
- Migrationwatch chairman Sir Andrew Green said: "There is clearly a **continuing massive flow** of migrants from Eastern Europe.
- It is **obvious** that the **influx of cheap labour** from Eastern Bloc countries will **drive down the rates of pay** for everyone in Britain, even a child could see that.
- **MORE** than 750,000 immigrants have **poured** into Britain from Eastern Europe in the last two years, **new figures reveal**.
- We reported on November 16 fears that immigrants from Eastern Europe made up a **large proportion of new UK HIV cases**. We have been asked to make clear that Eastern Europe is not a **significant source** of new HIV diagnoses and Romania and Bulgaria do not have high HIV rates.
- Three **gangmasters** who **supplied illegal workers** from Eastern Europe faced **jail** terms yesterday after being **convicted of money laundering**.
- Tens of thousands of East Europeans were **allowed to stay** in Britain last year, Tony Blair admitted in the Commons yesterday. His admission **casts doubts** on Home Office claims that net immigration from Eastern Europe after EU enlargement in May will be below 13,000.
- Britain could be **inundated** with **underqualified doctors** and nurses from Eastern Europe when their countries join the EU next month, ministers have been warned.
- A million Eastern Europeans have come to Britain since EU enlargement in May last year, official new figures revealed today. Sir Andrew Green, boss of independent group Migrationwatch UK, said: "This confirms that the Government **hopelessly underestimated** the likely immigration from Eastern Europe.
- An **amazing exodus** is revealed today? With **an entire village migrating** to Britain from **poverty-stricken Eastern Europe**.
- The Government today **came under attack** for failing to combat **child trafficking** from Eastern Europe. Its report, Action to Prevent Child Trafficking in South Eastern Europe, calls for more to be done to tackle the root causes of the problem.
- **Angry scenes** erupted at Calais and Dover as **streams of coaches** arrived from Eastern Europe following the expansion of the EU.
- Now it has become **renowned for migrants** coming the other way – from Eastern Europe and all corners of the globe.... Like the Eastern Europeans, she has only good things to report about Britain and said: "I like Boston very much and the English have been very friendly to me."... That positive attitude is shared by 54-year-old grandad Len Evans, who was yesterday selling fruit and veg from his stall festooned with St George's flags. He said: "I'm the world's most patriotic bloke but I think the East Europeans have been great for Britain. They don't mind hard graft. "Native Brits now don't like hard work like picking veg or they think they can get something better."
- In inner-London more than half - 53.4 per cent - have English as a second language. Many **hail from Eastern Europe**.
- Converted Baikal **weapons**, often imported from Russia and Eastern Europe, are the weapon of choice for **violent gangs** across the country.

- Most of the **vagrants** claimed to be from Iraq, Afghanistan, or the Middle East, although police believe many were from Eastern Europe and the Balkans.
- Such key fob **guns** are often imported from Eastern Europe and have become a **worrying status symbol** for some **gangsters**.
- The immigrants are **supported by local charities** since the newly-elected Right Wing council in Calais refused to provide them with permanent accommodation. ...Most of them claim to be from countries like Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan, or the Middle East, although police believe many are from eastern Europe and the Balkans.
- **Leaked** police figures show FORTY PER CENT of **drink drivers** in some parts of Britain are now foreigners. And the vast majority come from either Poland or Lithuania - **confirming warnings** that many Eastern Europeans **ignore** our breathalyser **laws**.
- **Accidents** on British roads involving Eastern European drivers have **soared** EIGHT-FOLD in just six years.
- Polish cars were in more than 3,800 **accidents** last year - well over half the East Europeans' total, according to figures from the Motor Insurers' Bureau.
- There has been **anti-foreigner feeling generated** in Britain by the tabloids against the Poles and Eastern Europeans.
- It emerged that immigrants are now behind one in five **murders** in Britain. Those from new EU states in Eastern Europe are among **the worst offenders**.
- Sir Andrew Green, of think-tank Migrationwatch UK, called the report “unconvincing.” He added: “We **have no idea** how many Eastern Europeans there are in Britain so we can have no idea what proportion are offenders.”
- SUN CITY COMMENT: Whatever you think about immigration from Eastern Europe, this looks like **good business**. There are some 600,000 **migrant workers** here now and this will rise once Romania and Bulgaria join the EU.
- Just three babies were born there to women from Eastern Europe in 2000 – but by 2006 the number had **soared** to almost 200.

The database below shows the different collocations that serve for the basis of the detailed analysis:

fearful influx	political unrest, riot
sad memory	the tumbling of governments
broken picture	revival of radical nationalism
trampled	unsustainable level of debt
faceless predator	unemployment
easy / short-term gains	terrifying gulf
low labour costs	wild borrowing
foreign ownership	heavily exposed
large-scale immigration	a new stay-at home generation in the East
extra people	emergency fund
little or no effect	potential punter
the total number of (immigrants) doubled	well-known trafficking hotspots
less risky	immigrants flocked
worried	crooks, gangsters
too much	invade
organised criminals	mass move
to launder millions	incredible mistake
directly contributing to the fall	under-estimating
most of the prostitutes	slam a door
more than three quarters of the ... prostitutes	significant
forced, misled	drive down the rates of pay
crime gangs	figures reveal
exploit	large proportion of new UK HIV cases
British company surrendered	significant source of HIV
secrets	gangmaster
totalitarianism	illegal workers
regional conflicts	allowed to stay
destructive	cast doubts
gang	inundated
sniff	under qualified doctors
stolen	hopelessly underestimated
dealer	amazing exodus

hunt	poverty stricken
war criminals	child trafficking
neo-Nazi	weapons
communist spy	violent gangs
low taxes	vagrants
not sustainable	worrying status symbol
weakening of identity	supported by local charities
strong conviction	drink drivers
mysterious eastern edges	confirming warnings
tramps	ignore laws
not sheds but homes	accidents soared
savage crisis	anti-foreigner feelings
confidence falls	murders
economic discontent	the worst offenders
gold rush	good business
weakening identity	

Qualitative expressions used in connection with Eastern Europe and Eastern European immigrants in the analysed articles:

Adjectives:

fearful, sad, broken, trampled, faceless, short-term, easy, low, foreign, large-scale, extra, little, double, risky, worried, organised, forced, destructive, radical, unsustainable, terrifying, wild, exposed, emergency, potential, well-known, incredible, significant, large

29 adjectives were found in the analysed sentences.

18 adjectives with clearly negative connotation

10 adjectives with neutral connotation

1 adjective with positive connotation

Verbs:

launder, contribute, mislead, exploit, surrender, tumble, flock, invade, under-estimate, slam, draw down, reveal,

12 verbs with qualifying character were found in the analysed sentences

10 verbs with clearly negative connotation

2 verbs with neutral connotation

0 verb with positive connotation

Nouns:

prostitute, crime, gang, secret, totalitarianism, conflict, unrest, riot, revival, nationalism, debt, unemployment, borrowing, gulf, fund, stay-at-home generation, punter, trafficking, hotspot, immigrant, crook, gangster, mass move, mistake, proportion, HIV, influx

27 nouns with qualifying character were found in the analysed sentences

22 nouns with clearly negative connotation

4 nouns with neutral connotation

1 noun with positive connotation

Analysis of parts of speech:

It is reasonable to predict that the use of qualifying adjectives, adjectival collocations were deliberate and the authors of the different articles followed the thinking patterns of the readers to formulate the presented concepts in accordance with the reader's taste and predictions thus reflecting the 'generally accepted' picture of the Eastern European immigrants' in the mind of the target audience. By doing so, the journalist simply serves as an 'entertainer', who reflects on a problematic area but represents, emphasises, and confirms the *reader's* point of view. It is also evident that in many cases the writers do not even provide facts, but also comment and

manipulate their final product and state of mind of the readers providing pseudo data and personally biased comments and feelings.

From the above-presented results it is possible to draw the following **conclusion**:

- Regardless one examines a quality paper (The Times) or tabloid (The Sun) it is evident that the overwhelming majority of the published texts present Eastern Europe and immigrants from this area in a negative context. The large majority of different word classes with clearly negative connotations show this tendency very clearly.
- However, a number of articles (17 out of 53) were not written directly about Eastern Europeans or about immigrants from this area at all the authors, always felt the need to emphasise that Eastern Europeans are negative actors or presented Eastern Europe as a problematic area.
- Almost none of the examined articles have clearly defined the concept of Eastern Europe. No professionals or researchers of the given area were asked for explanation or further analysis. The presented concepts and the references were of poor quality or heavily biased.
- 14 articles were discussing domestic affairs with no clear correlation with immigration: criminal problems, unemployment, prostitution, and closing of factories in the UK. Nevertheless, these problems had been present in the British society long before the new wave of Eastern European immigrants appeared in the islands, the newspapers connect them with the newcomers deliberately misleading the readers and blaming for the long existing problems a new group in the UK.

Based on the analysis of the presented articles it is evident that the level of prejudice among the readers of both media product is high and considering the readers' reactions – not presented in this analysis –it is even more evident.

The research showed that professor Thomas F Pettigrew's statements are well grounded and the level of prejudice against Eastern Europeans is considerably high. The relatively great number of negative or extremely negative adjectives or adjectival collocations as well as other words with negative flavour belonging to other parts of speech clearly reveal the fact, that prejudice is strong at all levels of the British society.

Here arises the question what is the reason and cause of such a negative result?

Since the popularity of the different media products depends on the number of readers they can tempt with the 'up to date' topics, their 'independent' comments can rather be considered to be the echo of the community's view. In another words it seems to be easier to sell the papers when the authors strengthen the readers negative attitudes and feed their negative conviction in connection with the Eastern Europeans than simply providing them with facts.

There were only a very little number of reactions that depicted Eastern Europeans as a positive group in the British society. However, the picture of the Polish plumber is becoming the normal part of the British life, the media still persuades the people that ALL Eastern European immigrants represent something very negative for the British society. It is surprising when considering the fact that Great Britain has long been considered a multicultural, open and accepting society. Is that changing?

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Strengthening Socialisation in TEFL Classroom through the Means of Creative Drama with the Emphasis on ADHD Students

(Posilňovanie socializácie v TEFL triedach prostredníctvom kreatívnej drámy s dôrazom na študentov s poruchami pozornosti)

SILVIA HVOZDÍKOVÁ

ABSTRACT

It is our focus to illustrate the concept of creative drama in a foreign language education as a suitable methodological tool for teaching English as a foreign language, with the special emphasis on social aspect in an integrated classroom with ADD/ADHD students. Developing the issue of primary education language teaching, this article demonstrates creative drama as a process in education which strengthens community of children in the classroom, and their interpersonal communication within the classroom. The article sets out the theoretical background of educational drama, defines special educational need learner in context of language learning, and brings results of the first phase of research made in primary education in EFL classrooms in Nitra, Slovakia.

KEY WORDS

creative drama, socialisation, interpersonal communication, foreign language teaching, ADHD learner

Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder Learner - Basic Terminology

Our main focus are students with Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). They represent a group of children often described by teachers as over-energetic and overactive. Based on Rief's (1999) definition of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder children, the main characteristics of such children are as follows:

- high extent of physical activity;
- impulsiveness and low self-control behavior;
- difficulty to adapt to another activity in the classroom;
- aggressive behavior, over-exaggerated responses to the smallest impulses;
- lower social competence;
- lower self-esteem and high level of frustration.

According to Munden and Arcelus's (2006) conclusions about Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder students, the main symptoms are: *hyperactivity* (they are physically over-active), *impulsiveness* (they respond to actions too quickly), and *attention deficit* (lack of longer period of attention). Overall, every student is an individual and the extent of their deficits are different case to case. All of the above mentioned characteristics may appear into certain level in behavior of any child. Nevertheless, it is alarming when it appears too often and too intensively, thus, child may be diagnosed as ADHD. Considering teaching of ADHD students there are many factors influencing work and teaching process itself. Among others there are the following (Munden, Arcelus, 2006, p. 21):

- flexibility of teachers and their personal engagement;
- long-life process of education of teachers;
- creative, interactive and attractive teaching methods;
- team work;
- less homework and less writing;
- reinforcement of students strengths, increasing their self-confidence and self-esteem;
- sensitive approach to students (no humiliation or mockery; their self-esteem is low enough).

The main focus is laid on abilities of the ADHD students rather than disabilities. As Reif (1999, p. 21) states, in teaching of SEN students it is necessary to avoid:

- general belief that SEN student is lazy, antisocial, and non-active;
- judgments of SEN student based on your responses to their disorders and disabilities;
- to use only traditional teaching methods;
- other co-teachers who consider SEN students as losers unable to achieve high quality education.

Serfontein (1999) focuses on several main characteristics of ADHD students. Here we pay attention on some of them. He develops the following concepts:

- impulsiveness;
- attention disorder;
- hyperactivity;
- lower social development;
- lower self-esteem.

Impulsiveness is the most complicated of most of the symptoms. He suggests it is vital to teach the child how to keep order in what they do and how they act. Moreover, teach the child to think more thoroughly before acting. First think then do, write, or say.

A child with *attention disorder* has problems to focus on one activity for longer time. Serfontein (1999) further suggests that such a child should be placed as close to the teacher as possible and there should be no other disturbers. The other principle is to divide one activity in more partial activities.

Hyperactive child, Serfontein states, is the most common phrase parents use to identify their child with ADHD syndrome. Some of them, however, behave different. Their activity does not show to be higher than others. On the other hand, there are individual cases that show even lower extend of activity (hypo-active child). Hyperactive child appears hyperactive when it disturbs others, when his activity is higher than others. Most commonly it is present when the classroom is quiet working individually on various tasks.

Lower social competence is probably the most permanent trait of male population of attention disorder students. Their social behavior usually seems very infantile both at school and at home. It is largely common that such students act as fools among the others just to create moments of attraction towards themselves. The other trait of lower social competence of such a child is emotional shallowness. Many parents are concerned and complain about their children that they do not show emotions openly, or they show it inappropriately, for example, they may cry over a dead hamster for weeks but do not show any kind of emotions over their grandmother's death.

Apparently, extend of *self-esteem* is so low among these students that it may gradually grow into serious difficulties in later teen years – into a secondary disorder of self-esteem. Their confidence and self-esteem lowers with each negative experience through years of school and creates vital damages in his emotional development occasionally leading into a very specific mental disease: paranoia. Thus, it is effective to reinforce his strengths as much as possible.

Generally, it is vital to focus on child's strengths. As it is mentioned in the interview with a 15 years old ADHD student, Joseph, who suggests to teachers: "Teachers should respect students as much as students respect teachers. Lessons should not be stressful. There should be friendly atmosphere on the lesson. Teachers should not make fun of students or humiliate them. I enjoy active learning, project learning and I prefer oral presentations to written forms" (Rief, p. 31). Obviously, ADHD students prefer kin-aesthetic dimension of learning process, They enjoy moving, looking, watching, touching (haptic aspect of learning). Successful teaching of such students should include the latter mentioned aspects to provide classroom to be a place for productive and effective learning. When teachers prefer active teaching and try to create friendly atmosphere their teaching may become successful even for a ADHD student.

Language Teaching to Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder Learners

Based on the research of Bartová (in Kucharska, 1996, p. 64), Special Education Needs student have a desire to learn foreign languages because they realize importance of foreign languages in their future professional lives. Difficulties in learning a foreign language are not different from difficulties when learning a mother tongue (writing, reading, social interaction, etc.) Students have the same problems in both, cognitive and non-cognitive aspects when studying a mother tongue or a foreign language.

Considering foreign language teaching in the middle Europe, there is an English textbook for children with SEN in the Czech Republic by Chroboková (2006a, 2006b, 2008) available in bookstores. The textbook is designed for elementary education students and includes visual and audio materials. The author claims it is also suitable for other than SEN students.

In Slovakia Vačková and Zatlková (2003) made a publication about teaching English to SEN students. It discusses general characteristics and specifications of teaching a foreign language to special educational needs students. They draw attention also on evaluation of such a child and they suggest some activities how to make SEN student feeling relaxed and accepted in a classroom. Authors emphasize Total Physical Response and Communicative Method as the most suitable approaches for teaching SEN students. Children usually perceive

these two approaches as attractive, mainly in elementary education. Teachers might also effectively use games and a lot of humor on the lessons. Both are seemingly attractive.

European Commission published a document named *Teaching Languages to Learners with Special Needs* (http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/pdf/doc647_en, 2005) with the main contributions from the experts from Finland, Hungary, Germany, and UK. The authors discuss widely the themes of teaching and learning processes including difficulties in teaching process and terminology of special needs learners. They encourage teachers to get acquainted with various aspects of the program, and continue with suggestions:

- Listen and respond to foreign language songs, poems, or stories, which have rhyming or repeated words. Staff may vary the repetition by saying things loudly, quietly, quickly or slowly.
- Listen carefully and discriminate between sounds, identify some meaning from words and intonations, and develop auditory awareness, for example, using audio, video tape or CD-ROM.
- Respond to a certain word or phrase, for example, a greeting.
- Use symbols and audio-recordings, for example, a Language Master, to associate a word and object, and to record themselves or others.
- *Increase social skills by providing new context for communication and interaction, for example, taking part in pair and group work and developing turn-taking skills.*
- *Express their own views about people, places and environments by showing a preference or by expressing likes and dislikes, for example, using a growing vocabulary of words, symbols, gestures and facial expressions.*
- Develop general language skills through new learning experiences, resulting in the positive acquisition of a simple, relevant vocabulary that can be used for practical communication at a level appropriate to their ability.
- Respond to, use and understand words and phrases which are reinforced with visual aids, for example, in a game with real objects, using puppets, video, picture flashcards and gestures.
- Communicate messages by sending information in the form of pictures or text by e-mail.
- Enhance self-esteem through *opportunities for new achievements.*

Drawing our closer attention to the common features of ADHD students mentioned in previous chapter we may suggest to turn the syndromes of the students into positive aspects of their education. Thus, we may be successful in teaching them foreign language. Considering suggested approaches and various general ideas about teaching SEN students we suggest creative drama to be an effective vehicle for teaching foreign language to ADHD students. In the following chapter we would like to explore the world of creative drama.

Creative Drama and Basic Terminology

There is no definite terminology in defining term creative drama. We conclude our definitions and terminology from several Anglophone teachers of drama and the Czech theoretical conceptions of educational drama by Machková (2002). Most of drama teachers in mentioned countries use creative drama as an effective means of teaching arts (including music, theater, drawing and literature) and history.

Based on British school of drama founded in 1960th by Heathcote (1984), Czech educational drama began to use means of drama in education of interaction and ethics to children and young people. Obviously there had been tendencies to use creative drama in school theater education and poetry theaters. Educational drama is used much wider in Czech schools than Slovak or Austrian. There are drama teachers who educate young students at school. They may study educational drama at DAMU (Music and Art Academy) having a wide number of possibilities for teaching at public schools or art public/private schools.

Apparently, *creative drama* or *educational drama* may be defined by many possible definitions, however, we chose several made by acknowledged representatives of creative drama mainly from English backgrounds. Somers (2000), teacher of creative drama in Great Britain identified *creative drama* in the following statements:

- Creative drama makes us explore various imaginary worlds.
- We may become a part of other personalities.
- We use language of symbol representing real world.
- In creative drama we are **in role** to develop the process and **out of role** at the same time (metaxis) to evaluate the process.
- We are aware of the fact that what we do is only **as if**.
- Creative drama is model for exploring the world.

The core of *creative drama* based on Somers's terminology (2000) is narration and storytelling. It is essential to create mutual relationship among the content of storytelling, the participants and dynamic process of creative drama.

Indeed there is storytelling and narration in any other form of our lives. We use narration to learn about history, in biology to learn about human body, we learn about our lives through storytelling. Nevertheless, drama allows deconstruction of the story, it allows participants to doubt the truth and content narrated in the story. It helps participants to encounter other people's stories and thus develops their own self identifications.

Somers (2000) differentiates creative drama methods referring to their theatrical nature and creative drama content. The latter varies, for example literature, history, arts, etc. Creative drama is unique in the way it reaches the above contents through the language of drama itself. Furthermore, its uniqueness derives from the following:

1. from dynamic relationship between drama process recipients and use of drama in storytelling;
2. from the way how drama overlaps two different categories, **what** we explore and **how** we approach it;
3. from holistic approach of creative drama based on heterogeneous sources that creative drama uses for exploring its worlds.

Machková (2002, p. 16), the main representative of Czech school of drama defines creative drama as follows:

- It is individual school subject with the special emphasis on aesthetics and arts.
- It is a method of teaching various subjects at school.
- It is a method how to develop personalities of children and young people. A method of teaching general human abilities, communication and socialization.
- It may also be used as a principle and content how to develop people's personalities in professional practice development based on contact with others, e. i. doctors, teachers, managers, politicians, shopkeepers.
- It may also be a sociotherapy and psychotherapy.

American founder of modern creative drama Ward (in Klíma, 2001) refers to creative drama as an opportunity for:

- controlled emotional expression;
- for self-expression in arts;
- support of creative imagination;
- healthy emotional and social development in common understanding and social cooperation;
- to think individually and express one's own ideas without barriers of fear or any kind of worry.

Heathcote (1984, p. 152), British actress and founder of *modern educational drama* in Great Britain, refers to *drama* as manifestation of change. Drama is not something static in the instance of time. It makes situation stay here for a while in time just to create opportunity to explore and possibly change it. Educational drama could be defined as having two significant aspects and aims. One of them we may define as "creative work" the other as "coping work". Both are significant areas of experience in the developing person. A broad definition of educational drama is "role-taking" imaginatively via identification in social situations.

Referring to the concept of active learning in context of SEN students, Lambert and O'Neill (1982, p. 57) suggest that the active learning is a natural component of educational drama. They claim: "Drama in education is mode of learning. Through the pupil's active identification with imagined roles and situations in drama, they can learn to explore issues, events and relationships. Drama is essentially social and involves contact, communication and the negotiation of meaning."

Apparently, creative drama may function only in the context of group or team work. Although learners contribute as individuals, a purpose of development of relationships in the classroom should be co-operation. The meaning of group cooperation is highly relevant in the class learning of SEN students. Cooperation increases communication and social perception of learners themselves and helps to perceive the others. Authors Lambert and O'Neill also state the following: "Cooperative activity is rare in our schools. Too often, pupils are trained to work as individuals and to be competitive and possessive about their achievements. The meaning of creative drama is build up from the contributions of individuals, and, if the work is to develop, these contributions must be monitored, understood, accepted and responded to by the rest of the group" (1982, p. 13).

Thus, when the contributions of individuals are accepted and we respond to them in a way, drama has the purpose and meaning. Students in order to cooperate need to be aware of the importance of their own contributions. Every drama activity should be build on the foundations of individual contributions and active mutual interactions. The writers encourage teachers to have a particular social objective for each lesson:

- increased social competence and confidence;
- the ability to work purposefully with the others;
- willingness to accept and respect the ideas of others and build on team;
- willingness to accept responsibility;
- the opportunity to escape from existing self-image or "role" in the group group-clown, trouble-maker, outsider.

Generally, active learning provides an opportunity to increase social awareness of language learners and their willingness to take responsibility for their own learning, and respect the ideas and opinions of other learners. Thus, learning by means of creative drama could also be taken into consideration when teaching social interaction and communication in SEN students in our education.

Clearly, common idea of all definitions is the environment, atmosphere and space that creative drama creates and offers to an individual in the process of education. It is atmosphere of self-identification, social interaction,

creativity, self-expression, imagination development. Creative drama is a medium for exploration of reality through as if reality.

Jean Piaget, a developmental psychologist described two models of learning. One of them is accommodation and the other is assimilation. Both of the models are concurrent and complementary in human thinking. However, different ways of learning tend to emphasize one or the other. Memorization of words tends to emphasize assimilation and learning to swim or ride a bike highlights accommodation. In other words, if we learn to ride our bike by riding the bike we learn it faster and it tends to stay in our memory, it is almost impossible to forget (Blatner, 2009). Memorization of words, vocabulary, when learning a foreign language, tends to be forgotten. Therefore, it is essential to focus attention in teaching foreign languages on practicing and “doing”, not on memorizing. Drama in education offers a good means for this way of educating. It creates space for free action, for improvisation and for creativity. All of them are included in practicing drama in the classroom.

Make-belief in EFL Classroom

There is a concept of building up belief in educational drama. Naturally, it is relevant for the participants of classroom activity to create atmosphere of belief that what they manifest and express is objective and appropriate in context of class activity. When students understand the meaning and purpose of their actions in specific activity they are likely to believe in what they are doing and consequently interact on the bases of class activities. It is substantial to work on make-belief in the class. Only after concept of belief is widely spread in activity learners may be developed individually in both dimensions cognitive and non-cognitive. Make-belief is one of the vital objectives in educational drama. Woolland (1993, p. 55) in his book *The Teaching of Drama in the Primary School* suggests several strategies how to build belief in actions in children making drama:

- raising the status of the children , making them important in the class;
- careful questioning;
- periods of reflections;
- teacher in-role to challenge, to re-direct, and make sense of glib responses;
- encouraging research;
- developing intercultural work, which itself enhances the drama;
- developing the drama beyond single lessons into extended projects;
- making the work as visual as possible, trying wherever possible to create visual images and symbols rather than simply talking.

Above all the teacher needs to take the work seriously – whenever possible we ensure the drama time is not interrupted.

Lambert and O’Neill (1982, p. 12) also discuss the problem of make-belief and they suggest three basic make-belief objectives for drama teachers:

1. Interact with the rest of the group.
2. Agreeing to join the class.
3. Choosing a leader for the community.
4. Making a group decision.
5. Teaching a skill to a friend.
6. Adopt a role.
7. Make-belief with regard to actions and situations.

Lambert and O’Neill also add: “Drama is unlikely to develop successfully unless the participants are prepared to make-believe, to share their make-believe with others by working together, and maintain and extend their make-believe through appropriate action, role, and language” (Lambert - O’Neill, 1982, p. 12). Drama teachers state that make-belief is a fundamental and core condition for successful drama. Regardless of various social conditions, it is necessary to interact in the context of social interaction in order to create common make-belief. Additionally, teachers should create friendly and creative atmosphere in the classroom to allow learners to adapt their roles and act in social situations spontaneously.

Story-telling in EFL Classroom

One of the most known and most popular drama technique for teachers and learners is storytelling technique. Use of storytelling may have several influential aspect which we should discuss in the following section. Without any doubts storytelling develops both cognitive and non-cognitive dimensions of learning process. Thus, we believe it is very effective for SEN students because it provides countless opportunities for social learning and social interaction in the classroom. Storytelling strengthens social communication, including both, verbal and non-verbal aspects. The last may have a great positive impact on ADHD learners who seem to work/show with their body a lot of their “talking”.

There are always two positions in storytelling: 1. narrator, 2. listeners. When a narrator is telling a story she is building a personal contact, a specific form of relationship, with the listeners of the story. Narrator uses other

imaginary worlds, including other situations using other characters' lives stories. Indeed it itself creates learning atmosphere in the classroom. Listening to a story may bring class together and get listeners involved in the topic of discussion. Based on King's research (1993, p. 206): "When we read a story to a group we read the story using someone else words, constructions, and contents. When we tell this same story as a storyteller, we must use our own words and as more dependent on the listening audience. We have more eye/contact, a deeper awareness of response (or lack thereof) and a greater sense of community."

Storytelling is a very effective medium for teachers of SEN students who being listeners to teacher/narrator build greater sense of personal relationship with teacher and other learners. When teacher herself is the narrator of the story her learners are listening, she is becoming a closer part of class community, and she gets more involved in their world. Storytelling may bring a lot of fun and great dimension of intimacy in the classroom. It helps to create friendly and relaxed atmosphere. The latter is specifically necessary for ADHD learners."

Drama in the classroom demands complete commitment from both sides, from learners as well as full commitment from teachers. Naturally we expect learners to take roles, and thus, it is probably necessary for teacher to act in-role. According to Heathcote, the teacher is supposed to go in and out of roles to heighten and develop emotions. According to Woolland teaching in role is important to deepen understanding of meaning, to challenge learners to participate and cooperate with other learners. He claims: "The purpose is to offer a way of intervening which challenges and focuses the work, which moves it on, which creates learning opportunities and deepens the understanding of the participants" (Woolland, 1993, p. 67).

However, it is important for teachers to understand that they need to take a middle-rank position. It is not productive to take a role of the highest possible position, in order to avoid take final responsibility and making final decisions being in that kind of role. On the other hand, it is not effective to take a role of the lowest possible position, in order to avoid confusion and chaos in the classroom. Heathcote suggests that in the middle-rank role she is free to communicate with both ranks, higher and lower and still maintain activity in the classroom.

Additionally, teaching in role provokes willingness to take responsibility. When learners are in control of situations in the classroom they should spontaneously take a step of active interaction and cooperation. However, we are aware of the fact that it is only possible in relaxed and friendly atmosphere where students are prompted naturally to interact. Atmosphere where they may express individually and confidently without being mocked or disqualified.

Research Results

Previous research was made in elementary and secondary education levels. All respondents who participated in research were common students of various age groups studying English language. Overall, responses and feedbacks of most of the respondents show the following results:

- Higher spontaneity when new relationships were created in the class in both student – student, teacher - student,
- Increased cooperation and communication with refused students during the process of teaching,
- Increased multilevel communication and cooperation with the teacher,
- Highly developed social interaction among students,
- Better results in language acquisition, mainly in vocabulary and grammar structure,
- Creative use of physical space in the classroom to develop free and playful atmosphere for teaching foreign language.

Nowadays, it is our high priority to emphasize teaching English to hyperactive children through the means of drama in education. In the following future research we intend to:

- Learn and analyze up-to-date condition in the foreign language teaching and acquisition to the special educational needs students in Europe, and in Slovakia.
- Emphasize the importance of creative drama for language skills acquisition in foreign language teaching to the special educational needs students, with the closer accent to the ADHD diagnosis students.
- With the special emphasis on non-cognitive education, consequently prove the positive influence of creative drama as a highly motivating and effective tool of socialization and social interaction in the group of participants, integrated students.
- Motivate English language teachers and other language educational leaders to include the tools of creative drama into their own teaching styles, thus, laying the accent on innovation of creative drama techniques.

Any further information about the method of research may be provided by the author. The results of the future research will be published in further publications dedicated to foreign language teaching and hyperactivity disorder students.

Conclusion

Based on our own previous research and also other researches made in the field of creative drama, it is shown that drama in education tend to be suitable and effective tool for teaching in order to achieve cognitive and non-

cognitive aims all teachers strive for. Creative drama may lead to more spontaneous, more creative, more free communication and cooperation in both, among students, and between student and teacher. Naturally leading into increased language acquisition. We believe it interacts a SEN student into social interactions based on strengthening of self-expression and self-identification of the individual.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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HOW TO DEAL WITH GIFTEDNESS IN THE CLASSROOM ELENA KOVÁČIKOVÁ

(Oldřich Šimoník (ed.): *School and Talented Pupil* Brno: Masaryk University, Faculty of Education 2010, 182 p. ISBN 978-80-210-5350-2)

School and Talented Pupils edited by Oldřich Šimoník, was published as a volume of papers supported by the research - *Special needs of pupils in the Context of the Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education*.

Regardless the division of the Slovak and Czech Republic, this book seems to be a proof of the on-going cooperation of Czech and Slovak teachers and experts with the aim to take a closer look into a very current issue in the field of education. Teachers at elementary as well as secondary school encounter situations where apart from teaching and dealing with discipline in their classrooms, they cope with pupils and students with special educational needs. Giftedness has nowadays become one of the “hot” topics discussed among experts. The book offers theoretical as well as practical insights into the education of talented pupils.

In the first chapter, Jan Štáva describes the legislation and possible approaches of schools and teachers. (p. 9) Thus, he gives a theoretical background of some general terms connected with education of the gifted children. On the other hand, his Slovak counterparts - the authors Eva Reid, Božena Horváthová and Eva Stranovská in their paper describe *The system of segregated education in Slovakia*, particularly in Nitra where the special classes for gifted children have been held since 1997. (p. 136)

Within the theoretical outlook undoubtedly belongs the part engaged in mediated learning experience and teaching models in education, written by Jana Duchovičová and Zuzana Babulicová. (p. 155) Their study discusses the optimal models for personal development of gifted students in integrated and combined conditions, specifically designed for education levels ISCED 0,1 and 2-3.

According to the authors Barbora Bazalová and Radka Vlčková, recently there has been a high increase in a number of students with Asperger’s syndrome at primary schools. They provide worthy information on the integration process of such a primary-school pupil. Moreover, it analyzes the factors cooperating with the quality of social inclusion in the school context and in the question of integration and inclusivity. (p. 127)

In the work of Věra Janíková (p.46), followed by the paper of Světlana Hanušová we can look at the giftedness in terms of foreign language acquisition. (p. 31) They both present selected approaches to language talent in general and define the set of individual differences relevant in language classes at primary schools.

The point of view of the elementary school teachers is analyzed in the chapter written by Oldřich Šimoník. In this part, several observations of teachers’ attitudes and approaches to the gifted pupils are presented. Conclusions are drawn from the interviews carried out with 203 elementary teachers in the Czech Republic. (p. 20)

Moreover, the book also gives insights into particular subjects provided at elementary and secondary schools. Marie Blahutková and Daniela Jonášová in their chapter, pay attention to some problems connected with the care about sport talented children, which can be taken into consideration at PE classes. (p. 114) In addition, improvement of science gifted pupils ICT-based action research is introduced by Eva Trnová and Josef Trna which could be helpful for science teachers. On the contrary, mathematically gifted pupils and performance discrepancies in solving the tasks are discussed by the authors in another chapter. (p. 165)

Last but not least, our focus is drawn to the chapter called *Research into education of gifted children in Slovakia*, written by the above mentioned authors Eva Reid, Božena Horváthová and Eva Stranovská. (p. 174) Their paper is notable as it provides the point of view of parents. The research carried out with parents of the gifted children reveals their attitudes and satisfaction with the segregated education.

To sum up, this book fulfils the current need of teachers at elementary and secondary school and helps them be acquainted with the special pupils and students in their classes. Thus, an overall and diverse view of the giftedness has been provided by Czech and Slovak experts in education and a lot of students and teachers, as well as parents, can benefit from the findings presented in this publication.

**PRIMARY TEACHER'S MANUAL OF GREAT
EDUCATIONAL VALUE**
SILVIA HVOZDÍKOVÁ

(Mgr. Ivana Žemberová, PhD.: Teaching English
Through Children`s Literature, Nitra: ASPA, 2010, 123 p. ISBN
978-80-89477-02-9)

Theoretical and practical publication Teaching English Through Children`s Literature, written in English, provides reader with essential and complex teaching concepts, illustrative examples, and a numerous practical hints of educational and aesthetic values. Although several books discuss the use and implementation of literature written for children, rarely they describe how educators, methodologists or students studying primary education, may make use of this literary genre, as comprehensively as this book. It is divided into three main chapters.

The author, Ivana Žemberová, focuses on theoretical background paying closer attention to various concepts of using English literature written for children in English language classroom, in the first part of the book. She discusses highly interesting topics, for example: "Playing with Children`s Literature in the EFL Classroom", "Teaching Culture Through Literature", Using Readers in the English Classroom", Criteria for Selecting Literary Material for Children" or "Literary Genres in the Young Learner`s Language Classroom".

The second part carries a name Workshop Section and emphasises detailed practical implementation of this literary genre. The first and main issue, as the author claims, is: "integrated learning of English and other curricular aspects of the CLIL methodology and presentation of how children`s literature can be a starting point for integrated learning (p.48)." Furthermore, taking inspiration from American culture and their focus on democracy in education, she brings the ideas of political correctness providing suggestions for application in the classroom. It develops "cultural awareness development, or communicative competence "and "can be used well in the classroom for various language activities and application of different techniques." (p. 55)

In the third chapter Ivana Žemberová gives a practical handful of individual examples of how to make the English language learning process a playful time in creative and relaxed atmosphere. The last part of the book is called Activity Book and is divided into several categories based on literary genre: Poetry, Songs, Games/Word-games and Folk-tales, and Fiction. Each of the sections presents a detailed lesson plan for English language teachers. Giving this collection of well chosen songs, stories and nursery rhymes, the author bridges the gap that exists in the Slovak book market in language pedagogy and methodology publications. Among others, the collection includes lesson plans of various activities, for example: finish the story, listening comprehension, food and word search matching. Focused approach of the author is also proved in the last section of the publication, named Resource File. Several hands-on appendices are included. They consist of pictures, simplified versions of stories or songs for children.

Literature written for a child is a baseline for English language teaching process in the elementary and pre-elementary education. Therefore, as the author emphasises, it is inevitable part of teacher`s manual. Children`s literature conveys very specific aesthetic and educational value and its imaginative and fictitious elements reach child`s mind, thus provides a suitable means for teaching language in a communicative and interactive way. Considering the field of primary foreign language education this publication brings a modern point of view on both, a foreign language learner, and a foreign language teacher.

Jana Waldnerová's *De/construction of Fictional Worlds* offers a knowledgeable discussion of fictional worlds in the selection of texts of British, American and an Italian writer (Pratchett, Vidal, Allen, Fowles, Calvino...). Sensitive to terms fictitious, fictional and their realization in both English and Slovak language, it introduces fictional worlds as relatively new to Slovak literary scholarship; guides the reader through the literary and philosophical works of theorists central to the debates concerning fictional worlds (Ingarden, Doležel, Iser, McHale, Genette, Ashline, Hrushovsky) and sheds new light on the chosen literary texts, investigating them from the perspective of mentioned theories.

De/construction of Fictional Worlds is a comprehensive guide to the main theories of fictional worlds, and through the deep analysis or rather de/construction of the selected texts provides the reader approaching these texts with an opportunity to enrich their appreciation with yet another possible perspective the texts open to – the perspective of property, focus and possibility versus impossibility of fictional worlds.

Even if one might argue the point of view of the viability of identification of the fictional-worlds-theories in the texts and their impact on the texts, as Waldnerová claims to have embraced in the seven chapters following the first one, or rather take the perspective of looking at the theories as useful tools helping us generate even richer reasoned response to the text, the book presents the reader with rigorous and illuminating analyses.

Either read as the whole or several independent separate studies, Jana Waldnerová has created an engaging book that will be helpful to those eager to familiarize themselves with various aspects of fictional worlds and their realization in literary texts.

**(Kráľová, Z.: Faktory anglickej fónickej kompetencie.
Žilina: Žilinská univerzita v Žiline, 2009, 94 s. ISBN 978-
80-554-0051-8.)**

Zdena Kráľová is currently one of the most significant English phoneticians in Slovakia. The publication "Faktory anglickej fónickej kompetencie" is a continuation of the author's previous monograph and it provides deeper and more complex introduction into the factors of English phonic competence. The publication is divided into four main parts and it also contains an appendix with research outcomes, samples of the questionnaire and the test given to the research sample.

The introductory chapter briefly presents the historical background of the research on factors of foreign language phonic competence done since 1967. The author explains that „the outcomes of many researches were not consistently replicated, therefore they require further relevant quantitative and qualitative research" (p. 10).

The second chapter offers a classification of the factors of phonic competence based on various approaches as, according to Kráľová, "there is no unite and complex classification of these factors" (p.11).

The following chapter „Interlingual factors" is divided into four subchapters. The first subchapter describes language interference, identifies the theory of contrastive analysis hypothesis, its deficiencies and modifications and provides a classification of language interference. The second subchapter deals with sound interference and its classification. The following subchapter analyses the scope of sound interference of langue and parole. The author compares the sound system of Slovak and English language in the last subchapter. We consider this subchapter as highly important and interesting, as the author provides an analysis of segmental and suprasegmental levels of both languages. She also supplies the anticipated errors in English pronunciation from both, segmental and suprasegmental levels, which we again regard as stimulating and really helpful for English language teachers and researchers dealing with and teaching correct pronunciation.

The final chapter studies extralingual factors. The first subchapter analyses some extralingual variables, the verbal intelligence in the mother tongue, motivation for acquiring correct pronunciation in a foreign language, the starting age for foreign language learning, the stay in a foreign language environment, the so called musical ear and the sound imitation ability. The second subchapter provides mathematical and statistical analyses of factors. The research comprises a pre-test and a post-test. The research sample created 79 students at Žilinská univerzita and the audio recordings of spontaneous monological speech, analysed by five native speakers of the English language, served as a research material. The analysis was done by correlational analysis of the given data.

The publication "Faktory anglickej fónickej kompetencie" offers a brief but very profound introduction to the topic of phonic competence. As the author says, "the book is considered to be as an appropriate introduction into further analyses of factors potentially and practically affecting the sequential level of English pronunciation of speakers of the Slovak language" (p.58). We recommend this publication not only for researchers of phonic competence, but also for English language teachers who would like to find solutions or proposals for correct English language pronunciation for Slovak learners.
